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AN EDUCATION-PREVENTION PROGRAM ON HIV AND AIDS FOR THE SEMILITERATE YOUTH

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ABSTRACT

Numerous HIV/AIDS programs have taken place with young people in schools. Despite this, relatively little is known about the way in which national and local education systems have responded about how HIV and AIDS-related health promotion have been actually developed and implemented. Moreover, the extent to which these programs are evaluated to the learners from the non-formal education and informal streams of basic education are yet unknown. The study tested the effectiveness of an educational program which was designed specifically for the students in the alternative learning system. The three session classroom-based intervention's purpose is to increase the knowledge of participants on HIV/AIDS. A total of $n = 37$ participants pre-test and post-test answers on the HIV-KQ-18 were subjected to analysis. Results of the paired sample scores from the tool revealed that there was a significant increase of scores among participants after the intervention was conducted. Thus, a persuasive program to leverage and introduce or improve existing HIV/AIDS education in the non-formal education is needed.

Keywords: AIDS, HIV, Education, Prevention, Program, Semiliterate, Youth

INTRODUCTION

HIV in the Philippines had historically been described as “low and slow”^[12]. Despite the fact that the national HIV prevalence remains on the average under 0.1%, the country is one of the only seven countries in the world to have seen an increase of over 25% in HIV incidence in the past decade²⁰. With the latest figure from the Department of Health AIDS Registry, sexual intercourse (96%) remains the common route of transmission. Furthermore, the report stated that between 1984 and 2011 there were only 7,031 confirmed cases^[5]. Shockingly, their latest report in December 2014 reported that there are now 22,527 confirmed cases. Among these, 2,049 are already full-blown AIDS^[8]. Sadly, about a third of all newly reported infections occur in young people aged 15-24 years of age^[5].

A lot of national and independent studies sought explanations for the disease's upward trend to this particular age group. These were limited to at risk population due to their behavior or work^[7,8,11]; demographics and geographic distributions^[6]; gender, age and sexually transmitted infections^[13]; risky behaviors such as increasing casual sex activity and poor condom use^[12,14].

unsafe sex practices^[1,11]; poor education and an inadequate public health response to the disease^[12]; women's attitude and behavior^[13]; other psychological correlates such as intimate relationship and power relationship^[11]; youth's growing involvement in risk behaviors such as early and unprotected sex, having multiple partners, drug use and alcohol abuse^[1]; and limited opportunities to learn about staying safe, lacking skills to communicating their needs and/or living without the support of parents^[10]. Despite difference in methodology, most recommended that accelerating preventive response to halt and reverse the trajectory of the epidemic is the best action.

In a study conducted by Laguna in 2004, the study showed that there is an almost universal awareness of AIDS among young people ages 15-24^[11]. Eight years later a national study of the Integrated HIV Behavioral and Serologic Surveillance (2012) of the Department of Health found that indeed, this age group was able to answer 5 simple questions pertaining to HIV. However, awareness showed that 73% thought that they are immune to HIV^[10]. Thus, similar with Laguna's (2004) recommendation both agreed that misconceptions should be factored in as an important indicator of knowledge regarding the disease. Adolescents should have easy access to the essential facts about HIV!

The Philippine government has actively responded to the HIV/AIDS concern since the first AIDS case in the country was diagnosed in 1984^[17]. The response is not limited to building national level efforts but establishing localized actions based on the nature of the local epidemic and recognizing the important role that Local Government Units and local communities play as well^[6]. In fact, the Republic Act 8504, also known as the "Philippine AIDS Prevention and Control Act of 1998" was reenacted. This act promulgates policies and prescribing measures for the prevention and control of HIV/AIDS, institutionalizes nationwide information and educational program on HIV/AIDS, establishes comprehensive monitoring system of HIV/AIDS, and strengthens the Philippine national AIDS council^[20]. Moreover, in the advent of decentralizing the national HIV/AIDS prevention response, the Department of Education targets school based education programs on HIV/AIDS prevention through the implementation of Memorandum Order 495 s.1996 integrating HIV/AIDS education in all schools nationwide^[13].

Numerous programs and interventions have taken place with young people in schools. Despite this, relatively little is known about the way in which national and local education systems have responded about how HIV and AIDS-related health promotion have been actually developed and implemented^[9]. However, it is generally agreed that HIV/AIDS education materials should include information on: the nature of the virus, its modes of transmission, the consequence of infection, and the steps that can be taken to protect against infection^[18]. Within the school curriculum, dealing with HIV/AIDS – particularly aspects concerned with the prevention of HIV transmission is complex. Dominant cultural understandings influence the manner in which HIV/AIDS can be talked about, for example, sex presents more of an immediate challenge to educators. The lack of information about sex and the risk of sex from all three, the parents or caregivers, the schools and the church, results in fictitious myths and stories on these topics and unsafe sexual experimenting among the youth^[1].

Education and HIV/AIDS prevention has a prominent position in the MDG framework. Yet, very little work has been published where investigators specifically focused on the interplay

of HIV awareness and the literacy level of a certain group of people such as the young semi-literates. It is also noteworthy that there are numerous existing programs on HIV/AIDS information, education, and campaign. However, the extent to which these programs are evaluated to the learners from the non-formal education and informal streams of basic education are yet unknown. Thus, the purpose of this study is to put to the test the effectiveness of a short intervention that provides a combination of educational, instructional, and innovative approaches specifically designed for the said population. The researcher is hopeful that results from the study may serve as bases of identifying ways to integrate HIV/AIDS prevention and educational programs in the non-formal education system.

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Research Design

This is a quasi-experimental study utilizing a minimal control design, particularly the one-group pretest-posttest design. The design is a reasonable choice when measuring change in the data both before and after the intervention is expected to be dramatic ^[15]. Thus, the intervention is the educational program which was evaluated after implementation for its effectiveness, adequacy and efficiency. As the researcher believes that the best way to educate youth on HIV/AIDS is through reaching a wide range of audiences, the program is therefore implemented to a unique group, as in this case our semiliterate youth.

Study Area and Respondents

The Alternative Learning System (ALS) is for out-of-school youths and adults that respond through systematic and flexible approach in reaching all types of learners and/or marginalized learners outside the formal school system. Learners under the Alternative Learning System are assessed and profiled to determine appropriate level and learning interventions ^[8]. After due assessment, learners are classified as Basic Level (neo-literate), Secondary level (semi-literate), or Lifelong Learning (post-secondary onwards) learners. After completing the literacy program, a certificate of completion is issued to the graduates as counterpart of the diploma in the formal education system ^[4]. However, learners must pass a test, similar to the achievement tests given in formal education. The test provides an alternative means of certification of learning. Learners who pass the test will be mainstreamed back to the formal basic education system, to higher education or any technical-vocational school provided they pass the entrance examination ^[23].

Baguio city has three Alternative Learning Centers, each center differ in terms of learner population, size, and class schedule. The researcher purposively selected one learning center due to its larger size and higher number of enrollees. Respondents are learners from the secondary program. This program is for 15 years old and above, who have basically finished grade schooling and are unable to avail of the formal school system, or who have dropped out of the formal secondary schools. Therefore, learners at this program are suitable for the study as their age group falls in the reproductive age. Besides this, half of the population in the country is younger than 21 years and at least 6.3% of teenagers (15-19 years old) have already begun child

bearing ^[7], recent statistics on adolescent sexuality in the Philippines point to an increasing number of young people engaged in premarital sexual intercourse before age 15 ^[14], and awareness of HIV/AIDS among young people ages 15-24 remains low ^[11].

The Educational Program:

Successful HIV/AIDS prevention programming must be evidence-based and results-focused: understanding the target, their current and desired states, as well as expected results which are SMART ^[22]. Thus, before the educational program was constructed the researcher did a site visit to the intended target area. Queries on students' characteristics, behaviors, and social functioning, the classroom environment, the learning atmosphere and so forth were sought through personal observation and meetings with the school head and teachers. Villar (2009) stated that this step is crucial in establishing and maintaining program relevance ^[24]. Eventually, a program plan was constructed and developed.

The four strategies in reducing sexual risk behaviors among young adolescents by Sales & DiClemente (2010) was employed in program development. These strategies were suggested by Sales & DiClemente (2010) as a result from their systematic reviews on published STI/ HIV prevention intervention programs for adolescents. According to them for a successful prevention program the following elements must be observed: targeting those behaviors that are most amenable to change, tailoring programs for the target population, using theory to guide program development, and addressing more than just sexual risk in interventions by including emphasis on psychological correlates ^[16]. Thus, interventions for this proposed classroom-based educational program were developed by the researcher as an agent for the semiliterate young adults, who were regarded as recipients of the program.

To ensure that the goals and objectives are based on the identified needs, strategy planning was employed. This technique is how to attain goals within the boundaries of the resources available. This include methodologies, or procedures, and content – both the what and how, or the content and the process ^[24]. Therefore, a matrix of the program plan and the intended activities were presented to a panel of fellow postgraduate researchers and a research course facilitator. From the original plan, the panel suggested necessary revisions, and age-appropriateness of the activities for the intended age-group sample. Table1 provides an outline of the educational program.

Ethical Considerations

A letter of request was personally given to the division's Alternative Learning System's program supervisor. Attached therewith were copies of the consent form for the respondents, a sample of the pretest-posttest questionnaire, a copy of the program matrix with the guide materials and activity instruction manuals, and the researcher's commitment form. The program supervisor's approval provided institutional clearance of the study.

Participants over the age of 18 provided consent for themselves through signing the consent form. Those under 18 were asked for their parental consent; this was sought during the Parents and Teacher meeting, a week before the study was intended to be conducted. The researcher ensured that participants have a complete understanding of the purpose and methods

used in the study. Anonymity was observed, the id numbers of the participants were obtained instead of their names. This was intended for comparison of the pretest and posttest scores. Before commencing the implementation of each activity the researcher explained that participants may has the right to withdraw at any point of the study or activities.

Program Implementation

The program was conducted after the class of the students. A classroom was designated by the learning institution for the researcher and participants. The program interventions were implemented into three sessions. The schedule of each session was fixed mainly because of the availability of classrooms. Given this, the institution, the participants and the researcher scheduled a one session per week convenient. Each session is lasting about an hour or an hour and a half. For this purpose, the participants were provided with the objectives of each activity and learning information about HIV/AIDS through discussions and learning questions.

According to The Center For Populations Options (1993) programs on HIV and STI's vary immensely. However, keep in mind that youth are not a homogenous group, thus, adoption of comprehensive approach and techniques is a need^[19]. Given this, each session is applied with a different approach for the different aspects of the program to be clearly identified. In the traditional approach, participants play the passive role since the information is presented in a lecture format^[19]. In the second session, the experiential and interactive educational approach was used. Guided by the social learning theory, as discussed previously, using a strong theoretical structure to help guide choice of intervention activities ensures that appropriate intervention content and delivery methods are being implemented in STI/HIV programs^[16]. Lastly, the innovative approach was used in the last session to creatively design educational messages that reflect their concerns and personality of their particular group^[19]. This was carried out through role plays. Each approach is also presented in the Table 1.

Table 1. The components and approaches of the classroom based educational program

Session #	Objectives	Approach	Interventions
1	provide insights on HIV infection's transmission	Traditional Informative Approach	Video presentation and discussions, lecture, direct services such as individual counseling.
2	increasing resiliency and competencies to reducing sexual risk behavior	Experiential and Interactive Educational Approach	group games, incorporated modeling activities, group education
3	Increasing self efficacy to reduce risk behaviors	Innovative Approach	Skill building exercises such as role plays

Session 1:

This session focused on interventions to provide introductory information about HIV/AIDS prevention so everyone begins the program with similar base information. The respondents were given, among other aspects, the HIV-KQ18 as a pre-test questionnaire to gather information on participants' knowledge related to HIV and AIDS (this baseline data was compared to from a post-test at the end of the program). Activities include video presentation to participants. The video provide insights on HIV infection's transmission. Discussion followed after the short clip presentation. The researcher served as the facilitator in the discussion and index cards were distributed to serve as question cards as not every participant is vocal in relaying their queries. The researcher, as much as possible, answered each of the participant's questions.

Session 2:

Session two focused on interventions to increase participants' resiliency and competencies to reducing sexual risk behavior. Discussions were incorporated to group activities. Other techniques such as incorporated modeling techniques provided awareness of how quickly HIV and other STIs can be spread and how they can be stopped and to illustrate effects of peer pressure. The social learning theory was used as the framework used in the program. For instance, incorporated modeling activities (e.g., modeling how to put on a condom) was deemed practical and efficient in reducing risk behaviors among participants.

Session 3:

Session three focused on interventions that targets increasing young adults self efficacy to reduce risk behaviors. Included in this activites are skill building exerccises. These were carried through a set of role plays that provide teens with the opportunity to practice communicating about HIV/STI prevention and to practice skills related to resisting peer pressure and making decisions. Further, participants take on the role of another person. They practice feeling, talking, and acting like someone else. Role-playing helps the players to increase their empathy for others and allows the audience to observe how people actually deal with difficult situations ^[19].

Program Evaluation

Program delivery evaluation was conducted as an essential step to determine the benefits that the clients and different constituents of the institution derived from the program ^[24]. The program was subsequently evaluated after the last session. This is through statistical analysis by comparing the pretest score and the posttest scores of the participants in the research instrument.

The research instrument used was the HIV Knowledge Questionnaire 18 item version (HIV-KQ-18). This is a short version of the HIV-KQ-45 which taps on the specific knowledge of its respondents in two domains: the knowledge domain on the infections transmission and the application field which self-assess the ability to identify the deficits, misconceptions and self-protective behaviors on HIV. Reliability analysis of this short version across samples is $\alpha = .75-.79$ internal consistency and $\alpha = .76-.94$ test-retest stability across several intervals ^[2]. Evidence of validity of the HIV-KQ-45 was obtained using known groups (i.e., local and national HIV/AIDS educators and researchers (experts) vs. several samples of nonexperts) and treatment

outcome analyses. Also, additional validity evidence was obtained from analyses between scores of two related measures ^[3]. Included, in this short form was the empirical item selection ^[2]. This tool was deemed suitable for this population as its Flesch formula suggests a readability index at the primary- grade level, which suggests that they are likely to be understood by low-literacy readers^[3] matching the participants of the study. Pretesting and post-testing instructions of the HIV-KQ-18 were similarly observed.

Frequency counts and percentages were used to provide a description of the participants. The paired sample t-test was used to provide a description of the changes in the participants pretest and post-test scores. Paired sample test of the research tool and the population was provided.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

During the first session of the program a total of 45 students joined and consented for participation. Of these, only $n = 37$ participants were able to complete all sessions and gave their posttest evaluations. Eight respondents were removed from the study either due to incomplete attendance on the succeeding sessions and/or had willingly withdrawn from participation (17.77% dropout rate).

Table 2. Demographic Profile of Participants

	Frequency	Percent
Age		
15 years old	7	18.9
16 years old	3	8.1
17 years old	7	18.9
18 years old	6	16.2
19 years old	4	10.8
20 years old	2	5.4
21 years old	2	5.4
22 years old	2	5.4
23 years old	1	2.7
24 years old	3	8.1
Sex		
Male	25	67.6
female	12	32.4
Reasons for not finishing secondary education		
high school dropout	5	13.5
went to work	5	13.5
financial difficulties	6	16.2
home schooled	2	5.4
lack of interest	7	18.9
Illness/ due to medical treatment	3	8.1

distance of school is far from home	4	10.8
others	5	13.5
N = 37		

Table 2 presents the demographic details of the respondents. As gleaned from the table, there are more participants less than 20 years of age. The average age of the sample is 18.19 years old. Most of the participants are male students (67.6%) and most of the participants weren't able to finish secondary schooling due to lack of interest (18.9%) and financial difficulties (16.2%). Some participants mentioned "others" as reason for not being able to complete their secondary schooling but specified that this was either due to early pregnancy and/or early marriage. One male participant verbalized being convicted of a crime and was sent to youth rehabilitation.

Table 3. Paired sample test per item of the HIV-KQ-18, N=37

Item	Mean			t statistic	p
	pre- test	post- test	difference		
1. coughing and sneezing do not spread HIV	1.14	1.38	-.243	-1.42	.163
2. a person can get HIV by sharing a glass of water with someone who has HIV	1.08	1.84	-.757	-5.33	.000*sig<0.05
3. Pulling out the penis before a man climaxes/cums keeps a woman from getting HIV during sex	.89	1.41	-.514	-2.99	.005*sig<0.05
4. A woman can get HIV if she has anal sex with a man	.92	1.05	-.135	-1.22	.230
5. Showering, or washing one's genitals/private parts, after sex keeps a person from getting HIV	.92	1.65	-.730	-5.09	.000*sig<0.05
6. All pregnant women infected with HIV will have babies born with AIDS	1.05	1.35	-.297	-1.99	.054
7. People who have been infected with HIV quickly show serious signs of being infected	.70	1.73	-1.027	-7.82	.000*sig<0.05
8. There is a vaccine that can stop adults from getting HIV	.97	1.86	-.892	-5.79	.000*sig<0.05
9. people are likely to get HIV by deep kissing, putting their tongue in their partner's mouth, if their partner has HIV	1.16	1.70	-.541	-3.53	.001*sig<0.05
10. A woman cannot get HIV if she has sex during her period	1.24	1.65	-.405	-2.20	.034*sig<0.05
11. There is a female condom that can help decrease a woman's chance of getting HIV	.65	1.35	-.703	-4.87	.000*sig<0.05
12. A natural skin condom works better against HIV than latex condom	.59	1.76	-1.162	-8.83	.000*sig<0.05
13. A person will not get HIV if she or he is taking antibiotics	1.05	1.65	-.595	-3.90	.000*sig<0.05
14. Having sex with more than one partner can increase a person's chance of being infected with HIV	.86	1.16	-.297	-2.44	.020*sig<0.05
15. Taking a test for HIV one week after having sex will tell a person if she or he has HIV	1.03	1.35	-.324	-1.97	.057
16. A person can get HIV by sitting in a tub or a swimming pool with a person who has HIV	1.11	1.84	-.730	-5.09	.000*sig<0.05
17. A person can get HIV from oral sex	.76	1.22	-.459	-3.64	.001*sig<0.05

18. Using Vaseline or baby oil with condoms lowers the chance of getting HIV .89 1.73 -.838 -4.77 .000*sig<0.05

a. *significant at $\alpha= 0.05$

b. answers coded: 0 = Do Not Know, 1= True, 2= False

c. Key answers: 1.True, 2.False, 3.False, 4.True, 5.False, 6.False, 7.False, 8.False, 9.False, 10.False, 11.True, 12.False, 13.False, 14.True, 15.False, 16.False, 17.True, 18 False

Table 3 presents the paired sample scores of the respondents from the HIV-KQ-18. It can be noted that most of the items were deemed significant after the intervention was conducted. However, items: 1. Coughing and sneezing do not spread HIV ($\rho=.163$); 4. A woman can get HIV if she has anal sex with a man ($\rho=2.30$); 6. All pregnant women infected with HIV will have babies born with AIDS ($\rho=.054$); 15. Taking a test for HIV one week after having sex will tell a person if she or he has HIV ($\rho=0.57$) were not significant after the intervention was conducted. Although these items were not significant, the mean difference among the items is ranging from .13-.32 which is relatively small.

Purposefully, in consideration of the uniqueness of the population, the researcher selected an HIV/AIDS educational movie in the form of animation. Undoubtedly, most of these items are answered in the video presentation provided in the first session of the study. But perhaps, participants fail to understand these concepts.

Another possible explanation for this is that some questions involving sexual terms such as anal sex, oral sex, and so on aren't discussed in the school curricula. Smith, Kippax & Aggleton (2000) provided an convincing explanation for this. Most countries in the Asia Pacific, the Philippines included, focused upon the biology of sexual reproduction in their school curricula and not upon sexual practice in social context. Sex is positioned as risky and sex is equated with vaginal intercourse. There is no mention of anal or oral intercourse or other forms of sexual kissing and touching. The danger is that any sexual activity may be taken to be risky for HIV transmission or that only vaginal intercourse will be considered risky. This is because the whole field of 'sex' is implied to be vaginal intercourse, or is not defined^[18].

Interestingly, given the overall tests scores of the participants, subjected to analyses per item in the HIV-KQ-18, it can be concluded that the program intervention may work on similar population of low literacy adolescents. Perhaps, future program facilitators may focus on developing programs inclusively providing a comprehensive knowledge on HIV/AIDS transmission not just on the sexual transmission domain but also in terms of drug use, and fetal and mother transmission of the disease.

Table4. Paired sample test per participants

Reasons for not having a secondary education	n	Mean			t statistic	df	ρ
		Pre-test	Post-test	Difference			
High school dropout	5	13.80	22.40	-8.60	-4.692	4	.009*sig<0.05
Went to work	5	15.20	27.80	-12.60	-2.720	4	.053
Financial difficulties	6	17.50	25.83	-8.33	-2.449	5	.058
Home schooled	2	11.50	28.50	-17.00	-3.400	1	.182
Lack of interest	7	14.28	28.71	-14.42	-5.044	6	.002*sig<0.05

Illness/ medical treatment	3	18.33	28.00	-9.67	-2.156	2	.164
Distance of school is far from home	4	28.71	16.75	-11.25	-10.147	3	.002*sig<0.05
Others	5	13.00	25.00	-12.00	-3.914	4	.017*sig<0.05

a. * significant at $\alpha = .05$

Table 4 presents the paired sample test when grouped according to the reasons for not finishing secondary schooling. As gleaned from the table, there is an increase in the total scores of the participants in their post-test scores. Obviously, all the participants markedly changed their pre-test scores. However, only four groups were able to reach significant values of $\alpha = .05$. These were the high school dropouts ($p=.009$), students who stated they lack interest in pursuing secondary education ($p=.002$), those who were not able study in high school due to the far distance of school from home ($p= .002$), and students who had other reasons for not finishing high school ($p=0.17$).

Stemming from the result of the study is that four groups of participants may have gained more knowledge as compare to the other half. Perhaps, the capacity and motivation of students to learning HIV/AIDS and other health related topics using these methodologies differs substantially. Thus, the facilitator's ability to bring about these changes depends on the way health education is delivered in schools. This includes the frequency, relevancy and accuracy of the health information provided; the extent to which participative, skills-based teaching approaches are used to teach these topics; and the scope and sequence in which they are delivered^[9]. Thus, future research may dig deeper for these reasons.

As discussed above, three approaches were used in the program implementation: the informative, the interactive and the innovative approach. Upon observation, there was higher participation in the interactive and innovative approach. Included activities here were group games, modeling exercises like how to put a condom on and role plays. Conceivably, this might be due to the fact that actual learning is best than factual learning for these population. Similarly, Smith, Kippax, & Aggleton (2000) stated that developing knowledge, attitudes, and especially skills, using a variety of learning experiences, with an emphasis on participatory methods to create or maintain a healthy lifestyle is better than the traditional learning approach^[18]. Furthermore, Polit and Gillespie (2010) (as cited in Polit & Beck, 2012) suggested that encouraging participation as enjoyable as possible reduces burden in the intervention and data collection^[15]. Hence, for future reference, HIV/AIDS program might want to dwell on these approaches.

The education system is one of the most cost-effective systems through which to bring long-term behavior change in a population^[18]. However, the country considers explicit sexual talk to the youth to be inappropriate, especially in a country dominated church teachings^[11]. In general, as early as thirteen is regarded as the age appropriate time to begin to discuss sex in some detail. The fact remains that fewer students progresses to secondary school. As such, school based reproductive health education is only a part of the solution and needs to be supplemented with out-of-school program.

There is little information about HIV/AIDS and sexual health as it is delivered in Philippine schools. However, despite not having a formal curriculum about HIV/AIDS, it should not be assumed that not having a program means a lack of commitment to HIV/AIDS or sexual health education in the non-formal education. Culled from discussions with teachers and school head in the learning center, the researcher was informed that although their knowledge on HIV/AIDS is not that deep, teachers integrate sexual education on existing subjects, using traditional didactic teaching methods. Indeed, it may sometimes better to have one than nothing at all. Having said that, possibly a good policy will provide persuasive leverage to introduce or improve existing HIV/AIDS education. Furthermore, it is also worth mentioning the development of a program will only function if the school has the capacity to support it ^[24].

In the broader sense, it can be seen as a key limitation that the strength of existing data, is that the mode of delivery of the program may change in accordance with how subject matter is discussed and presented to other group of young adults. Secondly, no matter how good an educational program is, it does not automatically translate into good practice. Lastly, the tool used to measure the respondents' knowledge on HIV/AIDS cannot be considered a comprehensive tool to measure HIV/AIDS knowledge. Because the short version emphasizes measure on the sexual transmission ^[21], it does not assess comprehensively transmission by other vectors, such as needle sharing or blood products. Besides, some of these concepts were discussed and some are included in other sessions of the program intervention, it might have been better if the longer version of the HIV Knowledge Questionnaire was used to assess knowledge gain among this population.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The present study involves evaluation of an intervention program on the knowledge of students in the non-formal education on HIV/AIDS through the comparison of their pretest and post-test scores on the HIV-KQ-18 and when participants were grouped according to reasons for not being able to finish their secondary schooling. The profile of the participants was with the average age 18.19 years old, mostly male students, and weren't able to finish secondary schooling due to lack of interest and financial difficulties.

Results revealed that the participants were able gain knowledge on HIV/AIDS as evident in the increase of correct scores in their posttest evaluation on the HIV-KQ-18. Four items, despite these being included in the session's discussions and lectures, reached relatively marked changes in the scores, however, it has not reached significant levels. These concepts were the transmission of HIV to mother and child, transmission by coughing and sneezing, transmission by anal sex, and HIV testing. The reason for this is perhaps due to failure to understand these concepts and/or either this are not being taught in the school curricula.

Further, analysis revealed that four group of participants (high school dropouts, those who lack interest, those with far distance of school from home and students who had other reasons for not finishing high school) had reached significant changes in their overall posttest scores. Perhaps, the capacity and motivation of students to learning HIV/AIDS and other health

related topics using these methodologies differs substantially. However, conceivably, there was higher participation in the interactive and innovative approaches such as group games and activities, modeling exercises and role plays. Perhaps, future program developers may well on these approaches.

Since, there is little information about HIV/AIDS and sexual health delivery in the non-formal education system. Introducing and improving this HIV/AIDS education program may provide persuasive leverage to introduce these concepts among the youth. Thus, positive findings from the implementation and evaluation of the educational program may be tailored in many specific settings. Collaboration with other professional and organizations may help identify their responsibilities and present a coordinated action to improve the health and education outcomes of children.

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REFLECTIVE PRACTICE: POSSIBILITIES AND CHALLENGES

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to legitimize the possibility of implementing the concept of reflective practice in the Saudi Arabian educational system. Reflective practice is a western concept and it is not yet introduced to the education system in Saudi Arabia. In Saudi Arabia, teachers go to professional development workshops if they want, so it is not mandated. However, some teachers reported that they don't really get what they need to improve their practices in classrooms. Those workshops are disconnected to the daily life of teachers in schools and classes. Those workshops don't sound realistic for example a work shop for "smart reading" or "creative ideas to improve the classes". Teachers have challenges and face difficulties in teaching. These issues need to be addressed before we think about creative ideas to improve the classes or look for ways for smart reading. Teachers need support and guidance to improve themselves first in order to be able to improve their classes. Teachers need to have people who they trust, so they can talk openly about different issues they have. They need people who listen to them and give them critical, helpful and significant feedback. What teachers really need is to become reflective practitioners where they can reflect critically about their daily work tensions, conflicts, difficulties, problems and different obstacles. They need to reflect on their experiences to reach a deep understanding. This paper legitimizes the possibility of implementing the reflective practice in Saudi educational system. It also proves that nothing can prevent researchers from trying this concept with teachers according to Islam. It suggests introducing reflective practice for better teaching and learning improvement and for professional development with consideration to the Islamic religion and culture.

Keywords

Reflective Practice, Saudi Arabia, Teaching, Challenges

Introduction:

A- Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to legitimize the possibility of implementing the concept of reflective practice in the Saudi Arabian educational system.

B- Argument

Reflective practice is a western concept and it is not yet introduced to the education system in Saudi Arabia. In Saudi Arabia, teachers go to professional development workshops if they want, so it is not mandated. However, some teachers reported that they don't really get what

they need to improve their practices in classrooms. Those workshops are disconnected to the daily life of teachers in schools and classes. Those workshops don't sound realistic for example a workshop for "smart reading" or "creative ideas to improve the classes". I think teachers have challenges and face difficulties in teaching. These issues need to be addressed before we think about creative ideas to improve the classes or look for ways for smart reading. Teachers need support and guidance to improve themselves first in order to be able to improve their classes. Teachers need to have people who they trust, so they can talk openly about different issues they have. They need people who listen to them and give them critical, helpful and significant feedback.

I argue that teachers don't need workshops to improve themselves. They don't really need something to be imposed on them from a top down and authoritarian system. What they really need is to become reflective practitioners where they can reflect critically about their daily work tensions, conflicts, difficulties, problems and different obstacles. I think it is not enough to say that we learn from our experiences because this is not happening in the most cases as teachers need more than experiences. They need to reflect on those experiences to reach a deep understanding and answer questions such as why did the lesson I prepared for failed? How can I teach a certain concept in a very effective way? What do my students need and want? It is these and other questions that will lead to a change. Dewey said, "We don't learn from experience. We learn from reflecting on experience". Teachers need to question their practices and their values; their beliefs need to be critically engaged in a deep level of reflection which will help them improve themselves, their work and lives. If we are looking for professional development, we should start by ourselves and within our schools. We don't need something to be imposed on teachers from outside because outside authority may not fully understand what the teachers are experiencing.

C- Structure of the Paper

After introducing the purpose and the argument of this paper in the introduction section, the next section will be devoted to the literature review where it starts by going back to the history of the reflective practice and the pioneers in the research around this area. Then the paper moves toward the education in a few Islamic countries to look at literature of reflective practice in a different part of the world. After that, a brief summary about Saudi Arabian religion, culture, and

the education system in Saudi Arabia will be introduced. Then a conclusion will be drawn from the discussion of this paper.

Literature Review:

Reflective thinking in education was first introduced in the 1910s by the American philosopher John Dewey. He defined reflective thought as “active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it, and the further conclusions to which it tends” (Dewey, 1910, p.6).

Dewey (1933) focuses intensively on the development of reflective thinking. He believed that reflective thinking occurs when someone examines ideas many times in his mind with special consideration. He also claims that reflective thinking should be built on a continuous chain of ideas and “they [ideas] do not come and go in a medley” (p. 4). He argues that thinking itself does not imply reflection; thinking reflectively happens when the sequences of thinking reach the level of “intellectual force” which helps the thinker to believe or make sense of what he is thinking about. It is obvious from Dewey’s claim that reflective practice that involves critical thinking is one of the best ways of learning.

“It is almost impossible to come to a universally accepted definition of reflection because of the diverse meanings and purposes assigned to it” (Richardson, 2004, 431). In the 1980s, Schön expanded the concept of reflective practice by introducing different terminologies with explanations and case studies that embodied his theories. Reflective practice as suggested by Schön (1983) is the ability to reflect on action which leads to a continuous learning process. He considered reflective practice as one of the defining characteristics of professional practice. In 1983, he published the book called “The Reflective Practitioner” where he addressed the concept of reflective practice in different disciplines and professionals such as Engineering, Medicines, Laws and more with little discussion about the Education discipline. Later in 1987, he published another book called “ Educating the Reflective Practitioner: Toward a New Design for Teaching and Learning in the Professions” where he focused on the reflective practice in the education field and how applying it could enhance teaching and learning.

Schön introduced the concept of professional knowledge in the education discipline. He argues that “our knowing is in our action” (Schön, 1983, p.49). He claims that reflection can lead

practitioners to understand thoroughly their own tacit knowledge and then criticize it. Tacit knowledge represents actions, beliefs, feelings and thinking that practitioners are not aware of. Schön believed that by reflection, practitioners would be able to acknowledge their unconscious understanding which he identifies as knowing in action. For this reason, Schön introduced a type of reflection that can help practitioners be aware of their actions while they are doing them. Reflection- in-action enhances practitioners to develop an understanding of their actions, being able to criticize and improve them in the future. However, Schön admits that this type of reflection may interfere with action. He stated that “it may be dangerous” (p.277) in terms of the possibility of paralyzing our actions when we try to think. Consequently, he introduced another type of reflection called reflection on action. This type of reflection gives practitioners time to go back on their daily activities and think about them deeply. In addition, they will have the opportunity to decide on a suitable time for them to evaluate their own actions. In 1987, both of the above two discussed concepts of reflection were explained further and pronounced by Schön as a normal flow in life. Having the right type of reflection is believed to enhance practice and improve practitioners’ knowledge. As Schön suggested, all these different ways of reflection lead to professional development.

Boud, Keogh, & Walker (1985) identified three important points that we should keep in our minds. First, learners are the only ones who can reflect on their own experiences. In this case teachers can interfere to assist learners in various ways; however, they can only access the individuals’ thoughts that are revealed to them. As a result the learners are in total control. Second, reflection is pursued with intent, so it is goal directed reflection. “It is not idle meanderings or day-dreaming, but purposive activity directed towards a goal” (Boud, Keogh, & Walker, 1985, p.11). Third, the reflective process is very complicated and a complex process that involves feelings and cognition to be closely interrelated and interactive. Osterman (1990) indicates that two elements are important if individuals want to make a change; reflection and agency.

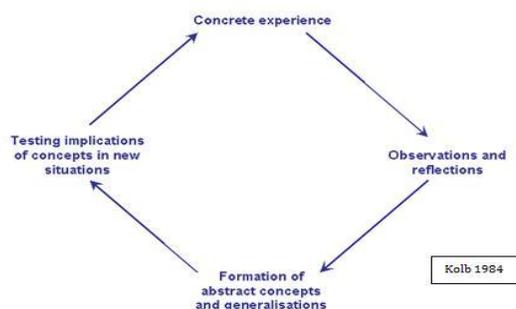
Through reflection, professionals develop ideas into action. Whether or not change occurs depends on whether or not people have ideas, and whether or not they experience a sense of agency or personal causality that enables them to become actively involved in the change process and to introduce new strategies within the classroom, the school, the district or the community. (Osterman, 1990, p.145)

Larrivee (2008) distinguished between three levels of reflections which are surface reflection, pedagogical reflection and critical reflection. For surface reflection, teachers focus on the methods and decisions they take to achieve predetermined goals. As a result, teachers focus mainly on the classroom practices. For the pedagogical reflection, teachers go beyond focusing only on their teaching methods and taking decisions in classroom as they reflect on educational goals and they pay attention to the connections between theoretical principles and practice. At the level of critical reflection which is the ultimate goal of educators, teachers reflect on “the moral and ethical implications and consequences of their classroom practices on students. Critical reflection involves examination of both personal and professional belief system” (Larrivee, 2008, p.90).

Self-reflection is an embedded dimension of critical reflection (Larrivee, 2005). According to Larrivee (2008), “self-reflection focuses on examining how one’s beliefs and values, expectations and assumptions, family imprinting, and cultural conditioning impact students and their learning” (p.90). Much of the literature regarding reflective practice struggles with how to move teachers from the surface level of reflection to be engaged in other more meaningful and beneficial levels of reflection for professional and personal development such as self-reflection, pedagogical reflection and critical reflection (Larrivee, 2008).

Considering reflection as an individual act where teachers reflect on their practices in isolation for personal growth is limited and there should be groups of peers who support and sustain each others’ growth by “ making their reflections public and available to critique” (Larrivee, 2008, p.95). Becoming a reflective community of practice is important for the professional learning. To form a reflective community of practice, teachers who participate in this community should value narrative, dialogue and uncovering assumptions (Allard, et al., 2007).

There are several models about reflective practice that were presented by different scholars in different field. Based on Dewey’s and Piaget research conducted in the 1970s, Kolb represented the model of experiential learning. It is known as Kolb learning cycle where teachers transform the information into knowledge. The way Kolb’s model works is



through reflecting on occurred experiences in a critical way. The critical reflection helps teachers gain a deep understanding of the experience they went through and what they encountered during that experience through drawing some theories about that experience. Then teachers apply their understanding of that experience to new situations in order to test it. By using this way, teachers use the knowledge they gained from previous experiences and build and rebuild on their knowledge (Kolb, 1984). From this explanation (see figure 1), it is clear that these four stages starts with experiencing, then reflecting and understanding which lead to theorizing and ends with applying or reapplying the new understanding to new different situations.

Figure 1: Kolb's Model of Experiential learning (1984)

Looking back to all the different theories and models that discuss reflective practice, the question that emerges to our minds is how to endorse critically reflective amongst teachers. In 2000, Larrivee discussed this issue in depth and she proposed a framework for conceptualizing developing a critically reflective teacher. To meet the demand of today's education and "meet the scope and intensity of the academic, social and emotional needs of today's students, those entering the teaching profession will need to find ways to create authentic learning communities by adjusting the power dynamics to turn power *over* into power *with* learners" (Larrivee, 2000, p. 293).

She believed that developing a critically reflective teacher involves having the ability to undergo critical inquiry and self-reflection. She defined critical inquiry as the "conscious consideration of the moral and ethical implications and consequences of classroom practices on students" (Larrivee, 2000p.294). On the other hand, self-reflection goes beyond critical inquiry "by adding to conscious consideration the dimension of deep examination of personal values and beliefs, embodied in the assumptions teachers make and the expectations they have for students" (Larrivee, 2000, p.294).

From the above discussion it is apparent that critical reflection involves “a deep exploration process that exposes unexamined beliefs, assumptions, and expectations and makes visible our personal reflexive loops” (Larrivee, 2000, p.296). Becoming a reflective practitioner is not a simple task as it involves questioning our assumptions, beliefs and to face different personal attitudes concerning human nature and human learning. Larrivee (2000) proposed three essential practices for becoming a reflective practitioner which are making time for solitary reflection, becoming a perpetual problem-solver and questioning the status quo. She suggested that teachers use self-reflective journals to ensure time is set aside for daily reflection.

There is a tendency toward using weblogs for reflective practice in education. “Popular second generation web-based “read and write” tools, such as social networking sites, folksonomies, wikis and weblogs, are regarded powerful tools for informal learning” (Wopereis, Sloep, & Poortman, 2010, 245). According to Wopereis, Sloep, & Poortman (2010), “weblogs allow for externalizing thinking processes and subsequent review, and thus offering rich opportunities for reflection and feedback” (p.245). The study was done in Netherlands to investigate the impact of using weblogs on reflective practice in apprenticeship in a teacher-training curriculum. The study concludes that weblogs are useful instruments for “supporting and promoting reflection on action in a formal educational setting” (Wopereis, Sloep, & Poortman, 2010, p.258). One interesting thing about the study is that student teachers reported that weblogs access should be limited to members of student groups because they consider safe learning environment more important than a global learning environment. It is clear from the findings that creating a safe online environment is essential for participants to feel comfortable to share their reflection with others.

Another study was conducted using blogs for reflective practice in two sport management programs - one in Australia and one in the UK (Sherry & Hann, 2012). This study also shows the importance and usefulness of blogs for reflection in action and reflection on action and collaboration. Using blogs was key for that learning experience by “providing a safe forum to communicate our thoughts, reflections and feelings in our own time, as needed. This level of reflection, engagement and interaction would not be possible if we had to wait until a “real-time” discussion” (Sherry & Hann, 2012, p.817). From the two different studies that were conducted to investigate the impact of using blogs as a tool to enhance professional learning through

reflective practice, both agreed that one of the significance of using blogs is to have immediate feedback rather than waiting for a gathering time to share reflection. Moreover, both studies emphasized the importance of having a safe environment for reflection (Wopereis, Sloep, & Poortman, 2010 ; Sherry & Hann, 2012).

Not much literature exists about reflective practice in Islamic and Arab countries. There is a lack of literature about reflective practice as a model of professional development for teaching and learning. “ Though reflective practice is now considered a significant component of teacher education, in Pakistan and most of the developing context, the development of reflective practice and the recognition that teachers need to be reflective practitioners is generally nonexistent” (Rarieya, 2005, p.285).

In a study conducted in Pakistan to implement a reflective practice in a Master teacher education program at the Aga Khan University- Institute for Educational Development, it was hard for students to reflect beyond the technical level as their reflections were mere descriptions of events. One obstacle which caused this technical reflection is a language problem. Those who didn't reflect to make meaning, restructure their learning and form their own knowledge weren't proficient in English and had inadequate skills in English (Rarieya, 2005, p.285).

However, the program showed development in students' learning and a noticeable progress during time which initiated the roots of reflective practitioner future teachers. As a result, the study suggested that reflective practice have “a part to play in teacher education in Pakistan and elsewhere for the basic reason that enables teachers to see possibilities in improving their practice” (Rarieya, 2005, p.292). Moreover, the study highlighted that since dialogue is essential and important in the reflection process, it is obvious that teachers need “opportunities to be inducted into this kind of professional discourse” (Rarieya, 2005, p.292).

Another study was conducted in one of the teacher education institutions in Tanzania to investigate the impact of introducing non-traditional teaching and learning methodologies and reflective practice. The aim of the program was to improve teachers' content knowledge. The result of the study shows that teachers hardly remember how the concept was introduced to them which indicate that teachers' lack of understanding of the meaning of the concept. This led to “misconceptions and confusion about the meaning, process and significance of reflective practice

and journal writing” (Otienoh, 2011, p.741). Consequently, teachers were unable to move from the descriptive level of writing their reflection to the deeper analytical level of reflection. As revealed by the study “this situation could have emerged due to a complex interplay of diverse problems: the way the concept was introduced to teachers; teachers’ lack of capacity to conceptualize it; and the language issue” (Otienoh, 2011, p.741).

A very interesting study was done in Ethiopia, a developing country, where in 2003 the Ethiopian Ministry of Education introduced what it called a “new teacher education system overhaul” (Birbirso, 2012). To achieve this, they implement reflective practice and journal writing in a pre-service EFL practicum. The result indicates both challenges and opportunities in that specific context. There was “an adequate level of intelligibility and steady improvements in their [EFL student teachers] composition and expression skills” (Birbirso, 2012, p.866). There was a language issue that made reflection hard; however, the researcher stated that:

They [EFL student teachers] must be provided with reflective tools and open and free conditions which enable them to see and use English as being connected in the whole of their practicum activities. Constrained or poor circumstances for the development of English skills cannot recursively constrain itself once reflective conditions are established for the EFL student teachers. (Birbirso, 2012, p.866)

Moreover, the study concluded by implications for policy makers to consider the interconnected between secondary school teaching and reflective practicum in teacher education. The study indicates that:

The modest reflective practices achieved in this study are only transferable to other contexts if, in general, teachers’ and teacher educators’ preferential rights of interpretation over their practices is inviolably accepted and addressed by the wider policy context, especially the political and freedom context. Schoolteachers must be allowed to design and implement their own lessons in conversation with the problematic materials of their situations, rather than be subjected to feed on and implement the static, centrally designed texts. (Birbirso, 2012, p.867)

Richardson (2004) states, “I believe that reflection may not be appropriate to use with Arab women trainee teachers” (p.431). This belief derived from Richardson’s observation in UAE in one of the female colleges for teacher’s preparation. She believed that UAE cultural values and beliefs prevented trainee teachers from reflection for professional development. To explain this more clearly, Richardson concluded from her observation that “Arab students prefer prescriptive learning environments where they are told exactly what to do and directed along a single path, thus the active learning and role of the teacher as facilitator often produces anxiety and disengagement amongst them” (Richardson, 2004, p.432). She further mentioned that the

way those trainees were educated for many years were in teacher-centered classes where their roles were to be passive learner. So how can we expect them to be reflective?

Richardson believed that even if the education in UAE encouraged the set up of tertiary educational institution based on a western curriculum “it is not unreasonable to suggest that Arab, Islamic beliefs and values of the society do not readily lend themselves to the transfer of western teacher education concepts and models” (Richardson, 2004, p.435). She concluded her article by recommending that curriculum designers should be aware of the cultural influences on such concept as reflective practice. This would help students in their understandings because of the relevancy of the curriculum to their culture (Richardson, 2004).

Discussion:

From the presented literature review, we can see that reflective practice has different definitions and meanings that depend on the context and the purpose of using it. The history of this concept shows clearly that it is a western concept and several studies conducted in different developing countries like Pakistan, Ethiopia and UAE to implement this concept in teacher education programs to prepare future reflective teachers. All the different studies reported challenges in introducing and implementing reflective practice in the new curriculum such as language issue, culture issue and understanding of the concept. Yet, reflective practice was not introduced to the Saudi Arabian educational system which is the main concern in this paper. In the next section, I will discuss several issues that may be seen by some people as obstacles to implement reflective practice in Saudi teaching context.

Saudi Arabia:

Before moving to the education system in Saudi Arabia, it is important to introduce the different factors that affect the life style of Saudis such as religion and culture. “Islam is undoubtedly the main factor responsible for shaping the Saudi culture” (Al-Shahri, 2002, p.133). The Islamic teachings and laws in Saudi Arabia are derived from two main sources; Qur’an and Sunnah. Qur’an is the holy book revealed to Allah’s last messenger and the Sunnah is sayings, deeds, and sanctions of the Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) (Al-Shahri, 2002, p.134). For Muslims, these two resources are the main references for any issue they would like to know in life. Islam is in all the daily communication between people, in their greetings, in their trades,

in their education and in their homes. Although people from different levels of education can read Qur'an and Sunnah, the interpretation of both of them for clarification is the duty of the learned scholars (Ulama). "A learned scholar can be any Muslim, of either gender, who receives formal teaching in the Arabic language and Islamic studies" (Al-Shahri, 2002, p.134).

"Saudis have a great deal of common cultural aspects with Arab and Muslims worldwide. However, the Saudi culture similar to every other culture is still unique in many ways" (Al-Shahri, 2002, p.137). "Cultural customs that deny women equality have become entrenched in the Muslim culture to the point where they are often accepted as Islamic rules. Yet many of the customs or rules adhered to today cannot be found in Islamic texts" (Hamdan, 2005, p.54). Some of these examples are the belief that woman shouldn't drive cars or that woman should not study law or engineering. Nothing in religion forbids women from driving or studying in any discipline (Hamdan, 2005).

Some people mixed Islam with conservative traditions to the extent they merged both together in a way that the traditions became superior and were followed by people rather than Islamic texts and values. Learning is an important part of Islam and education is encouraged in Islam for men and women. As a result, there is nothing in Islam says that we shouldn't reflect or think. Controversially, Islam support reflection on our deeds and encourage Muslims to be thoughtful.

In Islam there are a many verses (ayat) from the holy Qur'an and from the Sunnah that encouraged Muslims to learn. Islam is a religion that indeed encouraged Muslims to think, to reflect, to have reason, to listen to others and to give thoughts. Here are several verses (ayat) from Qur'an that supports this statement.

قال الله تعالى "وجادلهم بالتي هي أحسن" سورة النحل آية رقم (125)

The holy Qur'an says, "and argues with them in a way that is best" (surah Alnahl, ayah 125).

قال الله تعالى "إن في ذلك لآية لقوم يسمعون" سورة النحل آية رقم (65)

The holy Qur'an says, "Indeed in that is a sign for a people who listen" (surah Alnahl s ayah 65).

قال الله تعالى "إن في ذلك لآية لقوم يعقلون" سورة النحل آية رقم (67)

The holy Qur'an says, "Indeed in that is a sign for a people who reason" (surah Alnahl s, ayah 67).

قال الله تعالى "إن في ذلك لآية لقوم يتفكرون" سورة النحل آية رقم (69)

The holy Qur'an says, "Indeed in that is a sign for a people who give thought" (surah Alnahl, ayah 69).

قال الله تعالى "أَلَمْ يَسْئَلِي الَّذِينَ يَعْلَمُونَ وَالَّذِينَ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ إِنَّمَا يَتَذَكَّرُ أُولُو الْأَلْبَابِ" سورة الزمر آية رقم (9)

The holy Qur'an says, "Can you put on equal footing those who are learned with those who are not learned?" (surah Az-zumar, ayah 9).

Moreover, in Sunnah, there is a lot of Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) sayings that prove the importance of learning.

قال رسول الله ﷺ "طَلَبُ الْعِلْمِ فَرِيضَةٌ عَلَى كُلِّ مُسْلِمٍ وَمُسْلِمَةٍ"

Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) said "Seeking of knowledge is an obligation upon every Muslim, be it a man or a woman".

قال رسول الله ﷺ "مَنْ خَرَجَ فِي طَلَبِ الْعِلْمِ فَهُوَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ حَتَّى يَرْجِعَ"

Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) said "The person who goes forth in search of knowledge is striving hard in the way of God; until he returns".

From the above Islamic verses from Qur'an and Sunnah, it is concluded that we can improve learning and introduce the concept of reflective practice in Saudi Arabia because nothing forbids us as Muslims from doing so. After discussing religion and culture in Saudi Arabia, the discussion will move to the education system in this country.

Education System in Saudi Arabia:

The education system in Saudi Arabia is based on Islamic religion and Saudi culture. All the textbooks, schools design and the way curriculums delivered to students are shaped to serve specific Islamic context. In Saudi Arabia, girls and boys studied in separated schools. Male teachers teach boys and female teachers teach girls. This segregation is derived from Islamic values. There is a focus in the education system on religious subjects and Arabic language as

both take a large portion of the weekly classes in schools. Moreover, it is required from the Ministry of Education that teachers of other subjects like Science, History and Geography to connect their lesson with Islamic religion whenever is possible.

Classes in Saudi Arabia are teacher-centered rather than learner-centered. During the class, the teacher is the main figure inside the classroom. In this kind of education, the teacher is a lecturer, the sole source of knowledge and the absolute leader of the learning process, while the students' only role is to receive and repeat. In this case, students are passive figures in the classroom and unable to reach the phase of production. Accordingly, it becomes difficult for the students to practice what they learn, to ask questions and to negotiate meanings. Moreover, the main stream of such classes focuses on individual work and underestimates the effectiveness of group work.

In such a context where students didn't learn how to think critically and then became teachers, I think it will be hard to train them to be critically reflective teachers because those teachers were products of rote learning which depends mainly on recitation and memorization. However, I believe that by training and practicing step by step, teachers would be able to move to the point where they can think critically especially if they get support from each other. I believe so because I am a product of the Saudi context where I learned in teacher-centered classes and rote-learning context but after trying to train myself to be critically reflective, I succeeded. Consequently, we can't say Saudi teachers can't be critically reflective teachers because we didn't try yet and there is no evidence that says they can't. Moreover, we can't generalize by saying all student-centered classes are better than teacher-centered classes.

Conclusion:

After reading several articles, looking at different resources, relating it back to my personal knowledge and experiences and further investigating the Saudi context, I think that what we need is tailoring reflective practice to fit the Saudi context. Although reflective practice is a western concept, it does not mean that we take it for granted as it is because what works in a context doesn't necessary works at another context similarly.

What we can do is take the main idea of this concept and the main function of it and add what we think is best to make it fit in our religion, culture and needs. This is especially true as

reflective practice has no agreed definition and it could be created according to our situation, context and purpose. For example, in Saudi there is no mix education, so if we would like to implement the reflective practice model, we can do a female teacher reflective community and another separate male teacher reflective community. Furthermore, our reflection should not contradict with the real Islamic beliefs that we have from Qur'an and Sunnah. Moreover, if the English language could be an obstacle in applying reflective practice as other studies indicated in some developing countries where English is not the first language, we don't have to ask teachers to reflect in English. They can reflect in Arabic because the main aim of reflective practice is to improve teaching and learning not to improve English language.

To conclude, this paper legitimizes the possibility of implementing the reflective practice in Saudi educational system. It also proves that nothing can prevent researchers from trying this concept with teachers according to Islam. It suggests introducing reflective practice for better teaching and learning improvement and for professional development with consideration to the Islam and culture.

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FAMILY VALUES, LIVELIHOOD RESOURCES AND PRACTICES OF THE AETAS IN BAYTAN

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ABSTRACT

This study was conducted in Botolan, Zambales, Philippines. It provides a basis for designing an appropriate development program for, by and of the Aetas. It described the family values, livelihood resources and practices that the Aetas kept after the Mt. Pinatubo eruption; the related problems that they are encountering; and the implications of these concepts on the sustainability, responsiveness and impact of the development programs proposed for the Aeta communities. Data were gathered through ocular surveys and conversations/ interviews with key informants in three Aeta communities in Botolan, Zambales—Villar, Bucao and Maguisguis—located in Central Luzon, Philippines. Key informants are prominent participants in the communities. Narratives from the interviews and conversations were later theme-analyzed with pictures from the ocular surveys. Residents of the three communities maintained close family ties, remained industrious, God fearing, determined, patient and peace-loving. They value education for economic reasons and cultural preservation. They believe in keeping their extensive and fertile ancestral lands being their only home. They have active local government officials. At the age of 10, the children are already exposed to farm and house chores. Upland farming is a major source of livelihood followed by hunting, fishing, gathering wild banana blossoms and charcoal production. Usual problems of the families include low literacy level, inadequate health services; early marriage among the youth; deterrent floods on rainy seasons; lack of capital; distant farm to market roads; seasonal work opportunities and more. Hence, to be sustainable, development programs designed for the Aetas must be client-driven being drawn with their participation, primarily considering their interests, skills, preferred habitation and needs in order to create an impact.

Keywords: Aeta, family values, education, livelihood, extension

INTRODUCTION

Before the Mt. Pinatubo eruption in 1991, the Aetas of Botolan, Zambales, Philippines are seen occupying sitios Poonbato, Moraza, San Juan, Maguisguis and Cabatuan (de Jesus, 1990). During the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo, the Aetas of Baytan moved down to safer and more habitable grounds. Several resettlement areas were designated in the province for the fleeing Pinatubo victims to encamp and settle permanently if they wanted to but most of the victims from Baytan stayed in the nearby resettlement areas of Loob Bunga and Itangliw (Baquilan) while others joined their relatives in Bucao. The choice of where to set camp depended on where most of their family group members were. Hence, the sitios of Loob Bunga and Baquilan resettlement areas were named after the original barangays of the occupants.

Despite the varied government and non-government organizations that have taken interest in doing extension activities in the resettlement areas of Baquilan and Loob-Bunga, families in the two barangays have returned to regain their farms in Baytan to somehow recover from their losses during the Mt. Pinatubo and break away from poverty. It is assumed that the will to make one's life better is rooted on a person's beliefs about family, livelihood and education. This explains the focus of this study which is to derive information on these concepts to base the design of a development program for the Aetas of Baytan that could be sustained and create a significant change on their socio-economic status.

Specifically, this study intended to determine the family values and practices that the Aetas kept after the Mt. Pinatubo eruption, the livelihood, community resources and practices that they now engage in as well as identify their problems in relation to family, livelihood and education.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The study was conducted by observing the way of life in three resettlement sites of Botolan – Bucao, Loob Bunga and Baquilan—and Barangay Maguisguis which is located at the center of *Baytan*. *Baytan* is a name referring to the 11 eastern barangays of Botolan (Figure 1) where most of the Aetas lived even before the eruption of the Mt. Pinatubo.

Residents of Brgy. Maguisguis maintain houses in the resettlement sites – Loob Bunga, Baquilan and Bucao in Botolan, Zambales—to ensure them a place to stay during the rainy season when the river is not passable. Aetas in this area are estimated to be around 4596 households or 14864 individuals distributed in the 14 Aeta barangays as recognized by the National Commission on Indigenous People (NCIP, 2016).

The study used conversations with 36 residents and interviewed five (5) key informants. Notes and pictures were taken during field observations which were theme analyzed. The key informants composed of resident upland farmers and barangay officials who were visited on arranged days.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results include a description of the family values and practices kept by the Aetas in the area years after the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo; their livelihood, community resources and practices; and the problems they encountered in relation to family, education and livelihood.

Family Values and Practices

The Aetas dwell in clusters and tried to survive the volcanic disaster by helping one another. They kept their family values and traditions that were their guide them through their difficult life after Pinatubo eruption. (Brosius in Seitz, 1998; Shimizu, 1989 in Gaillard, 2006).

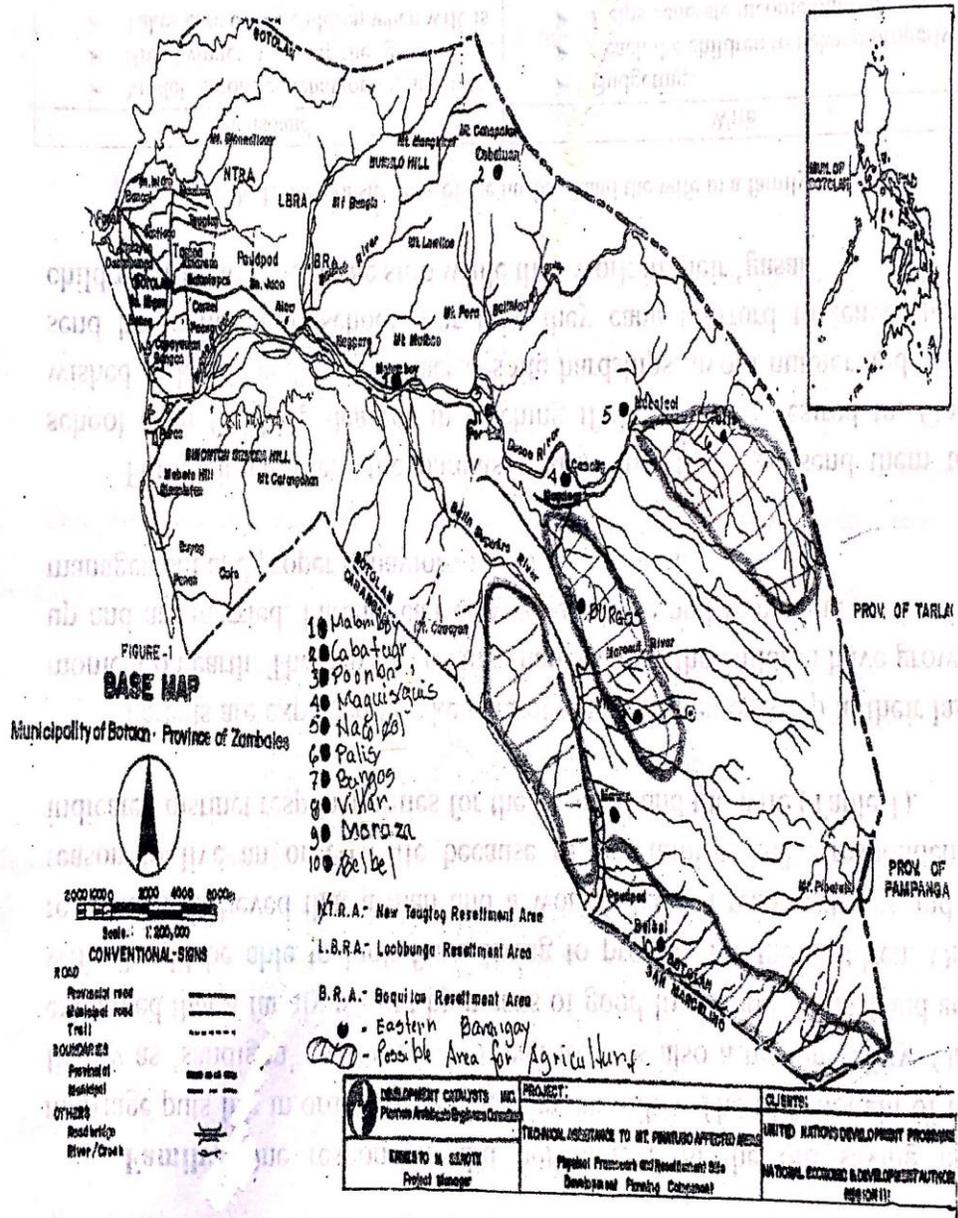


Figure 1. Map of Botolan, Zambales.

Family Values. The Aetas believe that they survived the Mt. Pinatubo disaster by *helping one another, being industrious, people-oriented, peaceful, holding on to God* (kapit sa Diyos), *being patient* (matiyaga) and *determination* (holding on to dreams). They believed that praying and *sharing one's blessings* (resources) made life easier. *Thriftiness and the wise use of resources* was also commended. *Saving* for the rainy day is considered a good practice and so was *honesty*. Having *foresight* is also considered advantageous and *investing* on work animals used in one's trade is important.

It was considered a responsibility to feed family members and to train children not to quarrel with one another. Children's needs must be prioritized. Teaching them to go to church and discipline is good for them. Getting married and having children to accompany them in their old age was considered wise. Husbands and wives maybe separated but must maintain close ties with her children. They must plan and finance their farm to help one another at times of need. Siblings must support one another in finishing their studies. They believe that husbands and wives must share the burden of keeping peace at home.

Family occasions like regular dinner on Saturday nights is looked forward to. This is practiced by a brood that agreed not to divide the land (10 hectares) they inherit from their parents so as to keep them intact. The residents believe that the family is the 'sandigan' or someone to lean to, it is also a responsibility. One explained that a family is built by means of good livelihood. Parents must provide for the needs of their children. A family is a reason for a man and a woman to live an orderly life. The respondents indicated distinct responsibilities for the husband and the wife (Table 1).

Table 1. Responsibilities of the husband and the wife in a family

Husband	Wife
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Model of correct behavior among sons ➤ Breadwinner; works in the 'gasak' ➤ Bring home products that could be sold in the market for income ➤ Takes care of the children when wife is away ➤ Tending to animals ➤ Teaching sons how to work on the 'gasak' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Budgeting and procurement of basic necessities ➤ Teach the children to behave properly ➤ Helps generate income in the gasak ➤ Look after food, health of the family and education of children ➤ Provide enlightenment to husband and children.

For their children to be educated, they believed, they need to have money and employment. They need to be able to buy food and clothes. If resources proved to be short of the need, most feel they can run to their benefactors– the Mayor, the Director of ONCC– and their neighbors and relatives for help. Around them are neighbors, who, they say camp together mainly to help one another.

The findings explained the foundation of the family groupings observed among the Aetas by Shimizu (1989) and Seitz, (1998). It is the family that strengthened their will to survive the difficult life they went through after the volcanic disaster. Their determination pushed them to hold unto other values like industry, thriftiness and foresight.

Dwelling and settling preferences. The families in Maguisguis live in clusters. They have houses made of indigenous materials with one room for sleeping, a receiving room . It has a kitchen for cooking and eating at the back roofed by an overhang of the roofing in the main area of the house. There are no appliances.

They have built more durable houses in the resettlement areas to provide shelter for their studying children on rainy days. Houses in the resettlement sites have two or more sleeping

rooms, a comfort room, kitchen and receiving rooms. Those who can afford also bought the usual appliances—televisions, electric fan, cassette tape recorder for music. Often there is also a dresser and china cabinet because it is used as a divider to separate the kitchen from the main part of the house.

Despite the stony yards of Bucao, the families in the encampment strove to put things in order. They fenced their yards and arranged the stones into banks or lines to clear possible planting areas. They have planted bananas and root crops all over the place. The women of the community started their day by sweeping the yards and tending their kitchens.

Asked about their preferred place to settle, the younger participants chose to stay in the resettlement area because their children have to go to school and their families also now live in the resettlement. It is also near stores and markets. One participant considered the possibility of finding employment in other places later.

Some people who moved to the resettlement areas have not returned to Baytan due to health and livelihood reasons. They complained about the distance of the trek which takes five to eight hours. Yet many have returned for the simple life and ready source of food as well as the familiar environment and wide space.

Traditional celebrations and traditional practices. The Aeta have developed a way of conducting certain activities in their lives like the fiesta, Christmas, weddings, funerals and giving birth. Fiesta Poonbato is celebrated on the third week of January every year. It has become a big event for the Aetas because the celebrated icon is known to have been found by an Aeta man and brought it to the Aglipayan Church in the area during the Spanish regime. It is a time of merriment and trading for the Aetas. They prepare food for relatives and friends coming from Baytan and other far away places.

Christmas is celebrated from the 24th to the 26th of December in much the same manner as the 'fiestas'. This is the time for the family reunions and celebrations that the Aetas in Loob Bunga get ready for since classes are off and offices take long weekends. Gift giving, singing, dancing and dining are the activities on this occasion.

Weddings are done in several ways—the '*kahal bukid*', the '*trahe de boda*' and the *mass wedding*. The '*kahal bukid*' is done in far villages where the priest judge or mayor cannot go. It is officiated by the chieftain of the village and celebrated with gift giving, dancing and dining. The '*trahe de boda*' wedding is a church wedding where the bride uses a wedding gown to get married. It is officiated by a priest and held in the church. The *mass wedding* is when several pairs get married in one occasion. This is often organized by the Born Again Christian Church twice a year.

Weddings are preceded by a '*pamanhikan*' and the '*pahungao*'. A *pamanhikan* is a meeting of elders from the families of the bride and the groom to set and plan the celebration. *Pahungao* is the amount of money or kind (hog or carabao, milled rice) that is given to the bride's parents in advance to prepare for the celebration.

Giving birth. Women give birth with the help of a 'hilot' or a cultural midwife. Mothers assisted by a 'hilot' cannot take a bath in 9 days and is given care of daily massage during the period. Neither should a woman with menstrual flow take a bath in three days to prevent the flow from stopping. **Birth control** is seldom practiced because medicines are not available in the health center or some partners may have ailments that can be complicated by the use of birth control drugs.

Funerals are sometimes conducted using the indigenous practice of plastering leaves of 'tebbeg' (fig tree) over the torso of the dead and putting a pair of scissors over the navel to prevent it from opening up. This last for three days--long enough to bury the dead without needing chloroform. The dead should be positioned in such a way that the head goes out first when leaving the house for the last time.

Importance of education. Education is understood to be the attainment of a degree. A degree in teaching is most respected because they believed that there can be no lawyers and doctors without teachers.

Most of the residents went to school. The older residents finished Grade II to Grade V. The younger residents have attended and finished high school. Others have attended college but were not able to finish due to inadequate financial support. The number of young residents who are finishing diploma and degree courses are increasing. Most students in Maguigay are accessing four schools offering secondary and tertiary curricula, namely: Ramon Magsaysay Technological University (RMTU)-Botolan, the Botolan Community College and the Loob Bunga High School.

Education is considered “good” when it teaches people to become good citizens as well as widen the horizons of a person. All of the respondents believed that one learns only by going to school. People can learn with experiences but more skills are learned at school because the teacher explains how it is done and how it affects other things. They feel that it is important to go to school and receive the certificate so that they can get employment anywhere. They considered the lessons they derived from their schooling important because of what it contributes to their livelihood. These lessons are indicated in Table 2.

Table 2. Important lessons/ skills derived from schooling and their uses

Lessons/ skills	Uses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Reading and writing ➤ Higher level of learning; deeper knowledge ➤ Numeracy (counting) ➤ Handicrafts/carpentry ➤ Pakikipagkapwa (being considerate to others) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Used in vending ➤ More means of livelihood can be thought of ➤ Business ➤ Means of livelihood ➤ Serving the people

The parents, in their youth, have stopped going to school for reasons like parents’ death, embarrassment being then a grown-up during peace time, needs to work to help support a family or have gotten married

Everyone is apprehensive of going back to school now because of their demanding responsibilities as parents. Trainings on site, however, are welcome. Leaving the children to attend trainings in far places requires a lot of sacrifice from the family.

They believe they can only send their children to schools near them with the course offerings that their interested children desired because it is what they can afford. For secondary levels, they have two options: RMTU- Botolan Campus (formerly Western Luzon Agricultural College) and Botolan High School. RMTU was described to be with strict standards that it will be good to send children there so that they will learn. RMTU and Botolan High are both public schools and, low costing.

A participant claims that 50% of the Aetas of her age living in the resettlement areas have gone to college. The students are enrolled in degree programs like education, engineering, agriculture and information technology. Some are now working in areas like agriculture, education, health and office management.

The way the locals valued education is reflective of the observations of Parungao (2011) as well as that of Estacio and Mark (2007). The residents placed premium values on a person’s finishing a degree. This is advantageous to their development as they will strive to send their children to school despite their worry that if educated, their children may no longer return to Baytan.

Livelihood, Community Resources and Practices

Livelihood sources and practices of people are moderated by their socio-economic and demographic characteristics (Maslow, 1948). While the families of Brgy. Maguisguis are independent households, they are found living in groups where they establish their ‘*gasaks*’ or swidden farm. The government and non-government donors have set communal facilities like water pumps and schools so that all member of the community may be benefited. Cooperative maintenance is also intended.

Characteristics of the Maguisguis Households. Table 3 shows the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of families in Maguisguis. The family heads are 22 to 62 years old with educational attainments ranging from Grade 2 to post-secondary level exposures. More of the older respondents had lower educational attainment than the younger ones. They derive their incomes mainly from farming and gathering forest products. Families are rather large in sizes with two to 11 members.

Table 3. The socio-economic and demographic traits of the families

Variable	Trait
Age of Family Heads	22 to 62 years old
Educational Attainment	Most of the heads of families went to Grade school but completed only the 2 nd or 3 rd Grade. The younger generation have attended high school and college but did not finish.
Source of Income	All residents are involved in farming, either upland or lowland. Additional sources of income engaged in are

	'pamumuso', hunting, vending, charcoal production, gathering medicinal materials, gathering cogon, 'nakikitrabaho' (short term labor).
No. of Children	1 to 8 children
Household Size	2 to 11 members
Location of Rainy Day House	Itangliw (Baquilan), Loob Bunga, Bucao

Livelihood Sources and Practices. Baytan folks are dependent on the mountain and the rivers for food, fiber and housing materials even products to sell for cash. Livelihood sources of families would be any or a combination of upland farming, lowland farming, root crop production, 'pamumuso' or gathering banana blossoms, hunting, fruit production, vending, charcoal production, gathering medicinal materials and short period labor (Table 4).

Upland rice and vegetables are produced in the 'gasak' on rainy days. Fish mollusks and shells are caught from the river throughout the year. Low land rice and vegetables farming is set when the rain becomes intermittent and the water on the rivers subside. This coincides with the planting of root crops upland.

In the Baytan area, the residents would engage in other income generating activities while waiting for the upland rice to ripen. Some entrepreneurs engage in pooling products in the village to be sold to 'suki' or arranged buyers in Baquilan. Others gather banana blossoms (pusong saging), make charcoal, work for hire or go into the forest to hunt or gather products that can be sold in the market.

Table 4. Summary of estimated profits from income sources in Baytan

Source	Produce (Income)	Expenses	Profit
Rice Farming			
a) Upland Rice (2 cav seeds)	30 cav* @ P300/cav = P9000.00	P2000.00	P7000.00
b) Lowland Rice (3/4 ha)	40 cav* @ P300/cav = P12000.00	P5000.00	P7000.00
Root Crops			
a) Gabi (.5ha)	20 sacks @ 50kgs/sack @ P15/kg = P15000.00	P1000.00	14000.00
b) Sweet Potato (.3 ha)	10 sacks @ 50kgs/sack @ P10/kg = P5000.00	P500.00	4500.00
c) Cassava (.25 ha)	10 sacks @ 50kgs/sack @ P10/kg = P5000.00	P500.00	4500.00
d) Ginger (.15ha)	5 sacks @ 70kgs /sack @ P30/kg = P10500.00	P1000.00	9500.00
Pamumuso (Banana blossoms)	2 sacks @ 80kgs/sack @ P100/10kgs = P1600.00	-	P1600.00
Charcoal Production	20 sacks @ P50/sack	-	P1000.00
Fruit Production			
a) Mango (50 trees)	490 crates @ 24kgs/ crate @ P30/kg = P36750.00	-	P36750.00
b) Banana	5 sacks @ 40kgs/ sack @ P60/ kg = P12000.00	P500.00	P11500.00
Hunting*	Alligator (big) = P150.00 Wild cat = P100.00 Wild pig = P500.00 Deer (50kg @ P100 / kg = P1500		

Vending	-	-	P2000.00
Gathering leaves and Grasses	Banaba leaves = P20/kg Lagundi = P25/kg Sambong = P20/kg Mangga = P15/kg Guava = P15/kg Guyabano = P15/kg Banana leaves = P25/kg Cogon = P100/ bundle		
Short-Period Labor (Washing clothes, House cleaning, Massage, Carpentry, Child care, Care giving)	P150 to P200/day		

* For family consumption.

** Minimum net profit for one market day.

“**Gasak**” Farming. ‘Gasak’ practice is simple and rather crude but it is the main source of livelihood among the locals. The residents in Maguisguis are using around a hectare of public forestland per family for agricultural activities. Here they raise their food and gather their firewood, produce their charcoal, raise their animals or set traps for wild games for the night’s broth. They build a shanty to pass the night or take a rest after a tedious job. A flat stone is a bed during warm nights.

A ‘gasak’ is a relatively flat, rolling or inclined fertile space for vegetables, bananas and rice or an area full of boulders planted with ipil-ipil grown for firewood (‘rahitas’) when they are already wrist-size. It can be so dry in summer that nothing can survive.

Gasak farming procedure. **Gasak farming** involves 10 steps as shown in Table 5. These are as follows (Cabalic and Romualdo interview, 2016):

Table 5. Sequence of farming activities in the ‘gasak’

Farming Activities	MONTHS											
	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J
1. Identification of the ‘gasak’.	→											
2. Seeking permission to use the land.		→										
3. Clearing & establishment of fire breaks/ burning of debris			→									
4. Planting of palay and vegetables				→								
5. Weeding						→						
6. Waiting for the palay to fruit and ripen							→					
7. Thanksgiving								→				

Vending starts in August when products are pooled from the villagers who only have small amounts of produce to sell. These could be 'puso', cassava, sweet potatoes, gabi, vegetables (string beans, tomatoes, eggplants, okra, etc. Ferrying is done every 3 days or when buyers contact them for orders. Products are transported by carabao and cart called 'bagon'. Accumulated merchandise should not be less than P2000 worth to overcome expenses and still derive profit.

'Namumuso' or the gathering of banana blossoms is another means of generating income when food or supplies while waiting for the crops to be harvested. 'Puso' are gathered on Wednesdays and will be brought to market on Saturday. A kilo of 'puso' is sold from P5/kg in June to August and picks up from P7 to P10/kg from September to April. A villager could gather and sell two to 20 sacks a time. In the village, a sack would be bought by the market vendor at a lower price but when brought to Baquilan port it will be sold at P50 to P100/ 10-kg clean packs depending on the current price set by the buyers from Bulacan and Pampanga. One sack is 80 kilos and would be sold around P500 to P800 when cleaned and packed.

Hunting is done three times a month by the farmer to provide food for the family while waiting for the harvesting of the rice crop. Wild chickens (labuyo or manok dikot) are trapped and, so are alligators (barak), lamiran (wild cat or alamid), wild pig (baboy ramo) and deer (usa). Nets (lawan or lambat) are used to catch the bigger animals. They could be sold for prices as: Alligator – P150; Wild cat – P100; Wild pig – P500; Deer – P100 to P150/kg at 50kgs per caught animal.

Charcoal production is a prominent source of income but this is banned by the DENR/Bureau of Forest Development. However, this cannot be stopped due to the lack of alternative source of livelihood before crops are harvested. Settlers in Bucao and Baquilan with available cash are also buying charcoal and selling to passers-by at a higher price. These are just stocked under trees along the road for ready supply.

Gathering leaves of trees, shrubs and grasses is practiced by women in the resettlement areas and Maguisguis upon orders from buyers. *Banaba* is P20 per kilo dried leaves, *lagundi* is P25/kg, *mango* is P15/kg, *guava* is P15/kg, *guyabano*, P15/kg and *sambong* is P20/ kg. Knowledge of these can be used to cut down on medical expenses in the family.

Work for Hire. Some residents in the resettlement areas even in Baytan offered themselves for short period labor. They get paid for the day from P150 to P200 per day. They could be as planters, plowers or weeders in a nearby *gasak* or project. Some for a massage because they are trained 'hilot' by the Department of Health. Others for carpentry work. Still others for housework like washing/ ironing clothes, taking care of children and the sick or cleaning house and gardening.

Community Resources in the Barangay. Botolan is composed of 31 barangays and 11 of these are of the Aytas. These 11 barangays have always been referred to as 'Baytan' which means 'eastern'. Facilitating the acquisition of titles for these barangays is the mandate of the National Commission of Indigenous People (NCIP).

The barangays in *Baytan* are grouped according to three land ownership status: the *convergence barangays* (Villar, Burgos, Moraza and Belbel), the *titled barangays* (Poon Bato, Owaog-Nibloc, and Malomboy-Tumangan) and the *barangays for titling* (Maguisguis, Nacolcol, Palis and Cabatuan).

The convergence barangays are given a development support by the government after the title and other requirement for the communal land property have been complied. The titled barangays are in the process of complying with the requirements of a convergence barangay while the barangays for titling have just been subjected to cadastral survey.

The ancestral lots are awarded as communal property to the residents whose ancestors have long ago stayed and tilled the lands. Lands within the ancestral domain are now open for direct application to the Aetas with or without the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT).

The Tribal Government. The Indigenous People’s Right Act (IPRA) (R.A. 8371) implies government autonomy among the Aeta tribes. Aetas are ruled by customary law (‘katutubong pamamaraan’) while the barangay is ruled by the law of the land (constitution). Just after the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo, coordinators were chosen to facilitate the organizing and distribution of assistance from the government. The coordinators were then addressed as *chieftains*. Due to leadership required of a chieftain, the tribes, with the assistance of the National Commission of Indigenous People (NCIP) decided to elect their chieftains instead of just being chosen by government representatives.

In the tribal communities, the Chieftain provides leadership. Their charismatic way of handling the residents keep the place relatively peaceful. With the Chieftain in the Tribal Council (TC) are a Vice-Chieftain, Secretary, Treasurer, Auditor and six Councils of the community, namely: education, membership, livelihood, health, mission and finance (Figure 2).

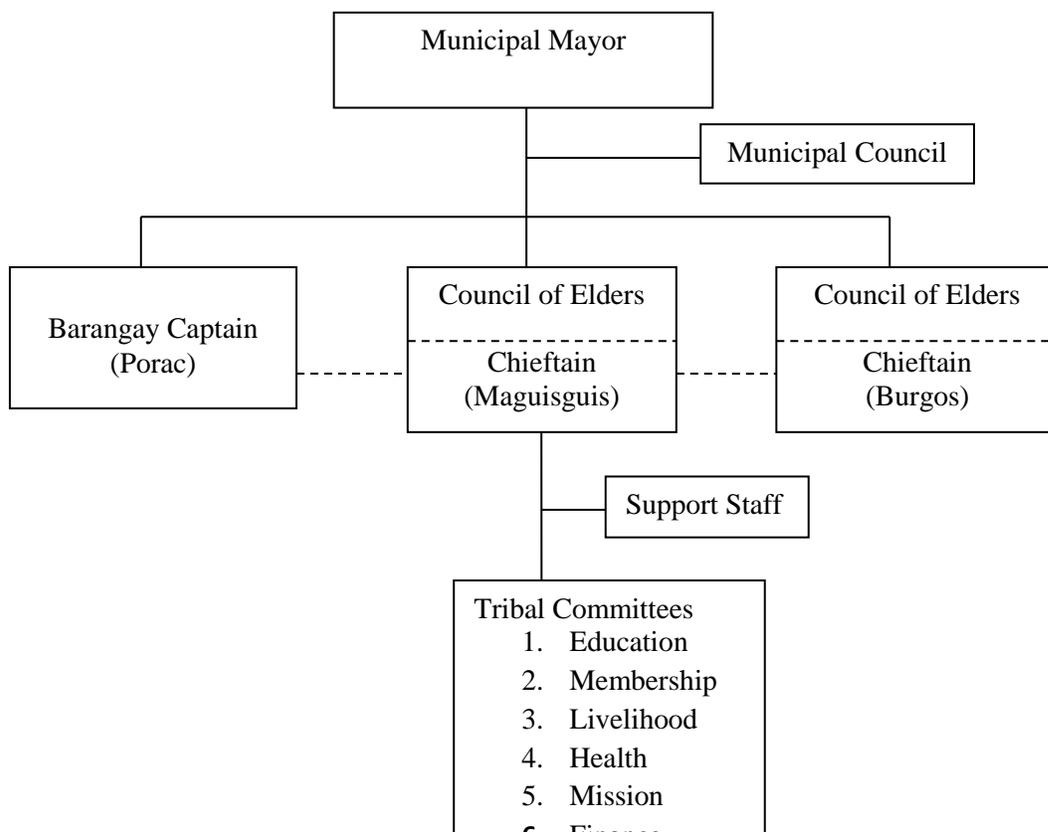


Figure 2. The Tribal Council in the Municipal Government Umbrella—a model.

Presently, the tribes of the natives are directly under the *Municipal Mayor* and are considered in equal footing with the barangays. The *Chieftain* is the leader of an Aeta tribe or barangay. Thus, he is directly supervised by the Municipal Mayor. Issues and concerns among members of the barangay are decided upon by the *Tribal Council* with the guidance of the *Council of Elders*. Concerns involving non-Aeta ('unat') members of the community, however, must be settled with the Barangay Captain where the involved party resides. Hence, the dotted lines between the Tribal Chieftain and the Barangay Captain.

Schools and Scholarships. Since 1992, the Department of Education has established 14 elementary and five secondary schools in the Baytan area and the resettlement sites. One elementary school was donated by Entrepreneur Volunteer Assistance Charity Foundation Incorporated (EVACFI) (Table 6). The curriculum offerings range from Kindergarten to Grade 10. Maguisguis Elementary School, on the other hand, has just passed its compliance requirements to be converted in to an integrated school.

Table 6. Schools in Baytan area.

Level/ School	Year Established	Grade Level
Elementary		
Poon Bato Elem. School	2014	Kinder to Grade IV
Cabatuan Elem. School	1998	-do-
Maguisguis Elem. School	2011	-do-
Nacolcol Elem. School*	2006	-do-
Burgos Elem. School	2012	Kinder to Grade III
Villar Elem. School	2010	Kinder to Grade VI
Palis Elem. School	2015	Kinder to Grade V
Moraza Elem. School	2015	Kinder
Belbel Elem. School	2015	Kinder
Loob Bunga 1 Elem School	1992	Kinder to Grade VI
Loob Bunga 2 Elem School	1992	-do-
Loob Bunga 3 Elem School	1992	-do-
Bihawo Elem. School	1992	-do-
Baquilan Resettlement (BRS) 1 Elem. School		-do-
BRS 2 Elem. School	1992	-do-
	2011	-do-
Secondary		
Baquilan High School	1994	Grade 7 – Grade 10
Loob Bunga High School	1994	-do-
Maguisguis Integrated School	2015	Grade 7 to Grade 9
Dojoc Integrated School	2012	-do-
LAKAS Integrated School	2014	Grade 7 to 10

* Nacolcol Elem. School is donated by the EVAF. Source: NCIP, 2016.

Scholarships for tertiary education were also made available to the Aeta youth by the Commission on Higher Education (CHED), NCIP and the EVACFI which started during SY2010-2011. As of SY 2014-2015, 65 recipients of NCIP granted scholarships have graduated and are now employed in private or government agencies. Some have passed their licensure examinations while others have been elected to government offices.

At present, 43 recipients of scholarship from NCIP, CHED, EAP and EVACFI are enrolled in Education, Criminology, Computer Science, Accounting, Industrial Technology, Business Administration, Agriculture, Civil Engineering, Biology, Banking and Finance and Psychology. They are distributed in three schools in Botolan, namely the Ramon Magsaysay Technological University (RMTU), Lyceum of Western Luzon in Zambales (LWLZ) and Botolan Community College (BCC) (Table 7).

Table 7. Type and Source of Scholarship for Indigenous Students

Type and Source of Scholarship	No. of Scholars	Percentage
Merit-based Scholarship (NCIP)	7	16.28
NCIP-EAP Scholarship	16	37.21
NCIP-EVACFI Scholarship	13	30.23
NCIP-CHED Scholarship	7	16.28
Total	43	100.00

Source: NCIP, 2016.

Water supply. The ocular survey that on the physical resources of the village also revealed a spring that supplies water to the village throughout the year as long as it is cooperatively maintained. This can support their backyard if managed well. Communal water sources are also set up in the resettlement areas making way for the families to wash their clothes together and exchange news.

Infrastructures. Bucao is a stand-alone barangay encampment unlike Loob Bunga and Baquilan which are composed of several barangays each. Since Bucao is one separate resettlement site, public infrastructures are not shared with other Aeta communities. The communities' infrastructures include cemented main roads, a tribal hall, an elementary school and a multi-purpose auditorium.

Infrastructures in Loob Bunga and Baquilan are shared with other communities—three elementary schools, a really beautiful church, a marketing center, a health center, and cemented roads around the resettlement. The tribal hall and auditorium are built within the area assigned to the barangay.

The findings of Parungao (2011) and Bautista (1993) were expounded by the results of the study. While most of the residents complain about poverty and inadequate means to send their children to school, more persevering locals present profit estimates they experienced in the last harvest.

Problems in Relation to Family, Livelihood and Education

The locals have a lot of problems to enumerate but were prioritized and grouped into family, livelihood and education (Table 8).

Family problems concerns finances, health, marital relations and early marriage among children. They are intent in sending their children to school as long as they wish to study. In their own words they said that “Education provides learning that can help us understand things in life better. They believe that education will improve life and will make them capable of helping others. It can provide solutions to livelihood problems since if one finished high school or even a degree, then he can always be employed.

On education, a Non-formal Education Program teacher was interviewed for validation. According to her, the ‘Magbasa Kita’ Program of Senator Santanina Rasul has been earlier implemented among the Aetas families with children enrolled in Bucao Elementary School but only few of the settlers graduated from the program for lack of interest and patience.

Table 8. Problems of the respondents and solutions they recommend

Problems in life	Perceived Solutions
Family <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Inadequate cash ➤ Health ➤ Food; walang makain, walang bigas ➤ Misunderstanding between couples ➤ Walang gamut ➤ Poverty; ➤ Early marriage of children. (14-16 years old) due to strict culture; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Ask help from people in position ➤ Pray to God ➤ Be industrious and be patient ➤ Sell cogon, banaba ➤ Understand one another ➤ Children help in generating income for their own use like catching fish on weekends ➤ Their father is trying his best to produce more in ‘gasak’
Education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Absenteeism ➤ Money for fare and food at school ➤ Lacking clothes for school ➤ Students will have to stop schooling on rainy days because there’s no food and money to send them to school; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Consideration is given to Aeta children by teachers; they are visited at home and encouraged to come back; ➤ Mother cooks breakfast and pack lunch early; ➤ Buying clothes for a child one at a time; work some more for more income; ➤ The establishment of schools nearby will somehow minimize the drop out rate;
Livelihood <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Marketing is problematic. Walang buyer ng produkto; Price of merchandise on rainy season are so low; ➤ Limited number of trained labor while there is inadequate time for all tasks on the farm; ➤ Inadequate income while waiting for harvest time; ➤ No records of expenses ➤ Lack capital to plant wider areas; No savings; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The residents are realizing that they will have to adapt to certain farming systems like farm recording or farm planning and to share tasks in their farms with more workers; ➤ The only solution to lack of capital is to save and be more patient working on the farm when waiting for the harvest;

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Walang maayos na hanap buhay ➤ Transportation of merchandise during rainy season; ➤ No cart and carabao to transport merchandise; 	
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Asked about the parent participation in the teaching-learning process of the children, the teacher pointed out that they were not very supportive to teaching their children’s assignments. They only came to school when called for, sometimes not even then. Even in PTA meetings, 50 percent is the usual attendance and a 100 percent attendance can only be attained when food ration is given.

Children cannot be easily trained at school when their parents show no interest in schooling. They are brought to the ‘gasak’ to help plant during rainy season which leads to 1-3 months absence from school by the children. Then during harvest time, they are again brought there to help in harvesting palay. More absences. “Teaching them is difficult they are exposed to other ways at home”, says the teacher.

With the existence of the Office of Northern Cultural Council, the teacher underscores that the Aetas are not at all oppressed saying, “Sobra-sobra na ang mga biyaya nila. Hindi lang sila marunong magpahalaga.” (They are overflowing with graces they just do not know how to value them). Asked how they might learn to value what they have, she says, “Educate them...Live like them, with them so they might see how.”

Absenteeism is a problem brought by the lack of food and money to send children to school when the heavy rains come. The river is no longer passable then and hence, the residents could not transport and sell their products. Everything—food, education, livelihood—is affected. To assuage this condition, elementary schools have been built and established for all of 11 barangays. Children no longer have to travel across the river to school.

On long absences, children are visited by teachers at home and encouraged to go back to school. They are also given additional worksheets to be able to cover the missed lessons.

In terms of livelihood, the problematic marketing system is hindering the flow of better income to the locals. When the long wait for the harvest is, at last, over, very few buyers are, then, willing to buy the products due to the more than adequate supply. The price lowers and with the coming of the heavy rains, the upland farmers can only sell their forest and agricultural products at the meager prices that the buyers dictate.

The residents’ only solution to the problem is to save and be more patient in working on their farms. They are now thinking of the possibility of working together to eliminate the problem of limited trained workers as well as adopting certain farming systems such as farm planning and farm recording to enhance their profits.

The description of the means of livelihood of the Aetas by Shimizu (1989), de Jesus (1990) and Parungao (2011) hold true until today. This study drew more detail which now clarifies the possibilities of technology development and transfer especially in the area of upland agriculture.

The government funds that went into the resettlement areas (Bautista, 1993) have served the families and aided their survival during the time. It has been 25 years since. The families have moved back to Baytan to move on and pursue a better life than what they had in the resettlement sites.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This study was able to derive the following answers to its specific questions:

1. The residents in the Baytan area retained their values of *helping one another, being industrious, people-oriented, peaceful, holding on to God, being patient and determination*.
2. They believed sharing resources, thriftiness, wise use of resources, saving, honesty, investing and foresight will tide them through difficult times.
3. Family is their reason to survive, someone to lean on and someone to care for. Parents are responsible in providing the basic needs of children especially education. The husband is the primary provided and the wife is the holder of the purse. Children needs to be trained and disciplined. They are trained to share in the household chores and work at the 'gasak'.
4. The young mothers now prefer to live in the resettlement sites so that they can send their children to school, however, they still maintain their traditional celebrations (fiesta, Christmas, weddings, funerals) as well as practices (giving birth, use of medicinal herbs).
5. The Aetas in the resettlement communities still live with extended families but families have learned to maintain some degree of independence from each other and prioritize the basic needs of their immediate members.
6. They have kept their traditional celebrations like the barrio fiesta, Christmas, weddings, rituals for giving birth and funerals.
7. They believe that education will be good for them. They feel proud of their kins that have attained high level of education but still maintain that education has a lower priority than food for the family in the use of resources.
8. Young Aetas are now open to the possibility of attaining higher level of education.
9. Lessons learned in school that are used in their jobs are reading and writing, carpentry, numeracy, cooking, handicrafts and being considerate to others.
10. Community resources in the resettlement areas include a well-organized government, an elementary school, infrastructures (auditorium, chapel, tribal hall).

11. The locals have 'gasaks' and temporary lowland farm lots which are maintained using traditional practices.
12. There are available tillable land areas for root crops and other products that have good demand in the market.
13. 'Gasak' farming is now better defined and maybe improved to maximize production and profit.
14. The locals have alternative practices for income generation like lowland rice farming, root crop production, charcoal production, fruit production, vending, 'pamumuso', hunting, gathering of medicinal plant materials and work for hire.
15. The tribal government is more or less defined and in place in keeping peace among the people in Baytan.
16. The area has 15 elementary schools, five secondary school and three collegiate schools to accommodate its need for education.
17. Community infrastructures include schools, water sources, concrete roads in the resettlement areas, tribal halls, multi-purpose auditoriums, and chapels.
18. Problems among members of the communities are centered on poverty which is resulting to poor health, inadequate food and clothing, absenteeism of children at school and misunderstanding among couples.
19. Marketing is problematic due to the absence of a stable pricing system.
20. There is no other route but to brave the raging river to transport products from the Baytan area on the height of the rainy season.
21. There is very limited number of trained agricultural labor in Baytan.
22. The locals do not plan or record agricultural activities.

GENERALIZATION, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Aeta are moving back to Baytan for psychological, cultural and economic reasons. They are retaining their family values that have kept them afloat through the years after displacement due to the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo. The change of physical environment and the exposure of the Aetas' to different cultures caused them to adapt their way of life both physically and behavior. This implies that extension efforts need to focus on these three areas to start right.

While the young generations of Aetas in the resettlement area still feel proud of their heritage, they now would like to live like people outside of their tribes—in equal footing with people in the outside world. Their changing perspectives are economically beneficial to them. However, their academic curriculum at school should include studying themselves and their heritage so that they can keep feeling proud of themselves, of their good traits, and their ability to survive through difficult as well as extraordinary times without depending on dole outs.

The parents believe that education is one their means to survive their present economic condition. Extension efforts, then, need to be designed in a continuum of literacy to development of skills that can help them survive the rainy days and poverty. Hence, a long and untiring endeavor.

There is a need to look into perspectives of those who are adamant of leaving the forest. Since this is where they feel comfortable and safe, means of educating them where they are should also be studied and made available to them.

For this, the members of the Aeta tribe who have gone to school and finished their degrees should be encouraged to go back to their communities and spearhead the improvement of the Aeta way of life—through livelihood and literacy programs. Only those who know the Aeta culture well can plan, conduct and manage service programs for the Aeta best. This facilitates the application of the extension principle of “going where the clients are and starting with what they have”.

The Aetas now possess a system of government that will support an apt development program that they can sustain. They have enough natural, human and institutional resources to use for community development. They, however need a continuous and committed attention from line agencies of the government, especially in the areas of agriculture, education and local government to assist them and guide them through the goals and directions they have set for their community.

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The Representation of the Orient in the Poetry of Gary Snyder

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Abstract

This study deals with the oriental discourse in Snyder's poetry. It examines how Gary Snyder as an orientalist represents China and Japan to occidental culture. The study is divided into four parts followed by a conclusion. The first part "Orientalism: History and Theory in Practice" deals with the theory of Orientalism. It examines how far Edward Said's *Orientalism* applies to Gary Snyder's representation. The second part is entitled "Translating Oriental Poetry". It deals with Snyder's translation of Chinese and Japanese poems. The third Part "The Occidental Appreciation of Oriental Art" analyzes Snyder's *Mountains and Rivers Without End* which represents his appreciation of two different forms of oriental art. The fourth part "The Adoption of Oriental Religion", discusses Zen Buddhism and its effect upon the poetry of Gary Snyder. After this final part is the conclusion which sums up the most important points, arguments and goals of the thesis.

Keywords: Orientalism, Said's Critique, Discourse, Far Orient, Poetry, Stereotyping, Translation, Eurocentric Identity, Chinese Scroll, No Drama, Buddhism, Zen.

Introduction

This research deals with the oriental discourse in Snyder's poetry. The main concern is to show how Gary Snyder as an orientalist represents the Orient – mainly China and Japan – in his poetry to occidental culture. The study analyzes Snyder's translation of Chinese and Japanese poetry, his representation of Chinese painting and Japanese drama, and his account for oriental religion or Zen Buddhism.

The first part "Orientalism: History and Theory in Practice" deals with the theory of Orientalism. It examines how far Edward Said's *Orientalism* applies to the Far Orient and Gary Snyder's representation. It does not focus on Edward Said's thesis as much as it focuses on Far Orientalism. China and Japan mainly are the Orient under research in this research.

The second part is entitled "Snyder's Translation of Oriental Poetry". The part deals with Snyder's translation of Chinese and Japanese poems. From Chinese poetry Snyder translates some of the poems of Han Shan, "Cold Mountain Poems", and from Japanese poetry, Snyder translates eighteen poems of Miyazawa Kenji. Those poems are analyzed and discussed in and the aspects of oriental culture are detected to illustrate how far Gary Snyder as an orientalist succeeds in representing an image of China and Japan in his translation.

The third part "The Occidental Appreciation of Oriental Art" analyzes one of Snyder's own works. In writing his own poetry, the poet still considers the Orient and oriental culture. His masterpiece *Mountains and Rivers Without End* represents his appreciation for two different forms of oriental art. The long poem is both constructed and inspired from Chinese landscape painting and Japanese No drama which are the two aspects under focus in this part. This part covers two points. The first point examines the effect of the Chinese landscape scroll on the genesis and making of *Mountains and Rivers Without End*. The second point discusses Japanese No drama within the dramatic structure of the long poem.

The fourth part is entitled "The Adoption of Oriental Religion". It discusses Zen Buddhism and its effect upon the poetry of Gary Snyder. The poet is a Zen Buddhist and the teachings of this oriental religion affect his writings deeply. This part detects the application of Buddhist teachings and practices in Snyder's translation of the poems of the Chinese monk Han Shan, his translation of the poetry of the Buddhist Miyazawa Kenji, and Snyder's own poetry. It is an all-encompassing part included within all the previous analyzed poems. After the third part, is the conclusion which sums up some of the most important points, arguments and goals of the research.

I. Orientalism: History and Theory in Practice

When reading texts from a different culture raises some inquiries, it is quite adequate, then, to acknowledge the difficulty of representing other cultures in literary texts. Nevertheless, an "Other" culture was and still introducing a desirable field of study. Whether it is cultural diversity or cultural difference, scholars in spite of the feeling of estrangement, the difficulty of interpretation, and the danger of misconception, are always attracted to an "Other" to research and explore. Such plea to research and explore the culture of the "Other" has always been reflected in the Western or occidental interest in the Orient.

Originally, the terms Occident and Orient, as Sokichi Tsuda explains, come from China about the time of the end of the Yuan dynasty (1279-1367 A.D.) to the Ming dynasty (1368-1661 A.D.). The names were used to define "the regions in the South Seas that kept traffic with China by sea routes were

specified according to their localities; the regions on the East as the Orient (or the Eastern Sea) and those on the West the Occident (or the Western Sea)," (Tsuda, 1955: 6). Eventually, the names Occident and Orient came to describe not only the seas, but also the regions on and in the same directions of those seas. These names of "Occident" and "Orient" are only introducing another naming of Us/They, Self/Other, or the most recognizable, West and East.

But when there is a possibility to recognize the Occident both geographically and culturally, alluding to the Orient is less obvious. The Occident "is already thoroughly familiar with 'Europe' and 'the West' as virtually synonymous terms for the same society – a relatively unified community linked by common religious and intellectual traditions, similar linguistic patterns, and considerably racial homogeneity" (Steadman, 1970: 23). There are, of course, some differences in the political and economic ideologies, still "it possesses a common intellectual and spiritual background in the Judeo-Christian tradition, on the one hand, and secular rationalism, on the other," (Steadman, 1970: 23).

The Orient, on opposition, refers to several societies and cultures which are mostly "characterized by profound differences in language and race and in religious and intellectual traditions," (Steadman, 1970: 23). Such indefinite term, as Steadman indicates, contains the Far East; including China Korea, Japan, and Vietnam, the society of India, and the Islamic community: extending eastward across Asia from Turkey and Jordan as far as Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines, and westward across North Africa from Egypt to Morocco.

Unlike the Occident, the Orient contains different and distinguished cultures that it would be outrageous to define all of them as the oriental culture. As a matter of fact, "such Oriental culture does not exist as one culture" (Tsuda, 1955: 96). Additionally, it is not quite possible that any area may culturally exist as one world. Still, in the word of common use there is what is called the oriental culture in opposition to the occidental culture. To Europeans and Americans, "there is one, East or Orient, indicating the direction of East (or the word equivalent to that in the languages of different countries)," (Tsuda, 1955: 13). This Orient contains all the regions about the East of the Mediterranean Sea, and it has always been represented as one entity. Whether it is the Middle East or the Far East, the Orient existed as one constructed entity through occidental representations or the field study of Orientalism.

a- Orientalism: The Concept

Nearly in the sixteenth century, oriental literature was introduced to European and American culture on the hands of the Christian missionaries. The missionaries went to the Orient to research and explore an "Other" culture, a different one from their own. In this sense, many of the oriental texts were

translated into the English language. This act of translation was far pushed, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, along with the colonial enterprise and the approach was more encouraged by the notion of "Know Your Enemy". In other words, "Western cultures 'translated' (and 'translate') non-Western cultures into Western categories to be able to come to an understanding of them and, therefore, to come to terms with them" (Lefevere, 1999: 77). The translations were one way of managing the "exotic" East to the Western mind, or in more specific words, of orientalizing the Orient. This process proved to be of a certain ideological entity after the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* in 1987.

b. Saidian Critique

According to Said Orientalism is essentially the study of the Orient by orientalists. In Said's perspective, the "Orient" which is mainly the Eastern part of the world especially Japan, China and the Islamic countries, would only introduce another naming of "They", "Other" or of that "effeminate", "uncivilized", "irrational" part of the world called the East. It is the source of Western oldest and greatest colonies, richest experiences, and its deepest and essential image of the Other. Consequently, the Orient is that integral part of Western material civilization and culture (Said, 1995: 3-7).

Therefore, Orientalism – as the field study of the Orient – could be materially defined as "the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient –dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Said, 1995: 3). This definition of Orientalism is related to the Occident historical involvement with the Orient. And this Occident – the Western part of the world especially Europe and America – is to represent the opposite image of the Orient, and another naming of "We", "Self" or of that "masculine", "civilized", "rational" part of the world called the West. Still, for Said it is the same Occident that always has specific colonial and imperial interests in the Orient; interests which are represented throughout occidental literature by orientalists.

c. Far Orientalism

Although Said's thesis is written as a critical discourse of the occidental representations of the Islamic Middle East, it is also used as a base ground for examining the occidental representations of the Far East too. In other words, Edward Said "presents his work not only as an examination of European attitudes to Islam and the Arabs but also as a model for analysis of all Western 'discourses on the Other'" (Windschuttle, 1999: 5). So the term "Orient" here would not only include Arabs and Islam, but also China and Japan. For this thesis, the term would primarily refer to China and Japan only.

However, some critics like Hayot and Clifford find the theory inapplicable to China and Japan. Nick Clifford for example stresses, "I'm not at all sure that Said's version of 'Orientalism' works very well for Western representations of China and Japan," (1996: 1). Consequently, the case of China and Japan, or the Far Orient, is different from the case of the Middle East. For one point, "Zhaoming Qian and Xiaomei Chen stress the inapplicability of Orientalism to China because China was never geographically colonized by the West" (Hayot, 1999: 21). In the same way, there is "the question of how the thesis of 'Orientalism' might hold in the absence of political domination; in other words, the question of Japan" (Pham, 1999: 163). The argument is raised due to Said's insistence on the involvement of a colonial discourse in Orientalism and on the importance of understanding Orientalism in relation to the occidental colonial expansion in the Orient.

Attaching Orientalism with colonialism does not mean that the representations of neither China nor Japan are free from Said's *Orientalism*. For this Orient, there is an act of stereotyping that is involved in the occidental representations of the Chinese and Japanese cultures. On the one hand, Pennycook demonstrates the point by examining the fixity of representation of China:

Just as Said (1987) identified a range of stereotypes dealing with the Arab world- the eternal and unchanging East, the sexually insatiable Arab, the "feminine" exotic, the teeming marketplace, mystical religiosity, corrupt despotism, and so forth- it is possible to outline a similar series of stereotypes in writing on China: the exotic and eternal kingdom, the underdeveloped and backward, the paradoxically juxtaposed old and new, the crowded, dirty and poverty-stricken life, the smiling or inscrutable exterior hiding either bad intentions or misery, the passive Oriental and despotic leader, the dullness of life under socialism, the uncaring nature of the Communist government, and so on. Such constructions occur across a broad range of writing, from textbooks to encyclopedias, (2001: 171-72).

On the other hand, there is the argument that the process of representation has always involved the orientalist's invention and construction of oriental entity.

II. Snyder's Translation of Oriental Poetry

Gary Snyder (1930-) is considered one of the few figures who have made an indelible mark on late-twentieth century American thought. He is a winner of so many literary prizes including; Pulitzer Prize for poetry in 1975, a finalist for the National Book Award in 1992, Bollingen Poetry Prize in 1997 and the Robert Kirsch Lifetime Achievement Award. In this sense the poet joins a very outstanding group of poets who are considered landmarks in modern American poetry. He wrote about sixteen collections of prose and poetry. His poetic writings are worldly widespread and were translated into more than twenty different languages. One reason of this prominence is Snyder's distinguished approach to his poetic subjects.

Through his poetry Gary Snyder approaches the themes of American life and culture from his own perspective, a perspective which is not only American, but also oriental. This oriental element is to reveal Snyder's literary works, thought and philosophy to a degree that makes his career an indication of a perceptive orientalist enterprise. On a general scale, Snyder's oriental thought "pervades his poetry in ways ranging from the obvious to the subtle, from the conscious to the unconscious" (Yu, 1983: 220). Starting from his very first work *Riprap* (1959) to his very last collection *Danger on Peaks* (2004), Snyder is an indication of an American orientalist in practice.

Starting with learning oriental Languages at Berkeley (1953-56), Snyder's interest in the Orient, – especially China and Japan – stamps his beginnings with American Orientalism. Literally, through the 1960s Snyder lived in Japan for twelve years, traveled around Asia, and resided in India; exploring oriental cultures, translating oriental poetry and representing oriental art. Moreover, while he was in Japan he retired into a Zen monastery to study Zen Buddhism which is implicitly and explicitly inverted in his poetry. Thus, his Orientalism is embodied in his translation of oriental poetry, representation of oriental art and adoption of oriental religion which is inverted in both his translations and his own writings.

For Snyder's poetry, the outset of his literary career as an orientalist began with following the steps of Ezra Pound by translating classical Chinese and Japanese poetry. Of all Chinese poetry, Snyder translated twenty-four Chinese poems of Han Shan's *Cold Mountain Poems*. Of Japanese classical poetry, he translated eighteen Japanese poems of Miyazawa Kenji. No doubt, translating, speaking, or writing about a different or another culture is always difficult and sometimes it is accompanied by a misconception so a misrepresentation; though most of the times it is not intended. The dilemma is in Snyder's encounter of "Otherness" with his awareness of difference. This means, what to do with all this difference? Should he represent it as it is, or as it should be?

Gary Snyder in his handling of a different culture is consciously aware of the cultural otherness to deal with. He, in his translation of a culturally different text, is sure to choose between representing the text as it is – with all its problematic factors – or as it should be, by making out of it or re-forming it in the most suitable form for the occidental reader. In other words, he is sure to draw a defining line between "bringing the audience to the text" and "bringing the text to the audience" (Tymoczko, 1999: 29). This kind of distinction explains the difference between the approach of the Modernists and that of the Beat Generation, between Pound's *Cathay* and Snyder's *Cold Mountain Poems*.

To bring the audience to the text requires a complete honesty of the translator and this means not to drop or neglect, in any way, what is odd or culturally unacceptable in the source text. The translator, in this case, renders the text in hand as it is, regardless to its unfamiliarity. In so many words, it is a way to "skip the leap we often call 'of the imagination' but which could be much more aptly called 'of imperialism'" as Lefevere puts it (1999: 78).

To bring the text to the audience, on the other hand, means to authorize it in the translated language. The source text, here, becomes at the service of the translator's capacity to make it available to his audience. It is one way of orientalizing the Orient or giving it another occidental entity. The Orient introduced, in such a way, is only a mirror of the orientalist's own culture so "what is supposed to be a window looking onto another culture, ..., turns out to be something more like a mirror giving us back ourselves" (Kern, 1996: 175). The translation of oriental literary texts, thus, would turn to be only a reflection of the Occident.

Whether Gary Snyder brings the audience to the text or the text to the audience, it is totally bound with his approach and way of translation. His way of translation would prove how far Snyder succeeds as an orientalist in representing the Orient. This process is to be revealed by an intensive analysis of his *Cold Mountain Poems* and his translation of the eighteen poems of Miyazawa Kenji. His way of translation of the Chinese poems of Han Shan would stand as a sufficient demonstrative example for that matter.

a. Cold Mountain Poems

Some critics; like Robert Kern, argue that what Gary Snyder really does in *Cold Mountain Poems* is managing and directing his translation to the American readers, or "bringing the text to his audience". It is claimed that Snyder's approach to the source language involves a process of "visualizing". Seemingly, Gary Snyder reproduces the experience of the Chinese text in his American mind. Through this method of translation the poet declares that he has; "by an effort of concentration to project the 'picture' of the poem inside my mind, like a movie – to see what's happening ... [Then] to write down, in my own language, what I see happening," (Leed, 1986: 178). But, does this mean that he is to impose his own American perspectives on the translated text while projecting "the 'picture' of the poem" inside his mind?

In one sense, Snyder in his way to "project the 'picture'", recaptures the scene and experience of Cold Mountain in the Sierra Nevada in Northern California. In doing so, Kern believes, Western characters involve in the process of representation. Such process, as Kern calls it, is "the Chinese poem in a state of

Western captivity," (1996: 175), as if the Chinese text is commanded, guided and then redirected to be more appropriate to Western audience.

For demonstration, in the second poem of *Cold Mountain Poems*, Snyder's translation becomes so free, easy spoken and much conversational that "the reader wonders whether the scenes are in T'ang period China or in modern America" (Kodama, 1984: 184-185). The lines easily flow like follows:

In a tangle of cliffs I chose a place –
Bird-baths, but no trails for men. (Snyder, 2004: 40)

The two lines simply flow to represent an American landscape and not a Chinese one of the Cold Mountain. These two lines credit Kern's insistence that Snyder manages the Chinese poems of Han Shan to the Occident.

Another example is Snyder's translation of poem number nine which Chung believes it to interpret not Han Shan's experience, but Snyder's own adventure. Since, the mountain in the poem "must be located somewhere in the Sierras, the Cascades or the Olympics in the West of the United States" (1977: 102), and not in China. The lines describe the mountain as:

Rough and dark – the Cold Mountain trail,
Sharp cobbles – the icy creek bank.
Yammering, chirping – always birds
Bleak, alone, not even a lone hiker.
Whip, whip – the wind slaps my face
Whirled and tumbled – snow piles on my back.
Morning after morning I don't see the sun
Year after year, not a sign of spring. (Snyder, 2004: 47)

More likely, the lines describe Snyder's experience in the Sierras, and not Han Shan's in Cold Mountain. *Cold Mountain Poems*, in this respect, reflect Snyder's management of a culturally different text upon his own American interests.

Kern still insists that the twenty-four poems represent Snyder while approaching Han Shan in a way that brings his own perspective into focus and reflects his own experience. In other words, Snyder is;

appropriating his Chinese texts for purposes other than those of the texts themselves. For one thing, the twenty-four poems in his selection present, perhaps unavoidably (given Han-shan's more than three hundred poems), a somewhat partial view of Han-shan, one which foregrounds his commitment to his spiritual quest and his indifference toward and sometimes scorn for the ordinary world, at the expense of the more ordinary or worldly aspects of his own character, (Kern, 1996: 234-35).

Insofar, Snyder is orientaling the Chinese text. The selection of the specific twenty-four poems neglects some aspects of Han Shan's life; aspects probably that reflect his life as a family member with a wife and children. This is to mean that "In a sense, Han-shan was Snyder's invention," (Kern, 1996: 232).

The word "invention" at this level echoes Eliot's calling Pound "the inventor of Chinese poetry". According to Fass, "If Eliot called Pound 'the inventor of Chinese poetry' for his time ..., there is a reason to pay similar tribute to Snyder in our own," (1978: 22). This word, essentially, involves an act of constructing images, and not describing ones. The previous conclusion leads to the belief that sometimes American characters were imposed through Snyder's process of translation. It also categorizes Gary Snyder under the second category of approach to the Orient and not the third category.

Robert Kern also argues that the personality of Snyder is to overall Han Shan. On this point Ling Chung agrees with Kern as she too believes that "we sometimes hear the translator's voice over and above that of the ancient Chinese hermit" (1977: 102). Snyder's voice, in this respect, presents his persona as a poet while questioning Western values from a Chinese point of view through the character of Han Shan:

"What's the use of all that noise and money?" (P: 40)

The line of the original poem literally means, "Vacant fame must be useless," (Kodama, 1984: 185). Snyder, thus, changes "fame" to "noise and money" then reforms the whole line as a rhetorical question to show his personal attitude towards the life of the rich, and of material life in general.

The rather little changes that Snyder makes in the line of Han Shan's Chinese poem reflect his own perspective as an American orientalist. The poet "probably thought that the criticism of American civilization from the Zen point of view might be more poignant," (Kodama, 1984: 185). The changes, effectively, are made to emphasize that the toil for material success can cause nothing but noise and chaos. In Kern's perspective these changes are one way of managing the Chinese text to occidental readers or reproducing it in occidental terms. However, Snyder declares that, "(thinking of Kern) I have to insist that in most cases I hewed as exactly to the Chinese text as possible" (E-mail, October 8, 2006). Such statement refers to the opposite critical approach of his representation.

In spite of all the disadvantages, Snyder still succeeds in bringing the audience to the Chinese text, to *Cold Mountain Poems*, and not the opposite. Snyder's translation of Han Shan's texts, by all means, proves to be "completely accurate line-for-line translations," (Leed, 1986: 177), or as Snyder himself declares, "As close to word by word as is feasible" (E-mail, May 14, 2005). His version with its structural unity and universal relevance is considered the best of the three translations ever made of *Cold Mountain Poems*; his, Watson's and the one of Waley, (Chung, 1977: 93).

Snyder's success lays in his way of handling the difficulties and indifferences which probably face all translators of different cultural texts. With mostly no imposing of cultural perspectives on the translated poems, Gary Snyder's version deserves to be called essentially "'more akin to the great elegiac poets of Sung China'", and he is to be compared to "the T'ang poet Wang Wei in philosophy, tone, and style" (Yu, 1983: 220). One reason of comparing Snyder to the T'ang poet Wang Wei is that he preserves the Chinese text in its original form after translating it to a culturally different language and introducing it to an audience of a far and different culture. As a matter of fact, Gary Snyder is aware to translate not only the semantic meaning, but even the Chinese grammatical quality and length of lines.

For the grammatical aspect, a problem that faces almost all translators of Chinese poetry is "'the matched couplet' or the 'parallel sentences'" (Chung, 1977: 97). This kind of couplet needs more than a word-for-word translation since "each word in the first line should match the corresponding word in the second line not only in its part of speech, but also in its semantic content" (Chung, 1977: 97). Snyder succeeds in interpreting this Chinese grammatical quality in his translation of poem number four;

High, low, old parapets-walls

Big, small, the aging tombs. (P: 42)

The adjectives "High", "low" and "old" match the adjectives "Big", "small" and "aging" of the second line in their part of speech and semantic meaning; the same is for the noun "parapets" with its corresponding match "tombs" in the second line. Snyder's excellence in handling this special grammatical problem is also no less when it comes to the length of the Chinese poetic lines.

By all means, Snyder's version "moves closer to the Chinese in its attempt to approximate Han-shan's short, five-character line – sometimes even managing five words per line" (Kern, 1996: 234). In poem number nine, for example, Snyder is making a word by word translation of Han Shan's five Chinese characters:

Rough and dark – the Cold Mountain trail,

Sharp cobbles – the icy creek bank. (P: 47)

In each of the two lines Snyder introduces the Chinese poetry in its original form. The two lines copy exactly the same words order of the original text; they consist of five words each with no subject, no tense and no gender which, according to Kern, is the case in Chinese poetry.

The first line of poem number eight sets the same example since it "copies exactly the word order of the original, that is, the verb in the form of present participle followed by its object without using the subject 'I' or 'one'," (Chung, 1977: 96). The poem starts as:

Clambering up the Cold Mountain path,

The Cold Mountain trail goes on and on: (P: 46)

This kind of technique is adopted thoroughly in the rest of the twenty-four translated poems. In only few exceptions, the poet uses prepositions and articles.

Snyder's need to add "Western prepositions and articles and such" is to make the poems fully adequate as poetry. Such use of prepositions and articles "seems especially out of character for a

translation from Chinese" (Kern, 1996: 234). Though not to reflect his commitment as a translator, it is to reflect his commitment as a poet. It also legitimizes Snyder's own statement: "I approach Han Shan as a poet, that is, my own kind of being a poet" (E-mail, May 14, 2005). In this sense, Snyder credits Eric Hayot, "that the most interesting translations are ones that are also 'poetry' - - that is, that also openly express the translator's own dislocating desire to change and shape language" (E-mail, May 24, 2005). Gary Snyder applies this approach to all his translated poems. Consequently, *Cold Mountain Poems* would reflect not only translation, but also poetry in itself.

Mainly Han Shan's poems are written in the colloquial style, they deal with range of subjects almost represented in the conflict of the character of Han Shan. This conflict is between a retired previous life and his choice to live in Cold Mountain. So to speak, some of the poems are:

fairly conventional laments on the shortness of life; others are complaints of poverty or biting satires on avarice and pride. There are accounts of the hardships of official life under the Chinese bureaucratic system, attacks on the worldly Buddhist clergy, and ridicule of the fatuous attempts of the Taoist alchemists and devotees to achieve immortal life. And finally there are the incomparable descriptions of Han-shan's mountain retreat and his life there, (Watson, 1970: 10).

Indeed, the description of Han Shan's character and his retreat to Cold Mountain are the dominant themes of the poems. The character of Han Shan is described as an integral part of the place, the same as his mood and mentality. It is worth mentioning here that Han Shan "*takes his name from where he lived.... When he talks of Cold Mountain he means himself, his home, his state of mind*" (Snyder, 2004: 35). Literally, Han Shan's name itself is to mean Cold Cliff or Cold Mountain.

This small collection of twenty-four poems – out of more than three hundred poems of Han Shan – is included in Snyder's *Riprap and Cold Mountain Poems* which was first published in 1969 by the Four Season Foundation. The translation was performed by Snyder as a work of a seminar for his instructor Chen Shih-hsiang while he was studying Chinese language at the University of California at Berkeley. Later on, he worked them in his visit to Japan with the help of a Japanese scholar of Chinese literature (Kodama, 1984: 184). Snyder's specific choice of Han Shan's poems reflects his own personality and attitudes. His choice of Han Shan out of all Chinese T'ang poets has many reasons. One of these reasons, Snyder considers him a mentor and a model to aspire, both as a man and a poet.

Sanehide Kodama also goes far to prove that Snyder's life is so similar to Han Shan's (1984: 184). For a period of his life, nearly in 1950s, Snyder, the same as Han Shan was wandering and "Taking whatever comes". Even when he was back to the States to settle in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada in Northern California, Snyder too, is likely to;

Go ahead and let the world change –

I'm happy to sit among these cliffs. (P: 55)

The cliffs for Han Shan are those in Cold Mountain, while for Gary Snyder they are the ones of the Sierra Nevada. The resemblance of the two poets' thinking is another reason behind Snyder's choice of Han Shan. It is also one of the reasons behind Snyder's success in representing Han Shan's *Cold Mountain Poems* from his orientalist perspective.

b. The Eighteen Poems of Miyazawa Kenji

Snyder's translation of Miyazawa Kenji's eighteen Japanese poems similarly proves his success as an orientalist. However, Kenji's poems are at many levels difficult to translate or read even for Japanese readers. His poetry is very complicated regardless to the fact that it is written in the colloquial style. No wonder then that Snyder faced some difficulties through his process of translation. Due to Kenji's excessive use of scientific and religious terms, the interpretation of the poems was not that easy. For that reason the translator admits that, "You must sometimes simply translate what the words say whether you quite understand them or not. That's what I did" (E-mail, February 20, 2006). In spite of the difficulties, Snyder's translation of Kenji's Japanese poems, too, proves his success as an American orientalist.

The translation of Miyazawa Kenji's eighteen poems is included in Snyder's *The Back Country*, which was first published in 1957. Under a special section called "Miyazawa Kenji" Snyder adds his representation of oriental culture through the translation of the Japanese poems of Miyazawa Kenji. Miyazawa Kenji (1896-1933) was born and lived most his life in Iwate Prefecture in the north of Japan. This place, according to Snyder, "is known for poverty, cold, and heavy winter snows" (1971: 130). It is a place of a simple lifestyle and his poems are a representation of this place. They mainly introduce the simple life of the farmers in addition to Kenji's dedication to science and Buddhism.

Snyder's two translations of oriental poetry – Chinese and Japanese – represent the beginnings of the poet's American Orientalism. They both work as representatives of oriental themes and culture in

addition to their embodiment of the oriental religion of Buddhism. Both poets, Han Shan and Miyazawa Kenji, are Buddhists and their Buddhist thinking is to overwhelm their poems. In this sense, the analysis of these two translations in the second chapter of the thesis, proves Snyder's Orientalism in two different ways; a representation of oriental themes, and of oriental religion.

III. The Occidental Appreciation of Oriental Art

The translation of Chinese and Japanese poems is not the only work that entitles Gary Snyder as an American orientalist. His own writings too prove the same attachment to the Orient. In writing his own poetry Snyder still considers oriental culture. His *Mountains and Rivers Without End* is indeed the best of Snyder's – not translated – works to attach to American Orientalism. The choice is made not only because it is estimated by many distinctive prizes; the Bollingen Poetry Prize (1997), the Robert Kirsch Lifetime Achievement Award from the *Los Angeles Times*, the Orion Society's John Hay Award, the 1997 Award for Poetry from the Mountains & Plains Booksellers Association and the Freedom of Expression Award from *Focus* magazine, but also considered one of the best poems of contemporary time according to *Publishers Weekly* (Snyder, 1997). As the poet took 40 years in writing it, from 1956 to 1996, no period of Snyder's literary career as an orientalist is to be missed then.

Mainly, the long poem consists of four parts and contains 39 sections. It starts with a description of an ancient oriental landscape scroll and continues an obvious interest in oriental drama and religion. From the beginning sections, the long poem draws special focus on Chinese landscape paintings and Japanese No drama – a kind of a music-dance play. These two aspects have the greatest influence on Snyder's *Mountains and Rivers Without End*. The embracement of these two different forms of East Asian art in the long poem is Snyder's way to travel beyond American culture in order to encompass oriental perspectives. The thirty-nine sections of *Mountains and Rivers Without End*, then, are not a random gathering of poems, but they are carefully constructed to interweave with Snyder's oriental perspective.

Furthermore, it is believed that, "The formal constraints of both the East Asian landscape scroll and the Japanese No play have profoundly affected the arrangement of sections within the four parts of the larger poem, the linear order of the thirty-nine sections, and even the composition of lines within individual sections" (Hunt, 2004: 6). For that reason, these two aspects – the Chinese landscape scroll and the Japanese No drama – are to be carefully analyzed in the third chapter in order to illustrate the poet's appreciation for oriental art. This analysis would demonstrate how Gary Snyder's close study of the Chinese landscape scroll and the Japanese No play affects the making and structure of *Mountains and Rivers Without End*.

a- The Chinese Landscape Scroll

As a first impression, *Mountains and Rivers Without End* is wholly inspired of a well-known Chinese horizontal hand scroll *Ch'i-shan wu-chin* by the Yuan Dynasty painter, Hsu-pen. On the one hand, the term "*Ch'i-shan wu-chin*" means (Streams and Mountains Without End) or (Without Limit). This term apparently, can be replaced by (Water) or as Snyder prefers, (Rivers). On the other hand, the combination of "mountains and rivers" – in Chinese language "Shan-shui" – literally indicates landscapes. In other words, what the Chinese artists exactly mean by referring to "mountains and streams" is landscapes. These Chinese landscapes embody nature in its totality of the visible or the invisible, the tangible or the intangible, the known or the unknown, including human beings.

By all means, the long poem is "quite literally, a verbal landscape painting. To read its pages poem by poem – either front to back or back to front – is to travel through thirty-nine sections with distinct settings and a strong sense of space" (Hunt, 2004: 27-28). Indeed, it is Snyder's passion for Chinese landscapes and art that inspired him to write this long poem as he expresses how he:

learned to hold the brush as well as the pen Though I lacked talent, my practice with soot-black ink and brush tuned my eye for looking more closely at paintings. In museums and through books I became aware of how the energies of mist, white water, rock formations, air swirls-a chaotic universe where everything is in place- are so much a part of the East Asian painter's world. In one book I came upon a reference to a hand scroll (*shou-chuan*) called *Mountains and Rivers Without End*. The name stuck in my mind. (1997: 153)

Snyder's interest in East Asian art gave him the idea of writing one long poem that can be read as a verbal Chinese landscape painting.

Basically, the Chinese landscape paintings are distinguished for their perceptive overview of nature. In every sense, these paintings attempt "to capture the essence of life, in all its complementary nature" (Hunt, 2000: 8). The paintings involve many details that they rather better be observed each section at a time. Viewers of these paintings should:

observe the scenes sequentially: noting the foreground and background, stopping to check the smallest of details, finding paths in the wilderness, following tiny travelers who wind their way along the trails. There are stopping places: a temple in the woods, a log to sit on, a small group of village huts. Boats float silently on foregrounded lakes.

Mysterious rivers fall over the rocks, flow among trees. Mountain peaks vanish into the haze of distant clouds, which in turn fade into the white unpainted space (Hunt, 2004: 9-10).

The Chinese landscape scroll is full of different details for that it is preferred to be examined section by section to capture the essence of the scroll.

Like the Chinese landscape painting Snyder's *Mountains and Rivers Without End* should be examined section by section in order to capture its essence too. The long poem is divided into four parts and contains thirty-nine sections full of natural details and landscapes of mountains, rivers, desert, sky, clouds, plants, animals and of course there are the "tiny travelers" who journey on across the landscape scroll of *Mountains and Rivers Without End*.

b- The Japanese No Drama

The long poem is also an embodiment of the dramatic strategies of Japanese No drama. The Japanese No drama, "is a gritty but totally refined high-culture art that is in the lineage of shamanistic performance, a drama that by means of voice and dance calls forth the spirit realms" (Snyder, 1997: 155). Snyder was already familiar with this oriental art from the works of Arthur Waley and Ezra Pound. But when he arrived in Japan, he attended actual No performances which left a deep impression on him, especially the Japanese play *Yamamba*. At that time Snyder started to envision *Mountains and Rivers Without End* in the form of a Japanese No play.

Structurally, the long poem follows the dramatic strategies of No play. It is made in the form of a two-part No play which includes two appearances of the *shite*; the main character in the play. It follows the No rhythm of *jo-ha-ha-kyu* with an introduction, two detailed expositions and a swift conclusion. Also, "Serving as a reminder of the formal 'foot stamp' that opens and concludes a No play, the echoing sound of '[w]alking on walking' begins and ends the action of Snyder's poem" (Hunt, 2004: 46). The adaptation of this dramatic structure, along with Chinese landscape scroll, makes Snyder's long poem a representation of the poet's interest in oriental art.

Not to forget, that this interest of the two oriental art forms also is Snyder's way to embody Zen Buddhism in his long poem. Buddhism is essentially the essence of oriental culture. Both China and Japan exist as one entity as far as Buddhism is involved. This religion:

holds that the universe and all creatures in it are intrinsically in a state of complete wisdom, love and compassion; acting in natural response and

mutual interdependence. The personal realization of this from-the-beginning state cannot be had for and by one-"self" -because it is not fully realized unless one has given the self up; and away. (Snyder, 2002: 1)

The religion focuses on enlightenment as an outcome of Buddhist dedication. Only by recognizing emptiness that the self achieves awareness and compassion for other beings. These teachings belong to Mahayana Buddhism or the liberal group, in opposition to Theravada Buddhism or the traditional group.

Like Christianity that depends on the teachings of the Christ, Buddhism is assumed to depend on the teachings of Sakyamuni, Tathagata, Siddhartha or the awakened name Buddha. He was born in 483 and died in 563 B.C. After Buddha's death Buddhism was split to Mahayana (the liberal group) and Theravada (the traditional group). Zen Buddhism is from the liberal group. In China it was known as Ch'an in the 5th century and was called Zen in Japan. This sect of Buddhism is thoroughly represented in Snyder's *Mountains and Rivers Without End*.

Effectively, Snyder's Zen Buddhism in *Mountains and Rivers Without End* is to be represented on many levels. As a start, the poet quotes Dogen Zenji's works. The first pages of *Mountains and Rivers Without End* include an epigraph from the work of the great Zen Buddhist Dogen, "Painting of a Rice Cake". This Buddhist text discusses the concept of emptiness within the Buddhist terms of appearance and reality. In this respect, Dogen's epigraph and philosophy are represented in two major aspects in Snyder's *Mountains and Rivers Without End*. They are, "one, the essential truth of Mahayana Buddhism that enlightenment itself is 'empty'; and two, that a major structural device of this poem will be that of a painting" (Hunt, 2004: 59).

Dogen is also present in Snyder's consideration of his *Mountains and Waters Sutra* in *Mountains and Rivers Without End*. According to Snyder, this work "had helped him to 'clarify' his thinking about *Mountains and Rivers*" (Hunt, 2004: 23). Beside Dogen, The long poem also explains some of the most important Buddhist sutras, like the *Heart Sutra*, practices, like meditation, and philosophies like the Buddhist spiritual philosophy of emptiness.

On a third level, the long poem is written as a celebration of the new Mahayana system in its adaptation of female Bodhisattvas. Consequently, "It is not unfair to say that *Mountains and Rivers* is a compendium of essential Buddhist thinking and that Snyder's poem is, in part, his contribution to the transmission of this ancient wisdom" (Hunt, 2004: 59). Once again Gary Snyder proves his success as an American orientalist in his representation of oriental Religion.

On a most profound and general scale, the research credits Snyder's success in representing oriental culture. His translation of oriental poems, his adaptation of the two forms of oriental art and his embracement of oriental religion are a window to an anti-Orientalism critique. His occidental representation defies Bhabha, Foucault, Gramsci, Lefevre, Kern and most importantly Edward Said. In this respect, Gary Snyder deserves respect and appreciation as an orientalist since he "mastered the languages, civilizations, and philosophies of the far East with an intimacy few Americans have ever achieved" (Perkins, 1987: 584). His success as an orientalist makes him take the lead of all the upcoming representations of cultural difference.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this research certain constructed concepts affected the judgment of Gary Snyder's representation. Mainly, Edward Said's critique was the adopted approach for judging Snyder's poetry. However, after sinking inside the lines and between the lines of Snyder's analyzed poems, the research took a completely different path of the one intended at its beginning. Thus, the development of the research and its current form were never planned for, but they are a natural outcome of my desire to research and explore.

A consideration of recent critical arguments of Orientalism has revealed Edward Said's critique as a brilliant critical approach on occidental representations of the Orient. Whether this Orient alludes to the Middle East or the Far East, Said's discourse of analysis is worldly applied on all culturally different representations. Regardless of the deconstructive arguments about the involvement of Orientalism with colonialism, hegemony, and Eurocentrism; Said's *Orientalism* is present whenever an orientalist's work is under discussion. However, some critics like Nick Clifford and Eric Hayot find Said's theory inapplicable to the occidental representations of China and Japan. On opposition, most of the critics like Robert Kern agree with Said and insist that there is a discourse involvement in the representations of the Far East by American orientalists.

In my study of Snyder's poetry, I hoped to prove that it would be unfair to attach Said's critique with Snyder's representation of China and Japan. The analysis of Snyder's selected poems hopefully draws a defining line between Said's *Orientalism* and Snyder's representation of the Orient. This has been made clear through an intensive analysis of Snyder's translations of Chinese and Japanese poems, and his own writings.

The study of Han Shan's translated Chinese poems has revealed Snyder's success in representing the aspects of Chinese life which are introduced in Han Shan's poems. In many ways, the translation of *Cold*

Mountain Poems assures Snyder's success as an orientalist in his handling of the differences of language and culture. Also, the study of the translation of the eighteen Japanese poems of Miyazawa Kenji reveals Snyder's honesty as a translator and an orientalist. In spite of the cultural and semantic difficulties, Snyder's translation indicates his success in representing Japanese culture to the Occident.

The study of Snyder's own writings also reveals the same attachment with the Orient. The consideration of Snyder's *Mountains and Rivers Without End* shows his appreciation of two forms of oriental art. Both Chinese landscape paintings and Japanese No drama are in the essence of his *Mountains and Rivers Without End*. The analysis of the thirty-nine sections of the long poem evidently reveals Snyder's adoption of oriental paintings and drama in the genesis, making and structure of his long poem.

In this study I even go far to prove how the embracement of Buddhist thinking affects Snyder's poetry. An analysis of the Buddhist themes in Snyder's translations and his long poem has revealed his adoption of Buddhist teachings and practices. This kind of analysis deeply connects Gary Snyder with the Orient in his embracement of the oriental religion of Buddhism in his poetry. The whole study aims to prove that not all occidental representations of the Orient are categorized under Edward Said's terms. With all due respect to Said's appreciated claims in the field study of Orientalism, Gary Snyder's poetic translations and his own poems are free from Said's discourse of analysis.

Consequently the main achieved goals of the thesis assert that although Gary Snyder is recognized as an orientalist, he is not to be categorized in the terms of Edward Said's *Orientalism*. His translation of Chinese and Japanese poetry is not of the same nature of Ezra Pound's *Cathay*. The oriental discourse in his own writings is not connected to Gramsci's hegemony or Foucault's power relations. Neither the adoption of Buddhist thinking is about a fascination of the ancient wisdom of the Orient. The one simple conclusion is that Snyder's poetry is the outcome of his growing cultural awareness. After all, it is one universe for all beings to share, in spite of the diversities and differences.

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THE NATURE OF TRADITIONAL PERFORMANCE HEALING IN MALAYSIA

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ABSTRACT

Traditional healing is a component of anthropological medicine, which uses invasive pharmacological/herbal and non-invasive intervention external stimuli to encourage the body to heal itself using its healing energy. It is invasive in the use of herbal application to address physiological ailments that range from stomach discomfort, fevers, diarrhea, vomiting, snakes and other poisonous creatures bites. On the other hand, non-invasive intervention uses the vehicle of performance to undertake healing.

This paper deals with the nature of traditional performance healing that addresses mainly psychosomatic maladies. In traditional healing, illness is diagnosed as the imbalance or disturbance of a person's spiritual and mental energy called *angin*, which is expressed through irrational behaviour or physiological pain, the result of infestation by malevolent spirits. It is healing that involves both the self and its environment.

The healing process involves, the creation of a consecrated sacred space, offerings, invocations as preliminaries and attendant to the healing process. But the main feature of this healing process is the trance state that is used as the vehicle of interaction with the spirits of the nether world that facilitates the diagnostic process and cure.

The findings of this research are: the nature of the healing process, which is cultural specific is strongly based on the belief system of the specific community; the ritualistic healing ceremony is a communal energy field that invokes the internal healing energy to redress the psychic imbalance.

Key words:--healing, performance, t, psychosomatic, angin, trance.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 DEFINATION

1.1.1 Healing

Healing in this context refers to performance healing, that is, using performance elements to affect the healing process. It is subsumed under anthropological medicine.

Traditional healing is holistic healing, addressing both the body and the mind through invasive and non-invasive means. It is invasive in the use of herbal application to address physiological ailments that range from stomach discomfort, fevers, diarrhea, vomiting, snakes and other poisonous creatures bites. In such cases, the healers referred to as *bomoh* or shamans in traditional societies have an unwritten codified compendium of herbal or pharmacological application developed over the years passed down from generations to generations..

In traditional healing, illness is diagnosed as the imbalance or disturbance of a person's spiritual and mental energy expressed through irrational behaviour or physiological pain, the result of infestation by malevolent spirits. It is healing that involves both the self and its environment. .

Thus, the treatment to address the ailments engages the person's healing energy that encourages the body to heal itself.

1.1.2 Performance

Performance is used as the vehicle for healing. There are two types of healing performances.

1. The healers or healers conduct the healing with only basic elements of offerings. There is no musical or other ceremonial accompaniment. Main Bageh is such a healing ritual.
2. Healing process incorporates the elements of music, movements (dance) and drama (dramatic dialogue). This category can further be divided into

- (a) Rudimentary—such healing performances only employ basic theatrical elements of music and dance, like simple musical instruments (mainly rhythmic phrasing provided by percussive instruments such as bamboo tubes, drums and basic dance movements as in *Sewang*, the healing ceremony of the *Senoi* indigenous people.
- (b) Complex—a full complement healing performance incorporates complex music presentation, dance movements and acting out episodes or a full traditional play as in *Main Puteri* and *Kuda Kepang*.

2. METHODOLOGY

The study area is within Malaysia, in *Kampung Raja, Batu Pahat, Johor (Kuda kepang); Pasir Putih, Kelantan (Main Putri), Morak, Kota Bharu, Kelantan (Main Bageh), Penampang, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah (Bobohizan), Mukah, Sarawak (Pelatoh and Bebayuh)*. This is a qualitative research.

The objective of this study is to compile data on the various forms and techniques of traditional performance healing. The method of data collection involves observing the performance healings, conducting interviews with the practitioners, namely the Shaman, patients and audience. Because of the limited number of active practitioners sampling is limited to one performance per form. Usually, there is only one practitioner in each state, at the most two. The best and well-known practitioner is chosen for the inquiry.

Data were collected using video, audio and stills as well as detailed field notes as the electronic equipment cannot provide a wide spectrum of observation, as they were usually selective in recording data. The electronic data were then transcribed and subject to corroboration by inter raters such as other researchers and scholars as well as team members. The practitioners were consulted to clarify uncertain data. The data was then analysed and presented in a descriptive and also visual format.

3. BACKGROUND--The Nature of Traditional Healing

The two types of healing are individual and communal. Individual healing ritual focuses on psychosomatic or physical illness. Communal healing, on the other hand, addresses the malaise of the communal psychic, which is based on a common belief system (religion), tradition and *adat* (unwritten norms and values) that govern their life's expressions.

In individual ritualistic healing, the Shaman plays an exceptionally important role as a person versed in the necromantic arts and having the ability to interact with the spirit world. Such a person would instill trust and confidence on the patient and convince him of the Shaman's ability to heal him. Thus the link between the Shaman and the patient is of the outmost importance in individual healing.

From the traditional perspective the various non-invasive and suggestive elements such as music, chanting, movements and offerings would placate the spirits to heal the patient. But from the scientific view, these healing paraphernalia are merely auto-suggestive elements and may act as placebo to activate the brain to release hormones that would have a curative effect on the patient.

The communal healing becomes an infectious process linking the members of the community as in the case of *semah kampung*, which is the spiritual cleansing of the village. Such healing rituals offer psychological safety and security to the members of the community.

Communal effect is also present in individual healing in which the audience too benefits from the ritual. Those who are stressed or have some kind of psychosomatic maladies may find relief in such performance healing ceremonies.

In the case of personal or individual healing, the performances, which employ varying theatrical elements with different level of complexities focus both on diagnostic and curing. On the other hand, performance for communal healing which are used for exorcising evil spirits and placating the good ones for thanksgiving, usually employ the normal theatrical performance. In such cases full-length performance of *Wayang Kulit, Makyong* or *Mek Mulung* are presented. And stories or episodes that have metaphysical or divine cosmic implications such as *Dewan Muda* in *Makyong* and *Murwakal* in *Wayang Purwa* are performed for their metaphysical and mystical connections between the real and the nether world. **1** Such communal healing performances are done as an annual cleansing of the community or as thanksgiving. It is also performed in the event of pestilence, plague and other calamities that befall the community in an effort to placate the spirits to reverse the condition. In East Malaysia, such performances are held as a preventive measure to avoid pestilence and other disasters and also as a cure in the event of such a disaster.

Performance healing incorporates the following elements of

- i. Dance, music and drama.
- ii. Chants invoking the spirits of the nether world to aid in the healing
- iii. Olfactory applications such as incense smoke; smells of leaves, barks and roots.
- iv. Offerings consisting of food items, flowers, incense and sometimes perfumes (cheap ones) and consecrated water are prepared.

These items are prepared not only for the benefit of the patients but much more so placate the spirits and to convince the patients of the efficacy of the healing rituals.

4.. DISCUSSION--The Nature of Illness in Traditional Healing

Both physiological and psychological illnesses are treated in traditional healing. However it mainly treats psychosomatic illness caused by spirit possession, which can cause behavioral aberrations and neurosis when the patients exhibit symptoms of being detached from reality like when they experience hallucinations. Marital and social problems such as divorce, loss of jobs, deaths and miscarriages can also cause depressions and neurosis.

All of these types of ailments can provoke physical pains such as body aches, insomnia, loss appetite, fear of the dark especially during sunset for those suffering from spirit possession.

Besides these ailments, traditional healing also addresses the rejuvenation of psychic energy or *angin*, which controls the overall well being of an individual. A low or negative *angin* is reflected in a lethargic condition or depressive mood as well as an overall feeling of malaise, coupled with body aches and pains.

To alleviate these conditions, the *angin* has to be rejuvenated by way of ritualistic healing of *Main Bageh*, *Main Puteri* or performances of *Wayang Kulit* and *Makyong*.

4.1 The Healing Process

Traditional healing is cultural specific taking into account the tradition, norms and values, which shape individual and communal psyche that together with the physical and spiritual environment in which the community exists fashion their cosmos and belief.

The healing process usually involves various levels of trance states experienced both by the healer and the patients. There are two types of trance state in a performance, namely possession trance and reduction of consciousness trance. Possession trance is defined as when a person is possessed by an external entity, force or energy commonly referred to as spirits as in *Kuda Kepang*, *Main Puteri* and *Main Bageh*. Traditional practitioners believe that these spirits exist in a different parallel dimensions to ours. In animistic belief, the spirit world forms an integral part of the people's livelihood for they serve as a reference and guide posts for the life process of rite de passage, agricultural and other economic activities as well as for healing purposes.

They serve as a psychological security for the animistic believers who ascribe to them all manners of ailments as well as the occurrences of natural phenomena. For these spirits are believed to aid in alleviating various physical and spiritual and cerebral sufferings and they are responsible for one's overall wellbeing.

The second type of trance is the reduction of consciousness trance, in which part or parts of the person's anatomy are disassociated from the overall physical self as in the dance *Dabus*. In this case the dancers pierce their arms with sharp iron rods without feeling any pain. It is a case of mind over matter, which involves autosuggestion as well as the ability to control pain. It is as if the mind signals the brain to cut off the pain by either releasing pain reduction hormones to desensitize certain parts of the anatomy. **2**

What happens in a trance state and what causes the practitioner to be elevated into a different level of awareness? From the traditional perspective, spirits invoked by the music, offerings and the prayers possess him and control all his actions, enabling him to execute extraordinary physical, sometimes almost supernatural actions.

The spatial configuration of the healing environment, which incorporates both the physical and physiological space, forms part of the healing process. Normally, in such healing, a dedicated physical space is created in the form of a *bangsal* or stage replete with its attendant paraphernalia of props, hangings, offerings, musical instruments and the healers. The ritualistic ceremony elevates the physical space into a spiritual dimension. Such a ceremony involves the chanting of mantras/doa, music and movements that create a mystical aura, which enhances the patient's expectations of being healed, thus psychologically tuned into a right frame of mind for the healing to take effect.

4.2 Angin and the Causes of Psychosomatic Illness

Angin or *semangat* or psychic energy is central to a person's health and well being, specifically mental health. For changes in mental health can provoke various physical maladies and behavioral derangement.

In traditional societies it was believed that spirits caused the misalignment of the *angin* or *semangat*, thus causing changes in behavioral pattern, neurosis and other mental aberrations. Such belief has over the years developed a variety of shamanistic responses ranging from exorcism, herbal intervention and healing performances to address the psychosomatic maladies. Thus this ritualistic intervention has become the mainstay of traditional healing.

Traditionally, it is believed that when the psychic energy is in a state of imbalance, the person exhibits psychosomatic cerebral and emotional aberrations and inconstancies, which is explained as being possessed by spirits/demons and other beings from the nether world.

Usually such belief is embedded in the religious cultural matrix of the communal psychic. As a result, psychosomatic maladies are attributed to the work of spirits that possessed the patients because of activities and transgressions that provoked their wrath. This is a convenient way of explaining any deviation from the normal behaviour for such explanation is consonant with the communal belief system.

Such communal belief system that is the result of hereditary patterns passed down through generations from our ancestors have conditioned the community towards certain psychological and physical responses in response to certain external stimuli causing physical ailments and emotional stress.

These conditioned responses, attitude, behavior become embedded in the psychic of the individual. And their physical and emotional responses as a result of the external stimuli and internal hereditary mechanisms are referred to as the *angin* in traditional societies.

5. RESULTS

1. Healing is cultural specific based on the belief system that can range from animism to Islam. The community has been conditioned to the ritualistic healing through hereditary passed down from their ancestors. And their conditioned response is etched in their DNA. **3**
2. The ritualistic healing is infectious; it benefits both the patients and the audience in individual healings and the whole community in communal healings. While the patients in individual healings feel cured, the audience in both individual and communal healings feels invigorated by renewing their psychic energy.
3. Mainly psychosomatic ailments due to spirit infestation and social and marital problems that cause depressions and other cerebral aberrations readily lends to traditional performance healing.
4. From the occult point of view spirits caused the illness because of violation to their domain by way of transgressing their abode, such as forests, mountains, rivers or taking plants, flowers and other jungle produce by not placating them. The Shaman needs to identify the spirits responsible for causing the illness and placate them by making offerings to them to cure the afflicted possessed persons.

5. From the scientific perspective, the elements of healing such as music, movements, chants and offerings act as a placebo to activate the pharmacy of the brain to release chemicals like dopamine, opioids, endorphin to address illness caused by stress, depression caused by social and marital problems.⁴

6. The healing process function as sympathetic magic shifting the ailments to another object like the offerings, which are floated down river after the ritual healing ceremony or placed at the foothills or the base of mountains and some on top of the mountain as in Mount Kinabalu, the sacred spiritual bode of the Kadazan/Dusun people.

6. CONCLUSION

Before the advent of modern clinical medicine, anthropological medicine was the norm for it was the only form of health care available. The community relied on the skills of the shaman or bomoh or medicine man who was versed in the necromantic arts of the spirits cosmos and the herbal pharmacological intervention. The healing powers of both the patients and the healers were much more intense and potent. And the bond between the patient and the healer was dynamic and interwoven linked by their respective psychic energy.

The healing targeted and attempted to activate the internal healing energy of the patients through non-invasive stimuli such as chanting, music and offerings. And self-healing was more of a norm than an exception. In the healing process elements of trance (full possession trance, semi trance state and reductions of consciousness trance), elevate both the shaman and the patients to an altered state of awareness to enable them to interact with the spirits. Ritualistic objects such as offerings and symbols of animistic spirits place the patients in a relax mode to be receptive to the Shaman's healing ritual. In this way it shifts the worry and other trepidations from the patient to the Shaman.

The traditional healing mainly addresses psychosomatic illness the result of stress and depressions due to mental psychosis brought about by social problems, black magic or self phobia (hypochondria). In addition it could also deal with the more common physiological trauma and illness such as sprains and muscle injuries that do not require invasive applications.

From the scientific perspective the healing rituals employ autosuggestion and the elements act as placebo to activate the self-healing energy. The various ritualistic external stimuli such as music, movements, chanting, olfactory and visual stimuli, activate the various brain waves and the release of hormones such as opioid (a natural brain opiate) dopamine, endorphins that relieves the pain and generate the healing process. ⁵

The traditional healing, which is also referred to as alternative medicine or therapy could form part of modern health care to address not only the physiological but also physiological ailments.

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SELF-STUDY RESEARCH

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Abstract

Self-study research is a methodological practice that is characterized by the way in which the role of the "self" is examined within the context of the research project. This is done in correlation with an examination of the "space" between the researcher and the practice being engaged in. At the present, self-study research has been considered an adequate means of approaching various psychological studies due to its overall compatibility with action research and the fact that self-study research utilizes a variety of qualitative methodologies in order to explore various substantive issues. Overall, due to the emphasis that self-study research places on reflection, it has been determined as an adequate method in helping to enrich various forms of two-tiered action research projects. The purpose of this research project is to examine the impact of I.A.M (Interest, Attitude, Motivation) practices on the external events that lead to the formation of ones' internal identity from a professional, personal and scholarly standpoint. The study takes the assumption that practices involving interest, attitude and motivation directly influenced the way in which the life of the research developed personally and professionally. In consequence, I.A.M practices will become the independent variable while life experiences and general personal/professional pursuits become dependent variables. Clark et al. (2012) posited that a dependent variable is directly influenced by the independent variable, and is altered either positively or negatively depending on the effect of the self-regulating variable. Based on this description, the study will be guided by the (Interest, Attitude, Motivation) conceptual framework.

Keywords

Self-Study Research, Interest, Attitude, Motivation

Purpose:

The purpose of this research project is to examine the impact of I.A.M (Interest, Attitude, Motivation) practices on the external events that lead to the formation of my internal identity from a professional, personal and scholarly standpoint. In order to accomplish this, I will examine various events in my life in order to discover how I.A.M practices have shaped my

current behavior, personality and the way in which they have impacted my personal and professional pursuits.

Literature Review:

A- Qualitative Research:

The difference between qualitative and quantitative research studies is actually pretty straightforward, quantitative research focuses primarily on numerical analysis and statistics (Lipscomb, 2012). It is usually utilized as a means of examining the question "how much". This entails attributes that can be assigned/ classified to a particular population based on the results of the research (Lipscomb, 2012). For example, quantitative research designs can examine how many instances of obesity have occurred within a particular population and how does this correlate with the general accessibility of fast food restaurants within a given area (Lipscomb, 2012). Qualitative research on the other hand is more exploratory in that it tries to examine and explain particular aspects of a scenario through a more in-depth method of examination (Bansal & Corley, 2012). While it is applicable to numerous disciplines, it is normally applied to instances which attempt to explain human behavior and the varying factors that influence and govern such behaviors into forming what they are at the present (Bansal & Corley, 2012). Thus, it can be stated that qualitative research focuses more on exploring various aspects of an issue, developing an understanding of phenomena within an appropriate context and answering questions inherent to the issue being examined (Branthwaite & Patterson, 2012). From a certain perspective, it can be stated that a qualitative research design attempts to answer the question "why" (Shuval et al., 2011). For example, instead of trying to determine the amount of obese people within a given sample, a qualitative research design would attempt to answer what particular behavioral or social attributes cause people to become obese in the first place (Shuval

et al., 2011). As such, a qualitative research design attempts to be more exploratory in its approach rather than the more "black and white" nature that can be found in quantitative methods of examination (Moore, 2012).

B- Self-study Research:

In essence, self-study research is a methodological practice that is characterized by the way in which the role of the "self" is examined within the context of the research project. This is done in correlation with an examination of the "space" between the researcher and the practice being engaged in (Samaras, 2010). Basically, it is a means of written self-reflection from which contextual data related to particular psychological issues being examined are recorded. After which they are analyzed in order to develop an understanding regarding particular predilections and "tensions" within the researcher which are related to various contexts in biography and history (Casey, 2012). At the present, self-study research has been considered an adequate means of approaching various psychological studies due to its overall compatibility with action research and the fact that self-study research utilizes a variety of qualitative methodologies in order to explore various substantive issues (Lunenberg & Samaras, 2011). Overall, due to the emphasis that self-study research places on reflection, it has been determined as an adequate method in helping to enrich various forms of two-tiered action research projects (Jones & Maddison, 2009). Its proper application usually consists of researchers recording their reflections and conversations prior to performing a particular type of research and then doing so after the research has been completed in order to determine changes in opinion and to understand the myriad of complexities that are inherent to particular topics that are being examined (Morrison, 2012). Another factor that should be taken into consideration when it comes to self-study research is that when it comes to gathering the necessary reflections it is usually the case that

methods of narrative inquiry are utilized such as written reflections or writing emails. While it may be true that other methods of recording do exist (i.e. video or audio transcriptions) it is usually recommended that written forms of self-reflection be utilized due to their more insightful nature.

Conceptual framework (with diagram)

The elementary function of a conceptual framework is to outline and assess the varied interrelationships that exist between phenomena or variables thought to form a critical constituent of the situational dynamics under study (Galea, 2012). Wu, Viswanathan & Ivy (2012) shared that the theoretical framework is modeled around the interrelationship between the independent variables and the dependent variables, in this case considered to be instrumental in informing I.A.M (interest, attitude and motivation) practices and how these variables or constructs influenced the researcher's personal and professional development (Wu, Viswanathan & Ivy, 2012). (Figure 1)

The study takes the assumption that practices involving interest, attitude and motivation directly influenced the way in which the life of the research developed personally and professionally (Walijarvi, Weiss & Weinman, 2012). In consequence, I.A.M practices will become the independent variable while life experiences and general personal/professional pursuits become dependent variables (Park & Overby, 2012). Clark et al. (2012) posited that a dependent variable is directly influenced by the independent variable, and is altered either positively or negatively depending on the effect of the self-regulating variable (Clark et al., 2012). Based on this description, the study will be guided by the following conceptual framework.

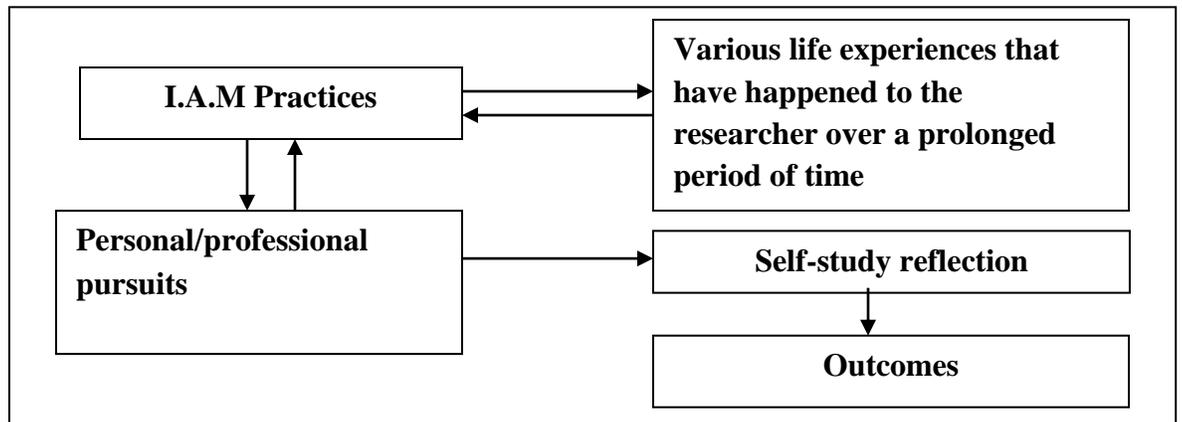


Figure 1: Theoretical Schema Used to Guide the Study

Research Questions:

How does interest, attitude and motivation influence the external events that happen in key moments throughout my life which impact the way in which I pursue various goals whether personal, professional or scholarly in nature?

Methodology:

A- Research Method

I used narrative as a research method where I looked to different stories that I went through at different stages of my life. A narrative research method utilizes a combination of academic literature and personal perspectives in order to explain particular issues, theories and events. This particular research methods works by interspersing personal perspectives with relevant academic data in order to depict the arguments or explanations that a researcher is attempting to convey to a reader (Hardy, Gregory & Ramjeet, 2009). While this particular type of research method is at times criticized due to its lack of academic veracity, the fact remains that direct views from the

subjects that are being examined is often a great way of obtaining an insight about a particular problem or case by delving into the perspectives of subjects who have been impacted by such situations. Since the type of research that will be conducted is self-exploration, a narrative research method thus seems to be the best method to utilize in this particular case. (Wiles Crow & Pain, 2011)

B- Data Collection

I collected the data of my self-study research through several ways. For eight weeks, I was writing continuously my journals after each class and whenever I feel I have something important to say. Also, through that period of time, I started to collect my important artifacts that tell something about me and I did a museum exhibit where I did a presentation about them. I invited two of my friends who are graduate students in different fields and I asked them to take field notes while I am presenting and I showed them how to divide the page into two columns to use the first one in writing important statements I said and the other one to write their insights and interpretation. I recorded my presentation and I listened to it later and had field notes too. Furthermore, I transcribed an interview lasted for half an hour done by one of my peers in which she asked me questions and I answered them elaborately. Also, I used Arabic classical music that reminds me of certain critical situations in my life and I wrote them down in points.

C- Data Analysis

To analyze the data, I gathered all my printed journals, field notes, interview transcription and looked for themes and important statements and experiences. I looked for interconnectedness and relations between different stories or events. I picked the stories that I felt were critical for my

life and for shaping my identity. The themes were generated from the data were the notions of choice, voice and the fear of failure.

D- Self-study presentation

I chose to present my narrative under different sub-titles. I decided on each sub-title according to the content in each section. Before I started writing each section, I presented a saying that is meaningful and powerful for me. In some parts, I used dialogue because at some points it was essential for the plot of my narratives as it embodied the person I am talking with in a way that makes the reader get the point clearly and be engaged in the narratives. Moreover, I used chronological order to present my narratives as I think it is the best way to present gradually what I went through.

Story Introduction

The main theme of this research study is how interest, attitude and motivation influence the way in people attempt various actions throughout their life which, as a result, have long term consequences resulting in the creation of their present day self. Without the I.A.M framework, people would be less likely to pursue anything and would be more influenced by external events than internal perspectives over what they want in life.

The Notion of Choice:

" teaching and learning are a shared enterprise which demand acknowledgment of the bright and dark sides of humanity- a space in the continuum of time where we give one another permission to listen, liberate, respect, transform, and to heal one another"

Grace Feuerwerker

“During my school years in Saudi Arabia, I never had a choice in my learning. It is so hard when someone feels unable to take his/her own decisions, unable to do what he/she wants and unable to disagree with teachers” (Alghamdi, D. unpublished professional journal, September 19th, 2012).

Going back to my schooling in Saudi Arabia, I was never satisfied by the learning experiences I went through because I had no choice in what I was learning and I was not allowed to form my own knowledge. In classrooms, all the students were forced to memorize what the texts provide for test scores. I was an excellent student and got high grades always but this didn't mean anything to me. I felt that there is something missing but I didn't know what it was at that time.

Classes in Saudi Arabia are teacher-centered rather than learner-centered. During the class, the teacher is the main figure inside the classroom. In this kind of education, the teacher is a lecturer, the sole source of knowledge and the absolute leader of the learning process, while students' only role is to receive and repeat. In this case, students are passive figures in the classroom and unable to reach the phase of production. Accordingly, it becomes difficult for the students to practice what they learn, to ask questions and to negotiate meanings. Moreover, the main stream of such classes focuses on individual work and underestimates the effectiveness of group work.

After the first year of high school, which is grade 10, students should decide to join either Science or Humanities for grade 11 and 12. I was very enthusiastic because I wanted to join Humanities in order to study Psychology in my undergraduate degree because this is what I want, love and feel myself tight to. I went to the registration office to ask for the form that I

should fill to choose between Science and Humanities and I never forget the dialogue took place between me and the registrar at that time.

I: Hello, Can I get the form that enables me to choose between Science and Humanities?

The registrar: We don't have such a form

I: I don't understand because I am graduating from grade 10 and I should choose my specialization for the next two years. Am I right?

The registrar: Well, you are going to either Science or Humanities but we will determine which one each student goes to.

I: What? What are the criteria for determining each student path?

The registrar: The grades. I mean if you get a high percentage in your grade 10 year, you will be enrolled in the Science and if you get 70% or below, you will be enrolled in Humanities.

I: I see, what are the roots behind this classification?

The registrar: We believe that smart students who get high percentage should go to science because science is for smart people.

I: Ok, I got your point

After this conversation, I left the registration office. I was really shocked and surprised of their ignorance to the students' desire. They told me the higher percentage you get the more likely you join Science. I left the registration office with astonishment, anger and worries. I was not feeling anything around me as if I was in a black room walking alone desperately. The reason of that reaction was my realization that I will be placed in Science not Humanities as I want. After I went home, I thought about it and decided to go to Humanities whatever it costs even if I will change the school. That moment was very critical to me because I always believe that each person should decide his/her future. I went to the principal and asked her to take few minutes to discuss an important issue, so she welcomed me and I explained to her that I want to transfer to Humanities.

The Principal: Dalia, you are an excellent student and one of the top 10 in grade 10, we need you in science.

I: what do you mean by you need me in science?

The Principal: As you know there is a local competition between different schools in each city every year for grade 12 before you graduate, we need you with our school team to compete other students from different schools as we want to win this competition, this will happen if you are with us because you are an intelligent person.

I: Ok, I will be with the Humanities team and win the competition for the Humanities department. My final decision is to transfer to Humanities.

The Principal “ok, but you have to sign a paper that you are responsible for this decision and if you decided to go back to science we won’t let you”.

I: “thanks.

After this conversation I signed the paper and left her office. I was so happy, excited and celebrated that victory.

Utilizing the I.A.M (Interest, Attitude, and Motivation) framework in evaluating this particular moment in my life, it can be seen that my interest in the Humanities leads me to choose Humanities instead of Science as my specialization. It was the attitude that I had that time that lead me to pursue what I really wanted that resulted in me taking the necessary steps in contacting the principle and shifting towards the specialization that I wanted. In this particular period of my life, it can clearly be seen that the I.A.M framework greatly influenced where my life would go from a scholarly standpoint since through my own internal desires to shape an external event this lead me towards an entirely different path of my own making. If I had not been influenced by my interest, motivation and attitude, it is very likely that I would have been placed on an entirely different educational path.

The Notion of Voice:

"All politics can do is keep us out of war; establishing a lasting peace is the work of education"

Maria Montessori

Two years passed so fast and then it was my graduation day from high school. I spent a very memorable vacation visiting several cities in Saudi Arabia. During the vacation, my parents asked me what you are going to study in your undergraduate degree. I told them with happiness and excitement that I chose Psychology. My mom rejected the idea because Psychology is only in the university and my mom insisted that I go to the college not university. The college had only five majors at that time: History, Geography, Arabic, English and Religion. I had to choose one of them and I chose English literature. I had no choice or voice and I was forced to go to the college. "We always have dreams but not all dreams come true, sometimes we are forced to do things that we really don't want to do but we don't live in this world alone as sometimes families, circumstances or luck played a role in our life. I think our voice is not always heard" (Alghamdi, D. unpublished professional journal, September 25th, 2012). I had hard times during my first semester because this was not what I wanted; however, I did well in my four undergraduate years and I graduated with very good percentage and with honor.

It should also be noted that the I.A.M framework that influences individuals can also create a distinctly negative impact on external events within an individual's life. In this case it can clearly be seen that since my educational path was not chosen for me and was instead forced upon me, this resulted in a distinctly negative performance during my early years in college. While it may be true that my grades improved, this was due to my increasing level of interest and motivation in the course I was in which lead to a change in attitude.

The Fear of Failure:

"It's easier to be ignorant and say I don't know about the problem. But once you know, once you have seen it in their eyes, then you have a responsibility to do something. There is strength in numbers, and if we all work together as a team, we can be unstoppable"

Craig Kielburger

I remembered my first class teaching which I considered difficult, as it was my first time to teach English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in a classroom. All the pre-service teachers were facing difficulties because it was the first time for them to teach; however, EFL teachers were facing more difficulties because of the same reason plus the fact that they were teaching using English Language. All the teachers in the practicum were instructing using their mother tongue language which is Arabic except the EFL teachers and I was one of them. Teaching English language in a society that does not have places where people can practice it is not an easy task. The problem has been always the practice. In other words, how can we practice? During my four year-college period, I was studying English Language and Literature. I was enjoying; however, I was not practicing what I am learning. As students, we did not have the chance to participate and our role was to listen to what the instructor was saying. We did not have the varied strategies that teachers should use in the class like group work, pair work, open book exams and other ways of learning. When we participate in the class, it was just a word or phrase that we share. It was a teacher-centered learning style which I consider unfair, as the students were not given the chance to participate in the class and express their opinions properly.

In my third year before the practicum, I kept asking myself “how am I going to teach? I have never done this before”. I was really worried and had the fear of failing. A few days later, I was walking in the corridor of the college where I found an ad that promoted a three day workshop to learn how to teach. I was shocked, and thought that it would be a miracle to learn how to teach in only three days. I have been three years in the classes and I didn’t know how to teach yet. I decided not to attend the workshop because this didn’t make any sense to me. However, I was forced to attend the whole three days as there were attendance sheets where we

have to sign in. We were threatened that if we didn't attend, marks will be deducted from all our courses. Consequently, we attended that workshop and the main idea of the workshop was that there were teachers from different intermediate schools presenting different English lessons from different units as if we were intermediate students. So we had to act like intermediate students and engaged in the lessons. Teachers used charts, pictures and cassettes to transmit the subject matter to us. The problem in that way was the inability of student teachers to try teaching and get feedback. We didn't practice teaching, so what this workshop added to me, in my opinion, was nothing except frustration.

When I started my practicum and I can't forget that hard experience. At that time I was trying everything to teach and I didn't know what would be the best and what I should avoid. As a result, I had a hard time finding someone to talk to. I wanted to reflect on my classes with someone who had experience and takes bits of advice that helps me but I couldn't. I couldn't say to someone my class didn't go well or I don't know how to teach this part and so on. There was competition between all student teachers that prevented everyone to talk frankly about what they experienced in classroom. Moreover, when a mentor came to evaluate any student teacher, she expected that they should know everything about how to teach. I couldn't dare to ask about anything as I was afraid that this would be a point against me.

I was worried during the practicum for several reasons. Firstly, I was thinking all the time about how I best determine the objectives of each lesson. Secondly, how I best explain certain parts like grammatical rules to the students. Moreover, how I should make the students involved in the class participation through using group work presentations and peer reviewed for certain assignments. My main concern was to make students learn English by fun and applying other different strategies. Although I did a great effort, I always felt that I lack the professional

preparation program for teachers. I passed the practicum with A+ but what does this mean. Is this grade an indicator that I am a good teacher?

In this instance it can clearly be seen that the I.A.M framework is at work during this time in my life wherein I have taken up learning how to teach others English. For example, since I was interested in teaching others this led to me taking the workshop in order to improve my English speaking skills. When it came to my motivation, it can clearly be seen that I continued to try my best in applying what I knew in order to teach others since I had the desire to do so. Lastly, it was my attitude of continuously striving to do all that I could that made me doubt my performance despite the A + given.

The Significance of this Study:

This study is significant because it helped me construct meanings about my personal, professional and scholarly life. What made me the person who I am now are my ambition and my belief in my ability. These experiences made me a strong, hard working and ambitious person and formed my identity. After conducting this self-study, I strongly became sure that I want to conduct a study that investigates the impact of using reflective practice on teachers in Saudi Arabia. I want teachers to have a safe environment where they can share, reflect and speak without fear about what they do, need and want. I want them to have a voice, choice and have no fear from failure as I want them to say it is not failure, it is experiences.

Limitations of the study:

The main limitation of this study lies in the fact that it relies primarily on the personal views of the researcher in order to make connections regarding the impact of external events on the formation of an individual's internal identity from a professional, personal and scholarly

standpoint. As such, this creates a significant degree of research bias and calls into question the academic veracity of the study since the results have the potential to be manipulated in a way that conforms to what the researcher needs instead of what relevant academic literature says should be the case. It should also be noted that this study utilizes a very limited amount of academic literature to back up its claims.

Validity and reliability:

The validity and reliability of the research findings are based on a combination of the researcher's own life and relevant academic literature. As such, there is little doubt in the mind of the researcher that the views presented within do not match the requirements needed for a study of this nature. It should also be noted that the researcher followed proper research ethics when it came to the creation of this study. As such, all data and findings that have been presented inside the study comply with the necessary ethical and moral framework expected of a research student.

Conclusion:

Based on what has been presented within this paper, it can clearly be seen that interest, attitude and motivation clearly have an impact on external events and the way in which my life plays out whether in the personal, academic or professional sense. This study made me dig deeply into myself to discover who I am and the way my identity has been formed.

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SHAIKH FARID UD DIN MASOUD

(LIFE AND WORK)

DR. ASMA QADRI

دیکھ فریدا جو تھیاشکر ہوئی وس
سائیں باجھوں اپنے ویدن کہئیے کس

This is a verse from Farid a 13th century Punjabi poet which could be translated as:

Farid, do you see what has happened? Sugar has turned into poison. Who would care to hear of this affliction except our love our guide.

But we can do justice to this two liner only if we know a little more about Farid and his way of life. For that we will turn to a near contemporary source called FwaidulFwad, "The Essence of Essences". FwaidulFwad was a record of conversations which Hassan Sijzi a Persian poet and prose writer had with his guide Nizamuddin of Delhi from 28th January 1308 to 5th September 1322 Nizamuddin (1238-1325) a celebrated Sufi master was a disciple of our poet Farid. Farid wanted to be away from Delhi the centre of imperial power of Turkish Sultans. He chose to live near Ajodhan, a small town in southern Punjab on the bank of river Satlaj. Nizamuddin visited Farid in 1269 when the old poet was near the end of his long life. He missed no opportunity to talk of Farid's way of living and his views on various aspects of life. Nizamuddin tells us that Farid would often say to a frequent visitor, "May God bless you with pain of heart." The man was troubled by this strange blessing. Niazamuddin explained Farid's words in detail with the help of a story. Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabraizi a practicing Sufi scholar was sitting in front of his door when a curd seller passed that way. He lived in a jungle nearby where thieves and dacoits had their camps. While passing the man found Jalaluddin's eye pursuing him. He stopped and said, "True is the faith which has followers like you. Make me your pupil". Sheikh Tabraizi obliged him. The man went home and returned with a lakh of Jitals (local currency) which he placed in front of his new master. Sheikh Tabraizi told him, to keep it and spend it as and when instructed. The man started giving the money to the needy according to the master's instructions. He was finally left with one dirham. He was worried. Sheikh Tabrizi's minimum order is of five dirhams. What would he do if a needy comes now? Nizamuddin gives us the moral of the story. Sheikh Tibrizi's action has changed the man's consciousness. The man had accumulated the money for his own use by looting the haves. Now by dishing it out to the have-nots in accordance with the wishes of Sheikh Tibrizi his lust for money has been transformed into love for his master's concerned heart. He is worried now not for the loss of money but for his inability to comply with the Sheikh's coming instruction for donation. Perhaps it was this concern for the other which the man had discovered in Tabrizi's eye when he first saw him sitting in front of his door. And that concern has now come to be located in his own consciousness.

Nizamuddin tells us that this urgent love inspired concern for the other was the pain of the heart Farid desired for his visitor. It is the physically experienced intensity of concern for those rendered helpless by the socio - economic system. Farid had by choice adopted dire poverty as a way of living. Out of his own earning he kept less than minimum for himself. What others gifted him for his teaching he immediately gave away to the resource less. Farid spent a long life with the struggling workers of a small town away from the centres of power raised on the basis of exploitative accumulation.

Farid's poetry is rooted in his experience, the shared experience of those among whom he lived. It was customary for the intelligentsia in those times as it is today, to use the language of the elite for creative expression. But Farid composed his poetry in the language of his community. His

imagery comes from the experience of working people and things of everyday use become his tropes. This could pose an unexpected problem for the learned readers.

Farid do you see what has happened? Our sugar has turned into poison. Who would care to hear of this affliction except our love our guide.

What does shakkar or sugar stand for here? Could it not? be the natural and instinctive seeming trust which the working people felt for each other. It was this trust that gave them the strength and security to stand with each other in extremely trying circumstances. It was a common experience in the old time that the hand made shakkar or sugar became bitter and harmful if kept unused for long. The mutual trust that shared work and collective ownership of means of production brought about has turned into bitter mistrust and competitive hostility under a system depending on individual ownership. Farid presents the historical situation before his fellow beings and invites them to foreground the suppressed collective love in order to struggle for a change.

As FwaidulFwad tells us the work of Farid was continued by his disciple Nizamuddin who unlike his master chose to stay in Delhi. Nizamuddin 's popularity among the common people was often seen as a potential threat by the rulers. But the popularity at the same time prevented them from taking any suppressive action against him. We find Farid's celebration of collective love as the essential means of a fundamental change in another two liner :

برہا برہا اکھئیے برہا توں سلطان

جت تہ برہا نہ اُچے سو تہ جان مسان

"Love, let us proclaim your the universal sovereignty. You are the true Sultan. The body where love cannot grow is a graveyard."

Farid's work became the beginning of the long tradition of Punjabi poetry marking through ages the people's resistance against the prevalent socio-economic order and their struggle for an alternative politics. Arguably this could be the reason why Nanak (1469 - 1539) collected the work of Farid and left it with his successors to preserve and pass on, along with his and their own work, to the future generations.

Reviewing Joko Widodo's First-Year of Presidency: A Portrait of Sino Indonesia Relations through a Pragmatic Lens

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Abstract

Driven by domestic political interests and geopolitical realities, the Sino-Indonesian relationship in the first year of the Joko “Jokowi” Widodo presidency has considerably improved. In line with his pragmatic approach to foreign policy, Jokowi has taken advantage of relations with China to build up his vision of transforming Indonesia into a “global maritime fulcrum”. Yet, some pundits have been quick to criticize his approach to China as an attempt to redefine Jakarta’s commitment to adhering to its core foreign policy principles of “independent and active” (*Bebas-Aktif*). By examining the dynamics of the Sino-Indonesian relationship during Jokowi’s first year in office, this paper seeks to assess whether the Jokowi administration continues to maintain post-Suharto era pragmatism or is slowly hedging towards China. This paper serves two arguments. First, the Jokowi administration has not diminished the intrinsic value of Indonesia’s *Bebas-Aktif* foreign policy when dealing with China. Second, the administration continues to maintain a pragmatic foreign policy approach, albeit more investment-focused, which was also practiced by previous presidents. This paper will primarily focus on the economic and geopolitical factors that motivate Jakarta’s foreign policy approach with China, as to establish how the relationship caters to the core strategic interests of Indonesia.

Keywords: Jokowi, Sino-Indonesia relations, foreign policy, *Bebas-Aktif* policy, national interests, pragmatism, global maritime fulcrum

Introduction

In front of an audience of businesspeople on 4 November 2014, newly-elected President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo made his first public English-language speech as president of Indonesia. He was addressing hundreds of potential investors at the 2014 Asia-Pacific Economic Partnership (APEC) CEO Summit in Beijing about the untapped potentials of investing in Indonesian infrastructure, particularly maritime. Recognizing the numerous policy and bureaucratic obstacles to doing business, Jokowi ensured that his administration will endeavor to clear as many obstacles possible (Widodo 2014). The commitment to attract and accommodate foreign investors has been one of the basis of Jokowi-era foreign relations. In its first year in office, the Jokowi administration has fostered strong ties with China, upon which infrastructure development, investment, and trade have become the foundations of the relationship. While the Jokowi administration has continued Indonesia’s “Independent and Active” (*Bebas-Aktif*) foreign policy, it has begun prioritizing relations with countries that are more “beneficial” to Indonesia’s economic interests, as part of its “pro-people diplomacy”. China’s development-oriented government under President Xi Jinping has thus, received favorable attention from the Jokowi administration.

As a part of the Xi administration’s overarching objective of exporting Chinese technologies and production capacity, Xi has unleashed the “One Belt, One Road” (OBOR) initiative to improve trade links and connectivity in Asia. The Maritime Silk Road (MSR), a key component of the OBOR initiative announced during Xi’s visit to Jakarta in 2013, has attracted much attention from Indonesian policymakers since its announcement. The Jokowi administration sees much benefit from partaking in China’s OBOR, particularly its MSR component, and was quick to support China’s Asian Investment and Infrastructure Bank (AIIB) in 2014. The intertwining of the strategic economic objectives of the Jokowi and Xi administrations has been the cause of improved Sino-Indonesian ties during Jokowi’s first year in office. Yet, many pundits have been quick to criticize this close relationship as hedging towards China and an attempt to redefine Jakarta’s commitment to adhering to its core foreign policy principles of *Bebas-Aktif*. This paper seeks to address this argument by assessing the Jokowi administration’s key strategic objectives and foreign relations approach to China in his first year of office.

The paper will be divided into three sections. The first section will briefly look at the history of Sino-Indonesian relations to assess how foreign policy actors in Jakarta have sought a more pragmatic approach to dealing with China. The second and third sections will focus on the primary strategic interests of the two countries – economic and strategic interests – in order to assess how these interests have directed Indonesia’s foreign relations approach to China. The argument that this paper poses is that while Sino-Indonesian relations have been dynamic under Jokowi, the pragmatic nature of Indonesia’s foreign relations approach continues to dictate a certain level of distance with China, due to Indonesia’s own geopolitical interests. While the intertwining of economic interests bind the relationship together, concerns over China’s geopolitical and economic interests in Southeast Asia continue to harm the relationship. Nonetheless, there is room for optimism, as the Jokowi administration seems highly committed to fixing the bureaucratic obstacles facing Chinese investment.

China within Indonesian Foreign Policy

Driven by domestic political interests and geopolitical realities, the course of Indonesian foreign policy has been erratic since independence. Internationalist and anti-imperialist under Sukarno, Indonesian foreign policy was scaled down to focus on strengthening national and regional resilience under Suharto. In the post-Suharto era, Jakarta has created a synthesis of foreign relations from the two preceding periods: maintaining an active role in Southeast Asia while promoting itself internationally as a democratic and Muslim-majority middle power. What has remained consistent is Jakarta's commitment to adhering to the conceptual framework of an "independent and active" (*Bebas-Aktif*) foreign policy, a dictum first coined by Indonesia's first vice-president, Muhammad Hatta. Introduced in his famous speech, "Mendajung Antara Dua Karang" (Rowing between Two Coral Reefs), Hatta declared that Indonesian foreign policy would be pragmatic, independent, and dictated by its own national interests. Sukma (1995) argues that this foreign policy attempted to send two messages to the international and domestic public. Internationally, Jakarta would declare itself non-aligned and that it is unwilling to commit to either bloc in the Cold War. Domestically, the speech was meant to address the concerns amongst the country's ideologically divided elite over how to decide Indonesia's position in the new Cold War environment. Although certain ideological elites would alternately gain the upper hand and shift Indonesia's attitudes during the Cold War, the malleable nature of the *Bebas-Aktif* foreign policy allowed leaders to justify their foreign policy decisions while maintaining Indonesia's claim as a non-aligned country.

The foundation of diplomatic relations with China in 1950 was based on Jakarta's eagerness to present itself as a non-aligned power. However, because of its dependence on American aid and opposition from domestic forces, Indonesia's leaders carefully distanced themselves from China. In fact, it was not until 1954 that Indonesia sent its first ambassador to Beijing.¹ There were deep suspicions of China's intentions in Indonesia, particularly amongst the military and the Islamic community. Relations between the two countries were often strained over the treatment of the ethnic Chinese, who were frequently seen as communist sympathizers.² Tensions were made worse by Mao's policy of providing financial and material aid to communist movements and insurgents all over the world, including Indonesia. However, Jakarta and Beijing found common ground in foreign policy. A common spirit of anti-imperialism marked the relationship between Beijing and Jakarta throughout much of the 1950s, most notably in 1955 when Premier Zhou Enlai visited the Asian-African Conference and called for a "united front" against Western imperialist forces. Relations heightened in the 1960s when Indonesian foreign policy took a more radical turn after President Sukarno declared that a just and prosperous Indonesian society can never be achieved when imperialism, capitalism, and colonialism remained endemic international problems. In 1963, Indonesia gradually formed an entente with China, dubbed as the Beijing-Jakarta Axis (Pyongyang and Hanoi were added in later years). Nonetheless, this relationship was based on very fragile foundations, as

¹ Until 1954, Indonesia's mission in Beijing was headed by a Charge D'Affaires. On the other hand, China sent its first ambassador to Indonesia in 1951.

² Ethnic Chinese-association with the CCP originated from *pribumi* dissatisfaction over ethnic Chinese privileges during Dutch times. Following massacres and attacks on ethnic Chinese settlements during World War II and the Indonesian National Revolution, a huge number supported PKI, which had close ties with the CCP. David Mozingo has written a good discussion on this topic: Mozingo, David. 1976. *Chinese Policy Toward Indonesia, 1949-1967*. Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press.

the Indonesian army and Islamic community remained suspicious of China's intentions (Sukma, 1995). Thus, when China was accused of being involved in the leftist killings of 6 Indonesian generals on 30 September 1965, the relationship collapsed.

In 1967, General Suharto became president and froze diplomatic relations with China. This decision was based on two factors. First, following accusations by the army that China was behind the failed 30 September killings, there were strong demands by Muslim and nationalist youth groups to end diplomatic relations with China. Due to the volatile political situation at the time, Suharto had little choice but to accept their demands. Second, the Suharto administration justified its rule by presenting itself as the protector of the state from Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and its two linkages: China and ethnic Chinese Indonesians. These three actors were unified under the banner of "communism", referred to by Sukma (1999) as the "triangle threat", and became the largest obstacle to the normalization of diplomatic relations. Thus, a doctrine of anti-communism replaced Sukarno-era anti-imperialism as the driving ideology of foreign relations with China. This explains why Indonesia continued to refuse normalization even after the Sino-US thaw in 1972, while other Southeast Asian countries sought cordial relations with Beijing. Mao's death and the emergence of Deng Xiaoping relaxed concerns regarding China's strategic threat to Indonesia, particularly as Deng abandoned China's revolutionary foreign policy and financial support to Indonesian communists. While there were attempts by senior government officials, particularly Foreign Minister and then Vice President Adam Malik, to restore diplomatic relations in 1978 and 1981, there remained domestic opposition and bitter distrust of Beijing within the country's strategic community over China's intentions. As Wayne (1985) notes in his 1983 interview with Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, 'Indonesia is in principle ready to normalize relations with China, and has been waiting for an opportune time so that normalization will not upset development and stability in Indonesia'.

By the 1980s, the relationship between China and Indonesia began to warm. Economic difficulties in the early 1980s, caused by a decline in oil income, forced the Indonesian government to diversify its economy (Booth, 2011). The Indonesian Chamber of Commerce (KADIN) saw China as a lucrative market for Indonesia's growing manufacturing industry and led a quiet campaign to re-open trade ties with China. In 1985, Sino-Indonesian trade ties were normalized. While the resumption of trade ties had little effect on the government's eventual decision to normalize relations, it signaled the strengthening of the pro-normalization camp in government. The Foreign Ministry, which led the pro-normalization camp, was tasked to campaign for chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in 1989. However, this campaign failed, as Indonesia was no longer considered by some NAM powers as a "non-aligned" country. Sukma (1998) and Leifer (1983) note that as Indonesia did not possess diplomatic relations with China, some powers saw Indonesia as veering more to the American camp during the Cold War. Thus, as part of Suharto's own endeavor to see Indonesia active in the international community, the Indonesian government approved of normalization. Diplomatic relations was restored on 8 August 1990, just two days after a visit by Chinese Premier Li Peng to Jakarta. However, even after the end of the Cold War, Indonesia did not seek to drastically improve its relationship with China, unlike other countries in ASEAN. The New Order regime, which continued to maintain its legitimacy on anti-communist rhetoric,

preferred to continue its foreign policy legitimacy by distancing itself from communist powers. Suspicions of China's intentions and fears of Chinese interference in domestic Indonesian affairs pertaining to ethnic Chinese Indonesians³ also prevented any significant improvements in the relationship.

Bilateral relations took a turn following the fall of Suharto in 1998, which was triggered by the 1997/98 Asian Financial Crisis. A surge of violence against ethnic Chinese Indonesians erupted, testing the bilateral relationship. However, both powers were able to handle the crisis well. China, sticking to respect Indonesia's sovereignty, treated the anti-Chinese riots as a domestic issue. Additionally, China provided financial assistance to a number of Southeast Asian countries in the form of credit and loans. For instance, China contributed US\$500 million to the International Monetary Fund's US\$43 billion bailout package, as well as providing US\$200 million in export credits to help Indonesia rebound its economy (Sukma, 2009). Recognizing China's growing economic and strategic importance, Indonesia began to alter its China policy. This act, along with its willing participation in multilateral institutions, improved China's image as a responsible and generous great power.⁴ The end of the Suharto presidency significantly altered Indonesia's China policy. While relations were based on semi-ideological, semi-*realpolitik* foundations under Suharto, ideology was completely taken out of the equation.

The foundation of this relationship in the post-Suharto era lies on trade, economic cooperation, and growing people-to-people ties. Successive presidents since Abdurrahman Wahid has seen China as an important balancer to American influence in Indonesia. Moreover, under President Megawati Soekarnoputri, Indonesia actively courted Chinese investment, especially in the energy sector, and the relationship featured more dominantly in successive high-level visits to China.⁵ Under President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the relationship was upgraded to a Strategic Partnership in 2005, which saw enhancements in economic, cultural, and security ties. The relationship was upgraded again to Comprehensive Strategic Partnership in 2013. In 2010, following the implementation of the China-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement, China became Indonesia's largest trade partner (Chandra & Lontoh, 2011). Yet, certain insecurities regarding China's geopolitical and economic intentions remain. Domestic concerns about growing Chinese investment in Indonesia and China's aggressive behavior in the South China Sea remain thorns in the relationship. With the democratization of foreign policymaking,

³ Sino-Indonesian relations suffered a setback in 1994 when the Chinese Foreign Ministry expressed "concern" and called on Jakarta to diffuse tensions amidst anti-Chinese riots in Northern Sumatra. This was perceived by some domestic Indonesian actors as an attempt to interfere in Indonesia's domestic affairs.

⁴ According to Pew Global Research Center, Indonesians consistently have favorable views of China. On average, 64% of Indonesians have favorable perceptions of China between 2005 and 2014, while an average of 30% have unfavorable views. For more information, see: Pew Global Research Center. 2015. "Opinion of China". <http://www.pewglobal.org/database/indicator/24/country/101/>

⁵ The 1st Indonesia-China Energy Forum was established in September 2002, resulting in a number of major energy projects. One of the biggest deals was the sale of natural gas to the Chinese province of Fujian in 2002, with agreed sales prices of US\$2.4 per tonne for 20 years. The investment was mostly led by Chinese oil company, China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC), and has also increased its presence by taking over five of seven oil fields controlled by RepsolYPF in 2002 and simultaneously investing in the US\$8.5 billion liquefied natural gas project in Tangguh, Papua. By 2008, it controlled over 33 gas fields and 85 offshore facilities, and produced crude oil from 420 wells. CNOOC has been positioned among the top five oil and gas companies operating in Indonesia.

parliament and civil society have become much more vocal actors in shaping foreign relations. Ruland observes that parliament, also known as DPR (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* or People's Representative Council), has pushed the government towards a more self-interested and nationalist foreign policy (Ruland, 2009). Interestingly, while DPR has been vocal about Indonesia's foreign relations with neighboring countries, the mood remains fairly positive when it comes to China. Unlike during the Sukarno and Suharto eras, perceptions of China in DPR are now shaped by recognition of China's growing role as a major investor and trade partner. Statements by major parliamentarians have largely focused on calling for greater economic cooperation and to call on for more Chinese investors in Indonesia. However, Indonesia's widening trade deficit with China has led to calls for alterations to the ACFTA agreement and more protectionist trade measures (ANTARA News, December 2009).

Economic Diplomacy and the Global Maritime Fulcrum

Jokowi-era foreign relations are markedly different from that of his predecessor. More concerned about furthering domestic priorities, the Jokowi administration is moving away from the Yudhoyono-era dictum of "million friends, zero enemies" and adopting a more self-interested foreign relations approach. While the administration seeks to continue good relations with all powers, relations will be prioritized based on how the relationship would be beneficial for Indonesia (Wardhy 2014). Foreign policy under Jokowi has been driven by the administration's ambition to transform Indonesia into a "Global Maritime Fulcrum" (*Poros Maritim Dunia* or GMF). The central basis of the GMF is to foster Indonesia's maritime identity by enhancing the country's maritime economic potential and national resilience (Widodo, 2014). This vision has driven foreign relations during Jokowi's first year in office. With a focus on improving maritime connectivity and infrastructure – such as "sea highways" and development of maritime tourism and fisheries industry – foreign relations under the Jokowi administration is more concerned with inviting more foreign investors and promoting Indonesian products overseas. In his first meeting with Indonesian ambassadors, consul-generals, and consuls in early 2015, Jokowi announced that 'the roles of our diplomats are crucial in the efforts to turn our negative trade balance into a surplus one. Ambassadors must be able to promote our products' (Saragih and Parlina, 2015). Apart from expectations that diplomats can find ways to increase Indonesian exports, Jokowi has also tasked Indonesian diplomats to attract more foreign investors to invest more in creating job opportunities for Indonesians and invest in ambitious infrastructural developments, such as proposals to construct deep seaports and bullet trains.

At the 2014 APEC Summit, Jokowi was direct in informing Beijing that he expected the relationship would lead to 'more concrete outcomes' (Priyandita, 2015). Jokowi announced that he would no longer allow Indonesia to remain a market and would seek ways to ensure fair trade with all trade partners, particularly China. Nonetheless, he recognized China's significant potential as an investor, particularly through its OBOR initiative, and how Chinese interests could interlink with Jokowi's own objective of improving national infrastructure and connectivity. The next section of this paper will focus on the economic factors that shape Sino-Indonesian relations in Jokowi's first year.

Trade and Economic Cooperation: Pragmatic Backbone of Sino-Indonesia Bilateral Relations

Jokowi Resorts to Pragmatism

Economic development has been the backbone of Jokowi-era international cooperation. The downward trend of the global economy and inevitable trade openness has pressured the Jokowi administration to pledge massive infrastructure development to spur growth. This initiative embarks from two underlying problems. First, the administration has stated that Indonesia's economic foundation has relied too much on the extractive sector. Meanwhile, dependence on the extractive sector alone is no longer feasible within the realities of today's international market, as it would not guarantee Indonesia's own economic competitiveness. Second, many Indonesian islands remain unconnected and, as a result, most are self-sufficient economies that do not contribute or benefit from the national economic production and distribution process (Amindoni, 2016). Hence, higher value output and sufficient infrastructure that ensures connectivity is essential for Indonesia's own economic success.⁶

With economic growth slowing sharply, government revenues have fallen short of projections and has thus, pressured the government to leave no stone unturned in increasing its reliance on foreign direct investment in order to boost growth and cure its myriad economic handicaps from a decade of missed opportunities in infrastructure (Schwarz, 2016). The requirements are massive, as Jakarta estimates US\$450 billion worth of investment is needed to fund its infrastructure plans from 2014-2019, which comprises of six new refineries, 35,000 Megawatts of electricity capacity, and fifteen airports. In this respect, only thirty percent of the funding for these projects can be provided from public spending, while the remainder must be channeled from foreign capital (Suzuki, 2015).

China's position as a major economic power provides much hope for foreign capital. The basis of Jokowi's GMF lies on vital domestic goals through building connectivity among the strategic islands of this far-flung archipelago, mainly by upgrading port infrastructure (Neary, 2014). Interestingly, these visions resonates more closely with Xi Jinping's idea of a 21st century Maritime Silk Road, which fits in well with one of the GMF's core objectives to transform Indonesia into a global swing point for trade flows between the Middle East and North Africa, South Asia, and East Asia. As both plans align easily, it opens the feasibility of working together to implement the dual maritime strategies and bring progress with the principle of mutual advantage.⁷

⁶ Jokowi asserted his commitment to build new infrastructure on the outskirts of developed areas and in villages outside Java by allocating Rp.314 trillion (roughly US\$22.5 billion) in the 2016 state budget to diminish uneven development. See Ayomi Amindoni, "No More Javacentric Infrastructure Projects: Jokowi", *Jakarta Post*, 10 January 2016, available at <<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/01/10/no-more-javacentric-infrastructure-projects-jokowi.html>>; "From Aceh to Papua: Jokowi's Infrastructure Vision", *Jakarta Globe*, April 2015, available at <<http://jakartaglobe.beritasatu.com/archive/aceh-papua-jokowis-infrastructure-visions/>>

⁷ The initial realization of this aligned vision was signaled through China Minsheng Investment (CMI), which has confirmed the plans to construct the CMI Indonesia Industrial Park as part of Beijing's OBOR strategy. For more detailed information, see "Deciphering mixed signals on foreign investment in Indonesia", *Oxford Business Group*,

The Jokowi administration is clearly supportive of a greater Chinese economic role in the region and has been eager to deepen relations with China, in order to encourage more investment in Indonesian infrastructure. In a recent interview with *Bloomberg Television*, Jokowi stated that he is confident that more Chinese infrastructure loans and lower borrowing costs can help Indonesia reach a 7 per cent growth target by 2019.⁸ His statement implies the expectation of mutual dependence between two countries, as China requires raw materials from Indonesia and in contrast, Indonesia needs Chinese investment for its infrastructural projects that include more than 3,000 kilometers of railways lines, 24 ports, and 2,000 kilometers of roads by 2019 (Bloomberg Business, February 2016).

During Jokowi's first overseas trip for the 2014 APEC Summit in Beijing, he began shoring up support from Chinese government and business leaders. He also addressed his expectations for deeper cooperation on trade and investment, particularly on the development of maritime infrastructure – as Jokowi (2015) emphasized on the mutual benefits of strategic partnership, 'Indonesia has rich natural resources, and China has knowledge and experience in the field of infrastructure.'⁹ The progress was then showcased in March 2015 when Jokowi, along with State Owned-Enterprises Minister Rini Soemarno, met with Xi to discuss various bilateral issues and witnessed the signing of several MoUs on issues that range from finance to natural disaster management (Tempo News, March 2015). Importantly, this might also be considered as a new platform for launching the Sino-Indonesian Maritime Partnership where both sides declared the two policies – Xi Jinping's MSR and Jokowi's GMF – as "highly complementary to each other" (Tiezzi, 2015).

The relationship is not only restricted to the numerous high level meetings, but it has also deepened institutionally. In early 2015, Indonesia's Investment Coordinating Body (BKPM) launched a plan to open a representative office – Indonesia Investment Promotion Center (IIPC) – in China that aims to assist mainland investors penetrate into the Indonesian market (Yulisman, 2015). China will simultaneously bring rocketing funds and open more manufactories that have strategic economic value for Indonesia in order to materialize the Comprehensive Strategic Partnership into more concrete outcomes.

The pragmatic juncture of Indonesia's relationship with China was further highlighted by Indonesia's decision to join the China-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). As of October 2015, China has offered up to U\$100 billion in total investment in various projects, which include joint-venture

18 November 2015, available at <<http://www.oxfordbusinessgroup.com/news/deciphering-mixed-signals-foreign-investment-indonesia>>

⁸ For a more detailed information of this interview, see Chris Brummitt, "Jokowi Leans on China, Central Bank to Revive Indonesia GDP", *Bloomberg Business*, 11 February 2016, available at <<http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-02-11/jokowi-seeks-china-funds-rate-cuts-to-meet-indonesia-gdp-target>>

⁹ See "Jokowi Holds Bilateral Meeting with Chinese President Xi Jinping", *Antara News*, 26 March 2015, available at <<http://www.antaraneews.com/en/news/98273/jokowi-holds-bilateral-meeting-with-chinese-president-xi-jinping>>

infrastructural projects between the Indonesian government and Chinese investors (Okoshi, 2016). Among these projects is a controversial high-speed railway connecting the cities of Jakarta and Bandung. This project will be jointly led by Chinese and Indonesian businesses, including several Indonesian state-owned enterprises.¹⁰ After ostensibly sparking a slight diplomatic tension between Indonesia and Japan, this groundbreaking megaproject eventually took place on 21 January 2016. The Chinese government agreed to provide a loan with an interest rate of two percent, while a consortium of Indonesian state-owned enterprises would cover 60 per cent of the project's total budget (Siswo, 2016). In essence, this watershed event does not merely remark the initial step of high-speed railway construction, but also signals the possibility of another "groundbreaking" project between the two countries, that could either be based on Public Private Partnership or through the scheme of AIIB between two countries.

In early 2016, the Jokowi administration announced its plans for a two billion dollar loan from the AIIB to fund four infrastructure projects. This amount is to be allocated for highway construction in East and North Kalimantan, expansion of the country's railway networks, development of a potable water project, and a transmission-upgrade project for a television station (Utami, 2016). In comparison to Indonesia's experience with the Washington Consensus after the Asian Financial Crisis, this infrastructure loan does not place Indonesia in the position of the debtor. Instead Indonesia is considered a 'partner' amongst lenders, since Indonesia is a signatory of the AIIB MoU and already committed to acquire US\$672 million of the lender's capital.¹¹

A Challenge within Pragmatism

Although rising Chinese investment is a promising solution to fill the funding gaps of Indonesian infrastructure, they still seem to be less strategic in nature. First, in terms of figure and commitment, Chinese FDI is still relatively insignificant compared to other large foreign investors, such as Japan and Singapore, both of which have materialized more than sixty percent of investment deals. BKPM reported in April 2015 that the total Chinese FDI over the period from 2010 to 2014 was just 4 per cent of the amount invested from Singapore and equivalent to about 14 per cent of that from the United States.¹²

¹⁰ Jokowi rejected a Japanese bid for the railway project and awarded it to China Railway International Company and a consortium of Indonesian state companies in October 2015, including state construction company PT Wijaya Karya, railway operator PT Kereta Api Indonesia, and toll-road builder PT Jasa Marga. For more informations, see "Indonesia rewards China's 'courage' with high-profile rail contract", *CNBC Asia-Pacific News*, 30 September 2015, available at <<http://www.cnbc.com/2015/09/30/indonesia-gives-high-profile-rail-contract-to-china-after-beijing-loan.html>>

¹¹ See "Indonesia Signs MoU to Join Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank", *Indonesia-Investments*, 29 November 2014, available at <<http://www.indonesia-investments.com/news/todays-headlines/indonesia-signs-mou-to-join-asian-infrastructure-investment-bank/item2663>> ; Sri Jegarajah, "AIIB vital to meet Asia's funding needs: Indonesia Finance Minister", 30 June 2015, available at <<http://www.cnbc.com/2015/06/30/aiib-vital-to-meet-asias-funding-needs-indonesia-finmin.html>>

¹² According to Indonesian Finance Minister, Bambang Brodjonegoro, Chinese investment's realization is below ten percent, which means from 100 commitments only 10 materialized. See Ayomi Amindoni, "Indonesia turns to

Moreover, BKPM's 2014 figures also revealed that of the US\$18.4 billion of Chinese investment announced over the preceding five years, only 6 percent had materialized, although an Indonesian government official mentioned large increases in Chinese investment were forthcoming (Hart and McRae, 2015).

Second, the cooperation scheme with China seems to be complicated. China has been running a significant trade surplus with Indonesia, whereas Indonesia has experienced a trade deficit in the field of non-oil sectors for the last few years. In 2014, two-way trade reached \$48.23 billion, with Indonesia's exports valued at \$17.6 billion (Indonesian Ministry of Trade, 2015). The government has been trying to ameliorate the issue by taking advantage of China's capital injection and shifting the ties from trade into investment for the expansion of production base. The purpose is to ensure that Indonesia can produce higher value-added output that is not merely for domestic consumption, but also to export into other parts of the Asia-Pacific region. For instance, along with the massive influx of investment into Indonesia, China together with Singapore, has signaled its enthusiasm towards a production base initiative. It has expressed interest to build and manage Special Economic Zones (SEZ) in Indonesia that spread over eight areas with each having a respective focus, such as palm oil processing and tourism. Of those eight zones, Sei Mangkei in North Sumatra and Maloy Batuta in East Kalimantan have already started operations that gained remarkable economic support from Chinese investors (Soeriaatmadja, 2015). Yet, this good news has a side effect. Chinese investment in Indonesia and the lifting of visa restrictions for Chinese citizens have led to an increase of uncertified Chinese laborers into Indonesia who come to work on infrastructure and manufacturing projects, thus lessening job opportunities for locals. This has resulted in propagated suspicions over China's tightening partnership with Indonesia and might perpetuate negative stereotypes of Chinese people within the Indonesian community.¹³

The successful growth of Sino-Indonesian relations is based on timing, as there is much eagerness in Indonesia for Chinese capital injection to help fund infrastructure projects. Similarly, Chinese investors need new places to spur additional incentives for pushing their business envelopes. Despite many investment plans that have yet come to realization, with the recent deal made between Xi and Jokowi through aforementioned high-level meetings, one can expect for an increasing upwards trajectory in the coming years. According to BKPM (2015), this based-on opportunistic approach of bilateral cooperation will ensure that China will jump from its current ranking of ten largest investors to the top three investors within five years. It is important to Indonesia also quickly address the issue of Chinese migrant workers before any social implications emerging from it hamper Sino-Indonesian ties.

China for capital and trade", *Jakarta Post*, 27 January 2016, available at <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/01/27/indonesia-turns-china-capital-and-trade.html>

¹³ From January 1st 2014 to May 31st 2015, Indonesian Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration has given permission to 41,365 Chinese workers to enter Indonesia. For a more detailed news, see "JK Minta Menteri Tenaga Kerja Cegah Banjir Buruh Cina", *Tempo*, 31 August 2015, available at <https://m.tempo.co/read/news/2015/08/31/173696600/jk-minta-menteri-tenaga-kerja-cegah-banjir-%20buruh-cina>

Indonesia's Strategic Outlook Towards China: A Rejuvenation of Independent and Active Policy

Southeast Asia, particularly Indonesia, is seen as a great source of economic opportunity by China. Due to its geographic proximity and the various power statuses of Southeast Asian countries, this region is surely a bellwether for how its rise may affect the world (Storey, 2009) – particularly as China sees Southeast Asia as the gatekeeper that determines the success of the Xi administration's OBOR initiative. On the other hand, for Indonesia, China's remarkable growth has brought significant benefits and has been an engine of growth for macroeconomic, especially through foreign direct investment. However, in line with China's assertiveness in the region and rising suspicion towards China, it is an inevitable signal for Jokowi to redefine his strategic outlook to deal with a whole series of challenges towards Indonesia's commitment on foreign policy as well.¹⁴

Redefining Independent-Active Policy as a Policy of Self-Interest Policy

The strategy of many Southeast Asian countries in coping with China and the United States do not fit neatly into international relations theory. Goh (2008) notes that the strategy has a common two-pronged approach. The first prong of the strategy is what she calls the "omni-enmeshment" of major powers in the region, including China and the US. This stance involves reaching out to as many powers as possible and binding them to the region through multilateral institutions, such as the ASEAN Regional Forum, and free trade agreements. The second prong is the 'creation of a complex balance of influence', which entails efforts to maintain US preponderance in the region through base access agreements, exercises, and ship repair facilities, as well as economic and diplomatic instruments. The essential goal from this second prong is to promote a regional hierarchy with the US in the first tier as a superpower, China in the second, India and Japan in the third, followed by ASEAN, Australia, and South Korea in the fourth.

During Jokowi's first year of presidency, Indonesia's strategic outlook towards China is different from the aforementioned prongs that could be juxtaposed from the reinterpretation of the *Bebas-Aktif* policy and the format of "concentric circle". Indonesian foreign policy under the Yudhoyono administration was often painted with dictums like "a thousand friends and zero enemies" and "all-directions foreign policy" – a set of foreign policy ideas that boosted Indonesia's international image and helped sustain its impressive growth in foreign trade and investment (Connelly, 2015). Yudhoyono also sought to improve ties with both the US and China through bilateral and multilateral approaches, while making a show of diplomacy with Iran and North Korea. More importantly, Indonesia strongly engaged with ASEAN and maintained the regional organization as the cornerstone and mainstay of Indonesia's foreign policy.

¹⁴ For a more in-depth discussion about Jokowi's challenges in earlier years, see Michael Bachelard, "Joko Widodo: Man with a Mission", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 June 2014, available at <<http://www.smh.com.au/lifestyle/joko-widodo-man-with-a-mission-20140609-39rui.html>>.

Hereby, Goh's first prong became evident in which Indonesia's primary concentric circle was focused on ASEAN, followed by Pacific countries like Australia, Papua New Guinea, Timor-Leste, and New Zealand. The third circle was represented by East Asian economies including Japan, China and South Korea. The outer circle was thematic multilateral institutions (including, but not limited to, the Non-Aligned Movement, Organization of Islamic Cooperation, G20, and the United Nations).¹⁵

When Jokowi took oath with little interest in continuing his predecessor's focus of developing international reputation, the *Bebas-Aktif* policy faced rejuvenation. Thus, the long-standing concentric circle was also configured based on a foreign policy of self-interest. The Jokowi administration's first year was prone to adopt a "cherry-picking strategy", that allows Indonesia to reach newer heights of pragmatism by eagerly focusing in a complex hedging strategy and recklessly engaging with any party that can bring benefits for Indonesia. During the APEC Summit in Beijing, Jokowi vividly told the media that he would prioritize diplomatic relationships that are *bona fide* for Indonesia¹⁶:

"Our foreign policy is independent and active, befriend all countries, but we will put first those who give the most benefits to the people. What is the point of having many friends, but we only get the disadvantages? Many friends should bring many advantage."

Hence, it is still far-fetched to make assumptions that Indonesia is tilting towards China. Unlike past administrations that prioritize "inner circles" of the concentric circle, the Jokowi administration determines the importance of countries based on their strategic and economic importance to Indonesia's national interests.

Personalized Foreign Policy and Geopolitical Weight

Waltz (1979) argues that secondary states, "flock to the weaker side" and balance against the rising power. In contrast, Walt (1987) maintains, "the weaker the state, the more likely it is to bandwagon rather than balance." Accentuating Indonesia's position as a strong state, Jokowi simply beats both arguments. It is axiomatically true that *Bebas-Aktif*, as the soul of Indonesian foreign policy manifestation, still significantly contributes in Jakarta's engagement with the international milieu of major and minor powers. However, it is worth noting that Jokowi, with his redefined *Bebas-Aktif* policy, has allowed

¹⁵ For a clearer discussion on Indonesia's foreign policy concentric circle, see Hadiano Wirajuda, "Rethinking RI's foreign policy concentric circle", *Jakarta Post*, 11 April 2010, available at <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2010/04/11/rethinking-ri039s-foreign-policy-concentric-circle.html>

¹⁶ For a more detailed assessment of Jokowi's speech, see "Jokowi Signal Break with 'Thousand Friends' Foreign Policy", *Jakarta Globe*, November 2014, available at <http://jakartaglobe.beritasatu.com/news/jokowi-signals-break-thousand-friends-foreign-policy/>

Indonesia to increase its maneuverability where cooperation with other states must be based on issues of mutual concern.

As a case in point, Indonesia also carries geopolitical weight because of its position as an archipelagic state astride the major bottleneck straits connecting the Indian and Pacific Oceans. As a result, Indonesia's foreign policy under the Jokowi administration is reflected on a comprehensive standpoint of the Indo-Pacific region, which is redefined into a more integrated maritime world of the Indian and Pacific Oceanic systems and focused on geographical components of domestic development.¹⁷

The vision was stipulated at the East Asia Summit in Naypyidaw in November 2014, when Jokowi addressed five pillars of his global maritime nexus, namely: (1) Rebuilding Indonesia's maritime culture where the Indonesian people must be aware of, and see themselves, as a people whose identity, prosperity, and future will be determined by how they manage the oceans; (2) Safeguarding and managing maritime resources, with a focus on building marine food sovereignty, through the development of the fishing industry; (3) Prioritizing the development of maritime infrastructure and connectivity, with the development of the sea corridor, deep seaports, logistics, shipping industry, and tourism industry; (4) Inviting all Indonesian partners to cooperate in the maritime field through maritime diplomacy; and (5) Establishing a maritime defense force as the country that has become the fulcrum of the two oceans and responsible for guarding the safety of shipping and maritime security. It seems that the first three pillars are mainly domestic developments, focusing on culture, fisheries, and infrastructure while the latter two focus on challenges related to diplomacy and defense, which are traditional security issues (Sambhi, 2015).

The Jokowi administration has based its foreign policy of self-interest by taking advantage of its relations with the US and China, while carefully considering the strategic interests of the two powers. Thus, there is a "division of labor" in Jakarta's conduct of foreign relations with Washington and Beijing. China is the primary partner for Indonesia's economic interests, as China has overtaken the US as the largest trade partner. Additionally, as China is geostrategically emerging in the Indian Ocean, through its OBOR initiative, Indonesia would more likely hedge with China for long-term cooperation that is based on mutual interests and gradually cultivate Indonesia's role as a maritime power between the two oceans. Relying on pragmatic interests, Indonesia also perceives China as having demonstrated respect for sovereignty in the region (through its policy of domestic non-interference) and the rise of China is seen as a possible solution to some of Indonesia's economic woes regarding infrastructure construction and investment. On the other hand, China sees Indonesia as a key littoral nation near strategic maritime

¹⁷ It was explicitly mentioned by Jokowi at the Ninth East Asian Summit. See the full speech at Jokowi, "Remarks to the Ninth East Asia Summit, Naypyidaw, Myanmar, 13 November 2014", available at <<http://www.rappler.com/world/regions/asia-pacific/indonesia/74928-pidato-jokowi-indonesia-poros-maritim-dunia>>.

checkpoints, where China's energy flows. Indonesia is seen as a vital partner in ASEAN and increasingly as a major fellow developing country in global institutions (Hart and McRae, 2015).

In response to China's Nine Dash Line claim over the South China Sea, the Jokowi administration's strategic outlook towards China remains cautious, but tougher. Yet, without triggering open confrontation with China. In an interview with Japanese newspaper, *Yomiuri Shimbun* on 22 March 2015, Jokowi said China's claim does not have legal foundation in international law.¹⁸ However, recognizing the importance of ensuring and retaining its friendly relations with Beijing, Jokowi later clarified his statement in Tokyo, arguing that Indonesia just wanted to help accelerate the completion and implementation of a Code of Conduct on the South China Sea dispute and is ready to be a "mediator", without siding with any party involved in the territorial dispute. It was then followed by a statement issued by Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi that 'Indonesia has no overlapping claim whatsoever with China' – along with the increased militarization of Natuna Island as Indonesia's strategic move to strengthen its defenses in the South China Sea.¹⁹

As a defense partner, Indonesia favors Washington over Beijing. The US is likely to be more substantive on security issues and is perceived as a provider of broad-based public goods to the region, including military security. The US' longstanding relationship with the Indonesian military during the reign of Suharto have rapidly resumed under the Jokowi administration. Despite American bans on military-to-military engagement, imposed over human rights abuses in Santa Cruz tragedy, security ties have been closer than ever.²⁰ There are now more than 200 engagements between Indonesian and US forces annually, and a rapid increase of US military sales to Indonesia, including the purchase of F-16 fighters and Apache attack helicopters. Apart from tightening relations with Japan, Indonesia has also been forging closer relations with the US. During his visit to the White House in October 2014, Jokowi met with President Obama and made a deal to upgrade bilateral relations to a strategic partnership. In addition, both states also signed a joint statement on comprehensive defense cooperation, comprising co-development and co-production of defense equipment, and a MoU highlighting the importance of maritime issues (Hart and McRae, 2015).

¹⁸ For a more in-depth explanation about Jokowi's stance on South China Sea, see Kanupriya Kapoor and Linda Seig, "Indonesian President says China's main claim in South China Sea has no legal basis", *Reuters*, 23 March 2015, available at <<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-indonesia-china-southchinasea-idUSKBN0MJ04320150323>>

¹⁹ Indonesian Defense Ministry would spend more than Rp. 200 billion (US\$14.2 million) to strengthen the base on Natuna Islands. Interestingly, Indonesia might be partnering with Japan for the military base upgrade.

²⁰ US-Indonesia relations had been strained by events in East Timor and other reports of human right abuses, American reaction to the 1997–98 Asian Financial Crisis, and the Megawati administration reluctance to address the threat of terrorism in Indonesia to American satisfaction. For a more detailed discussion, see Daniel Novotny, *Torn between America and China: Elite Perceptions and Indonesian Foreign Policy* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010).

Along with the aforementioned “division of labor”, Indonesia is still very careful in managing its relationship with Japan. Following the debacle over Japan’s failure to win a bid for bullet trains, Indonesia’s foreign and defense ministers met their Japanese counterparts in Tokyo on 17 December 2015 in the first “2-plus-2” meeting involving Japan and an ASEAN member.²¹ For Japan, the recent meeting might be a part of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe’s ambitious diplomatic strategy of forging closer economic and military ties with Indonesia in aligned with the US and its “pivot to Asia”. For Indonesia, this meeting prevailed as a hallmark of robust relations with Japan, as to prove that the failure to commission the Japanese bullet train project did not harm Japan-Indonesia relations. Furthermore, if bilateral ties with China are likely to be based on “maritime infrastructure”, then a key theme of the recent meeting with Japan was “maritime security” – a notion that certainly reminds nation-states about what is happening between Beijing and its neighbors. Within the geopolitical rivalry between US and China, this meeting concludes Indonesia’s preliminary position in responding to China’s more concrete threat to the region – China’s military build up in the South China Sea – by maintaining a benevolent stance in trade and investment with China.

In sum, Jokowi’s personalized foreign policy during the first year of his presidency is no more than a reactive policy – he would respond to the initiatives of other countries rather than generate ideas or actions of its own in the hope of making it more attractive and reputable in foreign eyes as his predecessor did. Instead, the direction of Indonesian foreign policy will be situational and foreign relations would be dictated by how the Indonesian government deems it detrimental to national interests.

Conclusion

Sino-Indonesian relations have significantly improved in recent years. Under the development-focused Jokowi administration, Indonesia seeks to take advantage of China’s OBOR initiative to develop infrastructure, particularly within the maritime domain. Indonesia continues its objective of taking advantage of China’s growth as a global power to facilitate its key economic interests. While policy inconsistency and hazy anti-corruption enforcement hampered the government’s attempts to attract Chinese investors throughout the first eight months of Jokowi’s year in office, there has been a slight improvement in cutting bureaucratic red tape. Policy changes in the country’s labor and visa laws have led to an increase in Chinese investment in the country. Additionally, China’s victory in security bullet train contracts has increased confidence amongst Chinese investors wanting to invest in Indonesia. However, extractive resources continue to dominate Indonesia’s export market to China. The negative implications have been seen in 2015, as the Indonesian economy was affected by a slight downturn in Chinese hunger for raw materials. The increase of illegal Chinese labor in Indonesia also poses to create new challenges to the relationship, as Indonesians would be competing directly with Chinese citizens, particularly in more rural parts of the country.

²¹ The meeting resulted the Joint Statement of First Japan-Indonesia Foreign and Defense Ministerial Meeting. The document is attached in the official website of Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, available at <http://www.mod.go.jp/j/press/youjin/2015/12/17_js_e.pdf>.

Indonesia's security and geopolitical interests seem to present the largest evidence that Indonesia is not leaning closer to China. First, China's increasingly aggressive behavior in the South China Sea, particularly since land reclamation efforts on Mischief Reef, continues to worry many policymakers in Jakarta. Several high-ranking government officials, including Jokowi himself, have been caught criticizing China's Nine-Dash claims publicly. Indonesia continues to maintain its stance on the South China Sea disputes and, since Jokowi came to power, has increased its naval and coast guard presence near the Natuna Islands. Second, despite Jokowi's overtures in Beijing, Jakarta has made similar attempts to improve relations with other powers in the region, most notably the US and Japan. Indonesia's possible inclusion into the TPP and its purchase of American military hardware are clear signs that Indonesia continues to recognize the US as an important strategic and economic partner. While Indonesia recognizes China as a major partner in maritime infrastructure development, it prefers to forge closer defense ties to the US and Japan.

Arguments and accusations that Indonesia is "leaning" towards China is not only reductionist, but fails to take into account Indonesia's attempts to woo other major powers, particularly the United States. Indonesia continues to maintain a pragmatic approach in its dealing with China, a foreign relations approach that can be dated back to the Sukarno era. It is true that Indonesia is interested in forging closer economic ties with China, due to the intertwined strategic objectives of the Xi and Jokowi administrations. However, the foundation of this relationship can be rooted to the administration's "pro-people diplomacy" and its aspiration to be a Global Maritime Fulcrum rather than any new principle of Indonesian foreign policy approach. Rather, it is perhaps more accurate to argue that under Jokowi, Indonesia's relationship with great powers is more motivated by the question of "who can pay me the most", rather than any clear foreign policy strategy. Such is the question that should be considered by future researchers.

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STAFF MOTIVATION AND SCHOOL LEARNING ENVIRONMENT AS FACTORS FOR IMPROVED PEDAGOGICAL OUTCOMES IN BASIC EDUCATION IN SOUTH WEST NIGERIA.

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Abstract

This work sets out to survey the perception of parents and basic school teachers of the total apparatus of human capacity development and quality of learning environment in south western Nigerian elementary schools. Percentages and frequencies were utilized in answering the research questions. Findings showed that most public school teachers have not benefited from in-service programmes intended for their professional development. The attendant demotivation coupled with erratic payment of salaries and other remuneration tend to make pedagogical output poor. Also, it was observed that most of the school buildings were poorly maintained, some were dilapidated and most of the grounds were unkempt. It was observed that some pupils received lessons in overcrowded classrooms, while others had their classes under trees. It has been said that there is positive correlation between the state of the school's physical plant and pedagogical delivery. Generally, it can be summarized that the State Universal Basic Education Boards (SUBEBs) in southwest Nigeria have not done very well in providing the requisite environment for effective learning outcomes in public basic schools. Government and other stakeholders need to stop playing lip service to public education. In the first place, the work force need to be motivated with prompt payment of salaries, promotion to the next grade level should be done as at when due and teachers need to have unfettered access to in-service training programmes. There may be need for psychotherapeutic counselling interventions to cater for all categories of teaching and non-teaching staff as need arises. Also, public private partnerships (PPPs) should be engaged in providing infrastructural facilities for the schools thus providing better learning environment in the schools.

Key Words: Human Capacity Development, Staff Motivation, Learning Environment, Improved Pedagogical Outcomes

INTRODUCTION

Education is key to the emancipation and freedom of man from repression, fear and want. It is also viewed as the safeguard for the full development of the human personality and his environment (Odeleye, 2010). Education is the mechanism by which a society generates the knowledge and skills required for its own survival and sustenance and which it transmits to future generations through the process of instruction (Odeleye 2008, in Odeleye, 2010).

According to Sperling (2005), lack of quality basic education is one of the silent killers of the economy of developing countries, of which Nigeria is one. Nigerian government over the years embarked on several initiatives to provide quality basic education for her citizenry. One of such initiatives is the launching of the Universal Basic Education (UBE) programme on 30th September, 1999 by the Obasanjo administration (1999-2007). The UBE scheme was introduced in order to take care of the large population of the disadvantaged groups, the rural communities, the girl child, the nomadic, the disabled, the almajiri and the phenomenon of boys drop-out. The welfare of the teachers is another paramount importance, because it is from them that the standard and enhanced learning achievement can be restored. UBE was introduced so that teacher's involvement in curriculum development, in societal mobilization and in the overall educational decision-making process will be improved. The programme was also packaged to make school environment learner friendly by providing appropriate forms of infrastructure and facilities, and recognizing the professional autonomy of teachers and school administrators (Fabunmi, 2004 in Odeleye, 2010).

The race to attain the Millennium Development Goal No. 2 (Education for all by 2015), brought in a lot of students into the school environment. With ready learners in place, it is imperative to have a combined vigorous system of recruitment, training and retention of cutting-edge work-force and a holistic school learning environment to ensure improved learning outcomes.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Basic Education

Basic education worldwide is the foundation for sustainable development and life-long learning. In the Nigerian context, the universal basic education (UBE) covers primary, junior secondary and non-formal education. UBE aims at equipping recipients with appropriate attitudes, skills, knowledge and to ensure that illiteracy is reduced to its barest minimum among the adult population of Nigeria.

The Federal Ministry of Education, Nigeria (2007), section 3 of the National Policy on Education defines basic education as a type of education comprising 6 years of primary

education and 3 years of junior secondary school. The policy stipulates that education shall be free and compulsory. This scheme includes adult and non-formal educational programmes at primary and junior secondary school levels for both adults and out of school youths (Nakpodia, 2011).

Basic education is supposed to provide reading, writing and numeracy skills to the recipients. In Nigeria, State Universal Basic Education Boards (SUBEBs) have the overall responsibility for financing, monitoring and administering elementary education in the thirty six (36) states of the federation (Odeleye, 2010).

Effect of Motivation in Staff performance and Students' Learning

The performance of a teacher is very important in the development of students' interest in learning as well as the educational processes. Akinsolu's (2010) study on Teachers and students' academic performance in Nigerian secondary schools revealed that there is a significant relationship between quantity and quality of teachers and students' academic performance in the Nigerian secondary schools. In other words teachers' performance affect the learning outcomes of the students they teach. Akinsolu's study also revealed that teachers competency and adequacy is a remedy for attainment of educational goals and objectives. Ijaiya (1998) in a study on problems of teacher staffing in Kwara State secondary schools discovered that there is a severe shortage of teachers in Kwara State secondary schools resulting in poor quality teaching and mass failure of students. Several reasons may be given for this shortage, a major one being lack of motivation of staff which has led to high attrition rate.

Motivation:

Motivation and performance are two concepts that are closely related. Many believe that people who are more motivated in the workplace perform better; motivated individuals are very fond of their work (Kotherja and Rapti, 2015).

Motivation is a cause or reason for engaging in a behaviour, and people are often motivated to fulfill their needs. Motivation can also be defined as a theoretical construct used to elucidate behaviour. It characterises the reasons for people's actions, desires, and needs. Motivation is what causes a person to want to repeat a behaviour and vice versa (Wikipedia, 2016).

According to Harvard professor David McClelland, there are three key needs that employees aim to fulfill:

- 1) Achievement
- 2) Power
- 3) Affiliation

The need for achievement is a desire not just to get things done but accomplish things that others cannot do. It is a drive toward the pursuit of challenging accomplishments and reflects an orientation towards tasks.

The need for power reflects an orientation towards status and is primarily about the desire to be influential. People want to be recognized for what they do, and to see all of the effects that they are able to cause.

The need for affiliation pertains to a desire to be liked and/or accepted and suggests an orientation towards relationships.

Kotherja and Rapti (2015) opine that the key needs of staff members be identified and attended to so as to motivate them to greater performance which will result in greater academic performance of students. They also emphasised the importance of motivational incentives during the work day. Through various tests, observations, conversations and meetings with the teachers, administrators could identify needs among staff and motivate them as appropriate so that teaching and learning processes may be progressive.

Teacher Training

Teachers are a vital pre-requisite for student attainment of educational goals and objectives (Akinsolu, 2010). It is therefore pertinent that these teachers are encouraged to improve on standards attained thus far. Teachers must be exposed to series of relevant on-the-job Training programmes to further boost their capacity.

Training is an investment employers make in their work force. When government and schools offer training and education to their employees, they indicate that they value their people and the contributions they make. They also send a message that the organization values progress -- both in organizational achievements as well in the careers of its people and academic attainment of the students. Naturally, this creates attachment, loyalty and enthusiasm among staff.

Teacher training is an in-service training, a continuing education of teachers and other educational workers leading to the improvement of their professional competence. Human knowledge is increasing rapidly, hence new approaches, new methods of teaching, and new avenues for the teachers are being introduced. A teacher who fails to keep in touch with recent developments will tend to be inefficient and ineffective. Therefore, there is a need to provide great and many opportunities of in-service education for teachers. Different techniques of In-service training includes: Refresher courses, Workshops, Seminars, Conference, Correspondence courses and so on. This is very effective method for the in-service education. With these courses a teacher can improve their professional knowledge (Rahman et al, 2013)

School Learning Environment

Learning is enhanced by the space where it happens. Student's motivation for learning is also generally regarded as one of the most critical determinants, which contribute to the success and



quality of any learning outcome. The environment in which a student learns can either motivate or demotivate learning. According to Kamaruddin et al (2009), intelligence is not the only determinant of academic achievement of a student. Many components of

the learning environment affect the academic achievement of a student. Bosque and Dore (1998) in Kamaruddin et al (2009), described the learning environment as the whole range of components and activities within which learning happens.



Source: Field Reports 2015
Learning Environment of some of the schools visited.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Most public school teachers have not benefited from in-service programmes intended for their professional development. The attendant demotivation coupled with erratic payment of salaries and other remuneration tend to make pedagogical output poor. Many public school plants are dilapidated to the extent that some pupils had classes on the floor.



Source: Field Reports 2015

The Problem

This study investigated teaching staff motivation, professional development and school learning environment as factors for improved pedagogical outcomes in southwest Nigerian basic schools.



Source: Field Reports 2015

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Research Question 1:

Are the SUBEBS pursuing the agenda of holistic staff motivation programs for optimal service delivery in basic schools through robust staff recruitment, training and development programmes?

Research Question 2:

Are the SUBEBS pursuing the agenda of recruiting and retaining adequate qualified teaching staff for basic schools in southwestern Nigeria?

Research Question 3:

Are the learning environment in southwestern Nigerian basic schools equipped with adequate facilities (school plant and grounds) to facilitate optimal teaching delivery and positive learning outcomes?

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The descriptive survey research design method was adopted for this study while the multi-stage sampling technique was adopted in selecting the sample

Population of the study

The population of the study was the direct beneficiaries of basic education in the states under study which included the parents, the students, the teachers, school administrators and officials of the various SUBEBs in the six South-Western states of Ekiti, Ondo, Oyo, Osun, Ogun and Lagos of Nigeria.

Sampling and sampling Technique

A multi-stage sampling procedure was adopted for the Study. Six (6) states in the South-West of Nigeria were used. They are Oyo, Ogun, Ondo, Osun, Lagos and Ekiti states.

Purposive sampling method was used to select eight (8) schools four (4) primary schools, two (2) from the rural area and two (2) from the urban area and four (4) Junior secondary schools, two (2) from the rural area and two (2) from the urban area) making 48 schools in all. A total of 1968 respondents were used for the study

Instrumentation

Three (3) main instruments were used to collect data for the study, namely,

- Self-Constructed Questionnaire
- Interview Schedule
- Observation

Data Analysis

Data collected was analyzed using descriptive statistics including frequency counts, percentages, mean and standard deviation. The SPSS Computer Software Package was used for comprehensive analysis of data in order to answer the research questions proposed.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Research Question 1: Are the SUBEBS pursuing the agenda of holistic staff motivation programs for optimal service delivery in basic schools through robust staff recruitment, training and development programmes?

Table 1 below reveals that 56.6% of teachers opine that teachers do not have sufficient training, refresher courses and workshops; 57% posit that most teachers are not computer literate; 73.3% said teachers are not highly motivated; only a marginal 50.1% agree to be enthusiastic about teaching in the UBE scheme; 75.6% submit that salaries and incentives are not well-planned and that teachers are being owed salaries. 53.2% of parent respondents submit teachers' attitude to work is satisfactory, they think teachers in the schools sampled are hardworking and dedicated.

Table 1: Teacher Training, Service Delivery and Remuneration

S/N	Statement	SA	A	D	SD	Mean	Std. Dev.
1	Teachers have sufficient training, refresher courses and workshops.	8.0	35.4	37.8	18.8	2.67	.870
2	Teachers are computer literate	7.6	35.4	48.2	8.8	2.58	.757
3	Teachers are highly motivated.	12.3	14.4	52.9	20.4	2.81	.899
4	I have a lot of enthusiasm teaching in the UBE scheme	9.3	40.8	36.6	13.3	2.54	.837
5	Salaries and incentives are well planned and paid on time	2.7	21.6	48.8	26.8	3.00	.772
6	What are your general impressions of teachers' attitude to work?		-	-	-	4.78	2.847
	a) Satisfactory, hardworking & dedicated	53.2					
	b) Not adequate or poor	24.4					
	c) Fair	13.2					
	d) Indifferent, non-challant, not committed	3.5					
	e) They are improving	2.0					
	f) Above average	3.7					

Source: Field Reports 2015

Research Question 2: Are the SUBEBS pursuing the agenda of recruiting and retaining adequate qualified teaching staff for basic schools in southwestern Nigeria?

Table 2 reveals that there is moderate necessary manpower for the programme in quantity (Head respondents-56.5%, student respondents-62.5%) and quality (59.2%) and government is willing to attract more teachers (57.4%).

Table 2: Teacher-Pupil Ratio and Learning Environment

S/N	Statement	SA %	A %	D %	SD %	Mean	Std. Dev.
1	Teachers are available in the right numbers	8.7	47.8	28.3	15.2	2.32	.837
2	Teachers are available in the right quality	10.6	48.6	31.9	10.6	2.43	.827
3	Government is ready to retain teachers and attract more into the system	8.5	48.9	29.8	12.8	2.47	.830
4	The classrooms are over crowded	20.6	42.9	25.7	10.7	2.27	.908
5	Classroom are comfortable for pupils' interaction and class work	4.2	27.8	45.9	22.1	2.50	.863
6	We are taught in a friendly environment	17.0	38.8	31.4	12.8	2.40	.915

	with interesting teaching aids						
7	What can you say about the school environment? a) clean and presentable b) satisfactory c) constructing new classrooms, school buildings d) not conducive e) conducive environment; well equipped	11.5 21.2 00.2 42.0 24.9	-	-	-	4.61	1.885
8	Are the classrooms conducive to learning?	-	39.6	60.4	-	1.60	.490
9	Does the teacher-pupil ratio as given by SUBEB compare well with what is observed?	-	25.6	74.4	-	1.74	.437
10	What can you say of the school tone? Are what you see signs of effective learning environment?	-	45.0	55.0	-	1.55	.499

Source: Field Reports 2015

74.4% of the teacher respondents remark that teacher/pupil ratio is far below SUBEB's specification, going as low as 1 teacher to 120 pupils in some cases. The implication is the absence of personal touch in dealing with the children. Classrooms are overcrowded (63.5%), with too many students in a class (student respondents- 67.7%; Parent respondents – 61.5%), thereby making classrooms uncomfortable for pupils' interaction and class work (68%). The learning environment is generally considered not conducive enough for learning going by the response of parents to items 8 (42%) and 60 (60.4%) of parents' questionnaire and what was observed by the researchers (55.5%).

Findings from this study reveal that public basic school teachers may not be sufficiently motivated to put in their best because salaries and remunerations have not been paid in some cases in the upwards of twelve months. Added to this, infrastructure in majority of the schools need overhaul. This is an alarming trend because public schools cater for most of school-age children.

Research Question 3: Are the learning environment in southwestern Nigerian Basic schools equipped with adequate facilities (school plant and grounds) to facilitate optimal teaching delivery and positive learning outcomes?

The learning environment is generally considered not conducive enough for learning going by the response of parents to items 11 (42%) and 60 (60.4%) of parents' questionnaire and what was observed by the researchers (55.5%).

Table 3a: Availability of Infrastructure and Educational Resources

S/N	Statement	SA %	A %	D %	SD %	Mean	Std. Dev.
1	Non text materials are supplied by National Education Technical Centre	8.5	27.7	46.8	17	2.72	.852
2	Government supplies adequate number of textbooks and writing materials	5.5	28.1	41.1	25.4	2.86	.858
3	Instructional materials are adequate	4.2	23.4	49.4	23.0	2.91	.791
4	The infrastructure of the Junior secondary school is distinctively separate from the senior school	10.9	47.8	34.8	6.5	2.37	.771
5	Laboratories and introductory technology workshops are well equipped for UBE	2.1	40.4	36.2	21.3	2.77	.813
6	The school buildings are dilapidated	15.0	40.9	38.1	5.9	2.35	.805
7	Classroom are comfortable for pupils interaction and class work	4.2	27.8	45.9	22.1	2.86	.806
8	Computer education in my school is supported with necessary infrastructure and amenities.	6.4	31.9	42.6	19.1	2.74	.846
		5.1	15.4	50.9	28.6	3.03	.802
		12.8	29.2	34.2	23.8	2.69	.974
9	We have a library in my school	24.0	44.7	21.0	10.3	2.18	.911
10	The school library is well stocked with books	15.8	37.6	31.6	15.0	2.46	.930

Source: Field Reports 2015

Table 3a shows that efforts are made to provide infrastructures and educational resources but they are not adequate at present. For instance, only 38.3% of heads of school and 42% of students agree that computer education in their schools is supported with necessary infrastructure and amenities; majority of teachers (79.5%) sampled said the facilities for computer education are not available in their schools. 55% of the

respondents agreed that the school buildings are dilapidated; 70% of the student respondents claimed that they do not get textbooks and writing materials from government. This claim is corroborated by the percentage of teachers (66.5%) and parents (54.7%) who disagree with the statement that children are given requisite textbooks and in adequate quantity. Non-text materials are not supplied by the authorities in charge (Item 1- 63.8%) and 57.5% of head teachers and principals disagree with the statement that laboratories and Introductory Technology workshops are well equipped for UBE programme.

Table 3b shows Parents' interview questions and researcher's observation of provision of necessary infrastructures and educational resources.

General observation shows that new buildings are coming up within the schools (50.4%). One or two blocks of classrooms are being built to make more room available for students. The schools have toilets but they are averagely functional (51.6%). Parents think there are not enough government schools to cater for the communities surveyed- 46.9%. Teachers (72.4%) feel that instructional materials and teaching aids are grossly inadequate.

Table 3b: Parents' Interview Questions and Researchers' Observation of Provision of Necessary Infrastructure and Educational Resources

S/N	Statement	Yes %	No %	Mean	Std. Dev.
1	Are the children given the requisite textbooks?	45.3	54.7	1.55	.498
2	Do you think there are enough government schools to cater for your community?	41.5%	46.9%	1.55	.590
3	How do you compare government schools to private schools? - Govt. Schools are not committed - Private schools are better - Govt. Schools have better facilitated teachers, buildings, playfields	12.5 55.3 8.7	- - -	11.94	4.462
4	Are there new schools established?	35.4%	64.6%	1.65	.479
5	Are there new school buildings in place?	50.4%	49.6%	1.50	.501
6	Are there functional fields of play, sandpit, toilets, etc in the school?	51.6%	48.4	1.53	.864

7	Are the offices clean and presentable?	51.8%	46.9%	1.66	1.636
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Source: Field Reports 2015

Conclusion

Results of this study showed that public basic education in southwest Nigeria appears to be at its lowest ebb with teachers presently being owed several months of remuneration, most of the schools have ramshackle infrastructure, limited educational resources and the teacher-pupil ratio may be as challenging as 1 to 100.

However, it is the contention of the researchers that all is not lost concerning southwest Nigeria's public basic education. It is imperative to convene an all-stakeholders' forum where the issues would be amicably tackled. Once the government is sincere and willing to deal with the issues, this public basic education challenge would soon become history.

Recommendations

- Government, educational agencies and organized private sector would require to work together to resolve the present crisis.
- Basic education should be top priority of government and public-private partnerships be forged to revive and refresh the systemic failure presently being witnessed all over the country.
- Corporate organizations and public-spirited individuals should be encouraged to engage their corporate social responsibility (CSR) in meeting the equipment requirements of some of these schools.
- Training of basic education teachers should take centre-stage in government policy where public and private universities are endowed in the training of cutting-edge teachers.

Source: Field Report 2015



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The coexistence of informal and formal punishments in the imperial China and the Mao era

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Abstract

It is a tradition that formal and informal punishments coexist in China. The severe and excessive informal punishments left little room for formal punishments at the low end of punishment spectrum. The article finds that the harsh tendency of formal punishments are deeply rooted in Chinese penal culture and political ideology, and it can be slow and difficult to change.

Keywords

Informal punishments; formal punishments; China; history

1. *The introduction*

Informal punishments and formal punishments had coexisted in China and a strong emphasis had been put on the former. The term *informal punishments* may have different meanings for different scholars. The features of informal punishments identified here are similar to those used by S. Jiang and Lambert (2009, p. 7): their grounds are morality or policy rather than law, and they are operated by unofficial controlling individuals and groups.²² If someone perpetrated a minor wrongdoing, s/he was more likely to be punished by an informal punishment rather than a formal one. In traditional China, the informal punishments were mainly the clan (zong zu, 宗族) punishments; in socialist China, the most widely applied informal punishment was re-education through labour (RTL, lao dong jiao yang, 劳动教养).

RTL, a notorious informal punishment, had been criticized by both domestic and foreign researchers and practitioners. RTL was an anomaly in the penal system which contradicted the new efforts to introduce the principle of legality. Despite being widely applied, RTL is generally considered as an informal administrative punishment rather than a formal punishment. However, the informal administrative punishment could be much more severe than some criminal penalties. On 28 December, 2013, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC, China's top legislating body) formally terminated the RTL system. The abolishment of RTL is definitely welcomed by the vast majority.

Historically, the Chinese leadership relied heavily on informal means to maintain social order and settle disputes, and established a powerful, minimalist law enforcement authority which was responsible for only conflicts that could not be solved by informal mechanisms, and for serious crimes (Wu & Vander Beken, 2012). The harsh punishment tendency is known as heavy penaltyism (zhong xing zhu yi, 重刑主义) in China. Under the heavy penaltyism, there has been little room for punishments at the low end of punishment spectrum.

²² It is argued that RTL was an informal punishment but enforced by the police other than any unofficial controlling individuals or groups. Nevertheless, the police is not authorized to detain anyone for more than one year. The power of the police on RTL was outright out of control.

The severe and excessive informal punishments left little room for the criminal punishments at the low end of punishment spectrum. The formal justice system constitutes a key element of the social control system, but it appears to be more of a last resort (X. Chen, 2004). In practice, the formal punishments are mainly responsible for punishing gravely immoral offenders who should be seriously blamed, and the authorities incline towards harsh punishments within the range of statutory sentences (before Deng's legal reform, the punishments could even be harsher than the most severe statutory sentences). Therefore, heavy penaltyism is prevalent throughout Chinese history.

From a penological point of view, this article retraces the roots of China's penal system, especially the coexisted system of informal and formal punishment before post-Mao era in history. These roots includes an examination of the coexistence of the clan punishment and five punishments in traditional China and the coexistence of RTL and criminal punishments in socialist era, and the heavy penaltyism of formal punishments in China. The historical literature available, primarily written in Chinese, has been consulted.

2. The clan punishments and five punishments (wu xing, 五刑) in traditional China

The clan punishment system

In the imperial era (B.C. 221- A.D. 1912), the Han Dynasty (B.C. 202 – A.D. 220) and later dynasties all adopted Confucianism as the official ideology. The ethical norms in imperial China are roughly divided into four levels, of which were rites (li, 礼), righteousness (yi, 义), honesty (lian, 廉) and shame (chi, 耻) (Sima, 2011). Rites and shame were the highest and lowest ethical norms respectively. The rite system was duty-oriented. The Confucians held that 'filial piety is the basic rite' (Zuo, 2011, p. 173). The primary value orientation of an individual was the filial piety to his parents, the responsibility to his families and the loyalty to his ruler. 'Few of those who are filial and fraternal will show disrespect to their rulers' (Confucius, 1996). As kinship is a priority in the rite system for Confucians, they also advocated that the ruler should accept the unity of the family and refrain from intruding into the family for matters of law enforcement. A good Confucian family would supervise the behaviour of its own members and act on infractions. The punishments should be carried out within the family rather than publicly first, and it was the family's duty to bring about moral improvement in the wrongdoer (Mühlhahn, 2009; J. Zhang, 2013). Since the Han Dynasty, emperors recognized that the Confucian emphasis on family and communal solidarity benefited society as a whole. If conflicts were solved within the family and the community in an amicable way, it would be rewarding to enhance the ties of kinship and reduce the caseload of the magistrates. The leaders of the clan were entrusted the power to regulate the clan members under the authorities' decree.

Accordingly, for those who committed minor offences, they were usually punished by the clan leaders on the basis of the clan code rather than by the magistrates in accordance with the criminal code. The clan, which is the exogamous patrilineal group of males descended from founding ancestors and their families, could adopt rules for the personal conduct of members, including rules for minor offences. The clan leaders were chosen by inheritance rather than by election. In every clan, several men of integrity and ability were selected by the clan leaders to be the judges (Gao & Luo, 2006; Zheng & Ma, 2002). The clan leaders tended to send their clan

codes to magistrates for approval. The magistrates encouraged the clan leaders to do so, although it was not an obligation.

If a clan member had committed a minor offence, the clan would convene in the ancestral hall and deliberate publicly what they thought was right and wrong. To be summoned to appear before the entire clan and its leaders was a humiliation in itself. Examples of the punishments for minor offences included recording the offense, the payment of fines, the deprivation of a share in the clan income for a period of time, slapping in the face, standing or kneeling at a corner during the clan's gathering. One of the most severe and effective punishment of all was that of expulsion from the clan. The convicted person was to be shut out from the community consisting of all members of the clan, either living or dead (Gao & Luo, 2006; Van der Sprenkel, 1966).

The five punishments

Back in the ages when Confucius lived, the punishments were brutal and harsh. The Chinese character of xing (刑), which means 'punishment' in the modern-day Chinese language, meant corporal punishment and capital punishment in the ancient Chinese language. The five punishments at that time were tattooing, cutting off the nose, chopping off the feet, castration, and the death penalty (mo, yi, fei, gong, da pi; 墨, 劓, 剕, 宫, 大辟). Despite the fact that exile, penal servitude, and fines as punishments also existed in ancient China, they were not regarded as types of xing. After the Han Dynasty, the codes in imperial China became the embodiments of the ethical norms of Confucianism (MacCormack, 1996; Qu, 1947). Emperor Wen (ruling China from B.C. 180 to B.C. 157 during the Han Dynasty) abolished tattooing, cutting off noses, and chopping off feet, then he introduced beating with a stick as an alternative. After the Sui Dynasty (581-618), the five punishments became 'beating with a small stick, beating with a large stick, penal servitude, life exile, and the death penalty' (chi, zhang, tu, liu, si; 笞, 杖, 徒, 流, 死). Since then, the content of the five punishments basically remained the same.

The punishments at the low end of the formal punishment spectrum are germane to the lowest ethical norm (i.e. shame). The rationales of imposing beating with sticks and penal servitude on criminals and their relations with shame were embodied in penal codes. Tang Code, which was promulgated in 653, is the earliest surviving code from which we can view an accurate picture of the range of laws in imperial China. Almost all penal codes of the subsequent dynasties copied it, in spite of slight changes. In the Tang Code we read, beating with sticks and penal servitude were all designed to shame the criminals. Beating with the smaller stick had the same pronunciation with shame, and penal servitude meant slavery (nu, 奴), for such slavery shames one (Johnson, Wuji, & Gelehrter, 1979; Zhangsun, 1983). It was believed that the sense of shame could invite the criminals to repentance; furthermore, the sense of repentance could keep the criminals from reoffending. According to Confucianism, if a person was perceived as having no sense of shame, that person might be thought of as beyond moral reach, and thus was even feared by the devil (J. Li, Wang, & Fischer, 2004). Life exile and death penalty were designed to punish criminals who were deemed to have no sense of shame. The Tang Code explained that, a sentence of strangulation or decapitation was the most extreme of punishments, the emperors could not bear to inflict too many death penalties, and so reduced it to life exile in a distant place (Johnson et al., 1979; Zhangsun, 1983).

The dual legal system in the imperial era

The clan codes and national code formed the dual legal system in imperial China. The principles of the national code and the clan codes were nearly the same. The clan codes were based on the national code and patriarchal custom. Like the national code, the clan codes were also the embodiments of Confucian rites. The punishable wrongdoings in the clan codes and national code overlapped. Since the clan played the role of primary social control, the overlaps between the clan codes and national code should only be the minor offences within the clans. Indeed, the old texts of the clan codes show that the overlaps were mainly about minor offences such as theft, fraud, gamble, drug problems and adultery. The punishments at the low end of the punishment spectrum in the national code, including beating with a stick and penal servitude, were also introduced into the clan codes. If a clan found one of its members guilty of a serious and indictable offense, in addition to the punishment awarded by the clan, a charge against this member would also be brought before the magistrate (Gao & Luo, 2006; Van der Sprenkel, 1966). Bodde (1963, p. 172) summarized the longstanding custom of unofficial jurisdiction as that 'these extra-legal organs and procedures, then, were what the Chinese everyman normally looked to for guidance and sanction, rather than to the formal judicial system per se. Involvement in the latter was popularly regarded as a road to disaster and therefore to be avoided at all cost'.

The disproportionate clan punishments in the imperial era

Albeit all the virtues of the clan punishments, the power of the clan leaders to punish the clan members was generally excessive. Some rulers even gave the clan leaders almost total and unchecked power. Emperor Daoguang (ruling China from 1821 to 1850) ordered that 'any affair within a clan, whether serious or trivial, shall be judged by the patriarch' (J. Zhang, 2013, p. 142). This led to no limitations on the severity of the clan punishments. The clan members might be punished by extraordinary harsh clan punishments which were not proportionate with the severity of the crime at all. They could be punished by beating with a stick because of cutting down a branch of a tree near the ancestral grave or cursing their parents; they could be punished by penal servitude due to misbehaviours during offering sacrifice to the ancestors; in extreme cases, they could even be punished by death penalty on account of adultery, theft and digging up the coal miners near the ancestral grave (Tu, 2013; R. Wang, 2007). To make matters worse, the wrongdoers punished within the clan almost had no opportunities to make an appeal to the magistrates. From the old texts of the clan codes, we find that most of the clan codes forbade members to engage in litigation in the official courts before submitting their cases to the clan leaders, and imposed on clan members the duty of avoiding quarrels. If the clan members violated this stipulation, they would be punished. For example, according to the clan code of *Pi Ling Liu Shi* 毗陵刘氏 in 1900, those who involved in lawsuits without the clan leaders' permission would be punished by slapping in the face for ten times (Tu, 2013).

Heavy penaltyism of formal punishments in the imperial era

It is acknowledged that heavy penaltyism was put forward by Legalism. Legalism as well as Confucianism were the two established schools of thoughts in imperial China. Legalism set great store by the deterrence function of punishment, and some scholars even maintain that legalists viewed coercion as the exclusive purpose of punishment (Shi & Li, 2003; Tao & Xiao, 2007). The legalists objected to pardons and argued that if small faults were to be pardoned, crimes would flourish (GuanZi, 1996). A principle frequently invoked by legalists was that if the smallest offense was met with severe punishment, in the end, the people would cease to offend

and recourse to punishment itself would become unnecessary (MacCormack, 1996). This is what the legalists called abolishing punishments by punishments (J. Deng, 2011; Sun, 1997).

Conversely, Confucianism is known for advocating prudence and care in punishment. However, Confucian doctrine also left room for the existence of harsh penalties. According to Confucius, punishments should pertain to rites and the severity of punishment should be proportionate to the seriousness of the crime: ‘When rites do not flourish, punishments will not be exactly right; when punishments do not be exactly right, the populace will be puzzled about how to behave acceptably’(Confucius, 1996). The notion of ‘exactly right’ punishment referred to the principle of proportionality. Although the proportionality principle held sway, Confucius accepted that the deteriorating public order remained as an exception to the proportionality principle. The severity of punishments could be adjusted with regard to public order. If the public order was deteriorating, the punishments could be relatively harsh. He concurred with the criminal policy of the West Zhou Dynasty, which held the position that whether punishments were lenient or severe should depend on public order (Ma, 2008; T. Wang & Wang, 2008).

The later Confucians and neo-Confucians rarely discussed the proportionality of punishment, but gave greater prominence than Confucius did to the role of punishment in crime prevention. Their views reflected ‘the confucianization of law’, which meant that, the penal philosophy was marked in some respects by a legalist spirit, albeit predominantly Confucian spirit. They still addressed the value of moral education, but moral education alone was not sufficient for crime prevention, by comparison, punishments were more effective tools. Zhu Xi, a well-known neo-Confucian scholar, even advocated heavy penaltyism to prevent crime directly: laws should be strict, in essence, with lenient rules as supplements (Jinfan Zhang, 2013).

The heavy penaltyism with supplementary leniency proposed by the neo-Confucians was tailored to the rulers in imperial China. It met the rulers’ demands to surround them with the aura of Confucian benevolence, and embrace the thoughts of legalists stealthily at the same time. Most rulers in imperial China were inclined to issue more severe punishments than the penal code prescribed, under the pretext of troubled times or deteriorating public order. Furthermore, the immediate effects of severe punishments on public order were usually overstated. The alleged effectiveness influenced the vast majority subliminally. As a result, the overarching heavy penaltyism was not only embraced by the authorities, but also supported by a high proportion of the population. Many Chinese scholars describe the criminal policy in imperial China as ‘legalism with a Confucian façade’ (Hui, 2008; Z. Li, 2001).

The dual system in the late Qing Dynasty (1901-1911) and the republic era (1912-1949)

Since the New Deal of the late Qing Dynasty, China’s authorities had made a lot efforts to transplant the Western punishment system. Modelled after the civil law tradition, the authorities during the late Qing Dynasty and the republic era all made their own Six Codes (liu fa, 六法)²³, which included the Constitution, the Civil Law, the Criminal Law, the Civil Procedure Law, the Criminal Procedure Law and the Administrative Law. In the New Qing Penal Law (the draft was promulgated in 1907 and the final version was never officially issued), the Provisional Criminal

²³ The six codes refers to the six main legal codes that make up the main body of law in the late Qing Dynasty and the republic era in China in history, and the main body of law in contemporary Japan, South Korea and Taiwan region.

Law (promulgated in 1912) and the Criminal Law of the Republic of China (promulgated in 1928 and amended in 1935), the punishments were divided into principal punishments and supplementary punishments. The principal punishments were the death penalty, life imprisonment, fixed-term imprisonment, criminal detention (*ju yi*, 拘役), and fines. Deprivation of civil rights and confiscation were the supplementary punishments (Bourgon, 2003; Lai, 2004). The direct cause for legal reform was extraterritoriality. Several Western countries had promised to give up extraterritorial rights if the Qing government modernized its legal system. Although the extraterritorial rights of western countries were not completely abolished until 1946, the transplantation of western legal system promoted the legal modernization in China.

The legal reform did not change the coexistence of formal punishments and clan punishments. The judicial archives of the Republic of China show that the prosecutors explicitly allowed the clan leaders, *baozhang* 保长 or *jiazhang* 甲长²⁴ to handle minor criminal cases. Moreover, they used to suggest the litigants first look to their clan leaders, *baozhang* or *jiazhang* to settle their disputes. If the minor criminal case could be solved by the clan leaders, *baozhang* or *jiazhang*, the procuratorate would decide not to initiate a prosecution after examining the case (Hu & Zhang, 2014).

The more formalized informal punishments in the Republic era

Even though the clan punishments still gained the support of formal punishment system, the punishment power of the clan leaders, *baozhang* or *jiazhang* in the republic era was no longer as large as the clan leaders in the imperial era; for a change, the informal punishments were subject to rigid control by the judicial system. In comparison with the clan punishments in the imperial era, the clan punishments in the republic era are much more lenient. Severe punishments such as penal servitude and death penalties were no longer prescribed in any clan codes that we can currently find. The clan punishments were chiefly payment of fine, beating with stick and expulsion from the clan. In addition, the clan codes specified more cases in which the clan need to be brought accusation against the wrongdoers. These cases included different types of misdemeanors, such as abuse or abandon a family member, theft, fraud, tax evasion, embezzling the property of the clan, gambling and taking drug. In general, the clan punishments were weakened by the legal reform (L. Liu, 2008).

The continuation and transition of heavy penaltyism of formal punishments in the late Qing Dynasty and the republic era

Even at the beginning of 1900s, the harsh image of formal punishments still held sway, and public opinions could not come to terms with the rehabilitative function of formal punishments.

²⁴ The *baojia* 保甲 system was a community-based system of legal enforcement and civil control. This system was invented by Wang Anshi, who was a prime minister in Song dynasty from 1070 to 1076. Since then, this system had existed in imperial China. In the early days of the republic era, this system was terminated. But during the later republic era, the *baojia* system was reintroduced. Generally, ten homes constitute a *jia* 甲 and ten *jias* constitute a *bao* 保.

Since the legal reform of the late Qing Dynasty, some scholars and practitioners endeavoured to make Chinese criminal justice system more lenient and humane. Many Western concepts on criminal justice were introduced into China, such as the principle of proportionality and the principle of penal parsimony. As described earlier, the New Qing Penal Law and the criminal codes in republic era all followed the examples of the civil law system in establishing a new penal system. For instance, suspended sentence was first introduced in China's criminal code in the New Qing Penal Law. Influenced by the civil law tradition at that time, the suspended sentence was the suspension of the execution not imposition of sentence. The official annotations clarified that suspended sentence was designed to assist with the rehabilitation of criminals (J. Liu, 1965).

However, the implementation of the new penal system got off to an inauspicious start. The majority of practitioners in the late Qing Dynasty and the early republic era doubted the practicability of Western rehabilitative ideas. Notably, Feng critiqued that it was a fact that rehabilitation had been favoured by Western countries, but that many in China could not widely accept the Western understanding of rehabilitation. Traditionally, although the purposes of punishment were primarily retribution and deterrence, rehabilitation was also embodied in some penal systems. For instance, criminals who were the sole breadwinners in the families could stay at home and look after their parents and grandparents. For all that, the majority felt that rehabilitation could not be offered to most criminals (J. Liu, 1965). In the early republic era, the authorities even tried to reintroduce beating with stick and exile into penal system. In 1913, the Minister of Justice, Liang Qichao, who was known as an enlightened reformer during the late Qing Dynasty and the early Republic era, proposed a judicial reform programme, in which he advocated resuming beating with stick as an alternative to short-term imprisonment so as to address prison overcrowding. The judicial reform programme was passed in 1914, and as a result, penalty, suspended sentence, or beating with stick could be inflicted on criminals in cases where short-term imprisonment would otherwise be imposed. Later, the Minister of Justice published a regulation on beating with stick as an alternative to punishments. This regulation elaborated that beating with stick was an alternative to fixed-term imprisonment less than three months, criminal detention, and penalties under 100 yuan for male criminals between 16 and 60 years old. The exception to the regulation was that the criminal was official or retired official. The Ministry of Justice also promulgated another regulation on exile as an alternative to imprisonment. This regulation prescribed that criminals who were sentenced to fixed-term imprisonment more than five years or life imprisonment could be exiled to one of the most undeveloped provinces. Despite the fact that both of the regulations were denounced in 1916, beating with stick as an alternative to punishment was still being used between 1916 and 1919 (Jia, 2014; X. Li, 2013; Yang, 1995). Between 1912 and 1927, due to warfare and revolution, the local governments were changed frequently. Many local courts and procuratorates even became shadows and their work was took over by the local magistrates.

The year 1928 was a momentous year for legislative and judicial work as this was when the Nationalist Party (guo min dang, 国民党)²⁵ ended the tangled warfare among warlords and unified China in form. Thus, laws and regulations could actually be applied nationwide. Between

²⁵ The movement of the Chinese Nationalist Party helped overthrow the Qing Dynasty in 1912 and was the ruling party in China from 1927 until it had to retreat to Taiwan in 1949 after being defeated by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) during the Chinese Civil War.

1928 to 1937, the Nationalist Party had done much to reform the criminal justice system. The Criminal Law of the Republic of China was promulgated in 1928, it referenced the New Qing Penal Law, the Provisional Criminal Law and its amendments as well as the Criminal codes of many Civil Law countries, then it was revised in 1935 in order to address the problems in judicial and penal practice from 1931 to 1935. The application of the death penalties were reduced, the rehabilitation of the prisoners was increased, and the requirements on suspended sentence and parole was relaxed. Pragmatically though, these reforms were not fully put into practice everywhere because of the warfare. The Nationalist Party only unified China formally, in fact the civil war never ceased. At that time, the authorities were still deeply exposed to the influence of neo-Confucianism. They still inclined to instruct and intervene the courts and push them to impose harsh penalties in some cases by the reason of troubled times or deteriorating public order. The deep-seated and widely used informal punishment system still left little room for the criminal punishments at the low end of punishment spectrum. Before 1935, judges rarely sentenced suspended sentence (Padoux, 1932). It was not until the revised criminal law was published in 1935 that suspended sentence were actually put into practice. Between 1935 and 1937, the ratio of suspended sentence rose to about 6% (Y. Liu, 2009; Xuan, 2014). It was the highest ratio in the republic era. Subsequently, amidst the chaotic war with Japan (between 1937 and 1945) and the civil war between the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party (between 1945 and 1949), although there was often a strong accent on the proper operation of justice system, the criminal justice system was greatly hindered by the warfare. In the wartime, many special ordinances were issued. The punishments under the special ordinances tended to be harsher than those under the Criminal Law, especially for criminals in connections with war.

3. RTL and Public surveillance (guan zhi, 管制, PS) in socialist China

The nature of crime in socialist China

China's approach to crime and punishment in the Mao era differed significantly from traditions it had before Mao (Clarke & Feinerman, 1995; Dai & Liu, 2008). The clan punishment system was rapidly unravelled and the laws made by the Nationalist Party were all abolished by the socialist revolutions. The concept of crime in the People's Republic of China (PRC) was founded on Marx's contradiction and antagonism theories. The contradiction and antagonism theories is an essential part of dialectical materialism (i.e. the official philosophy of socialist countries).

Under dialectical materialism, contradiction is the unity of opposites, and it is universal and absolute. The interdependence of the contradictory aspects present in all things and the struggle between these aspects determine the life of all things and push their development forward. There is nothing that does not contain contradiction; without contradiction nothing would exist. For example, in mathematics, there are + and - ; in mechanics, there are action and reaction; in physics, there are positive and negative electricity; and in chemistry, there are the combination and dissociation of atoms (Mao, 1937). Mao believed that opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occurred within the Communist Party. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end (Mao, 1937).

It is noteworthy that antagonism and contradiction are by no means the same. Antagonism is one form, but not the only form of contradiction. It is not until the contradiction between the two opposites develop to a certain stage that it assumes the form of antagonism. For instance, a bomb

is a single entity in which opposites coexist in given conditions before it explodes; but when it is ignited, the opposites turn into antagonistic contradictions and the explosion takes place. When the correct and incorrect thinking and behaviours do not manifest themselves in an antagonistic form, and if those who have committed mistakes can correct them, the incorrect thinking and behaviours will not develop into components of antagonistic contradictions. Therefore, the Party must on the one hand wage a serious struggle against erroneous thinking and behaviours, on the other hand give the wrongdoers ample opportunity to wake up. But if the people who have committed errors persist in them and aggravate them, there is the possibility that non-antagonistic contradictions will develop into antagonistic contradictions (Mao, 1937).

In a socialist society, the masses (qun zhong, 群众)²⁶ and the enemies are the two opposites in an antagonistic contradiction. Mao asserted that the antagonistic contradiction between the bourgeois and proletarian class had almost been resolved through peaceful socialist revolution in 1956. The revolution was in peaceful means because only the reactionaries from the overthrown bourgeois class were punished, but the skills, talents, and cadres from the overthrown bourgeois class were re-educated, remoulded and utilized (Mao, 1949, 1957). Then he further elaborated the two principal social contradictions in the new era in his 'On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People' in 1957. According to Mao, there were two types of contradictions facing us, one was the contradictions between ourselves and the enemies, the other was the contradictions within the people. They were contradictions of a completely different nature. The contradictions between ourselves and the enemies were antagonistic. Within the people, the contradiction among the working people were non-antagonistic. The dictatorial methods should be used to resolve the contradictions between ourselves and the enemies (Mao, 1957).

Mao regarded a criminal as a part of the enemies in a socialist society, because Marx and Engels (1932) stated that crime was the struggle of the isolated individual against the predominant relations between state and power. The dominant will of the state is reflected in laws and is opposed to one's own will; one's own will and the state are considered powers that are mortal enemies, between whom eternal peace is impossible. On that account, the will of the criminals and the dominant will of the state are the two opposites of an antagonistic contradiction.

In order to protect social order and people's interest, 'dictatorship must be implemented for the larceners, the swindlers, the murders, the arsonists, the rogue groups, and others who seriously destroy social order' (Mao, 1977, pp. 363-364).

In Mao's perspective, the criminal represented the antithesis of the vast majority. They should not be forgiven and deserved harsh punishments. Only by this means, the further harm they would cause could be avoided and the means of the masses to have a good existence could be maintained. This view reinforced the powerful image of criminal penalties. The proportionality principle was no longer strictly observed, and the criminals were mainly punished by reform through labour (lao dong gao zao, 劳动改造).

²⁶ The masses is virtually synonymous with the people (ren min, 人民). In a socialist society, the masses forms an important political concept.

According to the Regulations on Reform Through Labour, one of the tools of people's democratic dictatorship was reform through labour organs. The reform through labour organs were in charge of punishing all the counterrevolutionaries and other criminals, and reforming them into becoming members of the masses through forced labour²⁷. The forced labour could be conducted both within and outside prison. In the Mao era, only the criminals who were sentenced to the death penalty with a suspension of sentence and life imprisonment, and other criminals who perpetrated very serious crimes were put into prisons. The prisoners were kept in tight guard and could be imprisoned separately. The majority of criminals were organised and supervised by the disciplining teams of reform through labour (lao dong gai zao guan jiao dui, 劳动改造管教队) to do collective labour in production teams (sheng chan dui, 生产队)²⁸, but their freedoms were also strictly restricted. In socialist orthodox penology, doing collective labour has a double meaning: on the one hand, it is to punish the criminals; on the other hand, it promises to reform them. The reform process takes place through two ways: doing collective labour and having political and ideological education. Mao regarded labour, especially manual labour, as a matter of right and honour. This has been written into China's Constitution²⁹. Through collective manual labour, the people could have an ethos of socialist revolution. That was, the officials would not be influenced by bureaucracy, the intellectuals would do away with petty-bourgeois individualism, and even the criminals would be accustomed to work hard and socialist ethical concepts (Shang & Zhang, 2011).

Community penalties in the Mao era

The criminals who committed minor crimes could also be sentenced to suspended sentence or PS subject to certain conditions. In suspended sentence and PS cases, the criminals could remain their positions rather than work in the production teams.

Between 1949 to 1978, there was only one legal stipulation on suspended sentence. The Anti-graft Regulation specified four circumstances under which the embezzlers could be given lighter sentences, mitigated sentences, suspended sentence or even be granted disciplinary sanctions instead of criminal penalties. The four circumstances were as follows: the embezzler made confession to crimes that had not yet been discovered; the embezzler made confession thoroughly and demonstrated repentance sincerely to crimes that had already been discovered; the embezzler informed against other embezzlers; the embezzler was young or consistently incorruptible but committed a casual offence, and the embezzler was ready to demonstrate repentance sincerely³⁰.

²⁷ Article 1 and 2 of the Regulations on Reform Through Labour (Lao dong gai zao tiao li, issued by the SC on 2 August 1954).

²⁸ Production teams are the production units which were divided by the disciplining teams of reform through labour.

²⁹ Article 91 of the Constitution issued on 20 September 1954, Article 27 of the Constitution issued 17 January 1975, Article 48 of the Constitution issued on 5 March 1978, and Article 42 of the Constitution issued on 4 December 1982.

³⁰ Article 5 of the Anti-graft Regulation (Chen zhi tan wu tiao li, issued by the SC on 21 April 1952).

There was no laws on whether the suspended sentence was applicable for criminals who committed crimes besides embezzlement. Some explanations of the SPC and the MJ demonstrated that suspended sentence could also be applied for crimes other than embezzlement, but the standards of application were very obscure³¹. In accordance with the explanations, the application conditions of suspended sentence were: The crime was minor, and it should depend on circumstances. These explanations almost equalled to no explanations. As a result, suspended sentence was rarely used in the Mao era.

Nevertheless, guided by the mass line (qun zhong lu xian, 群众路线), PS as a community penalty was invented. The mass line is the CCP's fundamental political and organizational method, and forging close ties with the masses is one of the CCP's most important working styles (X. Deng, 1981, 1990; S. Liu, 1945). The mass line requires the members of the CCP to rely on the masses of people in the struggle. For criminals who committed misdemeanours and other reclaimable enemies, Mao said putting criminals in the masses was better than restraining them in prisons (X. Sun, 1994). It was deemed to be an innovation in executing punishments, since the criminals were not only supervised by the police but also by their neighbourhoods and colleagues.

In accordance with the governmental documents in the early 1950s, PS was primarily imposed on the criminals who committed minor offences. Under the Decisions on Organising Criminals Nationwide to Reform through Labour, PS could be an alternative to prison sentences up to one year; the conditions were that the victims and the masses should consent and the criminal should do collective labour³². Subsequently, the Anti-graft Regulation stipulated that PS could be imposed on criminals who committed economic crimes especially embezzlement and whose illegal gain was relatively small³³. Then the Provisional Measures of Imposing PS on Counterrevolutionaries prescribed that PS could also be imposed on members of the Nationalist Party and other malefactors who were counterrevolutionaries for less than three years, and everyone had the right to supervise and inform against the convicts under PS³⁴.

The criminals under PS should report to the police regularly on their own activities, but in their daily life, they were supervised by the masses where they resided and worked. The Public

³¹ The Explanations on Parole, Suspended sentence, Disfranchisement and Other Problems (Guan yu jia shi, huan xing, chi duo gong quan deng wen ti de jie shi, issued by the MJ on 20 May 1950); The Reply to the Report of Shanghai Municipal People's court on the Application of Fines (Dui shang hai shi ren min fa yuan guan yu cai chan xing fa shi yong de jian cha bao gao de hui fu, issued by the MJ on 12 May 1951); The Reply to Huadong Branch Court on Its Consultations and Suggestions of Several Problems (Dui hua dong fen yuan guan yu ruo gan wen ti de qing shi ji yi jian de pi fu, issued by the SPC on 28 July 1953).

³² Article 2 of the Decisions on Organising Criminals Nationwide to Reform through Labour (Guan yu zu zhi quan guo fan ren lao dong gai zao wen ti de jue yi, issued by the Central Committee of the CCP on 22 May 1951).

³³ Article 4 of the Anti-graft Regulation (Chen zhi tan wu tiao li, issued by the SC on 21 April 1952).

³⁴ Article 3 and 10 of the Imposing PS on Counterrevolutionaries (Guan zhi fan ge ming fen zi zan xing ban fa, issued by the MPS on 17 July 1952).

Security Committee (PSC, zhi an bao wei yuan hui, 治安保卫委员会)³⁵ played a vital role in implementing PS. The committee was based on different units such as companies, schools, streets and villages. To lead the masses and assist the local government and police, the committee was obligated to monitor and supervise those counterrevolutionary malefactors. Normally, the term of PS would be no more than three years, but it could be prolonged (Cao, 1990; S. Yan & Yang, 2003).

PS as a community penalty was invented to punish criminals who committed minor offences and other reclaimable enemies. Pragmatically though, PS was with powerful political overtones. It was primarily imposed on previous class enemies rather than the normal criminals who committed minor offences, especially after 1959. According to the Provisional Measures of Imposing PS on Counterrevolutionaries, PS should be imposed on the counterrevolutionaries who had ever practiced iniquities before the founding of PRC and showed no sign of repentance, but did not conduct any active counter revolution. It is outright unreasonable to punish someone merely because s/he did not demonstrate repentance for previous iniquities while the iniquities themselves could not constitute any crimes. Later, the National Political Working Conference in 1959 stated that PS should also be ambitiously used on all types of previous class enemies, including ‘landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, and malefactors’ (di, fu, fan, huai fen zi, 地富反坏分子).³⁶ In the Mao era, the whole society just had two communities, one was the community of the masses, the other was the community of the enemies. Since the dichotomy between the masses and the enemies was maintained, every citizen was fallen under either of the two communities. If someone ever did anything could be labelled as counter revolution, s/he must demonstrate repentance of previous iniquity and show political loyalty towards the current regime. Otherwise, s/he would have no opportunity to become a member of the masses.

Administrative punishments and RTL in the Mao era

But beyond the criminal punishment system, administrative punishments and RTL were designed as punishments to handle the non-antagonistic contradictions within the people. Theoretically, criminals who seriously endanger the social order were considered to be an extremely small subset of Chinese citizens (Cao, 1997; Zhao & Mo, 2003). ‘In ordinary circumstances, contradictions among the people are not antagonistic. But if they are not handled properly, or if we relax our vigilance and lower our guard, antagonism may arise’ (Mao, 1977, p. 363). To prevent the contradictions which had the tendency to become antagonistic ones, administrative punishments and RTL were applied to those who could not be convicted and sentenced but remained politically unreliable.

³⁵ This was the public security organization of the masses under the guidance of the government and the police.

³⁶ The ‘landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, and malefactors’, also called ‘the four black categories’ (hei si lei fen zi, 黑四类分子), were labels for different types of class enemies in various political movements during the Mao era. They were politically examined and denounced, some were even physically tortured, especially during the Cultural Revolution era. In fact, a significant number of them were simply rich or they were dissidents. Most of them were restored and redressed after 1979.

While most deviant behaviours are punishable in China, the vast majority are not labelled as crimes but as public order violations. Correspondingly, the reach of administrative punishments is much broader than that of criminal law. Theft, for example, is always punishable, but most thieves are punished by administrative punishments instead of criminal punishments. Only those who steal a very large amount of property, commit theft repeatedly, steal from a special institution such as a bank, or steal cultural relics shall be punished by criminal punishments. In the Regulation on Public Security Administration of Punishments (issued by the Standing Committee of NPC on 22 August 1957), the three public security administrative punishments were: warning, pecuniary penalty and administrative detention (half day to 15 days). For those who were always loafing around, doing nothing and had violated the Regulation on Public Security Administration of Punishments repeatedly, the public security organs could impose RTL on them after the execution of administrative punishments have been completed. They were gathered to work for the state and paid by the state. Thus, they would not increase the burden of unemployment if released into society. The CCP's Directive clearly limited the application of RTL to those people who were not convicted of a criminal offense, because their offense was so minor that it did not warrant a criminal penalty. They were wrongdoers, but not regarded as criminals. Therefore, unlike reform through labour, wrongdoers in RTL institutions had a certain freedom of action. They could come home during national festivals. Each wrongdoer could also receive a salary from the state, but it was reduced to 70% of the original salary, the remaining 30% was budgeted by the working institution (Y. Cui). After they were released from RTL institutions, they should not be discriminated against in employment and other social activities (Yu, 2013).

4. Concluding remarks

It is a tradition that formal and informal punishments coexist in China. Although the rulers in China always took the moral high ground in advocating informal punishments (for instance, take the Confucian filial piety to justify the clan punishments, and take the Marxism contradiction theory to justify the RTL), in fact they appreciated the value of informal punishments more out of utilitarian motivations than anything else. To be more specific, they set great store by the immediate crime-control benefit of the informal punishments. 'In any political system, the difference between principled reform and reform for narrow utilitarian reasons is inevitably muddled, and this is especially the case in China's political culture'(Susan Trevaskes, 2011). Nonetheless, under the informal punishments, the effectiveness and efficiency were being prioritized often at the expense of individual civil rights and freedom. Without any solid legal ground, the informal punishments even could be harsher than criminal penalties at the low end of punishment spectrum. Furthermore, the wrongdoers under informal punishments could not enjoy the individual rights and freedoms in the criminal laws and criminal procedure laws. They were not provided with enough rights to fight against those who imposed informal punishments on them.

The severe informal punishments left little room for the formal punishments at the low end of punishment spectrum, and moved the entire punishment system towards heavy penaltyism. Since most minor offences were dealt with informal punishments, the formal punishments inevitably gave a harsh and powerful impression upon the public. In China, the heavy penaltyism is marred with a significant amount of historical and political baggage. In penal culture, although different schools of thought in imperial China had different perspectives on the role of formal punishment

in crime prevention, they all regarded deterrence as the predominant rationale for punishing. Therefore, it was justifiable to punish one person severely in order to deter others effectively, thereby overriding the claims of proportionality. In the socialist ideology, the punishment system were all perceived as instruments of class struggle which the public wanted to eliminate people needed to get rid of.

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The Impact of Film on Teaching Vocabulary in Saudi EFL Classrooms

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Abstract

The present study investigates the effect of the use of an English captioned movie clip with Arabic translations of target vocabulary on the development of vocabulary recognition and understanding in EFL undergraduate preparatory level students studying at the Faculty of Art and Science, Al-Methnab, Saudi Arabia. To achieve this goal, 26 Saudi female intermediate level learners from the English Intensive Course were divided into two groups. The participants in each group were exposed to only one of the two treatment conditions: English captions with Arabic translations of target words or no captions. Prior to the viewing of the movie clip, a pre-test was administered to both groups to determine the students' knowledge of the target vocabulary. Then, the 'captioned/no captioned' movie clip was presented in one session to both groups respectfully. A week later, the participants of both groups were administered a post-test that evaluated their vocabulary recognition and understanding. The results clearly indicate that the group who watched the captioned movie clip performed better than the no-captions group on the Vocabulary Knowledge Scale test. However, it is worth noting that the t-test results indicate that the difference is statistically insignificant. This study provides pedagogical implication for teachers regarding the implementation of captioned videos in EFL classrooms.

Keywords: movie clips, subtitles, captions, vocabulary understanding and recognition, EFL learners

1. Introduction

The issue of vocabulary teaching and learning is the concern of many researchers because of its importance in foreign language acquisition. Nowadays, scholars, material planners, and language teachers consider vocabulary essential to English language teaching and learning. The reason for this is because without sufficient vocabulary students cannot understand or communicate with others. Accordingly, Wilkins (1972) declared that “. . . while without grammar very little can be conveyed, without vocabulary nothing can be conveyed” (cited by 1, p. 307). Lewis (1993) went further to argue that lexis is the core of language (cited by 2); the more vocabulary students learn, the more fluent they become.

Because of its ultimate importance in language learning, researchers pay close attention to the central pedagogical issues related to teaching vocabulary in EFL classrooms. Consequently, numerous methodologies for teaching and learning vocabulary have been developed. Among the various methods suggested are the audio-visual aids, such as films or videos. Specifically speaking, the use of captioned movies, as Yuksel and Tanriverdi (3) state. Captioned videos facilitate the acquisition of vocabulary because they “incorporate a word into a context” (4, p. 29). Moreover, captioned movies facilitate the learning of technical terms used in different social sciences and reinforce different concepts (4). For example, captioned clips can be used to introduce learners to “criminological and criminal justice” terms (5).

Therefore, the objective of the current research is to conduct two film sessions with two groups of female students enrolled in an intensive English course at the university level to investigate the influence of English captioned movies on students’ incidental vocabulary recognition and understanding.

1.1. The Statement of the Problem

Despite the fact that most teachers and students are aware of the importance of vocabulary learning in mastering a foreign language, the best methods to achieve good vocabulary learning is still unclear, partly because its learning relies on a number of different factors such as form, meaning, use, pronunciation, and abstract domains of lexical relations. It is still not clear how to pursue all these factors when teaching or learning vocabulary. The problem becomes even worse with textbooks and syllabi provide scarce descriptions and guidelines on how to teach vocabulary effectively.

Consequently, many EFL learners’ ability to recognize and retain vocabulary seems to be somewhat limited (6). This is clearly reflected in the difficulties they encounter in reading different types of texts, writing academic articles, listening to movies, and speaking to foreigners or even when they talk to their teachers and peers in classrooms. It is worth noting that the researcher acknowledges that there might be other reasons behind such learning problems such as the lack of pragmatic competence, yet the current study concentrates mainly on how to facilitate the students’ recognition and retention of vocabulary through the use of captioned films that present learners with language that they might be exposed to outside the classroom.

1.2. Aim and objectives of the study

The current study aims at ascertaining the impact of incorporating movies on development of EFL learners' vocabulary recognition and understanding. Moreover, it also attempts to find out whether English captions with Arabic translated target words have any effect on EFL learners' vocabulary recognition and retention.

Research Hypotheses

- i. The use of film in the language classroom is a useful method for learning vocabulary especially when it comes to recognition and understanding.
- ii. The use of film with English captions and Arabic translation of target words helps language learners' learn and understand new vocabulary.

1.3. The Significance of the Study

Much of the vocabulary literature investigates the effect of subtitles on the development of overall literacy skills in the areas of reading, listening, speaking, and writing (7- 10). However, very few works, according to the author's knowledge, examine the impact of captioned movies on vocabulary recognition and retention. Moreover, research interested in studying vocabulary acquisition studied vocabulary acquisition as a result of extensive exposure to TV programs rather than watching short movie clips (11).

Therefore, the current study aims at investigating an effective way of teaching vocabulary; that is teaching vocabulary through English captioned films with an Arabic translation of target words. The importance of incorporating captioned movies into EFL classrooms lies heavily on the fact that they provide the learners with a variety of contexts in which the target words are used. Hence they equip learners with the target language as it is used by native speakers and for which they have limited access.

1.4. The Limitations of the Study

There are a number of methods used for teaching English vocabulary, however the present study only discusses the use of captioned films. Incorporating a number of different methods together would be something to consider. Moreover, the study was limited to a relative number of students and investigated only the effect of captions on females. Investigating the impact of movies on more students and looking into gender differences would most likely yield more significant results. Finally, there was the issue of time constraints. A longer period of time would have been preferred for stronger, more generalizable findings.

2. The Literature Review

2.1. A historical background on vocabulary

In the realm of foreign language acquisition, vocabulary teaching and learning were relegated a low position as grammar and phonology took center stage. Between 1970s and 1980s, most of the teaching methods proposed focused on enhancing learners' pronunciation and facilitating their acquisition of basic grammatical patterns (1). Some of the old methods are the Grammar Translation Method and the Audio-Lingual Approach (12). Only when the Communicative Language Teaching appeared where the focus is on language use, did researchers began to realize the importance of vocabulary in the learning process (1). However, it only gained its

primary role as an important language learning tool when the Lexical Approach evolved (2). This approach concentrated on learning both words in isolation and chunks of words (1). According to the author, these chunks are useful in constructing meaningful, native-like utterances. In short, researchers realize the importance of developing the learners' lexical competence and seek to develop and improve the methodologies that teachers can implement in classrooms.

2.2. The use of movies in language teaching

A series of developments took place since then in the field of vocabulary teaching and learning. One way of bringing variety and flexibility into EFL classrooms is the use of movies. Using appropriate authentic videos that take into account the students' different learning styles and their preferred movie type can help vocabulary acquisition (4, 13, 14). There are a number of advantages to the incorporation of film into foreign language learning. For example, they can draw the learners' attention toward content and language (15); provide good material to teach conversations (9); and improve their cultural awareness of the target language community (14). Furthermore, they can increase their motivation and entertainment (4); develop their "visual and critical awareness" (16, p. 88); and improve their academic writing skills (10).

Moreover, it has been proven that integrating video clips in EFL classrooms leads to the retention and understanding of the linguistic content and the visual images (13, 17). Videos, as Berk (13) clarifies, are instructional tools that enable learners to "experience the powerful cognitive and emotional impact" because the combination of visual images with sounds leads learners to create links between the newly learned information and the concepts in their memories (p.2). Furthermore, he asserts that movies can successfully activate the left and right hemispheres in the brain. In other words, "[t]he left side processes the dialogue, plot, rhythm, and lyrics; the right side processes the visual images, relationships, sound effects, melodies, and harmonic relationships" (13, p.3). Eventually leading to more successful learning and better learning outcomes.

2.3. The importance of using subtitles in EFL classrooms

One of the many uses of captioned movies in EFL classrooms is to develop the learners' overall literacy skills. In the past, however, it has been claimed that the use of captioned movies in EFL teaching distracts the learners' attention and "creates a form of text dependency" (18, p.62). In other words, students will extensively rely on reading subtitles rather than listening to what is being said. However, researchers began to conceive the importance of using captions in teaching language and developing the learners' skills. According to Vanderplank (19), subtitles are not a source of distraction but rather they facilitate the learners' acquisition of the target language and "can bring benefits to those who are hard of listening" (p276). According to Shang-Ikeda (20), a combination of the video action with the audio communication and the subtitles enhances learners' comprehension.

Moreover, there are numerous studies that confirm the usefulness of subtitles in language learning. For example, Borrás and Lafayette (21) investigate the effect of integrating subtitles into an interactive multimedia course and their results indicate that subtitling affects both the students' comprehension and production. In the same vein, Zanon (22) examined the impact of

computer-based subtitling on language classrooms and asserts empiracally the positive effect of subtitles on motivating learners and enhancing their undrstanding of the movie content. Moreover, Grgurović and Hegelheimer (23) conducted a study to investigate the influence of subtitles on the teaching of listening. They find out that students preferred the use of subtitles more than transcripts.

As it is clear from the studies, it seems that most of the previous research examines the importance of subtitles on the development of learners' language skills. In other words, they concentrated on the possible effects of using English subtitles on the improvement of listening comprehension (7, 24), reading (25) and speaking (21). Besides, other research investigated the impact of subtitles on content comprehension (26, 27) and cultural awareness (14). Very few works show interest in investigating the impact of watching captioned/subtitled movies on vocabulary recognition, understanding, and retention as discussed in the following section.

2.4. The impact of using subtitles on vocabulary learning

Of the many uses of captioned movies in developing the learners' language skills, vocabulary learning and understanding appears to be one of the most valuable. Scholars have become aware of the importance of context in learning new words and captioned movies seem to provide learners with the best context since they incorporate both image and audio material. Depending on the context, learners can predict the meaning of new words. Koskinen et al.(11) examine the impact of using a captioned science video in teaching five target vocabulary words to fourth-grade students, and they conclude that captioned videos improve the vocabulary skill of learners. On similar note, Bird and Williams (28) argue that the use of a bimodal presentation (sound and text) in teaching new words is better than a single method where either the text or the sound is utilized. Similarly, Stewart and Pertusa (29) carried out an experiment to investigate the best type of subtitling to be used in teaching and learning vocabulary. They concluded that vocabulary recognition was highest in the intralingual subtitled condition.

In a similar vein, Zarei (30) conducted three studies to examine the effect of three different modes of subtitling on L2 vocabulary recognition and recall. These experiments led to the conclusion that bimodal subtitling, where both the sound and the text are in English, is one of the best vocabulary recognition methods to use. Furthermore, Yuksel and Tanriverdi (3) investigated the impact of using closed captions in the acquisition of vocabulary. Although students in the captions and non-captions groups showed a development in their vocabulary knowledge, the t-test results indicated that there is no significant difference between the two groups. A similar result was found in another study conducted by Etemadi (26) where she concluded that bimodal subtitling enhances the learners' comprehension of the movie content, but it has no significant effect on vocabulary recognition. She attributed this result to the fact that learning vocabulary requires frequent exposures to the same vocabulary item in order to be retained. Hsu, Hwang, Chang, and Chang (31) overcame this problem by investigating the effect of different caption modes on vocabulary acquisition. They found that watching a movie with target-word English captions and target-word Chinese subtitles is the most valuable method in teaching vocabulary. BavaHarji, Alavi, and Letchumanan (27) provide similar evidence on the usefulness of incorporating captioned movies in EFL classrooms. In conclusion, most of the studies presented so far, seem to confirm that the use of English captions in EFL classrooms can enhance and improve the students' vocabulary acquisition, retention and recognition.

3. Methodology

3.1. Participants

To test the aforementioned hypotheses, a convenience sample was selected consisting of 26 EFL female students who were enrolled in the Intensive English Course at The Faculty of Art and Science, Al-Methnab, Saudi Arabia. The students have to pass this intensive program in order to join the English department.

3.2. The study design

In this study, a pre-test post-test experiment and control group design was used. The students were randomly assigned into two groups: the experimental group (EG) who watched the film with English captions and Arabic translations of target words and the control group (CG) who watched the movie without captions. Both of the groups took the same pre- and post-tests (Vocabulary Knowledge Scale (VKS henceforth)), a week before and after the treatment. The purpose of the pre-test was to examine if the learners' had any previous knowledge of the target vocabulary whereas the post-test aimed at inquiring about the learners' recognition of the target vocabularies. The content of these tests will be discussed below in the subsequent section.

3.3. Methods for data collection

The VKS test, which was developed by Wesche and Paribakht (1996), was utilized in the study (32). This scale aims at assessing the learners' knowledge of the target vocabulary "from zero familiarity, through partial knowledge to adequate and precise knowledge" and measuring their ability to write sentences using the words under scrutiny (32, p26).

The English version of the five steps included in VKS is presented in Appendix A, their Arabic translation is provided in Appendix B, whereas the full Arabic scale used in the study is in Appendix C.

3.4. Material used and target vocabulary

A clip from the popular American drama, *I Am Sam*, was chosen as the stimulus material for the study. The movie story is adapted from the award-winning novel written by Jessie Nelson.

This movie was chosen for three specific reasons. First, it was one of the suggestions put forward by the educational website- *community.eflclassroom.com*. Second, it is an influential movie that is culturally suitable to the customs and traditions of Saudi Arabia because of its conservativeness. Finally, it uses simple English that is suitable for EFL learners and the participants of this study in specific.

3.5. The treatment

In the current study, I follow the steps suggested by Berk (13) for using video clips in teaching (Please refer to Appendix D for the steps). First, all the students were informed that their participation in the study is voluntary and then they were given a brief introduction to the

study, its objectives, and methods. Second, each student was asked to fill out a questionnaire to determine her background knowledge of the target words.

A week later, the students in both groups were introduced to the movie storyline and characters using the target vocabulary in order to arouse their interest and direct their attention to the main words when encountered in the movie clip. Two discussion questions were presented to students to direct them on what to look for. Later, the movie clip, which lasted for 4:38 minutes, was played twice. After every few scenes, the researcher stopped the clip to reinforce some points and allow students to reflect on what they have seen. This is followed by a discussion of the two questions posited earlier in order to engage students in a collaborative learning exercise where the target vocabulary might be used.

After that, the students had to answer some exercises about the target vocabulary and their use. These exercises are presented in Appendix E. Other activity requires students to provide oral examples using the target words. Finally, the movie was played for the last time toward the end of the treatment in order to facilitate the retention of the target vocabulary along with their accurate use. Finally, the students in both groups took a post-test (VKS) a week after the treatment to determine how much they retained of the target vocabulary.

As for the target words, fourteen words from the movie clip were chosen. Although these words are not part of the students' syllabus, yet they all fell within the same domain. This fact made them in line with the students' textbook, which is divided thematically into chapters, with each chapter presenting the vocabulary used on a specific topic. All the chosen words are easy to understand vocabulary related to 'court' and 'legal issues'. These words are listed in Appendix F.

3.6. Coding the data

Similar to Yuksel and Tanriverdi (3), the participants' answers were coded on the basis of the level chosen for each word on the VKS. For example, if a student chooses level II, her response will be given a score of 2. However, in case the student chooses level III, where a kind of production is required, her answer must be checked. If her response is correct, she will be given a score of 3; if it is not correct, it would be downgraded one level. That is, she receives a score of 2.

4. Data analysis and results

In this study, the statistical analysis is run using the SPSS version 16.0. To test the first research hypothesis regarding whether movies facilitate EFL learners' recognition and understanding of vocabulary, results of both the pre-test and post-test (VKS) are compared by quantitative measures using a paired-sample t-test. However, before running the t-test, Shapiro-Wilk Tests of Normality is run to verify that the variance is normally distributed. The results revealed that the probability = 0.536 is greater than alpha (0.05) as shown in Table 1. Therefore, the null hypothesis that the variances are normal is accepted.

Table 1: Test of Normality

	Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	Df	Sig.
difference	.967	26	.536

Having confirmed the normality of variance distribution, the paired-sample t-test is run to measure whether the two groups made any significant development from pre-test to post-test. Interestingly, movies seem to play a significant role in enhancing EFL learners’ vocabulary recognition. As shown in Table 2, there is a significant difference between the students’ scores in the pre-test and post-test, i.e. before and after the treatment (p value=.000 < .05). In other words, movies whether captioned or not facilitate the learners’ recognition of new vocabulary. Therefore, the first research hypothesis is supported.

Table 2: Paired Samples Test

		Paired Differences					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
					Lower	Upper			
Pair 1	Total after – total before	2.73462E1	5.41067	1.06112	25.16074	29.53157	25.771	25	.000

To investigate the second hypothesis regarding whether English captioned movies with the Arabic translations of target words facilitate the learners’ vocabulary recognition and understanding of new vocabulary, two steps are required. Firstly, a descriptive statistics on SPSS is conducted to measure the degree of vocabulary recognition for the CG and EG separately. Secondly, the results of both groups are compared for statistical significance using an independent sample test.

However, before running the test, the two groups were tested to see if they had comparable vocabulary knowledge prior to the treatment. This was determined by way of pre-test for which the means and standard deviations of the scores were 21.69 and 3.96 for the CG, and 19.23 and 3.70 for the EG. Moreover, the ANOVA analysis, shown in Table 3, demonstrated that there was no significant difference between the two groups (p = .182 > .05). This finding ascertained that both groups had similar knowledge before the learning activity. Finally, it is important to ensure that the variance is normally distributed between the two groups. This was confirmed by running the Shapiro-Wilk Tests of Normality, which reports that p value for both the EG and the CG was higher than the alpha (.993 and .677 > .05, respectively), as shown in Table 4.

Table 3: ANOVA

Difference					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	52.654	1	52.654	1.860	.185
Within Groups	679.231	24	28.301		
Total	731.885	25			

Table 4: Tests of Normality

Group	Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.
totalafter Subtitle	.984	13	.993
without subtitle	.955	13	.677

After checking the homogeneity and normality of both groups, the second hypothesis can be examined. In order to investigate the first part of the hypothesis that measures the degree of vocabulary acquisition, the researcher conducted descriptive statistics on SPSS as shown in Table 5. The description reports that the EG outperformed the CG since they attain the highest mean in the posttest (M=48; SD= 4.43 vs. M=47.61; SD= 6.15, respectively).

Table 5: Minimum and Maximum Scores attained in Each Group and Averages

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
CG Pretest	13	17.00	33.00	21.6923	3.96620
CG Posttest	13	36.00	58.00	47.6154	6.15817
EG Pretest	13	13.00	29.00	19.2308	3.70031
EG Posttest	13	40.00	56.00	48.0000	4.43471

In order to investigate the second half of hypothesis 2 that aims at determining whether one of the groups improved significantly better than the other, an Independent Samples Test was

conducted. The results of the t-test indicated that no significant difference was found between the vocabulary recognition scores of the two groups ($p = .857 > .05$), as declared in Table 6. Even though the descriptive statistics represented above stated that EG improved slightly better than the CG, yet the t-test showed no significant differences between the mean scores of both groups. In other words, the use of English captions does not lead to better vocabulary learning. Therefore, hypothesis 2 was rejected.

Table 6: Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
totalafter	Equal variances assumed	1.590	.219	.183	24	.857	.38462	2.10475	-3.95938	4.72861
	Equal variances not assumed			.183	21.808	.857	.38462	2.10475	-3.98260	4.75183

5. Discussion

The present study has shown that the vocabulary knowledge of the participants in the EG and the CG has significantly developed from pre-test to post-test. This finding assures the effectiveness of using movies as an instructional method in EFL classrooms to help students recognize new vocabulary. Moreover, the results of the current study reveal that the EG who watched the English captioned movie with Arabic translation of the target words performed better than the CG who watched the movie without captions. However, the t-test result indicates that the difference between the mean scores of the EG and the CG is not statistically significant. In short, watching movie clips in EFL classrooms can enhance the learners' vocabulary recognition regardless of captions.

From the pre- and post-test results, there are several interesting findings. The students' answers in the pre-test indicate that they are equal in terms of the knowledge they had of the target vocabulary prior to the experiment (CG mean= 21.69; EG mean=19.23). In other words, most of the participants in both groups claim that they have never seen the target words before while the rest report that they have seen the words earlier but did not know their meanings. On the other hand, the students' scores in the post-test, which was distributed a week after viewing the movie clip, reveal that their vocabulary knowledge improved (CG mean=47.61; EG mean=48.00). In this posttest, the students did not only indicate their knowledge of the target words but they also provided their meanings in Arabic, their synonyms in English, or they produced a sentence using the target vocabulary.

Interestingly, most of the sentences that the learners provided in the VKS were extracted from the movie content. This finding adds further evidence of the effectiveness of using captioned movies in developing learners' vocabulary knowledge. The reason for this could be because it is new and interesting way of learning that made an impact on the students. To conclude, this study provides pedagogical implication for teachers regarding the implementation of captioned videos in EFL classrooms since they provide learners with the audiovisual communicative context they need.

In conclusion, the focus of the current study was to develop the students' vocabulary knowledge and recognition after watching a movie clip with or without captions. The results indicate that the addition of captions is a technological breakthrough that can help in the development of the vocabulary skills for many intermediate-level learners. The study reveals that captioned movies motivate and appeal to students who have difficulties coping with traditional methods and materials of teaching. This is mainly because movies present learners with a rich context that supplies them with a different more interesting way to recognize and learn vocabulary. Moreover, captioned movies also facilitate the incidental learning of new vocabulary because of their multisensory characteristic when it comes to the presentation of information. In short, the use of captioned movies in EFL classrooms is a powerful tool in learning new vocabulary.

6. Conclusion and suggestions for further research

This study represents a preliminary effort to empirically examine the efficacy of different subtitles modes on vocabulary recognition by comparing two mode of subtitling: no subtitles versus English captions with Arabic translations of target vocabulary. Furthermore, this research investigated the impact of captioned videos on females; further research is needed for a thorough understanding of this issue on both genders. This study could also be replicated but with a large number of students because this may yield more significant results. Moreover, there was the issue of time constraints. A longer period of time would have been preferred for stronger findings. Finally, it is hoped that the results of the current study will be of some use to future research studies.

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Appendices

Appendix A: The five steps included in the VKS, which was developed in 1996 by Wesche and Paribakh

- I. I don't remember having seen this word before.
- II. I have seen this word before, but I don't know what it means.
- III. I have seen this word before, and I think it means (synonym or translation)
- IV. I know this word. It means ... (synonym or translation)
- V. I can use this word in a sentence: (Write a sentence) (If you do this section, please also do Section IV.)

Appendix B: The Arabic translation of the five steps included in the VKS

- لا أذكر أنني رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل.
- رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، ولكن لا أعرف معناها.
- رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، وأعتقد أنها تعني (المرادف أو الترجمة).....
- أعرف هذه الكلمة، وهي تعني (المرادف أو الترجمة).....
- بإمكانني استخدام هذه الكلمة في جملة.....

Appendix C: The full version of the VKS used in the study

الإسم: _____
العمر: _____

أشرك على التفضل بوقتكم للمشاركة في هذه الدراسة التي تهدف إلى معرفة مدى فعالية استخدام الأفلام الأجنبية في تعليم اللغة الإنجليزية. وأرجو من حضرتكم التكرم بالإجابة على الأسئلة التالية، والتي تختبر مدى معرفتكم بالمفردات بوضع علامة (✓) بجانب اختيارك، وتعبئة الفراغ المرفق بالإجابة المناسبة.

ملاحظة هامة: بإمكانك كتابة معنى الكلمة باستخدام أحد الطرق التالية:

- كتابة المعنى باللغة العربية
- كتابة المعنى باللغة الإنجليزية
- كتابة مرادف الكلمة باللغة الانجليزية (synonym)

أولاً: كلمة fault

- لا أذكر أنني رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل.
- رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، ولكن لا أعرف معناها.
- رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، وأعتقد أنها تعني.....
- أعرف هذه الكلمة، وهي تعني.....
- بإمكانني استخدام هذه الكلمة في جملة.....

ثانياً: كلمة court

- لا أذكر أنني رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل.
- رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، ولكن لا أعرف معناها.
- رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، وأعتقد أنها تعني.....
- أعرف هذه الكلمة، وهي تعني.....
- بإمكانني استخدام هذه الكلمة في جملة.....

ثالثاً: عبارة legal advice

- لا أذكر أنني رأيت هذه العبارة من قبل.
- رأيت هذه العبارة من قبل، ولكن لا أعرف معناها.
- رأيت هذه العبارة من قبل، وأعتقد أنها تعني.....
- أعرف هذه العبارة، وهي تعني.....
- بإمكانني استخدام هذه العبارة في جملة.....

رابعاً: كلمة afford

- لا أذكر أنني رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل.
- رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، ولكن لا أعرف معناها.

- رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، وأعتقد أنها تعني.....
 - أعرف هذه الكلمة، وهي تعني.....
 - بإمكانني استخدام هذه الكلمة في جملة.....
- خامساً: كلمة promotion

- لا أذكر أنني رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل.
- رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، ولكن لا أعرف معناها.
- رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، وأعتقد أنها تعني.....
- أعرف هذه الكلمة، وهي تعني.....
- بإمكانني استخدام هذه الكلمة في جملة.....

سادساً: كلمة custody

- لا أذكر أنني رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل.
 - رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، ولكن لا أعرف معناها.
 - رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، وأعتقد أنها تعني.....
 - أعرف هذه الكلمة، وهي تعني.....
 - بإمكانني استخدام هذه الكلمة في جملة.....
- سابعاً: كلمة lawyer

- لا أذكر أنني رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل.
 - رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، ولكن لا أعرف معناها.
 - رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، وأعتقد أنها تعني.....
 - أعرف هذه الكلمة، وهي تعني.....
 - بإمكانني استخدام هذه الكلمة في جملة.....
- ثامناً: كلمة pro bono

- لا أذكر أنني رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل.
 - رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، ولكن لا أعرف معناها.
 - رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، وأعتقد أنها تعني.....
 - أعرف هذه الكلمة، وهي تعني.....
 - بإمكانني استخدام هذه الكلمة في جملة.....
- تاسعاً: كلمة shrink

- لا أذكر أنني رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل.
 - رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، ولكن لا أعرف معناها.
 - رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، وأعتقد أنها تعني.....
 - أعرف هذه الكلمة، وهي تعني.....
 - بإمكانني استخدام هذه الكلمة في جملة.....
- عاشراً: كلمة appointment

- لا أذكر أنني رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل.
- رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، ولكن لا أعرف معناها.
- رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، وأعتقد أنها تعني.....
- أعرف هذه الكلمة، وهي تعني.....
- بإمكانني استخدام هذه الكلمة في جملة.....

أحد عشر: كلمة urgent

لا أذكر أنني رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل.

رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، ولكن لا أعرف معناها.

رأيت هذه الكلمة من قبل، وأعتقد أنها تعني.....

أعرف هذه الكلمة، وهي تعني.....

- بإمكانني استخدام هذه الكلمة في جملة.....

اثني عشر: عبارة court order

- لا أذكر أنني رأيت هذه العبارة من قبل.

- رأيت هذه العبارة من قبل، ولكن لا أعرف معناها.

- رأيت هذه العبارة من قبل، وأعتقد أنها تعني.....

- أعرف هذه العبارة، وهي تعني.....

- بإمكانني استخدام هذه العبارة في جملة.....

شكراً لمشاركتك



Appendix D: The eight steps as presented by Berk (13) for using video clips in teaching (p.10)

1. *Pick a particular clip* to provide the content or illustrate a concept or principle (*Note:* If you want students to view the entire movie, assign that viewing outside of class.);
2. *Prepare specific guidelines* for students or discussion questions so they have directions on what to see, hear, and look for. What's the point of the clip? Make it clear to the students;
3. *Introduce the video* briefly to reinforce purpose;
4. *Play the clip*;
5. *Stop the clip* at any scene to highlight a point or *replay clip* for a specific in-class exercise;
6. *Set a time for reflection* on what was scene;
7. *Assign an active learning activity* to interact on specific questions, issues, or concepts in clip; and
8. *Structure a discussion* around those questions in small and/or large group format.

Appendix E: The activity used after viewing the video clip

Name:.....

Age:.....

1. Match the word with its translation

1. Fault () ترقية/ علاوة
2. Promotion () خطأ
3. Legal advice () مشورة قانونية

2. Select the word that best fits the meaning of the sentence:

Order	afford	custody
shrink	Pro bono	urgent

1. I would be your lawyer It's free!
2. A is a doctor who specializes in psychiatry.
3. We don't have enough money; we can't..... an answering machine.
4. The judge granted Lucy's.....to Sam.
5. Sam, you don't actually have a choice. It's a court.....
6. We've come to deliver an/a message.

3. Write the correct word under the appropriate picture

lawyer	shrink
Court	appointment

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"Go home and let your dog lick your face. Dog saliva is the most effective antidepressant you can get without a prescription."



1.....

2.....

3.....

4.....

Appendix F: The twelve words used in the study

1. Fault
2. Court
3. Legal advice
4. Afford
5. Promotion
6. Custody
7. Lawyer
8. Pro bono
9. Shrink
10. Appointment
11. Urgent
12. Court order

LESSONS OF “DOES AND DON’TS” FROM THE QUANTITATIVE EASING POLICY (QEP) PERIOD (2008 – 2014) OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANK IN THE USA

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I. Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to explain the efficiency of the monetary policies taken by the Federal Bank of the USA during the period of Quantitative Easing/ Qualitative Easing/ Credit Easing between 2008 and 2014. This policy saved not only the US economy but also the world economy from impending economic catastrophe. The monetary policies and tools were unique or unconventional. While, in some cases and sectors, it showed good results; in some other cases and sectors its results were not up to the expectation. The good results show that the FOMC acted rightly. However, the FOMC is not responsible for the adverse results. The fault lies with the inherent systemic faults in the traditional/ conservative monetary practices and theories that all the Central Banks of the world are following.

The purpose of this presentation is to highlight what caused the recession. How the Fed tried to solve the crisis before the great recession of 2008. In what ways those monetary policies that the Fed introduced to fight the recession were new or unconventional. Could those policies really cure the crisis that caused the recession? What lessons we may learn from the experiments of the Quantitative Easing Policy (QEP) period? Thereafter, I will explain that though the Fed was right in diagnosing that liquidity crunch is the major cause of the recession, yet it fails to find appropriate remedy for its solutions. The new policies that the Fed introduced during the QEP are not really new or unconventional in the true sense of the term. Those policies were the extensions of the monetary policies that the Fed was pursuing prior to the recession.

II. Keywords

Liquidity Crunch, zero bound bank rate, quantitative easing, unconventional monetary policies and tools, longer-term asset purchase, intermediary financial institutions, secondary market, easy money, speculating/ gambling, spill over, tapering,

III. Introduction

In 2008, the USA had experienced a severe financial crisis in the form of “liquidity crunch”. To overcome this situation the Fed had formulated some monetary policies. The Fed implemented these policies using some monetary tools. Some of those tools were unconventional, as those were not employed earlier. Whatever the nature and function of these monetary policy tools might be, the aim was to ease the liquidity crunch by pumping more money into the economy, to lower the interest rate, and to help money to remain in circulation in the economy for a longer

period. From the experiments, the Fed can take lessons as they revealed during the QEP period. Some unconventional developments took place during this period. The Fed should learn from those developments.

1V. What caused recession?

Since 2004, gradually the gap between the supply of money and the need for money for buying commodities became so wide that it caused an acute liquidity crunch in the economy. The prices of some commodities especially the real estate increased very fast. Money supply did not keep pace with the increase of prices of commodities especially of the real estates. The bulk of the money existed in the economy became concentrated in real estates and its allied sectors. Gradually a point of time came when no more money could be diverted from other sectors to the real estate sector prices of which were increasing. Due to such liquidity crunch in the economy, real estate began to remain unsold. The financial intermediaries dealing with real estate and its mortgages began to be defaulters in repaying the loans they had taken for investing in it. Thus, the severe liquidity crunch in the economy was the real cause of the great recession of 2008.

V. How did the Fed try to solve the crisis before the great recession of 2008?

This situation has occurred much before 2008. The Fed had been utilizing monetary tools that it traditionally used to employ to increase or decrease the supply of money. The traditional tools that the Fed like any other central banks used to control money supply were Federal bank rate, Statutory Liquidity Ratio, Cash Reserve Ratio, Repo Rate or Discount Rate, Reverse Repo Rate etc. The Fed has utilized these monetary tools to the fullest extent. To avert the increasing liquidity crunch the Fed reduced interest rate i.e. the target federal fund rate very fast, from 525 basis point in September 2007 to 0-25 basis points i.e. 0.25% in December 2008. The Fed decreased Repo Rate and Statutory Liquidity Ratio and Cash Reserve Ratio drastically. The Fed also bought Government Securities from Commercial and Public Sector Banks in a large scale. Against all such desperate efforts of the Fed, the liquidity crunch could not be solved. However, the amount of money that was being pumped into the banks through the monetary measures of the Fed could not cope with the increasing liquidity crunch. More money needed to ease the liquidity crunch. But, the Fed had exhausted all the monetary tools it had traditionally been used to control supply of money.

VI. In what way those monetary policies that the Fed introduced to fight the recession were new or unconventional.

The increasing liquidity crunch led to the failure of Lehman Brothers. December 2007 was the official start of recession. Bear Stearns, Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac and Genie Mae also collapsed in successions. To control such uncontrollable liquidity crunch, the Federal Open Market Committee (FOMC) had to introduce some pragmatic monetary measures, which it would not even think to adopt earlier. The Fed began to Purchase Longer-Term Securities through 'Operation Twist' to provide Liquidity to Key Credit Markets. Bernanke calls such type of

Quantitative Easing as 'Credit Easing'. The tools were known as TAF, TALF and the central bank liquidity swap lines etc. To supply more money into the economy, the Fed introduced a new policy called 'Credit Swap' and began to buy securities backed by mortgaged commercial papers, private assets and Term Assets from the Public Sector Banks (PSB) to enable those banks to have more money. The Fed had never bought such Mortgage Backed Securities (MBS) before. The Fed also began to issue loans directly to the borrowers bypassing the financial intermediaries. Never before, the Fed had issued direct loans to the borrowers except the financial intermediaries. The Fed also began to lend money against asset backed securities that are backed by student, auto, credit card, and SBA loans. In some cases, the Fed granted 'bail out' to some corporate sectors like Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac and Genie Mae. In 2008, the Federal Reserve extended the borrowing term and expanded the types of collateral to help Primary Dealers to access to more Credit Facility. Primary dealers can now provide less-liquid securities as collateral, including federal agency debt, federal agency mortgage-backed securities, and non-agency AAA private mortgage-backed securities. In effect, it created a temporary "discount window" for the some of the largest non-depository institutions. All these pragmatic tools adopted by the Fed are called Unconventional Monetary Tools. The Fed continued its purchase of Mortgaged Backed Assets and Treasury Securities from 2008 to 2014 aggressively. Thus, the Fed increased its balance sheet (the value of the assets it holds) from \$900 billion in 2007 to nearly \$4.5 trillion in early 2014.

VII. Did those unconventional monetary policies really cure the problem that caused the recession?

By the end of May 2013, the QE program had served its purpose of bringing the economy back to pre-recession normalcy, stimulating the economy by sufficiently supporting financial market performance in the U.S. In May 2013, Fed Chairman Ben Bernanke stated in the Congress that the Fed taper (reduce) the size of the bond-buying program (QE). But the Fed could not start tapering because of two factors: 1. A string of weaker economic data that had been released in the prior month and 2. The prospect of slower growth stemming from the oncoming government shut down and debt ceiling debate. As a result, the Fed opted to delay to start tapering until on December 18, 2013 the FOMC announced that it would begin tapering its purchases, as its three economic targets were met. The unemployment rate reduced to below 7%, GDP growth rose at least to 2-3%, and the core inflation rate had not exceeded 2%. The Fed decided to taper its bond purchases of \$85 billion by \$10 billion per month. After six additional reductions, the amount of the QE stood at \$15 billion in October 2014. The Fed Chairperson Janet Yellen expected the program to wind down steadily through 2014.

The FOMC would keep the Fed funds rate and the discount rate between 0 and 1/4 points until 2015, and below 2% through 2016. The end of the QE is a positive sign for the USA. Both stocks and bonds have performed very well. This indicates that the Fed was correct in its decision to taper QE as well as in its timing and approach. The QE achieved some of its goals. First, QE

removed toxic subprime mortgages from banks' balance sheets, restored trust and confidence and banking operations. Second, it also helped stabilize the US economy, providing funds and confidence to pull out the recession. Third, it kept interest rates low enough to revive the housing market. Fourth, it stimulated economic growth. In overall economics, the pre-recession normalcy has been achieved/ reached. The unemployment has come down to 5%, aggregate expenditure has been increased etc.

However, the QE did not achieve the Fed's goal of making more loans available. Banks sat on the funds instead of lending it out. Most of the banks invested these funds in secondary markets for speculating in gold, stocks and other financial instruments. The price of an ounce of gold rose from \$869.75 to \$1895 between 2008 and 2011. The Dow rose 24% in 2013. The large banks consolidated their holdings, so much so that the largest 0.2% banks controls more than 70% of bank assets. Thus, the QE created asset bubbles which is harmful to the economy of a nation.

Besides, the economy is not recovered only by the Fed's QE policy. To pump money into the economy the Federal government had also began to take so huge loans that economic policy planners of the government did not allow the government to take more loans. This led to cut short the expenditure of the government. For this reason only, the Obama government had to declare 'Shut Down' in some departments of the government. This 'shut down' was the gravest in intensity over other 'shut downs' that the US government had to declare earlier. The impasse was resolved only when the Senate voted in favor of government for taking more loans. Today, the US government's loan has increased to more than 17 trillion dollar.

The unconventional policies did not bring unmixed good to the whole of the economy. Most important problem was that the financial institutions that got supply of more funds due to Fed's policy did not necessarily transfer the fund to the credit markets. The cheap money has made rich people richer, but has not done quite as much for working Americans. Most of the financial assets in America are owned by the wealthiest 5% of Americans. According to Fed data, the top 5% people own 60% of the country's individually held financial-assets. They own 82% of individually held stocks and over 90% of individually held bonds.

Increasing money supply tends to depreciate a country's exchange rates compared to other countries, through the mechanism of the interest rate. Lower interest rates lead to capital inflow from the country, thereby reducing foreign demand for a country's currency, leading to a weaker currency. The QE directly benefits exporters living in the country performing QE, as well as debtors, since the interest rate has fallen, meaning less money has to be repaid. However, it

directly harms creditors as they earn less money from due to lower interest rates. Devaluation of currency also directly harms importers, as the cost of imports is inflated by the devaluation of the currency.

VIII. What do we learn from the experiments of the Quantitative Easing?

We learn at least four things from the experiments of the QEP. 1. The Fed had reduced its Fund Rate almost to zero. 2. It had created money against the commercial and private assets that it purchased during the QEP. 3. It gave loans directly to the borrower bypassing the financial intermediaries. All these newly introduced three measures had helped the economy to come out from recession. 4. The Federal government also took huge loans and injected that money into the economy through government mechanism. This effort of the government has also helped the economy to revive. The Fed should learn some **lessons of Dos and Don'ts** from these developments.

VIII A. Central banks should help Intermediary Financial Institutions

In the initial stage, when almost all the financial intermediaries were on the verge of insolvency, the Fed began to buy comparatively sound and safe securities through its “credit swap” policy leaving the vulnerable, sticky and stinky securities in the hands of the banks thus making the banks more prone to be insolvent. Therefore, the banks could not lend the money that the Fed pumped into these banks through credit swap lest the borrower defaulted on these new loans. They sat tight over the amount of money and rarely dared to lend money. Instead, they invested money in gold trading. The Fed should not act in this way. It should buy the less safe securities from the banks to make the financial position of those banks stronger. In that case, the banks could take the risk of issuing fresh loans. Thus, the Fed's purpose of transferring the advantage of reduced interest rate from the banks to the actual borrower would succeed. The Fed, like any other central bank, has no fear of being insolvent, because central banks have never become insolvent.

VIII B. Central banks should directly reach out to the final/ actual borrower

In many cases, the Fed bypassed the intermediary financial institutions and gave loans directly to the actual borrowers. The Fed has done this because the banks were unwilling to give loans to those borrowers lest they default in repaying the debt. The banks charges more interest than the bank rate of the Fed. Those who received loans directly from the Fed had to pay less interest than the interest they would have to pay if they took loans from the banks. This made their repayment installments easier. This is unconventional that a central bank is giving loan directly to a borrower bypassing the financial intermediaries. If the Fed can do it in emergency, it can equally pursue the same policy during normal condition. In that case, taking loan will be much easier for the borrower. The Fed (and other central banks) should think over the matter whether it could directly issue loans to the actual/ final receiver. That will ease and normalize the economic situation. Increased (the financial intermediaries charge interest more than the bank rate) high

interest rate is an obstacle to sustained economic growth. If the central banks feel that for that purpose more employees are necessary, then it may incorporate the financial intermediaries in its fold.

VIII C. Keeping assets against the liability of total issued notes is immaterial

The Fed also had to issue money against the commercial and private securities as government-bonds became scarce. It is a pragmatic solution. Yet, in normal economic condition, the Fed (any central bank) can equally create money against any securities in its possession. However, keeping some kind of assets as reserve against the liability of the issued money has no bearing on the acceptance of the money by the people. Money enters into the economy as a debt from the central bank. He who is in need of money takes loan. He accepts money because money has the authority of the government and government accepts payment of taxes in money. So long money has the backing of government acceptance, nobody will enquire whether that money is backed by any reserve of assets or not. On the other hand, if government does not accept the money, people will not accept that money whatever valuable assets might be reserved against it. Therefore, it is no matter whether the Fed (central banks) keeps any reserve or not, or whether the quality of the reserve is good or bad. The Fed may equally create money out of nothing; the only thing necessary is that the money should have the backing of the acceptance by the government. The Fed had unconventional tools (mortgaged back securities and private securities) for creating money; it will be another unconventional method of creating money out of nothing. Nobody will question such venture of the Fed as nobody questioned earlier when the Fed created money out of mortgaged back securities (assets). It is not the issue what methods or policies the Fed is adopting; the issue is whether those methods/ policies are helping or harming the economy. However, the decision of creating out of these unconventional tools is a bold step on the part of the Fed. Otherwise, in the absence of sufficient government bonds, necessary amount of money could not be created. The economy disparately needed huge amount of money to be injected into it. The Fed had no choice but to tap any other assets than the government bonds (that were not in sufficient supply). So, hats off to the Fed for thinking that assets other than government bonds may be used as reserve against which money can be issued. It is a unique and rational decision.

VIII D. Gambling and speculations like trading of share, bonds, future, options and gold in secondary market should be banned.

It has been seen that the banks hesitated to issue loans to the borrowers. However, they invested money in trading of stock market and gold in secondary market. If there were no such provision of bidding of gold or share and selling those in the prices more than their real price, then banks would not have any scope of avoiding giving loan because in that case it would incur losses.

Utility of the circulation of money would be best served if money were used to exchanges consumable commodities in the primary market. The secondary market is the financial market in which previously issued financial instruments such as stock, bonds, options, and future are

bought and sold. Selling of loans by a mortgage bank to investors such as Fannie Mae and Freddie are also considered as a secondary market. The primary aim of the monetary policy is to increase production of commodities (both goods and services) and to increase demands for these commodities. However, the money involved in these secondary markets do not come to any help of either production of commodities (both goods and services) or generating demand for commodities (both goods and services). The money involved in the secondary markets only help people either loose or gain money. These secondary markets are like “sink holes” where money disappears from the flow of circulation that is needed to create demand and increase production. As the secondary market flourishes, the “sink hole” becomes bigger and more money disappears from the flow of circulation for creating demand and increasing production in the primary market. Those who makes profit from the secondary market accumulates “easy money” and accumulation of easy money is one of the major causes of price inflation as the owners of the easy money can spend more in buying commodities especially the expensive and luxurious items. Price-rise causes decrease in demand for aggregate volume of commodities. Price inflation is the primary cause of recession. Secondary market is an obstruction to the sound economic growth and does not, in any way, help the growth of a robust economy as many believes it to be when sensitive index of the stock market increases or when the value of real estate bonds were appreciated before 2008 in the USA. The secondary market is the cancerous growth in the economy. The sooner it is amputated, the better for the economy.

VIII E. Interest rate should always remain zero lower bound

The Fed reduced the bank rate to its zero lower bound. The Fed should take the lesson that, lower the interest rate, the better for the economy. The Fed should not strive for increasing the interest (bank rate). Increased bank rates causes increase in prices (inflation). Increase in bank rate also causes withdrawal of money from circulation, as more money has to be repaid as interest. The volume of money withdrawn from circulation cause same volume of liquidity crunch in the economy. To keep the economy normal, the central banks need to pump at least same amount of money that is repaid to the central bank. Besides, inflation means hardship for the poor, who has to pay more for buying commodities. Therefore, bank rate should not be increased at all.

VIII F. The lower the inflation the better for the economy

The Fed wishes that inflation should increase at least to 2% if not more. It should be considered that inflation of nearly 2% is alarming not because the rate is too low but because it is too high for an economy, where bank rate is zero lower bound (0.25%). The inflation rate is almost eight times the bank rate. It should be kept in mind that bank rate has a direct bearing on the inflation rate. Commodity-prices are calculated and fixed adding the interest paid on the investment or the expected possible interest earning from the amount of investment. Influence of other factors on the rate of inflation rate are very little or insignificant in comparison to the influence of the bank rate. Therefore, inflation rate of 2% is very high where bank rate is zero lower bound. Increase in

inflation rate causes more harm than it does benefit to the economy. Therefore, the Fed should be vigilant that inflation rate does not increase at all or remain as low as it can be.

During the severe financial crisis of 2008, many financial intermediaries, banks, agencies, corporate, private individuals of the USA and abroad had suffered losses of trillions of dollars. They had to suffer for no faults of their own. Until the bursting of “real estate bubble”, no one, not even the Fed had dreamt of any financial crash. Credit rating agencies spoke highly of the real estate market and of its promising returns. Financial intermediaries, individuals and corporate invested in or gave loans to the real estate business knowing, full well, that they were investing in a secured business. When the bubble burst, they had to incur losses. Not only those who were involved in this business directly, but also those who were not involved in any way with the real estate business had to suffer due to tremendous convulsions in the economy immediately after the financial crash. The Fed knew it well that a real estate business is flourishing in full swing in the US economy. The Fed had not cautioned that any mishap could happen to this business. After the financial crisis, the Fed had lowered the bank rate to its zero lower bound, pumped trillions of dollars into the economy continuously for almost six years since 2008. The Fed had taken other measures to stabilize the financial and economic situation of the country. But, what would happen if the Fed would forego its dues from these falling banks and would treat the dues as bad debts. Banks and financial institutions had to bear the burden of the bad debts. If the Fed also could write off the debts, then the US economy would not have to suffer such a financial trauma. If any bank or individual becomes looser, it cannot compensate the loss. However, central banks like the Fed never fail or suffer from “liquidity crunch” or losses. It can create money and thus can compensate its losses. It is advisable that in cases of such financial losses incurred by any financial institution or individual for no fault of their own, the central banks should come forward to give relief to them at least by way of waiving the unpaid loan due to it.

VIII G. Abolition of the financial intermediaries is a necessity

The experience of the QEP period showed that banks hesitated to transfer the facilities and advantages given to them by the central banks (in this case the Fed). Therefore, the Fed had directly given loan to various sectors like individual loan for buying auto rickshaw, taking education loan etc. Swapping of Mortgage Backed Securities (MBS) is also a kind of giving loan directly to the actual borrower. It is advisable that the Fed gives loans directly to the targeted concerns or individuals. In that case, the Fed will not have to depend on the financial intermediaries like banks to implement its objectives like employment creation, bringing more and more people in the ambit of its financial activities, price stabilization, and sustained economic growth etc. In that case, the central banks (the Fed) may incorporate the banks and financial intermediaries in its fold. In the event of such financial crash, the economy will not experience convulsions as it happened after financial crash of 2008. Because, there will be no intermediate financial institutions to suffer the brunt of the losses. The Fed will be bound to

absorb the shocks itself. The economy will be saved from financial crashes due to bank failures forever.

The objectives of the central banks (the Fed) are responsible for reducing unemployment, price-stabilization, creating an atmosphere for a sustained economic growth. However, the central banks do not do it directly. The central bank depends on the financial intermediaries (government and non-government) for implementing its objectives. It gives loans to the financial intermediaries and expects that the financial intermediaries will help the central banks to realize its objectives. However, the financial intermediaries also do not create employment. They give loan to the entrepreneurs (who will create and give employment) or to the individuals (who will be self-employed). However, the financial intermediaries are profit-making institutions. They do not want to make losses. Therefore, they hesitate to extend loan to every prospective entrepreneurs lest they fail to repay their loan. This is the reason why after pumping huge amount of money into the financial intermediaries (banks), the banks sat tight over that money and avoided giving loan to the prospective entrepreneurs. The Fed (the central banks) cannot compel them to act in a way that will help realize the objectives of the Fed (central banks). The financial intermediaries also cannot be bound to act according to the wishes of the Fed, because in that case, the Fed (central banks) will be liable for any loss that the financial intermediaries will incur. In the present monetary policy, the Fed (central bank) has the responsibility without the power of implementing/ discharging its responsibilities and the financial intermediaries are handicapped by their responsibility of repaying the loan; they are afraid of being defaulted/ cheated by their loaner customers. If the Fed would reach out directly to the entrepreneurs, then, it might be that, huge amount of money would not be hoarded or remain idle in the vaults of the banks.

Another function of the financial intermediaries is to receive deposits and give loans to entrepreneurs. Thus, they help people to save their money and to get benefit out of that saving in the form of interest. In support of the existence of financial intermediaries, it is argued that they collect huge amount of money that they can give as loan to the capital-intensive industries. However, in many cases, the money of the depositors is not safe in these financial institutions. The recent great recession has proved sufficiently that many investors who deposited their money in many such banks, whose credit ratings were high, have lost their deposit/ investment. Most of the non-banking and non-government financial intermediaries lure the depositors promising high returns. However, many of them become insolvent in a very short run. The depositors' deposits are not safe in the hands of such financial intermediaries. One of the objectives of the central bank (the Fed) should be the protection of the deposits/ savings/ investments of the depositors who are the citizens of the country. If they lose, the overall financial situation of country is bound to be affected adversely. The Fed (central bank) should directly receive deposits so that deposits/ savings/ investments of the depositors are never affected.

No amount of financial, banking and structural reforms will help to cure these defects (described above) of the financial intermediaries.

IX. Spill Over and Tapering:

The economists from all over the world began to accuse the Quantitative Easing Policy program as excessive issue of dollar causes devaluation of dollar affecting the value of dollar reserves of governments of many countries. It also affected the international trade and payments adversely. The “spill over” effects of the QEP were resented by many countries. The Fed also could not understand whether any further pumping of money will be beneficial to the US economy or not. The Feds, especially of New York Fed and St. Louis Fed have conducted many empirical studies to know the effects of the QEP on US economy. The results show that while in some sectors QE did benefit to the economy, in other respects/ sectors it affected the economy adversely. The expectations of the Fed like reduction of unemployment to 5 %, increase of inflation to 2-2.5%, expected increase in investment in production sector, and expected increase in expenditure for consumer goods etc. did not materialize fully. Therefore, the Fed thought to taper gradually the volume of pumping money into the economy.

IX A. Spill Over

Spilling over of money, which is accepted as international currency to abroad, is not a phenomena of the QEP period only. Money spills over during normal economic and financial condition also. It is expected that money should/ can spill over only after it fulfilled all the demands for money in the country. However, the fact is that even if there is a severe liquidity crunch, money can find its way to abroad in search of comparatively more profit or through international payments or as help and donations. Currencies that are not internationally accepted have no chance of being spilled over to foreign countries. Central banks that issue internationally accepted currencies should issue money not only for meeting the demand for money in the home economy but also for meeting the demand for international currency abroad. It is not a valid argument that spilling over dollar to other countries adversely affected the value of the currencies and international payments of those countries. Dollar could enter those countries because there were demands for dollar. If the dollar export from the USA is stopped, international exchanges will be hit hard. Therefore, it should be the policy of the Fed to issue dollar according to its demand in the foreign countries also. During the QEP period, dollar has been spilled over to foreign countries because those countries exploited the advantage of the dollar being devalued comparatively during this period. As the bank rate in the USA is zero lower bound, so MNCs invested dollar in foreign countries for more profit. The economy and the government profited from such spilling over of dollar to foreign countries. The economy of those countries also benefitted from such import of dollars as they could increase their foreign currency reserve. The countries suffered most from spilling over dollar to foreign countries are those whose currencies are also accepted internationally. China, Japan, England and countries in Euro zone have suffered from the competition of the dollar in international market. However, that has to be

accepted for the benefit of the other countries and this competition can never be avoided even during the period of financial and economic normalcy. Therefore, spilling over dollar to other countries should always be welcomed. Besides, due to devaluation of dollar, exports from the USA have been boosted.

IX B. Tapering

The Fed is trying to taper the volume of dollar issue from 85 billion a month to 10 billion a month. However, in doing so, the Fed should be cautious that this reduction in dollar issue is not causing another liquidity crunch. The demand for commodities is increasing because of increase in population and more commodities coming into the market. This generates more demand for money (other factors remaining the same) for buying more commodities for which new demand is being created. Every additional demand for commodity creates liquidity crunch to the extent the amount of money is required to buy that commodity. Therefore, the Fed should pump more money into the economy so that the increasing demand for money can be met. Besides, due to price inflation more amount of money is needed to buy the same volume of commodities. The price rise in real estate sectors also created liquidity crunch to the extent the price is increased in that sector. Thus, aggregate price rise in the whole economy of the USA was not matched by inflow of equal volume of money into the economy. It caused the severe financial crisis of 2008. The Fed should keep provision of pumping money into the economy to cope with such extra demands for money. Over and above, every year, this or that type of debt is being matured. If the principal and the interest were paid to the Fed, it would mean withdrawal of the same amount of money from circulation. Any amount of money that is being withdrawn from circulation for repayment of loan to the Fed is causing same amount of liquidity crunch in the economy. To keep the economy smooth going, the Fed should pump the same amount of money that is being repaid to the Fed. Dollar being the international currency, the Fed has the extra obligation to meet the demand of dollar in international economy also. Therefore, during tapering, the Fed should keep in mind that the tapering is not causing liquidity crunch both in the home economy and in the international economy.

The Fed wants to unload its assets of nearly 4.5 trillion dollar that the Fed injected into the economy against those assets. If the Fed does not want to keep any asset, let it do so. However, the amount of money that has been injected into the economy should not be withdrawn through the process of unloading the assets. That will immediately create liquidity crunch at least for that amount of money that is being withdrawn. Keeping reserve or no-reserve against the money that is being created and injected into the economy has no adverse or conducive bearing on the economy at large.

Due to enormous asset purchase during the QEP, the Fed's asset balance has increased from nearly 800 billion in 2008 to more than 4.5 trillion in 2015. The Fed wants to reduce its balance to the level of pre-recession period. There is no harm in doing so. However, it will create a bigger problem if the Fed reduces its liability of issued money according to the reduction of its

asset balance. For different reasons the demand for money is always increasing; the Fed should be ready to inject money into the economy in compliance with the increased demand for money. Creation of money is creation of debt. If creation of money is proved conducive to the economic growth there should be no other consideration than to create money and create debt accordingly.

X. Increasing the Fed Fund Rate from 25 basis point to 50 basis point on 16 December 2015

On Wednesday, 16 December 2015, Janet Yellen, the Chairperson of the Fed announced that the FOMC had decided to raise Fed Fund Rate from 0.25% to 0.50%. Now, let us explain how judicious this decision to increase the Fed Fund Rate is. MsYellen herself accepted that, “This action(raising 0.25% Fed Fund Rate) marks the end of an extraordinary seven-year period during which the Fed Fund Rate was held near to 0% to support the recovery of the economy from the worst financial crisis in recession during the great depression. It also recognises the considerable progress that has been made toward restoring jobs, raising incomes and easing the economic hardship of millions of Americans. It reflects the Committee’s confidence that the economy will continue to strengthen. The economic recovery has clearly come a long way”. This means that the low Fed Fund Rate has helped the economic recovery to a great extent. But, the irony is that though low rate of interest has been helping the economic recovery, yet FOMC has decided to increase the rate of interest.

Ms Yellen also accepts that the economic recovery “is not yet complete. Room for further improvement in labor markets remains”. It means that the economic recovery has not yet been complete. Without allowing the Fed Fund Rate to remain low the FOMC decided to increase the Fund Rate on the supposed premise that, “the recovery performing well and expected to continue to do so, the Committee decided that the modest increase in the Fed Fund Rate Target is now appropriate recognizing that even after this increase monetary policy will remain competitive”.

The reason she gave in favor of this decision is that, “It also explains the process of normalizing interest rates is likely to proceed gradually”. It means there is no economic compulsion to increase the rate. It is the traditional belief that in normal economic condition, interest rate should not be zero bound and that only in critical economic situations like recession or depression interest rate can be reduced to zero as a pragmatic way out. The traditional belief or practice is that zero bound interest rate is not normal.

Now, let us compare the pre-depression economic condition with that of the post-depression condition. The Fed had reduced the interest rate, in the words of Ms Yellen, is “to support the recovery of the economy from the worst financial crisis in recession during the great depression. It also recognizes the considerable progress that has been made in restoring jobs, raising income and easing the economic condition of the millions of Americans”. It means that the pre-depression interest rate was not conducive to, rather detrimental to, the economy and that higher interest rate was one of the major factors that caused the depression. If the low interest rate helps the economic recovery, and there is no evidence, that low interest rate is causing any harm to the economy, then what was the necessity to increase the interest rate, knowing full well that higher

the interest rate lower is the economic recovery rate. Ms Yellen herself accepts, in the same speech and in the same breathe, that the economic recovery “is not yet complete. Rooms for further improvement in labor markets remain” and the inflation continues to run below the Fed’s target.

Besides, everything will be costlier. Foreign and indigenous governments, corporate and financial intermediaries who have taken loan earlier have to pay more interest and taking loan will be costlier. The Federal government will be hit hard. It took huge loan during the QEP when interest was zero bound. Now, it will have to impose more tax to collect the money to pay the increased interest on that loan.

Federal Bank’s excuse is that it wants to give signal that the economy should not be dependent on the Fed’s mercy, and that the Fed will gradually tighten its grip over the money supply. It is a very rash/ imprudent decision on the part of the Fed. The Central Banks are the sole source of money, if it does not supply the requisite money that is in demand in the economy of its smooth functioning, and then the economy will face stagnation. Then, the Fed will have to take more aggressive monetary policies than that it has taken to fight the recession.

The traditional notion that zero interest rate is not normal cannot be the excuse of increasing the Fed Fund Rate. The Fed had shown courage in introducing unconventional monetary tools during depression period. It should keep up with that courage and do whatever be the best for economic recovery and should not be carried away by the traditional theories and practices. It should keep the interest rate to zero bound, if it really wants economy to recover fully.

XI. Conclusion

One thing that remains unclear. That is, if those unconventional policies helped recover the economic conditions, then why is it that they affected some sectors of the economy adversely. It seemed to me that it is not the fault of those new policies. Even in the most normal economic and financial conditions, such adverse effects are bound to occur. Abnormal economic and financial conditions are caused due to adverse effects in certain sectors of the economy in normal conditions. If all would go well in normal economic conditions, then financial crises would not occur in a cyclical manner.

The fault lies with the traditional/ conservative monetary theories and practices i.e. the notion that money should enter the economy in the form of debt and that debt should be repaid with interest. I am not going to discuss in what way the systemic faults of monetary policy can be solved, as it does not come under the scope of the discussion of this study. I know the remedies how to get out of this tangle. I will explain those remedies in a future presentation, if my paper is accepted in any of the International Conferences.

It is a fact that after all these innovations and experiments, there is no escape from any future financial crisis, as you know; recessions come as a cyclical process. The Fed and the economists

may justly take credit or be proud of bringing near normalcy in the economic and financial condition. However, they should also take the liability for the increase of the US public debt to the extent of \$18.257 trillion, US Federal budget deficit (GAAP) to the extent of \$ 5.526 trillion, US total debt to more than \$ 61.895 trillion, total debt per citizen to the amount of \$192,803, and the gross debt to GDP ratio to 102.728%. These trends of increase in all these cases can never be stopped.

It is a proven fact that low bank rate and low inflation rate is conducive to economic growth. Money has to be pushed into the economy according to the increase for demand for money to avoid liquidity crunch. Intermediary financial institutions cause harm to the economy by helping increase in the rate of interest and inflation. It will be better for the economic growth if the Fed directly issue loans to the actual/ final borrower. Keeping assets against the liability of total issued notes is immaterial. Gambling and speculations like trading in share and gold in secondary market should be banned. While tapering of buying assets, the Fed should be vigilant that liquidity in market is not affected. Spilling over is a necessity and it will be adjusted according to the demand-supply mechanism in the economy; to worry is unnecessary. The development and continuance, for long, of intermediary financial institutions and secondary markets by themselves may not be the justification of the rationality of their existence and further continuance of those practices. The goals of the monetary policy like creation of demand, investment in production of commodities, creation of employment, equitable distribution of commodities, price stabilization, research and development, and doing public works will be achieved more progressively, if these suggestions are adhered to.

The Role of Indigenous Women in Maintaining their Indigenous Ecological Knowledge and Practice: A Case Study in Raute Community, Nepal.

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Abstract

Indigenous women play important roles in biodiversity conservation as they often engage in the sustainable use of biological resources. Many studies have shown that indigenous women tend to use biological resources for households, whereas men tend to acquire resources to earn income. Thus, women and men have different indigenous knowledge on biological resources. In the Raute community of western Nepal, women play crucial roles in enhancing, maintaining, and sustainably using biodiversity, particularly in forest ecosystems, whereas men take responsibility for securing economic resources to feed the family. Although both roles are important in sustaining their livelihoods, Raute women have heavier workloads than men do because of their diverse responsibilities for reproductive and productive tasks. Other than taking care of the family by as gathering forest products for food and medicines as well as making huts and nets for fishing, women help their husbands in making woodcrafts. This paper argues that Raute women have extensive knowledge that enhances both livelihood and ecological conservation. Based on field observation and secondary sources, it discusses how Raute women use their indigenous ecological knowledge.

Keywords: Indigenous knowledge, Women, Ecological conservation, Biodiversity

Introduction

For indigenous peoples, biodiversity is the source of their livelihoods, belief systems and basic survival. They are directly connected to the land; thus, they have obligations to maintain healthy ecosystems (CBD, 2010). Since time immemorial, women's roles and tasks have been explicitly linked to biodiversity (IDRC, 1997). For instance, Owen (1998) describes in her book, *In the Mix: Struggle and Survival in a Women's Prison*, that women contributed 50 to 70 per cent of dietary requirements by collecting and conserving edible plants.

Today indigenous women especially in rural areas continue to gather bush products for food, medicine, paint sources and house building materials. They play crucial roles in sustaining and enriching local biodiversity, including the domestication of wild plants and the enhancement of particular beneficial plant characteristics (Byers and Sainju, 1994; Howard, 2001, 2003; Lambrou and Laub, 2004; Chambers and Momsen, 2007; Voeks, 2007; Abdelali-Martini et al., 2008). For instance, in Bhutan, 45 per cent of women are medicinal plant collectors (FAO n.d. in UNDP, 2001: p 10). In Pakistan, nearly 90 percent of medical herb collection is carried out by women, and 71 percent of the collected herbs are sold by women at local markets (UNDP, 2007). According to a report on indigenous knowledge of Wancho communities in the Tirap District of Arunachal Pradesh, India, women are more involved in natural resource management than men are even though women do not have representation in local village decision-

making (Thomas and Pei, 2003). All those studies suggest that it is almost impossible to conserve biodiversity without women.

In rural Nepal, gender roles for work tend to be clearly separated. This tendency is more obvious in indigenous communities. Men engage in earning cash incomes and women engage in multiple roles such as crop production, domestic chores and community management responsibilities (Moser, 1993). Consequently, when scholars from developed countries came to study indigenous peoples in Nepal, indigenous men's economic activities, which resemble gendered roles in the Western economic system, have gained much of their attention whereas women remained to be relatively invisible (Norberg-Hodge, 1991).

Among 59 indigenous groups in Nepal, the Raute have recently gained much attention from scholars and journalists partly because they are often regarded as an endangered and last "nomadic" people in the country. The Government of Nepal also has categorized the Raute as one of "endangered" indigenous peoples in the country (CBS, 2014). These publicized works have taken a similar trend to previous male-centered studies. Consequently, they have neglected to examine women's forest-based harvesting and conservation activities.

Some of these works have called the Rautes the "kings of the forest" largely because of their in-depth knowledge of using forest resources, but their livelihood has been threatened by deforestation and the depletion of natural resources such as water, fruits, and green plants. These environmental conditions have severely affected traditional activities of Raute women, as they mainly engage in collecting forest resources to feed their families. The objective of this study is to clarify how Raute women engage in daily subsistence activities that are related to biodiversity conservation. It is to find out about the indigenous knowledge of Raute women and their natural resource conservation practices in the forest. Based on field observation and documentary research on Raute women, this paper argues that Raute women have extensive knowledge that greatly enhances the ecological conservation of western Nepal.

As secondary sources on Raute people generally do not provide in-depth knowledge about women, this study is largely based on original fieldwork, which was conducted in the two periods: January-February and October-November, 2015. The fieldwork was based on the participant observation method and interviews. Interviews were also conducted among those who have worked for or with the Raute in order to gain additional insights on this study. As several Raute groups are spread around watershed areas in the mid-western development regions of Nepal, the primary data collection survey was done with one of the groups at Rakam village in the Dailekh district. Other documentary sources, including government documents, were also collected at regional offices to have better ideas about Raute communities at large.

Background information about the Raute and their traditional territory

The Raute are highly mobile people. They travel 2,000-4,500 square miles each year between the Siwalik foothills and the Himalayan mountain range (CVN, 2011). Forested areas in these regions consist of 37 to 50 percent. The altitude ranges from 2,000 to 10,000 feet above the sea level. The temperature fluctuates

from 90F to 50F. The annual rainfall is 70 to 80 inches or 1,000 to 3,000 mm (mostly from June to August).

The routes of their movement are largely influenced by climatic conditions, as they come to warm valley areas during winter months and high mountain areas in summer months. The use of the large territory implies that the Raute must have a fairly extensive knowledge on flora. In Rakam, according to the fieldwork of this study, the total population of the Raute was 140, of which the female population was 65 (The Raute never count the number of their members).



The Raute people near their households in Rakam, Dailekh. (Source: Fieldwork, 2015)

Today the Raute are divided into nomadic and sedentary groups. These two were originally in one nomadic community before the 1980s. In 1981, the Government of Nepal forced some Raute people to settle down. At the time the mobile community, which is the main focus of this article, constituted about 42 families. The Raute select one leader for their community called “mukhiya,” who makes important decisions for all members, including the time to move to another camp (Reinhard, 1974; Fortier, 2009).

Carpentry and wood drafts from soft woods (e.g., *Shorea robusta*, *Acacia catechue*, *Dalbergia sisoo*) are the only source of cash income for this community. The main items for trade are wooden bowls and boxes. These commercial activities are regarded as men’s work. Men then procure grain, cloth, tobacco and other necessary things from neighboring Hindu villagers. The Raute do not engage in wage labor and agriculture. They do not allow marriage with outsiders; thus, they avoid any contact with outsiders except for trading. The Raute perceive Nepal’s formal education and permanent settlement as “enemy.” They do not like the idea that the government issues citizenship certificates to them. They even do not care to seek the help of modern medicines for their children (Dailekh, 2009).

Indigenous knowledge and practices of Raute women about forest resources

Raute women engage in different types of activities that pertain to the management and use of forest resources. Of particular importance is the gathering of fuel wood for domestic use as well as harvesting fruits, leaves, gums and medicinal products. They also keep and cook monkey meat after successful monkey hunt. As monkey meat is important, they pay special care and equally distribute it in the whole community. Other works include weaving leaves, bark and inner bark for baskets to carry woodcrafts, monkey traps, and other items. Women also weave windscreens to cover their huts. Sometimes they cure wood for preventing crack, carve or wrap crafted woks.

Tables 1 through 10 show the use of forest resources by Raute women's indigenous knowledge. Although the list below is far from complete, we consulted other sources and could identify more than 90 kinds of plants (Howland and Howland, 1984; Singh, 1997; Manandhar, 1998 and 2002; Fortier, 2004-2005; Thakur, 2014, Field work, 2015).

Table 1. Use of Wood By Raute Men and Women

Species	Common name	Local name	Place	Use
<i>Shorea rousta</i>	Sal tree	Sal	Dailekh	Fuel, Furniture
<i>Rhododendron arborem</i>	Rhododendron	Laliguras	Dailekh	Fuel, Furniture
<i>Dalbergia sissoo</i> Roxb.	Sisso	Sissau	Dailekh	Fuel, Furniture
<i>Boehmeria regulosa</i>	Fir	Gobre salla	Dailekh	Fuel, Furniture
<i>Bauhinia vahlii</i>	Maloo creeper	Malu	Dailekh	Fuel, Furniture
<i>Cedrella toona</i> Roxb	Moulmain cedar	Tuni	Dailekh	Fuel, Furniture
<i>Pinus roxburghii</i>	Gobrsalla	Chir pine	Dailekh	Fruit, Fuel

Men collect wood pieces to make woodcraft. Women also collect them but basically for the fuel. Women sometimes help men to find wood and assist making woodcraft (Fieldwork, 2015).

Table 2. Use of Wild Fruits

Species	Common name	Local name	Place	Use
<i>Berberis aristata</i> Dc.	Nepal barberry	Chutro	Dailekh	Fruit

<i>Myrica esculenta</i> Buch-Ham	Bay-berry	Kaphal	Dailekh	Fruit
<i>Madhuca butyracea</i>	Indian butter	Chyuri	Dailekh	Fruit
<i>Rubus elipticus</i> Sm.	Himalayan yellow raspberry	Sunauloo ainselu	Dailekh	Fruit
<i>Berberis aristata</i> Dc.	Nepal barberry	Chutro	Dailekh	Fruit
<i>Rubus paniculatus</i>	Witch berry	Ainselu	Dailekh	Fruit
<i>Holboellia latifolia</i>	Sausage vine	Bagul, Guphala	Dailekh	Fruit

Wild fruits really matter to the Rautes for subsistence when many other food sources are unavailable especially in early summer. Raute women know the available duration of fruits in the forest, crucial information to mobile livelihood. In mid-summer, they come to some specific area to harvest witch berries. In late summer, larger fruits such as *Pinus roxburghi* are ready for picking and tubers such as *Dioscorea bulbifera* mature there later in the dry season (In early summer) (Field work, 2015).

Table 3. Use of Fish by Women

Species	Common name	Local name	Place	Use
	-			
<i>Barillus bendelisis</i>		Tite fageta	Karnali	Meat
	-			
<i>Puntius sophore</i>		Bhutke pothi	Karnali	Meat
	-			
<i>Noemacheilus rupicola</i>		Gadela, Garere	Karnali	Meat
	-			
<i>Glyptothorax pectinopterus</i>		Kabre, Kadhing	Karnali	Meat
	-			
<i>Mastacembelus armatus</i>		Palainu, Bam	Karnali	Meat
	-			
<i>Chana gachua</i>		Geluwa, Hile	Karnali	Meat

Women are also in charge of the fishery, but they do not harvest fish actively due to the concern that the neighboring non-Raute people are more active in the fishery (Field work, 2015).

Table 4. Use of Wild Edible Plants by Raute Women

Species	Common name	Local name	Place	Use
<i>Sonchus oleracea</i>	-	Tite sag	Dailekh	Vegetables
<i>Fagopus cymosum</i> Meissn	Perennial buck wheat	Bhan phapar	Dailekh	Vegetables
<i>Urtica ardens</i> link	Stinging needle	Sishno	Dailekh	Vegetables
<i>Dioscorea bulbifera</i>	Yam	Tarul	Dailekh	Vegetables
<i>Vigna sinensis</i>	Cow pea	Bodi	Dailekh	Vegetables
<i>Rumex hastatus</i>	-	Kapo	Dailekh	Vegetables
<i>Taraxacum officinale</i>	Dandelion	Dudhejhar, Phule jhar	Dailekh	Vegetables
<i>Benincasa hispida</i>	Wax gourd	Khuvind	Dailekh	Vegetables
<i>Ophioglossum vulgatus</i>	Adder's tongue	Jibre sag	Dailekh	Vegetables
<i>Commelina paludosa</i> Pal	May flower	Kane sag	Dailekh	Vegetables

Table 5. Use of Wild Shoots, Roots and Seeds by Raute Women

Species	Common name	Local name	Place	Use
<i>Drypteris cochletata</i>	Edible fern shoot	Niuro	Dailekh	Vegetables
<i>Drypteris bulbifera</i>	Air potato	Githe tarul	Dailekh	Vegetables
<i>Drypteris deltoidea</i> wall	Cush cush	Bhyakur	Dailekh	Vegetables
<i>Arundinaria artistata</i> gamble	Red himalayan bamboo	Nigalo	Dailekh	Vegetables
<i>Amedeola virginiana</i>	Indian cucumber root	Kandamool	Dailekh	Vegetables

Raute women take charge of organizing harvesting activities because they are well aware of the cyclical nature of plant yields. Most of the wild vegetables, shoots, roots and seeds are boiled and eaten (Field work, 2015).

Table 6. Use of Animal by Raute Women

Species	Common name	Local name	Place	Use
<i>Macaca mulatta</i>	Rhesus monkey	Rato badar	Dailekh	Meat
<i>Muntiacus muntjak</i>	Barking deer	Ratuwa	Dailekh	Medicine
<i>Lophura leucomelana</i>	Kalij pheasant	Ratuwa	Dailekh	Medicine

In the Raute community males are the most active in hunting animals, but women play main roles in processing the meat and distributing it among members. Women also take responsibility for making medicine from animals (Field work, 2015)

Table 7. Use of Lighting, Firewood + Sheds by Raute Women

Species	Common name	Local name	Place	Use
<i>Betula alnoides</i>	-	Saur	Dailekh	For lighting
<i>Betula utilis</i>	Himalayan silver bitch	Bhojpatra	Dailekh	Making fire Thatching and religion
<i>Artemisia vulgaris</i> linn	Mug-wort	Titepati	Dailekh	
<i>Dendrocalamus</i>	Bamboo	Bans	Dailekh	Thatching
<i>Terminalia tomentosa</i> wight	-	Saj	Dailekh	For lighting
<i>Quercus leucotrichophora</i>	Himalayan oak	Sanu banjh	Dailekh	Making fire
<i>Colebrookea oppositifolia</i>	-	Dhursu	Dailekh	Thatching
<i>Imperata</i>	-	Siru	Dailekh	Thatching and religion

Raute women have specific knowledge about plants that are suitable for lighting, fire, sheds and thatching because these materials are essential parts of making their huts and cooking.

Table 8. Use of Medicinal Plants by Raute Women

Species	Common name	Local name	Place	Use
<i>Bombax malabaricum</i>	Silk cotton	Simal	Dailekh	Medicine

Terminalia chebula	Myrobolan	Harro	Dailekh	Medicine
Oxalic corniculata	Indian soreel	Chariamilo	Dailekh	Medicine
Pinus wallichiana	Blue pine	Khote salla	Dailekh	Medicine
Piper longum	Long piper	Pipla	Dailekh	Medicine

In the Raute community, women know more about medicinal plants than me do. For example, they carefully use different types of inner barks for specific treatment. Sometimes, they make paste from Myrobolan. It is used to prevent from catching cold (Field work, 2015).

Table 9. Use of Intoxicants by Raute Women

Species	Common Name	Local name	Place	Use
Cannabis sativa linn	True hemp	Ganja	Dailekh	Intoxicant with smoking
Lindera pulcherrima benth	-	Tharpipiri	Dailekh	Hunting
Nicotiana rustica	English tobacco	Golepate surti	Dailekh	Fresh oral use
	American tobacco			
Nicotiana		Lampatte surti	Dailekh	Fresh oral use

In the Raute community all men and women are fascinated with the intoxicants for smoke. Some are used to attract animals. These are collected by the women (Field work, 2015).

Table 10. Use of Fibrous Plants by Raute Women

Species	Common name	Local name	Place	Use
Agave americanana linn	Agave	Rambans	Dailekh	Fibre, Thatching
Eulaliopsis binata	-	Babiyo	Dailekh	Rope
Gossypium arboreum linn	White jut	Sanpat	Dailekh	Fibre
Girardinia Zeylanica	-	Allo	Dailekh	Fibre

Raute women search and collect the fibrous plants to weave leaves, bark and inner bark into nets, which are used to carry carving wood objects, trap the monkey and store the household things such as windscreen for covering their huts (Field work, 2015).

Knowledge and practice of Raute women about forest biodiversity conservation

Raute women are well aware of the cyclical nature of plant yields. When asked about the reason to move from one place to another, the community leader, *mukhiya*, said that, without moving, local resources will be exhausted, and people will become angry with him. This statement shows that even though it is *mukhiya* who decides when and where to move, other community members like women influence him in the decision making process. Raute men generally recognize that forests, upland meadows and wetlands are under the domain of Raute women as these places are essential for women's harvesting activities.

For example, in the middle far western part of Nepal women take charge in organizing harvesting activities. In mid-summer, they come to some specific area to harvest witch berries. In late summer, larger fruits such as *Pinus roxburghi* are ready for picking and tubers such as *Dioscorea bulbifera* mature there later in the dry season (Spring Season). Before finishing available foods and other necessary resources to harvest, Raute women encourage the *mukhiya* to search for another place in the forest to move.

The knowledge of the Raute community about biodiversity conservation is closely related to specific forest resources in specific areas. Here women play crucial roles. The knowledge both men and women have is the product of the continuous process of adoption and adjustment, and it is cross-generational. Women know not only the available duration of food in the forest, crucial information to mobile livelihood but also how to sustain harvest. They do not pick immature herbs and shrubs as they said that the taste of herbs and shrubs would be better when they mature. Sometimes they harvest more herbs and root crops like yams if they see these foods can be preserved. Women are also in charge of the fishery, but they do not harvest fish actively whereas neighboring non-Raute people are more active in the fishery (Rai, 2007).

Raute's indigenous landscape management entails harvesting and burning practices on a regional scale. Fortier, in her book *Kings of the Forest: The Cultural Resilience of Himalayan Hunter-Gatherers* (2009), describes about burning practices of the Raute when they are about to move out from the camp after a few weeks. When she visited the previous campsite, she observed some seedlings of willow and sprouts of berreis, ferns, and sage brushes already emerged from ashes.

Challenges the Raute women face to maintain their livelihoods:

Raute women work for 12 to 14 hours a day. Due to this heavy workload, Raute women face a number of problems. In general they are physically weak and their children often suffer from malnutrition (Maharjan, 2016; Dcnepal). Many young women die in maternal stages because of the lack of care and nutrition. In the Raute community the well being of women is largely ignored.

According to the Raute community, economic conditions have worsened in recent years. Some of them said that they used to enjoy their nomadic lifestyles to the fullest extent. There were plenty of wild fruits and water in the forest. They cut trees and made wooden utensils. However, things have changed now. The Raute depend more on the supplies from outside.

Since the Government of Nepal introduced the community forest system in 1992, the Raute people have been prohibited to cut trees in forests. This new policy led to increasing conflicts between the Raute and local residents. Raute women were prevented from freely searching for food and collecting firewood, vegetables and fruits. They were required to get permission from the Community Forest Users Groups. Also, the introduction of some exotic weeds reduced the growth of edible fruits and vegetables. Obtaining firewood became more difficult. To gather fruits, vegetables and firewood, women now have to go deep into the forest. It takes more time to collect and dry some food during the rainy season. Sometimes they cannot find enough food, making them, especially children, suffer from hunger and malnutrition.

Raute and indigenous peoples in Nepal also have legal challenges ahead. For example, the usufructuary rights of indigenous peoples to the forest are not enshrined in Nepalese law even though political discussion that led to the new constitution of 2015 spent considerable time in discussing indigenous peoples' rights. The new constitution did stipulate that: "Women shall have equal ancestral rights without any gender-based discrimination." However, Nepal has not yet observed any policy implementation that meets this gender equality and respect for ancestral rights (IDEA, 2015).

After the Maoist campaign for minority rights such as indigenous peoples, lower castes, and women, Nepal ratified ILO Convention No 169. It addresses the importance of introducing measures by ratifying countries to safeguard the rights of indigenous peoples like the Raute community. Nepal has not formulated its policies for indigenous rights yet. As the majority of Nepalese live in urban areas, most people do not care about Raute livelihood. Nepalese land and forest policies, such as the declaration of National Parks and Conservation Areas, severely restrict the use of forest resources. These regulations are in conflict with Raute's traditional economic activities. Raute people, other indigenous peoples and forest dwellers are no longer permitted to live or to perform any activities in designated areas. Thus, traditional activities of indigenous peoples and local communities that depend on forest resources are often regarded as illegal, and, as a result, many have been relocated out of traditional harvesting areas (Gurung and Bista, 2014).

Due to the external pressure on the Nepalese Government to ratify ILO Convention No. 169, Nepal announced in 2007 to provide aid of up to 1,000 Nepalese Rupees (about 9.38 USD) per Raute person for social welfare. This lump-sum payment was not enough for them to survive even for one month. The new constitution includes a provision to protect, empower and develop minority groups, but it does not mention explicitly about indigenous peoples like the Raute. Many NGOs and INGOs work for improving social conditions of the Raute as well as their rights to forest resources although Raute women still remain silent in the process of gaining a secure access to forest resources. In fact, Raute women face gender discrimination as they are largely deprived of voice to speak in public. Raute women do not learn Nepalese language, as they are not supposed to talk with any outsiders. Because of this women could not speak up in Nepalese language about their rights.

Climate change and deforestation

Raute women have noticed the impact of climate change and deforestation such as the depletion of resources in the forest. Mr. Suryanarayan Shahi, one of Raute leaders, said that about 30 years ago, routes they took for moving in forests were thickly covered with trees. At the time they rarely found forest fire occurrences and famine. They could easily find a large number of wild animals and edible plants in the forest so that they did not need to move near villages to obtain grain for food. Forest fire became more frequent recently partly because of intensive deforestation activities. A deficiency of rain and subsequent famine has escalated the depletion of forest resources; and they were now more depend on neighboring villages for food. Now the situation is very miserable for the Raute community. They have suffered from hunger especially women and children.

According to the government survey, devastating forest fires and famines occurred in 1990 and 2004. The forest area decreased from 56.7% in 1963/64 to 37% in 1995 and 28.9% (3.64 million ha) in 2005. Silviculture was introduced by Community Forest Users Groups to increase the quality of wood products and cull exotic weeds in the forest. This practice in turn has decreased the amount of softwoods and edible plants, medicines, fruits and firewood. These conditions have negatively affected men's woodcraft production and women's harvesting activities (Bhattachan, 2012).

Recommendations

To ensure that the voice of indigenous women is heard and their biodiversity conservation practices are respected, it is important to establish a cooperation mechanism among different governmental agencies and external bodies or stakeholders such as ILO, trade unions, employers' associations, indigenous peoples, local communities, and representatives from civil society. In order to achieve this mechanism, the following actions are important to be considered.

It is necessary to raise better awareness among local neighbors to Raute people about Raute culture and livelihood as well as their rights to land and forest resources. In particular, women should be given greater support for their initiation and measurement of forest preservation and management by using their indigenous knowledge. At this time, there is no cordial relationship between the Raute and local villagers. These villagers do not think that they can learn about forests and biodiversity from the Raute.

The role of indigenous women like the Raute in keeping alive and transmitting the customs, values and indigenous knowledge on sustainable forest management and biodiversity conservation should be promoted. The further study and publications on the indigenous knowledge of Raute women on forest management can not only enhance forest biodiversity conservation in general but also contribute to the empowerment of Raute women or the restoration of their power over natural resources.

Raute women should be provided with more opportunities for full, equal and effective participation in decision-making and community affairs, including negotiations with neighboring villagers and government officials. This is possible by providing more educational opportunities to enhance their capacities, skills, technology proficiency, which in general will lead to self-confidence. In order to achieve this goal, the Nepalese Government must take drastic efforts to eliminate ethnic and gender

discrimination. For example, the Government should fund different projects that aim at educating children and women.

As the Raute face a number of challenges such as deforestation, climate change, displacement, the encroachment of settler population into their traditional territory, it is necessary for the government and NGOs to promote alternative economic and livelihood opportunities for the Raute. The living situation has deteriorated, and under these circumstances, the Raute have great difficulties to maintain their traditions. For example, Raute women can be trained as protected area rangers as they have the extensive knowledge of using forest resources. Or they can work for scholars and relevant government agents as guides and help enhance the knowledge of flora and fauna in the forest. The government should also protect the rights of the Raute in harvesting plants for medicine, food, firewood and fodder for subsistence uses. Local non-Raute people can learn more about forest biodiversity and resources from the Raute so that they can engage in more sustainable development.

To prevent the loss of Raute women's rich traditional knowledge, it is crucial to record their knowledge, skills, practices, and technologies in multiple languages. This use of technologies for knowledge transfer can secure opportunities for younger generations to learn about their traditional skills through various channels. The information dissemination through these technologies also helps the larger Nepalese communities to better understand and respect Raute people and their livelihood.

The Government of Nepal should take steps forward to prohibit development programs and projects that threaten indigenous peoples' livelihoods and their rights to land and resources, especially when they cause wide-spread deforestation and forest degradation (e.g., the allocation of forest lands to private companies and community forest and users). They should implement policies to protect the rights of indigenous peoples with equal gender participation in accordance with articles 20, 22(3) and 23(1) of ILO Convention No. 169. As the Government does not have sufficient human resources to protect remote communities, INGOs and NGOs are important in monitoring the well being of indigenous populations.

Conclusion:

In Nepal, the Raute people or "the kings of the forest" hold very unique and distinctive knowledge about biodiversity conservation. It is important that Nepal and the world keep this heritage. This community has suffered from depleting resources and changing environmental and social conditions. Women and children are especially in vulnerable conditions as they have much heavier workload and responsibilities than men do within the community.

The spatial and temporal availability of plant resources require the Raute to move extensively throughout their traditional territory. Raute women take advantage of their broad knowledge about forest ecosystems in collecting wide varieties of edible plants. They classify different plant species according to their use and nutritional values. They also practice ethical principles in preventing excessive harvesting. For example, as discussed above, they do not pick immature herbs and shrubs. They do not actively engage in the fishery, as neighboring local people are more active on it. Women are also active caretakers of the forest, alpine meadows, and wetlands.

Because of Raute women's language disadvantage and gender discrimination, their rich knowledge and traditional roles in managing resources have been neglected by increasing non-Raute people. It is urgent and crucial to better understand the extent to which Raute women play significant roles in sustainable forest conservation. Their in-depth knowledge can be helpful to formulate local adaptation strategies for climate change. Above all, much more information is needed to better understand Raute people and their contribution to biodiversity conservation. For this, more active actions by the Government of Nepal are required to protect Raute rights.

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The Use of Facebook in learning process: Social Constructivist Learning Environment

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ABSTRACT

The major objective of this article is to evaluate the integration of Information Communication Technology into learning process based on Cruz and Carvalho framework via a Design Science Research Methodology (DSRM). An innovative Facebook – Based collaborative learning artifact, was designed and developed to build and foster a learning environment and a series of features and activities were conducted to utilize the social interactions amongst the users to foster social constructivism learning goals. Various pedagogic strategies were used to integrate activities occurring both inside and outside of the classroom setting to achieve social learning. All features utilized were evaluated based upon activities and interactions amongst all users. The research findings show the great potential of this study developing artifact for collaborative learning and social negotiation based on social constructivism theory. This study shows students and learners could practice collaborative learning and regulate their knowledge in this platform and enhance their motivation, engagement, performance, self –regulation, and critical thinking as long as instructors integrate their appropriate instructional strategies to developing artifact. Further enhancement of the finding was supported from the interviews and researcher experiences as a learning facilitator, where challenges and barriers are discussed about lecturers' pedagogical strategies and attitude.

Keywords: innovative Facebook –Based collaborative learning, social constructivism theory, Crus and Carvalho framework, Design Science Research Methodology (DSRM)

INTRODUCTION

Today there is a sense of innovation in the world. Life today is increasingly virtual, networked and global. This development or what one can call a "paradigm shift" in learning has created a great opportunity for the enhancement of the educational system. According to Khan, (2005), the effective integration of technology into the learning process could enhance learning and teaching process as well as interactive learning. As a consequence, E -learning could improve social interaction and collaborative learning and accomplish Education system vision and mission as long as users learn how to use the technological medium as learning artifact. Training practices and methods have changed to keep pace with this evolution, but not as drastically as you might think. Association of talent development, 2013ATD's State of the Industry report shows a decrease of only 4 percent in instructor-led classroom training (ILT) over the past five years. At the same time, technology-based training has increased only 2 percent and online

training has remained constant. Enlightened instructors and education system are eager to find real solutions to the problems and challenges facing the integration of technology into the learning process, if necessary, to re-examine E-Learning paradigms including how and what we teach our students through using modern technology.

Web 2.0 and Social Constructivist Learning

A lot of studies showed Facebook as popular Web 2.0 artifact has sophisticated features for collaborative learning in the social constructivism framework compared with LMS and other Web.2 artifacts. Ractham, Kaewkitipon (2012), indicated that Facebook allows members to participate and collaborate in a Social Constructivist learning environment from both inside and outside of the classroom.

Ataie et al. (2014) and Dar, Shah; Ataie; Siddike et al. ; Mali et al. (2013) in IIUM indicated that Facebook as one of social networks could be used for pedagogical practices, interaction and education purpose. It has potential to stimulate the development of basic technical and social skills in order to participate in the social network in particular, and in contemporary society in general, creating individual accounts on Facebook (Whittaker, et al. 2014). The Facebook group, Chat, messaging and image tagging help to carry out collaborative activities, and configuring it properly. It provides students and learners with resources and information sources to other members of the group in connection with the educational use of Facebook and its potential as a support for collaborative working. The Facebook has potential documenting the working process using external applications, for the both written and multimedia formats (text, video, presentations, screen casts and mind maps). From a technological viewpoint, Facebook's strengths of collaborative working are Simplicity and speed of creating and administering a work group, straightforwardness of use of native tools and services to implement Facebook connectivity. Micro-Blogging and, Life-Streaming features of Facebook lead to in each successive redesign of the platform; its adaptability to the 'real-time Web' concept has become apparent. This concept is particular to Micro-Blogging services. The rise of other social networking sites aimed at real-time communication, such as Twitter (www.twitter.com), caused Facebook to improve its news feeds (the home page that opens by default for every user), offering faster, more effective refresh and tracking technologies. Facebook is a spectacular, powerful and advance support for mobile learning. It Supports mobile devices and operating systems (iPhone, Android, Maemo, etc.) (Julia, 2012). Since September 2007, when Facebook launched the service to access Facebook via mobile devices more people has used it for communication and it is a fact that these users are twice as active on the platform as users accessing it via their PCs. This flexibility is an indisputable advantage for developing Facebook-Based collaborative learning experiences that would not be very – or at all – functional in other environments(Goggin, 2014; Happ et al., 2015). Ataie (2013) in her study in IIUM, indicated that Facebook as one of social networking system could be used for pedagogical practices and constructivism instructional design. Facebook compared with LMS and blogs is the best example of Web2.0 that has good potential for creating social constructivism learning environment by employing different teaching strategies .

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework of This Study (figure 1)

Crus and carvalho, (2006) model for Integration of Information and Communication Technologies(IICT), reflecting on the suitability of using it in the educational context as a mean of promoting learning situations, essentially, using the tools of Web 2.0 is used in this study that involves Constructivist, engagement and motivation theory. This theoretical framework explains how information, communication and collaboration tools can be applied in the learning process.

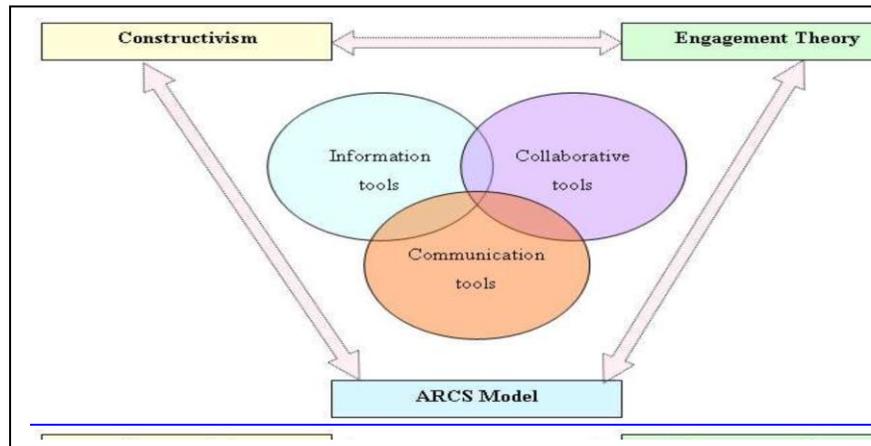


Figure 1 : Crus and carvalho, (2006) model for Integration of Information and Communication Technologies(IICT)

In this framework instruction based on constructivism theory in education, includes three parts: condition of instruction, methods of instruction and learning goals. In a social Constructivist environment, learners with collaboration can develop critical thinking, negotiation, interpersonal and cooperative skills by experiencing the perspectives of other group members and constructing their own knowledge (Driscoll,2005), (Figure 2).

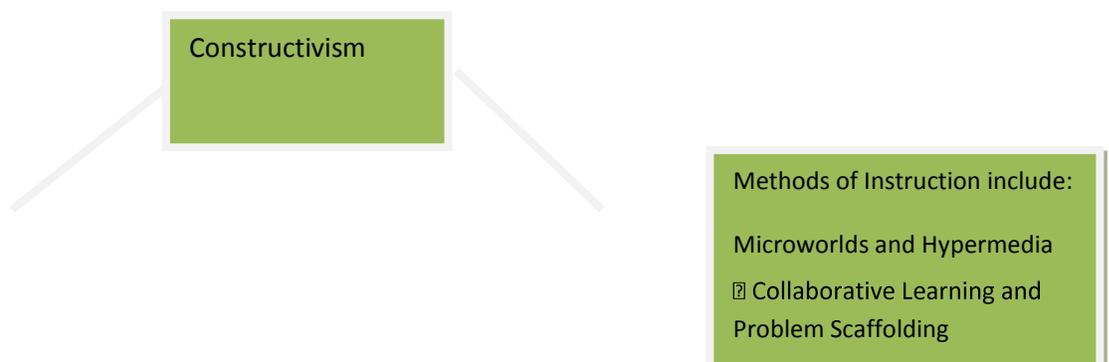




Figure 2: Driscoll model for instruction based on constructivist theory

Design Science Research Methodology (DSRM)

In this study Design Science Research Methodology (DSRM) was chosen for creating an innovative Information Communication Technology (ICT) artifact in E-learning platform and improving integration of technology into the learning process in International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM) by the researcher.

The six steps of this methodology suggested by Peffers, Tuunanen, Rothenberger, and Chatterjee (2008), (1) Problem Identification and Motivation, (2) Design Objective of the Solution, (3) Design and Development, (4) Demonstration, (5) Evaluation, and (6) Communication were followed by the researcher.

Problem Identification and Motivation

This study in IIUM investigated and found some problems related to implementation of new technologies in the learning process. Alias & Marzuki (2005) said that:

“A common mistake made by educational practitioners in planning and implementing new technologies is to enthusiastically select a technological medium and imposing its use to solve

educational problems when the staff are not being prepared well in advance nor are they kept on alert so they could be regularly integrated into such projects.”(P.27-40).

Ahmad et al. (2010) also emphasis on user’s ability to work with digital technology. They suggested that:

“Older faculty members are less efficacious and less comfortable with digital technology and may need to see a real example or model of how they can integrate computers into their teaching. They should be given an appropriate platform where they can share the concerns and experiences in using computer technology”. (p. 268-279).

This study continued investigation about, the integration of ICT into learning process in IIUM with some interviews. A semi-structured interview was conducted with the two distance learning students in IIUM, individually at convenient times and locations. The questions allowed the participants to freely express their experiences, thoughts, and feelings about e-learning.

The participants were strongly aware of differences between traditional face to face learning and E-learning. They compared these differences in their opinion, and then they listed benefit of E-learning as follow, 1. Flexibility of the material and the time, 2- Visibility of the multimedia, 3. Availability of the data. One of the major discussions in the interview was social interaction. Both of interviewees believe that social interaction could improve the learning process, but they have limited interaction with lecturers. They don’t have affective interaction with other students in IIUM LMS. They believe that close relationship and sharing information with lecturer and classmates could enhance their learning competence.

Students about the great impact of social interaction and methods of teaching (making video, audio, clips, and so on, rather than from traditional teaching or knowledge transfer) emphasized that they could practice from their own professional experiences, as a consequence they could be independent and learn how to regulate their own learning process.

They also mentioned that in working with others, could get more immediate and more personal feedbacks that lead to deep-understanding in learning process. They explained that for

Solving interaction problems of IIUMLMS, Facebook’s chat was integrated to this artifact in PROGRAMPENSISWAZAHAN GURU Distance learning (PPG) class in INSTEAD IIUM. The interviewee asserted that:

“We found that interaction problems in IIUM’S LMS could be solved by using face book’s chat bar potentials. We can see the Facebook Chat bar at the bottom of our browser which shows for you who is online, hence we can interact with our friends. Whenever a chat comes in, a chat box will be appeared and highlighted with a red bubble. Hence, with creating a Facebook account, all students in LMS could be friend in Facebook. Face Book facility and features could be used for improving collaborative learning process and social interaction.”

According to the head of IIUM E-learning unit, in this study interview, the latest development in ICT and the changing needs of education the i-Taleem (Moodle as a platform for the new LMS in IIUM) was considered for learning in IIUM by the Centre for Professional Development (CPD) IIUM. This ICT artifact has great potential for integration with Web 2.0.

Purpose of study

This study in the first and second steps of DSRM based on interviews and literatures found that for enhancing the integration of technology into the learning process in IIUM, the need is to create a real example or model of how technology could be integrated into the learning process and effective implementation of collaborative learning in a Social Constructivist learning environment into real practice.

Design Objective of the Solution

In the second step of this study's methodology the objectives were defined as follow:

- 1-To create and design innovative ICT artifact based on social constructivism theory that supports collaborative learning for learners to connect inside and outside the classroom.
- 2- To implement the developing artifact for "IT and Islam "and "Research Methodology" courses in IIUM and practice collaborative learning in a Social Constructivist learning environment.
3. To evaluate developing artifact under the guideline of DSRM, and propose innovative pedagogies for current and future instructors.

Design, Demonstration

The third step in this study is related to design and demonstration of learning artifact. We used the literatures reviews and interviews for collecting data about the model for instructional design, design strategies, methods and conditions of instruction in this study.

We must identify what it takes to create a successful e-learning environment for diverse learners based on social constructivism theory. A successful e-learning system involves a systematic process of planning, design, development, evaluation and implementation to create an online environment where learning is actively fostered and supported. In order an e-learning system to be successful, it must be

meaningful to all stakeholder groups, including learners, instructors, support services staff and the institution. An e-learning system is meaningful to learners when it is easily accessible, well-designed, learner-centered, affordable, efficient, and flexible.

A lot of studies showed Facebook as popular Web 2.0 artifact has sophisticated features for integration into learning process and collaborative learning compared with LMS and other Web.2 artifacts. As a consequence we decided to design and develop an ICT artifact, integrated Facebook to IUM LMS, for collaborative learning. At the fourth step of methodology researcher demonstrate how artifact could be used for solving the social interaction problems.

The Facebook pages and groups, videos, pictures, chat box, and comment areas of Facebook were used to build Social Constructivist Learning environment for two courses “Research Methodology” and “Islamic world view and IT” in KICT IUM. A detailed discussion of each feature is covered below Table 1:

Table 1: Using the seven features of the Facebook in developing artifact for collaborative learning and Problem Scaffolding in social constructivism Learning Environment

1) The Facebook page: The Facebook’s page is for sharing information and connects with people. Face Book’s page could be customized by posting information and texts, events, adding pictures, videos and more. People who like Facebook Page and their friends can get updates in News Feed. In this study developing artifact, Facebook’s page, “IUMstudy circle”, as a common space where people, instructors and students could discuss various issues related to inside and outside of the class was created by the researcher. The page was designed based on constructivism framework and different pedagogical strategies were used to foster learning competence of students. Researcher as Page creator has managed admin roles, sent messages and created posts, ads, and view insights.

2) The Facebook group: The learners could collaborate and negotiate about different subjects, by posting information, videos, pictures, etc. This study created an open group that allows students and people all over the world to join it and collaborate with each other. And also we created a secret group for our class. The students in “Research Methodology “and “Islamic world view and IT “were added to these groups. The learning process was mediated by the researcher as learning facilitator by posting information, news updates, weekly assignments, teaching thoughts, and class materials in secret group.

3) Videos: students and users could construct their thoughts by creating videos carefully. The videos could be an in-class activity, such as class presentations or group discussions. The researcher constructs some videos about learning theories and also some videos about verses of Al-Quran then shared on Facebook page and groups. In addition, Students and users could upload video, then post and share on page and groups. They could discuss and negotiate about videos in the comment area and give for or against comments. Undoubtedly, this kind of discussion and collaboration would enhance their critical thinking.

4) Pictures: Pictures in Facebook, allow all members to have the ability to participate in the learning process, and share with other members their real world experience. The instructors attempted to create an informal, friendly environment in the classroom setting by taking photographs of various classroom activities, such student presentations and class discussions, their

classmates' pictures during class activities, the classroom and uploaded them to share with classmates who couldn't make it to class. In addition, the uploaded photos could be tagged, and hence used to identify any students that appeared in the photos.

5) Comment area: The comment area of Facebook could be used for Social Discussion and collaboration. The Social Discussion feature utilized the Facebook discussion board for all members to converse on various topics. The Social Discussion feature was mainly used as a "round table" where people, instructors and students, discussed various issues and from earlier in-class conversations. Most of the questions posted in this section focused on allowing each member to share their experiences and ideas with others.

6) Facebook Chat: Chat on Facebook, is really quite easy. All you need to chat is a Facebook account, nothing to download or install. When you are logged into Facebook you're automatically logged into Facebook Chat so you can chat. At the bottom of every page you'll see your Facebook Chat tools. The first of them is the online friend's tool. This simply tells you which of your Facebook friends are online right now and also shows the kind of connection such as web or mobile. The next is notifications which will let you know if you have any new notifications right from the tool. The ticker at the top of the chat sidebar shows the things they can already see on Facebook, but in real time. The third is the actual chat tool. Students could have a synchronous interaction using Facebook chat that gives students a great opportunity to actively engage in the learning process and construct their own knowledge.

7) The personal Facebook Account: The personal Facebook account provides some Facebook structure software and technological features that have potential for adding people and communication. The researcher created a personal account for adding friends. She invited students and learners and joined them to the groups of developing artifact. This artifact has great potential for collaboration. Its Wall is the original profile space, where Facebook users' content, had been displayed. A user's Wall is visible to anyone with the ability to see his or her full profile, and friends' Wall posts appear in the user's News Feed. Facebook allowed users to post attachments to the Wall.

Various roles together reinforced each other in facilitating the implementation of collaborative learning in the social learning environment using this study developing Web 2.0 artifact. In fact, these different roles are part of the mechanism we have designed to manage the integration of the ICT artifact to the learning process. All parties involved were expected to be involved in a semester-long learning environment by using the artifacts as assigned by the researcher. All of the students in IIUM and People From all over the world could join to developing artifact and collaborate using this artifact. The six assigned roles for each user group are described based on (Ractham, Kaewkitipong, 2012) model. (See Table 2):

Table 2: Six roles and interactions in developing artifact

1- Learning Facilitator – The Researcher played the role of the learning facilitators. Her main role was to mediate class participation, lead discussions, and encourage participation and the learning process. Such processes were mediated by the facilitator's attempts to post information, news updates, weekly assignments, teaching thoughts, and class materials. The

researcher, formed some groups and chose the head of each group. She became a participant and co-learner in discussions, asking questions and correcting misconceptions, but not telling learners what they need to know.

2- Learning Assistant - Six Postgraduate students of KICT IIUM were assigned the role of Learning Assistant. These student as head of groups play a main role in assistance of group members on any technical and nontechnical issues. They could manage collaboration in the groups.

3-Active Participants – 25 students of KICT IIUM from two courses: “research methodology “and “ICT and Islamic World View” joined to Facebook and formed some groups. Their main roles were to participate in social interaction, contribute to class discussion, and share learning resources with their classmates. Also, active participants could be involved in various in class activities such as taking photos and videos of the class discussions and share them with the rest of the group. They could write their proposals and article for these courses in group, working together using this study developing artifact. They could choose and find topics and resources on the developing artifact. They could collaborate and discuss with each other and the lecturers in the Facebook comment area.

4- Passive Participants –students from previous semesters also could join the group. They played the part of the passive participants where they had no mandatory role. Their main interests were to browse, participate in group discussions, and make informal comments to their friends.

5- Observers – Three faculty members from KICT and two IIUM E-learning unit and IIUMCCAC joined to our developing artifact. They usually remained inactive, but frequently gave the researcher perceptive comments and suggestions off-line.

6- The developing artifact Facebook page, “IIUM Study Circle” members

Evaluation, Results and Discussion

The fifth step of the Design Science research is the evaluation of the designed artifact, which involves several iterative cycles that improves and refines the design process. This begins with, interview, observation and measurement of how well the integration of the ICT artifact into learning process supports the solutions of the problems with comparing the objectives of a solution to real observed results. Ten interviews were conducted by the researcher to investigate the perception of instructors, students, learners and all users of this study developing Web 2.0 based artifact about its usefulness,.

The three interviewees were chosen from “Learning Assistants IIUM”, they believed that learning through developing artifact is relatively useful for students` understanding and teach them how to use

their knowledge in real life and how regulate their own learning independently. It helps students to be more active, motivated and engaged in the learning process. The instruction through developing artifact, collaboration and problem solving method could improve critical thinking of them.

However, researcher based on her experience and observation and interviews that includes the six assigned roles for this study developed artifact, mentioned in table 2 , found a need for enhancing students – instructors' interactions. The enhancing collaboration, inspiration and interest of students and building a better classroom, with happy learners and critical thinkers needs encouraging them, with appropriate dialogue not cajoling. The truth is that 21st-century learning is focused more on creativity and critical thinking than on compliance. In addition, the researcher as Learning Facilitator observed some students, especially postgraduate students in IIUM, are not active in collaborative learning process using developing artifact, they don't answer the questions that were designed in developing artifact based on the problem scaffolding method of instruction in social constructivism theory. They explained to the researcher in this study interview that they prefer to finish as soon as their study and they don't have enough time to engage in negotiation. On the other hand instructors mentioned some problems for social negotiation and Web 2.0 based collaborative learning. They emphasized on need for extra reflection time for negotiation and interaction with students through Web 2.0 artifact.

The results in this study showed students should be more engaged in collaboration and negotiation for achieving learning goals and undoubtedly instructors' attitude for implementing this method of instruction could play the main role in encouragement of students and honoring their passion and interest. Instructors should have good instructional planning for Web 2.0 based social interactions and collaborative learning, inside and outside of the classroom. If the instructors sincerely believe in the quality of their instruction and commit to modeling it, they should shift their perspective and to consider the learner as a part of learning community, rather than just a mind to fill. This study developing artifact could contribute modest support to change what we believe to be an unjustified and unbalanced situation. Instructors could continue their training outside of classes using this study developing ICT artifact. The comment area of Facebook in this study developing artifact for negotiation, is also suggested to be one of the activities that should be integrated by teachers in the course outline.

Communication and Conclusion

This study found that integration of technology into the learning process and instructional design based on constructivism theory have great potential for critical thinking, understanding, mindful reflection, self regulation and use of knowledge. Although there are clear evidences for the benefits of the integration

ICT into the learning process, most lecturers in higher education still adhere to traditional teaching methods. This research seeks to create and design innovative learning artifact for social interaction and collaborative learning by using Facebook. This study

implemented the developing artifact for “IT and Islam “and “Research Methodology” courses in IIUM and practiced collaborative learning in a Social Constructivist learning environment. We

evaluated developing artifact under the guideline of DSRM, and proposed innovative pedagogies for current and future instructors.

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THE VALIDITY OF 'REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY' AS A CONCEPTUAL TOOL TO ANALYSE NIGERIAN FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY SINCE ITS INCEPTION

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Abstract

The paper is aimed at assessing 'Representative Bureaucracy' as a tool to analyze Federal bureaucracy with particular reference to Nigeria. The country (Nigeria) is a heterogeneous society, thus the need for federation i.e. federal system of government, which comprises many more different ethnic groups who practice religious, and whose histories and cultures at times vary. The idea for representative bureaucracy in both civil service and politics is widely accepted. The paper also looked into the meaning of some key terms and problems of representative. Lastly, conclusion and recommendations for easy modification were made based on observed deficiencies in the present mode of representative bureaucracy.

Keywords:

INTRODUCTION

The term 'representative bureaucracy' was coined by Donald Kingsley (1944) as the title of his study of British Civil Service in the 1930s. He was an American Ford Foundation representative in West Africa and advised the Nigerian Federal and Regional Governments between 1958 and 1962. The emergence of growing concern among western democracies about the power of bureaucrats and their use or mis-use of discretion in the last forty to fifty years, led to a number of organizational, legislative and judicial reforms is the use of representative bureaucracy. One of such reform is the use of representative bureaucracy, which simply means restructuring or reconstituting the public bureaucracy such that its staff are drawn from all groups that make up the society.

Nigeria being a federation which comprises of about 374 different ethnic groups, as observed by Otite in (1990), and who practice several religions, and whose in histories, cultures at times varied the idea of representative bureaucracy in Nigeria in both civil service and politics is widely accepted. This combination of Nigerian tripod ethnic structure, deep cleavages, and systematic educational, economic, social, political and bureaucratic inequalities have led to a conflict ridden political system which consequently, led to ethno-regional confrontation and conflict over the distribution of bureaucratic and political offices. This has contributed in no small measure to the eventual collapse of the first republic in 1966 and civil war in 1967. So, the need for 'Administrative penetration' of society is more acute in countries like Nigeria.

Moreover, from the first coup in January 1966, reform became imperative within Nigerian political system. There were to distinct waves of reforms, culminating in the creation of the Federal Character Commission. The first wave started in 1967 and included dismantling the old regional institutional frame work and replacing the regions with smaller states, the second wave started in 1979 where emphasis on representation and power sharing was giving conditional

backing under the Federal Character principle. Accordingly, section 14, sub-section 3, of the 1979 Constitution provided that:

The composition of the government of the federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also command national loyalty thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from states or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that government or in any of its agencies. (Nigerian constitution 1999).

Besides, there are other justifiable sections like section 135, which reiterated that the President must appoint at-least one Minister from among the indigenes of each State. Also section 157 and 192 of the 1979 condition ordered the President to use federal character of Nigeria in appointing Ambassadors, Permanent Secretaries, personnel staff of the President and even the composition of the Armed Forces. The National Constitutional Conference convened by Abacha in June 1994, went further in promoting consociation power sharing in Nigeria, and came with the conclusion of establishing Federal Character Commission, and it was established by decree No. 34 of 1996. (New approach Government 2001).

LITERATURE REVIEW

The bureaucracy, broadly defined, is that apparatus of government designed to implement the decisions of political leaders. Political leaders make policy, the public bureaucracy executes it. If bureaucracy lacks the capacity to implement the policies of the political leadership, those policies, however well intentioned, will not be implemented in an effective manner. This is because, it is one thing to promise development, and quite another to actualise it. Viewed in this light, the role of public bureaucracy in the process of economic, social, and political development looms large indeed. Irrespective of the fact its role is critical to all areas of the development process in Nigeria (Eme et al, 2012).

According to Down (1967), Bureaucracy has three different meanings. It refers to a specific institution or class of institutions. In this sense, bureaucracy denotes the same concept as the term bureau. It can also mean specific method of allocating resources within a large organization. A synonym for this sense might be bureaucratic decision making. Thirdly, “it sometimes denotes ‘bureauness’ or ‘the quality that distinguishes bureaus from other types of organization.’” Bureaucracy, in the context of this paper, refers essentially to the civil service and other government bureaux, established to help in the formulation and implementation of government’s policies.

According to Anise (1984), the broader and more elastic conception of the Nigerian bureaucracy has been provided here to include the following:

- i. Civil services of all the thirty-six state governments and the seven hundred and seventy-four local governments that constitute the Federal republic of Nigeria presently;
- ii. Parastatal and public enterprise bureaucracies;
- iii. Armed forces Bureaucracy;
- iv. Internal security or policy bureaucracy;
- v. Higher education bureaucracy;
- vi. Teaching service bureaucracy;
- vii. Public media bureaucracy;
- viii. Judicial service bureaucracy;

- ix. Political party bureaucracy; and
- x. Private sector bureaucracy

As a matter of fact, the ethnic factor has been entrenched in the 1979 Constitution and the subsequent ones under the name 'Federal Character'. Presently a 'Federal Character Commission' has been established to monitor both public and private bureaucracies and ensure that this clause is implemented. The use of subjective criteria like ethnicity in deciding who is to be employed is a negation of bureaucratic ideals any day. Invariably the best applicants from the South are kept out of the bureaucracies for the worst from the North. Okoli

During the colonial administration in Nigeria (1900-1960), the role of the bureaucracy was essentially concerned with the maintenance of colonial law and order and collection of taxes and levies. The colonial bureaucracy was created in the first instance, to prosecute imperial policies. At Independence on October 1, 1960, things changed. The post independence era witnessed "the transformation and redefinition of the role of the civil service to that of nation building that is assisting the new government to plan and accelerate the pace of Nigeria's socio-economic development." (Nigeria, 1985).

Okotoni (2003) stated that the major problems confronting the public bureaucracy in Nigeria is its politicisation. Several offices in the civil service were at one or the other politicised by the military. These include the offices of the Permanent Secretary and the Head of Service. Although, there is nothing wrong with the bureaucracy performing political functions, but the fear is that unless such political functions are carefully controlled, they can further aggravate the already strained relationship between the political officers and the bureaucrats, with unpleasant consequences during a democratic regime. The political officers would regard such political roles performed by the bureaucrats as usurpation of powers and trespass.

Okotoni (2003) further suggested that there is need to give a well-defined constitutional role for the civil service. Neither the 1979 nor the 1999 Constitutions spelt out the role of the civil service. The civil service must also be restored to its rightful place, and redefine the role that it should play in governance. It is further suggested that the federal civil service commission must aspire to maintain certain conditions of employment in the civil services that may be summarized as follows:

- i. The existence of adequate opportunities for a career, which will attract and retain in service the right kind of men and women;
- ii. A system of promotions through merit with due regard to seniority that enables persons who demonstrate the necessary ability, energy and devotion to rise to the highest positions in the service;
- iii. Reasonable security of tenure;
- iv. A pay structure that is broadly comparable to the pay structure of the central government and private employment and based on the principle of equal pay for comparable types of work;
- v. A system of regulating employer-employee relations that is accepted by the staff as just and fair. (United Nations, 1964).

FEDERAL CHARACTER COMMISSION: COMPOSITION AND FUNCTIONS

Though Federal Character Commission was established in 1996 by Decree No. 34, the 1999 Constitution expanded its scope and specified its composition and roles as follows:

In part 1 of the third schedule of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the composition of the Federal Character Commission was specified thus:

1 The Federal Character Commission comprise of the following members:

- i. The Chairman;
- ii. One person to represent each of the States of the federation and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.
- iii. The Chairman and members shall be appointed by the President, subject to the confirmation by the Senate.

In giving effects to the provision of Section 14(3) and (4) of this Constitution, the Commission shall have the power to perform the following:

- a. Work out an equitable formula subject to the approval of the National Assembly for the distribution of all cadres of posts in the Public Service of the Federation and the States, the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the Nigerian Police Force and other government Security Agencies and Parastatals.
- b. Promote, monitor and enforce compliance with the principles of proportional sharing of all bureaucratic, economics, media and political post at all levels of government
- c. Take such legal measures, including the prosecution of the head or staff of any Ministry or Agency which fail to comply with any Federal Character principles or formula adopted by the Commission; and,
- d. Carry out other functions as may be conferred upon it by the Act of National Assembly.

Notwithstanding any provision in any other law or enactment, the Commission shall ensure that every public company or corporation reflects the federal character in the appointments of its Directors and senior management staff.

The Validity of Representative Bureaucracy in Nigeria

The Federal Character Commission may not have brought the bureaucracy to an adequate level of representatives, it has however, has a number of important achievements which validates its efforts in trying to ensure a more representative Nigeria in federal bureaucracy. They are as follows:

- i. FCC rules stipulates that jobs advertisements must be inserted in two major National Dailies, one widely read in the south, and the other in the North. Applicants must also be given at least six weeks to reply, so that applicants in remote corners of the country are not disadvantaged. The Federal Character Commission has succeeded in keeping its eyes on news-papers with a view to ensuring compliance to its rules, and consequently, in 2002, under the Chairmanship of Adamu Fika, alerted Mr. President some unfair recruitment exercise in various governmental agencies such as Nigeria Meteorological Agency, Abuja, National Productivity Center, Ajaokuta Steel Company, etc.
- ii. FCC has investigated many cases of recruitment which did not respect its rules. For example, in 2002, FCC investigated the case of Mr. Victor Okuba of Federal Polytechnic,

Oko; whose recruitment is in a total violation of FCC guidelines on staff recruitment. FCC investigated so many cases that year, with some of them were in order while many other violated FCC guidelines. The aim of this investigation is to enforce compliance of FCC rules in recruitment.

- iii. One of the major functions of FCC is the collection of reliable data on the ethnic composition of bureaucracies in a manner which command respect and acceptable to all. (From Federal Character Commission Publication, 2nd Edition)

***Consolidated Statistics, the Presidency, Federal Ministries and Extra-Ministerial Departments
Total Staff Distribution by Zones as at 1996***

Zone	No. of Staff	Percentage of Total
North Central	67,615	20.7%
North East	28,936	8.8%
North West	37,487	11.5%
South East	46,064	14.1%
South South	75,464	23.1%
South West	71,468	21.9%
Total	327,034	100%

Source: : FCC publication

It should be recalled that at independence, one section of the country with its 55% of the population had less than 10% presence in the federal bureaucracy. Now that portion has 41%.

- iv. It has succeeded in creating new norms and procedures for non-violent resolution of conflict over ethnic and regional access. The FCC provided an impartial and professional platform, trusted by all, through which complaints from various ethnic groups could be addressed. In a country in which trust in democratic institution is low and recourse to violence common, this is an important achievement.
- v. The FCC is increasingly generating data through which the nagging national problem of representation can be objectively assessed, monitored and pronounced upon, away from the screaming headlines of ethnic entrepreneurs. It is a credit to its professionalism that we know as much as we now do about trends within the federal bureaucracies. Previously, we would have been paralyzed by the competing partisan claims of self interested newspaper editors. Importantly, the pervasive fear of marginalization can now be calmed by a rational engagement with FCC data. Individuals and communities now go to FCC both for concrete data, and for remedies.
- vi. The FCC has positively changed the culture and norms of bureaucratic recruitment in Nigeria towards inclusive diversity. Gone are the days when a Chairperson of a public institution can surround himself or herself with co-ethnic with reckless impunity. Chief Executives are now more conscious of their obligation to strive for ethnic diversity, if not balance. The full impact of this change will only be felt many decades down the line, when the current ageing bureaucratic retire and new ones are appointed. In this regard, FCC has laid an important and valuable foundation.

The Gaps in the Debate on Representative Bureaucracy in Nigeria

There seem to be some key issues connected to the attainment of a more representative bureaucracy which has not been taken cognizance of:

- a. In a country in which State and LGAs have not been carried out in an impersonal way, consideration to the size of population or the state should be given.
- b. There is hardly any consideration of the disabled. They were completely been ignored, and that is why the incidence of illiteracy of low level of training among the Nigerian disabled is high.
- c. Finally, and most critically, any glance at Nigeria's public life will show clearly an embarrassing in balance in favour of men. So this issue of gender also needs to be addressed.

CONCLUSION

It is certain that if Federal Character Commission will be made independent constitutionally, and its members nominated directly by the National Assembly, it will help greatly in its effort toward achieving full representation in Nigeria's Federal bureaucracy.

The current effort made by FCC in ensuring a more representative Nigeria has greatly help in calming the various high level ethnic regional confrontation over appointment into federal bureaucracy.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- i. There is need for the consideration of the size of population in terms of representative bureaucracy for these each state has to be given a proportional representation depending on the population size for efficient, effective and equitable distribution.
- ii. The government also has to make policies that will consider the role of the disabled persons for them to be given an insight representation.
- iii. There is also the need for the improvement in the issue of gender bias where most of the advocacies for women are calling for gender balance.
- iv. The government must not involve their personal interest in the issues relating to bureaucracy or representation which completely violates and contradict the provision of constitution, e.g. in November, 2014 the government through the use of security agent (Police) denied or prevent the sitting of the Parliament as an organ of government because the issue discussed at that time does not reflect the interest of the government. The attempt completely undermines the idea of representation bureaucracy.

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VALUES CONSCIOUSNESS AS A VALUES EDUCATION APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

Values Consciousness as a values education approach

The applications of values education in Turkey started in 2011 and since then all the educational institutions claim that they teach values education. Despite the efforts, the observations have shown that there are 4 basic problems in the values education. Firstly, the individuals are not aware of the meanings of values. Therefore, when they start to explain the meaning of a value, they make inconsistent and irrelevant definitions about the value's true meaning. Second, the individuals tell that they do not have the values which actually can be seen in their behaviors. The opposite is also possible, the individuals do not have the values but they claim they have the values and the stated values are not observed in their behaviors. Third, the individuals claim that they have the values, but the values do not mean an ideal and future orientation for them. The value is something answered when asked, but the individuals do not have an aim to realize it. Fourth and last, the individuals, when using the values, generally apply the value ethics to other people but they can make it flexible or ignore it for themselves. Values Consciousness approach has been developed as an answer to all of these problems. This approach aims (a) to make clear the values' meaning clear to the people who think that they have, (b) to make behaviors and the values to be consistent, (c) to help individuals to aim to realize their values, and (d) to help them to adopt the values not only for evaluating other individuals, for themselves also. Values Consciousness Approach proposes that the values education should have these steps: Value Analysis, Value Inquiry, Value Positioning and Value Subjectification. Value Spider activity has been handled as Value Bug for the 4th class students and Wise Child Project consisting of Value Bug Activities on four values has been performed. The results have shown that Value Bug activities and Wise Child Project based on Values Consciousness Approach is very useful and helpful for the students to understand the values. The applications have shown that the students have understood value better and enjoyed the educational activities.

Value is the subject which social scientists studied intensively. As a concept, value is common in many sciences, from mathematics to psychology. Mathematicians study on a number's value, economists on a goods' value, sociologists on values of a society, anthropologists on cultural values, psychologists on personal values, etc. Education as an applied science, is related with the value, on that what are the values of the students and how to gain them.

The definition of the value is the most critical characteristic of the studies on it. Various definitions are made on it, generally in social sciences. For all scientific disciplines, a value is a characteristic of an object which can be a number, goods, product, behavior, person, etc. This characteristic describes, differentiates and separates the object from others. For example, at mathematics, giving 5 value to X is defining and differentiating it from other X's with 1, 2, 3, 4, etc. Similarly, the value of a goods is a quality which differentiates it from the others. As personally, value is a characteristic which differentiates the person from others (at least, from who don't have same characteristic). Thus, the value concept implies its own opposite. Some people may have it, some people may have its opposite.

The other point of view which the value concept implies is superiority. The object containing the value is superior to the others (which have not that value). In personality perspective, the value for a person is a characteristic which gives superiority (feeling good) to that person from other persons (of course, at least, according to the person's own judgement). In summary, three characteristics of a determination of a value are defining, contrasting and making superior (D'Andrade, 2008; Gouveia, Milfont, Vione, & Santos, 2015).

In psychology, the studies on values begin with Allport-Vernon-Lindzey's Study of Values (Kopelman, Rovenpor, & Guan, 2003). At 1970's, M. Rokeach's studies (1973) and scale (36 items; 18 for instrumental, 18 for terminal values) have operationalized the studies on values. Later, Shalom Schwartz (1992) has developed a theory of value and a values list by adding 22 values to Rokeach's scale. After 2010, Gouveia and colleagues (2015) developed a functional (and useful for values education) theory.

Values Education

Values education term refers to the process of education which young people acquire the values as guiding rules for individual and societal levels and have the ability and dispositions to apply these rules in their everyday life. It is an umbrella concept that includes moral education, citizenship education, etc. Themes in values education can address in some degree to character education, religious education, personal development, social development, cultural development, spiritual development, moral development.

There are two kinds of values education as implicit and explicit values education. In history, the implicit values education has been made in different ways, especially as religious education. Explicit values education has been made by the educational programmes developed specially for this purpose. Two values education approaches, values clarification (Raths, Harmin, & Simon, 1978) and moral reasoning (Kohlberg, 1985), were popular in American schools in 1980's.

Values clarification sought to have students clarify their personal values by using a valuing process. The educators were to be respectful to the values the students have. Moral reasoning or moral dilemma approach have suggested that the teachers must have assisted the students to be aware of their values by resolving moral conflicts (Titus, 1994). After 1980's, character education has arisen. Character education approach argued by Thomas Lickona (1991), suggested that values don't be taught directly by a specially developed curricula. Instead, different academic programmes have many character formation elements.

Nowadays, the values education is popular in many countries (Cummings, Totto, & Hawkins, 2001). Taylor (1994) has given an overview of values education in 26 European countries. Moreover, there are many values education applications in many countries from Australia (Ministry of Education, Australia, 2016) to Tanzania (Ministry of Education and Culture, Tanzania, 2016).

Ministry of National Education in Turkey has started values education in schools at 2011. Since then, many values education activities are made by the teachers in classrooms. Based on Living Values Education Programme (Living Values Education, 2016), supported by UNESCO, the curriculum has about 20 values. Besides, there are some publications and associations adopted values education. Sometimes, values education and religious education are mingled in applications.

Values Consciousness Approach

Almost everyone agrees with the importance of values education but it is difficult to adopt an approach satisfying everyone's goals. Bacanlı (2013) has listed the problems related to values education as follows: (1) Choosing the values to be taught (which values?), (2) The problem of hidden curriculum (unplanned learnings), (3) The responsible people from values education (educators, psychologists or theologians?), (4) Populist approaches (considering the people does or doesn't like), (5) Problems with the views for educational sciences (are they really sciences?), (6) Vagueness of "value" concept (what is value?) and (7) Methodological problems (how to be taught?).

Although the values education is regarded as important, the studies on values education don't give clear information about the favorable results. It can be said that the problems which caused the values education are continuing and it is not clearly known whether values education applications are efficient. The researchers study on the techniques of the values education but there is not any study testing the results of these techniques. They intensify on the process instead of the outcomes. There are well known reasons for this situation such as the ambiguity of curriculum, unpreparedness of the teachers, having no sufficient information about values education, unwillingness to teach the values, non-cooperating with the family, and so on. One of the reasons for this situation is the difficulty on assessing the values' educational outcomes.

Bloom and colleagues (Bloom, 1956) have developed a taxonomy for educational objectives in 1950's. The taxonomy is well-prepared and spread out worldwide for cognitive domain, but affective and psychomotor domains are not. Although Krathwohl (Krathwohl, Bloom, & Masia, 1964) and Simpson (1972) have worked on these domains, their classifications and

operationalizations don't accepted widely. The lack of following studies have caused them not to be discussed and elaborated. Although Bloom's taxonomy has been revised in at the beginning of 2000's (Anderson, et al., 2001), there is no study indeed to make revisions on Krathwohl and Simon's classifications. The apparent result has been underdevelopment of affective domain taxonomy. Thus, the applications being directed to affective (e.g. values) education have faced with operationalization and measurement difficulties. As a response to this situation, the scientific studies on values education have not emerged. By analyzing the situation and with these thoughts, Bacanlı (Bacanli & Dombayci, 2012) has developed Values Consciousness Approach (VCA; firstly named "Values Dimensionalization", then it is decided "Value Consciousness" term as more appropriate) at 2011. It is being developed and tested by various studies, since that date.

VCA supposes that the reason of failure of values education is that the values don't have consistent logical meanings. The researchers and teachers have avoided defining the values analytically. For example, a website prepared for human values education (Insani Değerler Eğitimi (Human Values Education), 2016) has defined "bravery" as "not to respond to our parents when they punished us for our goodness". This definition is not consistent with the daily usage of term. Bravery defines in Turkish dictionary as "self-confidence of a person doing a difficult, risky or dangerous work" (TDK, 2016). Under this circumstances, the students will have unclear understanding of bravery value. VCA adopts value analysis and values clarification approaches based on these unclear definitions.

According to VCA, what is important is that the students must have clear understanding of the values they can have. VCA doesn't imply transferring of specific values. According to VCA, the objective of values education is not to teach specific values, but to make students aware of their own values and understand them consistently. Students may reconsider, review and compare their values by values education activities.

Moreover, "values education" term implies that the education is directed toward to teaching the students on that value. Nevertheless, everyone acquires the values almost every day and the students have many values before attending to school. They are not "tabula rasa" from values perspective. Of course some values may have to be new for them but in general, the values in values education are not new for them. At this point, the appropriate term would be "values management" instead of "values education". However, the term "values management" is hard to differentiate from "value management" which is used by economists to state the making goods valuable for customers (Örnek, 2003).

In addition, there are some points to consider. At first, the relations between values and needs must be clarified. According to Schwartz, the values are to be universal because they are grounded in the needs of individuals. That is, values are personal because everyone has special needs. Therefore, values education must allow the students to have different values. The values education which force the students to have some definite values must be questioned. In general, values education programmes may try to overcome this problem by defining values unclearly and giving it a broad meaning.

Second point to consider is that there are different kinds of people in a society. As regarding that the individuals have values personally, forcing the individuals to have specific values is condemned to fail. Under these considerations, VCA adopts an approach similar to values clarification instead of values transference.

Assessment is an inseparable part of education. As an educational practice, values education also has some procedures related assessment. In general, educators have troubles in assessing affective outcomes of values education as above mentioned. VCA proposes two assessment techniques. One of them is value description questions on the related value asking whether the student has clear understanding the value's meaning. Value description questions are generally used in values education approaches. For example, D'Andrade (2008) has used two questionnaires to determine the strengths of values.

As second technique, Activity Assessment Scale (AAS) was developed for assessing outcomes of values education (Bacanli & Akgül, 2015). The students' experiences during an educational activity can be measured by using it. The scale contains 12 items with 5-point Likert scale (1= Not at all, 2= Slightly, 3= Moderately, 4= Very, 5= Extremely). Items have written assuming that an educational experience must have two components: Cognitive and affective. The student has to gain information, understanding, etc. as cognitive, and at the same time, the student has to enjoy the activity. Education is learning plus enjoyment (entertainment). Enjoyment is experienced by classical conditioning and the students adopts the value which experienced enjoyment during its education. If the education is boring, the related value will be reversed. Sample items in the scale are "I am now aware of whom the value is related with" for cognitive component (8 items) and "Learning the value in this way was nice" for affective component (4 items).

On 204 evaluations from 4th grade students, Exploratory Factor Analysis with Generalized Least Squares has shown one factor solution explaining 46.34% of variance. Alpha coefficient for the total scale is .90. It can be used any educational activity although it is developed for values education.

Problems in Values and Values Education

VCA has a starting point from Schwartz's assumptions (1992; 1996): (1) Values are beliefs that are linked inextricably to affect, (2) Values refer to desirable goals that motivate action, (3) Values transcend specific actions and situations, (4) Values serve as standards or criteria, (5) Values are ordered by importance, (6) The relative importance of values guides action. Thus, the major function of a value is to guide the behavior of individual. This is starting point of the analysis of the problems in values education for VCA. The assumption is:

The value directs the behavior of the individual

Values education may have problem each words in this sentence: (a) "Value": The students (maybe, the teacher too) may have no clear and concise understanding of the value. When they are asked the definition or description of the value, they may not able to give satisfactory answers. (b) "Behavior": The students may be not aware of the connection between the value and

behavior. They may not know how the value directs the behavior and what the values projected on their behaviors. (c) “*Direction*”: The students may not regard the value as directive. They can claim they have some values, but they add “these values are not appropriate nowadays”, “it is difficult (maybe impossible) to live in accordance with these values”, etc. (d) “*Individual*”: The students may use the value when they evaluate the others’ behavior but they may not use it for their own behavior. Besides, they may not agree that everyone can have different values³⁷. In accord to these problems, VCA has four steps: Value analysis, value inquiry, value positioning and value subjectivization, respectively.

Value Analysis consists of the activities developed for clear and concrete understanding of the value. The aim of these activities do not impose the given value to the individual and is to get better understanding of the given value by not imposing it. Value Analysis is the first and most important step of VCA. In this step, primarily the meaning and features of the values are determined by using Socratic Inquiry. Value Analysis has two parts: One part is to analyze the value (sample activity is “Value Spider”), the other is to describe the relationships between values (sample activity is “Value Sociometry”). For the first part, the meaning of value is important, for the second, its relationships.

In Value Inquiry step, the behaviors of the individuals are analyzed. It is directed to gain awareness about consistency of the values and the behaviors. Value Inquiry has two parts: The activities directed toward individuals’ awareness of the values rooted in the behaviors and the activities to inquire the values in their own behaviors. Sample activity for first part is “Value Determination” (determination of values in behavior), for the other is “Value Mirror” (drama activity).

Value Positioning is directed toward the inconsistencies between the values and ideals. It is asked the individual to state his / her own values and his / her ideals. Value positioning has two parts: Awareness of inconsistencies by comparing own values with each other and awareness of incongruencies by comparing own values and the perception and conception of the world and life. Sample activity for first part is “Value Comparisons” (the individual is asked his / her values priorities. “Which value is more important than others”). Two sample activities for second part, “World Values” and “World Hazards” (based on the assumption if a person sees a hazard, he / she has a value at this point).

Value Subjectivization assumes that the individual can make different preferences for himself / herself and for others, according to his value perspective. Nevertheless, the person has to choose the value as directive both to himself / herself and to other persons. The value is a claim for living. Having a value means that having that value is right choice for living. Besides, the persons want to share their values with other people. At one side, the human beings can propose their own values for everyone and must accept that every person has own values at the other side. It has two parts: Being consistent on the values proposed for oneself and others and accepting that values priorities differ from person to person. Sample activities for first part is “Imagery Child / Ideal Child” (a projective activity) and “What The Other Makes” (The situation is given

³⁷ This situation, maybe valid in collectivist cultures more than individualistics.

and asked what the hero's behavior will be and how you would behave if you were). Sample activity for second part is "Value Relativity" (group discussion).

Since the construction of VCA, some studies have been realized based on it (Akgül & Bacanlı, 2015; Bacanlı & Akgül, 2015; Bacanlı, Akgül, & Akgül, 2015). Here is presented a study on Value Spider Activity and Wise Child Project .

Values Spider Activity and Wise Child Project

Value Analysis Workgroups have been performed at 2014 – 2015 educational year for two periods. In the beginning, value concept, value(s) education, value administration and VCA have been explained in workgroups. Later, Value Spider Technique has been used for a chosen value for every week. The samples of chosen values are respect, love, tolerance, honesty, helpfulness and patriotism.

Value Spider activity has been developed as primarily related to Value Analysis step. The goal of Value Spider is to clarify the meaning of a particular value through the use of a specific strategy. It is a version of concept analysis. There are two concept analysis methods used in nursing, extensively: Walker and Avant's (Walker & Avant, 2005) and Wilson's (Wilson, 1963) methods. Walker and Avant's method is mostly used. They have developed a method consisting of 8 steps: The selection of a concept, aims of the analysis, all the use of the concept, defining attributes, model case, borderline, related, contrary, invented and illegitimate cases, antecedents and consequences of the concept and finally the empirical references. Concept analysis methods are used by many researches in nursing (Cutcliffe & McKenna, 2005).

Value Spider activity contains constructing the value as eight-legged spider figure, with group discussion in classroom. It has been administered to university students and is proven as an effective technique (Bacanli & Dombayci, 2012). Firstly, it begins with determining the subject value to be studied on, with the students in group. Then, the subject value is defined and described by drawing the head and body. Socratic Inquiry is used intensively in this phase. The differences and similarities between the subject value and other related or similar values are discussed. Later, the process goes on the legs of the spider.

It is used these meanings of legs and sample questions: (1) *Person / object*: Which persons and objects the subject value are related, are asked and are tried to answer collectively. (2) *Situation (or context)*: Which situations the subject value is important and can be used, are discussed. (3) *Priority (or opposite)*: At this phase, which necessities have to be possessed before and after the subject value, is considered. In some cases, this leg is not very suitable. Then, the sample questions are "what is the opposite of the subject value? Which value does anyone have, if anyone doesn't have the subject value." (4) *Importance / unimportance*: Human life is the biggest value. The other values have limitations. In other words, it is not logical to die for every value. Every value is valid in its limitations. At this phase, the sample question is "which values are important than the subject value or which are not important?" (5) *Behavior*: The sample question is "which behaviors are necessitated or driven by the subject value?" (6) *Related values*: The sample question is "which values does the subject value can be related?" (7) *Gains*: The sample question is "what are the gains of the subject value for the person?" and (8) *Losses*: The

sample question is “what are the losses or surrenders of the person who has the subject value and behaves according to it?”

Values Spider activity is useful with university students and adults. Other smaller versions can be used for lower grades: Value Butterfly (two-legged, for K-2 grades), Value Bug (four-legged, for 3-8 grades) and Value Ant (six legged, for 9-12 grades). Of these versions, Value Bug activity has been used in Wise Child Project explained below. Other versions have been planned for later. Value Spider activity can also be used for concept learning. Some studies are planned to use it in social studies and science classes especially for primary school.

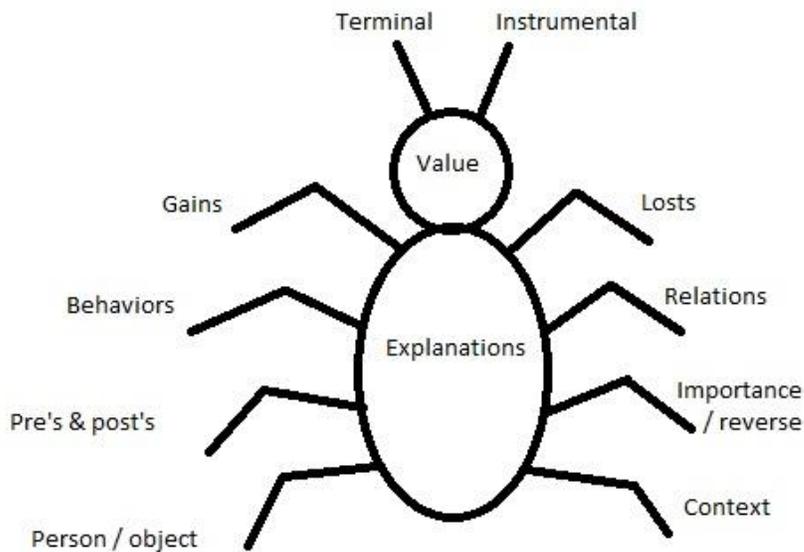


Figure 1. Value Spider

Wise Child Project contains the applications of Value Bug in classroom. In this project, at first, the written consentment document for the application was asked from the parents. Every week, Value Bug activity for a value was performed and this lasted for 4 weeks (Values are love, respect, patience and honesty). The badges of Wise Child Project on which written words like “Wise Child, Patient John”. Children have enjoyed the activities and also have wanted to carry these badges in their homes. At the end of four weeks, a certificate of Wise Child documented attending the project, was given to every student. “Thank You Letter” was sent to the parents for having such a wise child. At last, the children’s and their parents’ opinions and experiences about the project were asked. Almost all children and parents have said that they enjoyed and become happy for attending the project.

AAC is applied for determining the effectiveness of the Project. The obtained results are above 4.32 (on 5-point Likert scale) as means. This result has showed that the children had some new understandings and enjoyed from participating to activities (Bacanli & Akgül, 2015).

Conclusion

The activities performed till now, have proven that VCA is effective as a value education approach. It gives a chance to the students to gain awareness and new information about the values, and also its activities are successful to make the training activities enjoyable for the students. VCA emphasizes being the activities consistent with the goals of the training. New studies are being planned and administered for this purpose. It can be expected that VCA makes values education close to the goal one more step.

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**This Guy's in Love with You Pare: Homosexuality in Philippine Television Programs
and Its Impact on the Youth**

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Abstract

Homosexuality is still one of the most talked about matters in the world today that there are Philippine television programs now that portray and promote it. This mixed method research aimed to find out the impact of these programs to the youth in terms of their opinions and behaviors toward homosexuality and the programs that tackles homosexuality. A total of 30 respondents – youth – age 15-30 years old who are watching these kinds of television programs and 10 participants who are parents of the youth were purposively selected to participate in the research. Triangulation process was applied to validate the data gathered. The findings show that the respondents tend to accept homosexuals for who they are because of the programs that promote and portray homosexuality. Moreover, there is a significant relationship between the respondents' level of exposure to television and their stand regarding these programs.

Key terms: homosexuality, youth, Philippine television programs, behaviors, opinions

Background/Objectives/Goals

Homosexuality still remains to be one of the most controversial issues in the world today. The debate regarding homosexuality, its laws, and consequences, is still on fire due to the public's diverse opinions. (Adamczyk and Pitt, 2009).

When it comes to love, people used to say before that age alone does not matter. Now could it also be that gender also does not matter too? It can be observed that nowadays, homosexuality is no longer peculiar or abnormal. It is also so common that in some countries, even same-sex marriage is allowed. But it is still one of the most talked about matters in the globe today. The subject has now become a common issue and is so widespread that even in the social media, radio programs, newspapers, and televisions, homosexuality is portrayed, associated, and even promoted. At this age, it is not something new.

Homosexuality has been existing even before. Abcede et, al. (2011) believes that even in the 70's, LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender) themes were already present in the media. It is only in this present period that homosexuality is highlighted because of the television programs which promote it. Through these programs, the LGBT community somehow feels empowered and encouraged because they too are human beings, have rights, and know their responsibilities.

In the country, there are some television programs being aired that portray and promote homosexuality. Most programs include homosexual roles in the characters to add up to the entertainment value. Homosexuals are being stereotyped as the best friend of the protagonist. Lopez (2011) posted in his blog that, homosexual characters portraying hilarious roles are often being seen on the television nowadays. Maybe the writers are just too afraid to take a risk of depicting a "rational" gay character because they don't think that it would be a hit. For within their characters, no sincerity and depth can be found.

However, there are television programs where homosexuals are the main characters and the plot is partly different from the usual love story, where a husband would have a mistress because, in their case, the husband would have an affair with a person of same sex. These shows were patronized by the audience as seen in the ratings they gained. Examples are: *My Husband's Lover*, a television show of GMA-7 which revolves around the love story of Vincent (Tom Rodriguez), a closeted gay, his wife, Lally (Carla Abellana), and Eric (Dennis Trillo), Vincent's secret love interest. It is a love triangle between the wife, the husband, and his mister. The show got a rating of 25.5% according to AGB (Audits of Great Britain) Nielsen Mega Manila Household Rating (Tuazon, 2013). Next is *The Rich Man's Daughter* which is another show of GMA-7 which tells the story of how a rich man, Oscar (Al Tantay) finds out that his daughter, Jade (Rhian Ramos), is a lesbian, how it pushes him to offer five million pesos to the man who will marry her, and how it hurls the whole family into the series of discoveries. Another show from GMA-7 is *Destiny Rose* which got 14.8% rating on its pilot episode according to AGB Nielsen (2015). It tells about the story of Joey Flores (Ken Chan), who struggles with his identity. After his father (Joko Diaz) shuts him away from the family, Joey goes through many struggles and obstacles along the way of fulfilling the dream to becoming a writer, and becoming *Destiny Rose* (Villano, 2015). On the other hand is *That's My Tomboy*, a lesbian beauty pageant segment of ABS-CBN's *It's Showtime*. The segment got 21.2% rating during its grand finals according to Kantar Media (2015).

People are already being judged for having an affair of the same sex and homosexuality is already evident all through the history of the Philippines. During the reign of the Spaniards, homosexuality was considered as a sin. While during the time of the Americans, it was deemed as an illness. In the Ancient Greece

where homosexuality is believed to have started, just like how Judaism and Christianity view it, homosexuality was considered as an immorality (Revadulla, 2011).

Today's youth are open about the subject matter. Some are even speaking up and sharing their insights and opinions regarding homosexuality through social media because that is what they see on television.

Revadulla (2011) believes that Filipino homosexuals are extraordinary. Homosexuals are often referred to as 'gays' and 'lesbians.' A person is a "gay" if he or she is attracted to the same sex as theirs. The term "lesbian" on the other hand means the same thing but is more commonly used for women. It is usual now in the television programs to portray homosexuals as cross-dressers or a man in women's clothes and vice versa. In the country, some of the most popular individuals are homosexuals. McGovern (2011) argues that the media presentation influences audience's perspective as the homosexual characters continues to be a figure of both reality and exaggeration. According to USAID (2014), LGBT People were already on traditional media here in the Philippines, just like in the mainstream media where there are already programs that are LGBT-themed.

The mass communication's influence is overwhelming that it brings positive or negative implications to the society. From being thought of as troubled abnormal to being distinguished members of the society, the media through its outpacing capacity to reach people and influence them, has been able to shift the viewpoint of the public to the homosexuals. Through media exposure, the public will be continuously educated and be given a better insight of the LGBT community. It is within the mass communication's approach to things that our knowledge about homosexuality is being established and how the social changes shall be retorted upon by the society (McGovern, 2011).

Thus, this particular study aims to find out the opinions and behaviors of the participants toward the programs that promote homosexuality and which of these programs is the most watched by the respondents. This study also attempts to get the respondents' sexual preference and determine the level of exposure of the respondents and discover if there is a significant relationship between their level of exposure and their stand regarding homosexuality and watching television programs that promote homosexuality.

This focused on the impact of Philippine television programs that promote and portray homosexuality to the youth. Philippine television programs that do not promote and portray homosexuality were not covered. Moreover, only Filipino youth ages 15-30, regardless of gender, characteristics, and social status

who watch television programs that promote homosexuality were asked to participate in the study. Parents were also interviewed to gather additional data that will support the results.

The following are the various sectors that will benefit from the study: the youth – that this may serve as eye-opener on homosexuality and may pave a way of giving them better understanding regarding the matter; the parents – that this study could help in teaching and guiding children pertaining to the television programs on the values and topics that they depict; the University of the Assumption particularly the School of Arts and Sciences – may use this as future reference for possible related studies in the subjects of Media, Communication, and Psychology; and to the researchers – so that their knowledge shall be broadened and that this study may be used as a channel or help that a new learning in the future will be unraveled.

METHOD

This is a mixed-method type of research. Quantitative design of research was employed because it seeks to measure the problem and understand how prevalent it is by collecting data and generalizing it. While qualitative design was used to further interpret and analyze the data and explore the depth of the research. In the quantitative type of research, descriptive-correlational method was utilized because it aims to collect relevant data, describe them, and then identify and measure the relationships of the variables to each other. To support the data collected, triangulation method was applied.

In order to determine the impact of the Philippine television programs that promotes homosexuality on the youth, Filipino youth ages 15-30 years old who are watching these kinds of television programs were the respondents of this research. According to the Republic Act No. 8044 or the Youth in Nation-Building Act of the Philippine Constitution, youth is defined as “the critical period in a person’s growth and development from the onset of adolescence towards the peak of mature, self-reliant, and responsible adulthood comprising the considerable sector of the population from age of fifteen (15) to thirty (30) years. In support of the respondents’ answers, ten (10) parents were also interviewed.

The study was based on a homogeneous type of purposive sampling wherein only Filipino youth ages 15-30 years old were asked to participate. Patton (1990) stated that a by using homogenous type of sampling, some particular subgroup can be analyzed and explained deeper. The data that were used were acquired from the answers of the respondents in the survey and the responses of the ten (10) parents that were interviewed.

According to Polit and Hungler (1997), a questionnaire is “a method of collecting information about attitudes, knowledge, principles, and outlook from respondents.” A survey-questionnaire which contains the demographic profile of the participants and questions relevant to the topic was the main instrument of the study. The questionnaire was validated by three (3) experts to check the grammar and the content. Also, an interview guide for the parents was used in acquiring additional data for the triangulation method.

A letter was attached on each questionnaire seeking permission from the target respondents and participants to conduct the study. The researchers distributed the instruments and collected them afterwards from the participants. On the other hand, the parents’ responses were recorded using a voice recorder. The responses were transcribed and translated afterwards.

The data that were gathered were subjected to analysis through frequency distribution. The statistical tools that were employed in this study were frequency distribution, percentage distribution, and chi-square test in order to interpret the opinions and behaviors of the respondents.

FINDINGS

Super Sireyna, a segment of GMA’7’s *Eat Bulaga*, is the most watched among the Philippine television programs that portray homosexuality as presented in Table 1. It is a beauty pageant for gay men. *Super Sireyna* aims to showcase their beauty, talents, and wit.

	Proportion	Percent (%)	Rank
My Husband’s Lover (GMA 7)	1/30	0	.5
The Rich Man’s Daughter (GMA 7)	8/30	0	.5
It’s Showtime -- That’s My Tomboy (CBN)	8/30	0	.5
It’s Showtime -- I am Pogay (ABS-CBN)	6/30	3.3	
Eat Bulaga -- Super Sireyna	2/30	3	
Destiny Rose (GMA 7)	0/30	3.3	

The percentage of the respondents who are in favor of homosexuality can be seen in Table 2. It is evident that majority is not against homosexuality.

TABLE 2
Stand of the Respondents Regarding Homosexuality

<i>Question 1.3 Are you in favor of homosexuality? Why or why not?</i>		
YES	24	80
NO	6	20

Table 3 presents that the latter agrees that it's alright for the youth to watch television programs that portray homosexuality. Since majority is in favor of homosexuality, it can be seen that it corresponds to the percentage of the participants who also said YES in this question. Only 23.33% responded NO.

TABLE 3
Opinions on Youth Watching these Programs

<i>QUESTION 2.3. Do you think that it's alright for the youth to watch these programs knowing that the latter promote homosexuality?</i>		
	Frequency	Percent (%)
YES	23	76.7
NO	7	23.3

TABLE 4 illustrates the result of the respondent's behavior when they are watching television programs that pictures homosexuality. The respondents' acceptance to homosexuals is the most relevant behavior. They tend to accept the homosexuals for who they are when watching these kinds of television programs.

TABLE 4

Respondents' Indicators of Behaviors when Watching these Programs

		Proportion	Frequency	Percent (%)	Rank
s.	Feeling anything unusual when seeing sensitive	8/30	1	0	
	Accepting homosexuals for who they are.	6/30	2	6.7	
onship.	Getting annoyed and irritated.	1/30	1	6.7	.5
	Being curious about homosexuality.	9/30	1	3.3	
	Feeling like one wants to try being in a homosexual	3/30	1	3.3	
ed.	The stand regarding homosexuality is getting	1/30	1	6.7	.5
	Sexual preference being changed or challenged.	0/30	1	3.3	.5
	Having second thoughts about your gender.	0/30	1		.5

Table 5 represents the frequency and percentage of the gender and the sexual preference of the respondents. It shows that 14 or 46.6% of the respondents are homosexuals.

TABLE 5
Gender and Sexual Preference of the Respondents

Gender	Sexual preference	Sex frequency	Frequency	Percent (%)	Rank
Male	Male	Female	7	3.3	2
Female	Female	Male	9	0	3
Male	Female	Male	7	3.3	2
Female	Male	Female	7	3.3	2

Table 6 shows that majority of the respondents are watching television frequently.

TABLE 6
Level of Exposure of the Respondents to Television

		Frequ	Perce
		ency	nt
ent	Frequ	16	53.3
	Seldo	10	33.3
m	Seldo	4	13.3
	Rarely		

Table 7 shows that there is a significant relationship between the level of exposure and the stand of the respondents on watching television programs which portray homosexuality. This is because of the value of p-value. When it is lower than 0.05, then there is a significant relationship between the two variables. It means then that the more the respondents are exposed to television and to these kinds of programs, the more their stand or opinion regarding homosexuality is being affected.

TABLE 7
Significant Difference of Level of Exposure and Opinions on This Kind of Television Programs

Level of exposure	Stand on watching television programs which portray homosexuality		Chi-square value	P-value
	00	.00		
ent	Frequ	5	6	.03 7** (significant)
	Seldom		0	
	Rarely		.59	
	Total	3	0	

The percentage of those who had never been in a homosexual relationship is more than those who had already been in one. This is evident in Table 8.

TABLE 8
Frequency Distribution of the Respondents who have been in a Homosexual Relationship

Question 2.3. <i>Have you ever been in a homosexual relationship?</i>		
	Frequency	Percent (%)
Yes	6	20
No	24	80

Respondents Who are In Favor of Homosexuality

Equality. Most of the respondents who are in favor of homosexuality believe that equality is very essential. They believe that people should not be confined in gender.

“I am for equality.” (R1)

“YES. They’re people too. I believe in equality.” (R4)

“They are fun to be with and they deserve to be respected. Gender equality should be fought for.” (R9)

“Because I believe in equal rights. Same sex marriage doesn’t produce negativity but positive effect through the happiness of marriage. And because to the same sex doesn’t make them different from the rest of us.” (R13)

“I am in favor because they should not be confined in gender that doesn’t define who they are as a person. Sexism sucks! As long as they are not harming anybody, they can be who they want to be.” (R14)

“I am for equality.” (R15)

“They are people too.” (R16)

"I believe in equal rights." (R18)

"Because they are also people. They want to have a normal life." (R19)

"Gender equality. They are humans and they need to gain respect too." (R24)

"It is normal nowadays. I believe in equality. They're humans too, God created them too." (R28)

"Equality. They deserve to be respected." (R29)

Not a bad thing. Homosexuality is not something new, this is what some of the respondents think. For them, there is nothing wrong with being homosexual.

"I have friends who are gays and lesbians and I don't see anything wrong in homosexuality." (R2)

"I don't see anything wrong in homosexuality. They're just being themselves and we need to respect that." (R8)

"There's nothing wrong with being who you want to be and expressing it by letting people know who you really are." (R12)

Human Rights. Some respondents stated that homosexuals are people too and they too, deserve to be respected.

"I believe they are also human and they need respect as much as we, straight, do. It's their right." (R3)

"They're real and funny. They deserve to be respected." (R6)

"They need respect for as long as they don't harm us." (R7)

"They are human beings too. They need to be respected especially now a days. This isn't new anymore, that is why I am in favor of homosexuality." (R23)

"We are all humans, created by God, and we all have the same rights." (R30)

Sense of Belongingness. There are also respondents who are in favor of homosexuality because they are homosexuals. For them, since they are part of the LGBT Community, they see no reason in turning against them.

“Of course because I belong to them and we are all human. We also need respect.” (R10)

“I am one of them, so why turn against them.” (R25)

“Because I live with someone who is part of LGBT for 10 years.” (R26)

“I am one of them.” (R27)

Respondents Who are Not In Favor of Homosexuality

Biblical Basis. All the respondents who are not in favor of homosexuality believe that it is a sin before God. They all have their biblical basis – that homosexuality is immoral. This is what they believe in.

“As a member of an organization in our church, I always knew that when God created the world, it’s only Adam and Eve.” (R5)

“God created man for the woman, woman for the man, It’s a sin.” (R11)

“It’s all because of my principles based on the word of God. They are not made like that and they are sinning before God.” (R17)

“Because it’s immoral.” (R20)

“It’s not good. It only lead the youth to become or to engage in homosexuality. It is immoral.” (R21)

“I am not in favor. Because of my biblical basis – when God created only man and woman as His design of what the world should be.” (R22)

Respondents Who are In Favor of These Kinds of Television Programs

Self-discovery. The respondents believe that the television programs that portray and promote homosexuality serve as a guide and help to the youth. Aside from learning and understanding more about homosexuality, these TV programs also help those who are confused to discover who they really are.

“They help the youth discover who they really are.” (R1)

“Aside from you will learn many things about homosexuality, these programs serve as a guide to really know their gender preference.” (R2)

“Why not? For me these programs don’t just promote homosexuality, they also help the youth understand what homosexuality is.” (R3)

“These programs serve as a guide to us youth in learning or knowing more about homosexuality.” (R4)

“It enlightens everyone’s mind about homosexuality.” (R6)

“These programs contain lessons.” (R9)

“It will broaden their knowledge with regards to the issue and will get to have a deeper understanding of the matter.” (R12)

“Because they promote homosexuality and I like it. But because they might be of help in decreasing the stigma of homosexuals but with reservations. The medium must be child friendly or youth friendly in that case. Because mostly it’s about the lust.” (R15)

“Because they doubts regarding their sexuality, it would help them realize the answer. These help on decision making especially it’s through television.” (R16)

“It helps confused people to discover what and who they really are.” (R18)

“These programs help those closeted-gays for them not to be scared to get out from their comfort zone.” (R29)

Social Awareness. Some of the respondents support these television programs because they see these as eye-opener not only for the parents but also for the youth. It helps the society to be more aware about homosexuality.

“We need to be aware of everything.” (R10)

“For their awareness and they should familiarize audiences at a young age to validate other children who may be LGBT. Most children would have a negative response when asked about the topic that’s why it is important to discuss it with them at a young age so they’d display a better understanding and empathy.” (R13)

“Because it’s a reality that we have to accept. Society isn’t divided to two categories anymore so we need to be open minded enough to accept these changes. The reason why discrimination is everywhere because it’s not accepted because unusual. If through these shows, we would be able to show a glimpse of their world, we might be able to change the stereotypes that they give to those homosexuals.” (R14)

“These programs help us, homosexuals, to be more accepted in the society.” (R27)

“We are in the new generation, we don’t need to feel some aversion towards them, we need to accept the fact that they are part of our society.” (R30)

Open Mindedness. Being open-minded is very important nowadays. The respondents who agreed that these television programs are okay to be aired believe that the people should be more open-minded regarding this matter for the society to be able to understand homosexuality and the homosexuals.

“We need to become or be more open regarding homosexuality for us to be able to understand them and their situation.” (R8)

“Because our generation needs to know more about homosexuality for us to accept them fully.” (R19)

“For us not to show disgust towards them and for us to accept them in our society, to understand them better.” (R23)

“For us to become open minded and for us to be able to understand what the homosexuals are going through before we judge them.” (R24)

“It helps the viewers become open minded about homosexuality. Let us accept the fact that they are capable too. Let us respect them.” (R25)

“For us to know that they are not different.” (R26)

“We need to be more open about them for us to understand them better and respect them for who they are. They’re human beings too.” (R28)

Respondents Who are Not In Favor of These Kinds of Television Programs

Promotion of Homosexuality. Some of those who are against these kinds of television programs strongly believe that these programs only promote homosexuality and may influence the youth into it.

“It’s definitely not okay for the youth to watch these programs because they promote homosexuality.” (R5)

“These programs might affect their sexual preference at an early age.” (R7)

“First, it’s not alright for TV programs to show something like these especially in media. Yes they’re just shows but it promotes something whether good or bad. Everything has an impact everyone should be aware of. (R11)

“We only open them that homosexuals are normal and with that we learn to accept them.” (R21)

“These programs only urge the youth to be come and accept homosexuals especially when their gender is being challenge.” (R22)

Biblical Basis. There are also respondents who are not in favor of the television programs that promote and portray homosexuality because of their biblical basis and spiritual belief.

“Based on my spiritual belief, homosexuality is a spirit. Watching it may cause youth to explore such immoral act and tend to question/doubt their sexuality.” (R17)

“Because God made only a man and a woman no other gender.” (R20)

PARTICIPANT 1

Changes in the behavior. The change that she notices to her children is their opinion on the matter and that they get irritated to gays at time. But when it comes to their sexuality, she doesn't see any changes that apply to her children when watching the TV programs that promote homosexuality.

“Hindi naman sila gaanong naapektuhan. Pero napapansin ko minsan nagrereklamo sila sa mga scenes ganyan, kaya pati sa mga bakla naiirita na sila. Okaya naman minsan kinakampihan nila yung artista, yung ano, yung bida. Pero kung sa sakanila talaga, sa pagkatao, wala naman, diretso pa rin sila.” [They're getting irritated at some scenes which makes them be annoyed at gays. Also, sometimes they take the side of the protagonist. But they're still straight.]

Relevance of these kinds of TV Programs. For her, these kinds of programs are not relevant to the youth because they only influence the youth which leads them to be open to the option of being homosexuals.

“Hindi kase lalo silang napupush na gayahin yung mga pinapanuod nila, na mag ladlad kase syempre kinikilig din naman sila.” [They're not relevant because the youth are being pushed to adopt the things that they see on television, to get out of their closet because they can also feel the “kilig” when watching these programs.]

PARTICIPANT 2

Changes in the behavior. According to her, she can see some changes on her children's perspective as to what is right and what is wrong.

“Oo may mga pagbabago kase tulad nung isa sa Husband’s Love ano yun, My Husband’s Lover! syempre naiisip din nila kung ano yung tama sa mali. Kaya lumalayo sila sa mga ganun, yung alam niyo na. (mga homo po?) oo.” [Yes there are changes. For example, from what they see in “My Husband’s Lover,” they are being aware of what is right from what is wrong. Which is why they distance themselves from you know, (homosexuals).]

Relevance of these kinds of TV Programs. These shows are relevant from her perspective. She believes that these kinds of programs educate youth and serve as guide for them to recognize well the things that are good and bad.

“Oo kase syempre tulad nga ng sinabi ko, nakakapulot sila ng mga kaalaman. Lalo na kapag dalaga ka na syempre, mas lalo mong malalaman kung ano ang tama sa mali.” [Yes they are relevant because just like what I’ve said, they learn from these television programs. Especially for girls, when you’ve already become a lady, you get to recognize well what is right and what is wrong.]

PARTICIPANT 3

Changes in the behavior. She notices minor changes too, just like their stand regarding homosexuality. But her children know that she forbids them to become a homosexual since they are studying about the Bible.

“Meron ding napapansin, gaya nalang ng opinyon nila minsan tungkol dyan sa pagbabakla. Pero alam ng mga anak ko na bawal ang homosexual, nag-aaral silang Bible e.” [There are some changes that I notice, but they know that being a homosexual is not right, and they study the bible.]

Relevance of these kinds of TV Programs. May doesn’t approve of these programs since they promote homosexuality and influence the youth to imitate what they see on television. According to her, parental guidance should be applied when watching.

“Palagay ko hindi. Kase naapektuhan yung iba e, kung ano yung pinapanuod nila yung ang ginagaya nila lalo ang mga bata. Kaya kailngan kapag nanunuod ka ng ganyan, subay-bayan ng mga maggulang ang mga anak.” [For me they’re irrelevant, because some people are getting affected. What they see on television, they apply it in real life, especially the kids. That is why when they are watching these kinds of programs, parents should guide their children.]

PARTICIPANT 4

Changes in the behavior. She notices changes in her children, especially on her daughter. Her daughter's stance became still and her movements too, are becoming more of a guy's. But she reminds them constantly of homosexuality being a sin and all.

“Oo, kapag nanonood sila, minsan tinatanong nila ako kung ano ba kaya feeling ng ganon, yung maging bakla tomboy. Syempre malay ko ba diba kasi di naman ako ganon. Kaya sinesermonan ko sila na wag maging ganon. Ay, yung ano yung... anak kong babae, tumitigas yung galaw! Delikado kaya nga ulit ulit kong pinagsasabihan. Puro lalaki pa naman din halos kasama. Ay ginu ko!” [Yes. They are asking me sometimes if I know the feeling of being a homosexual. That's really absurd because I don't know, clearly because I'm not one! Which is why I always remind them not to get swayed and attached too much. Oh, one more thing – I could also notice that my daughter's stance is of a guy's now, also her movements. She's always with guys. Oh my God!]

Relevance of these kinds of TV Programs. She doesn't approve of these kinds of programs because they promote homosexuality. She thinks that it's against God's law – it's immoral.

“No. Kase unang una kasalanan yun sa Dios. Bible yun e, yung lalaki para sa babae, ang babae para sa lalaki. Tapos, dapat hindi nila payagan na ipalabas ang mga yan, kase ang mga bata, imbes na sa pag-aaral ituon ang oras nila, kung anu ano ang mga nakikita at ginagaya nila sa TV.” [No. First, it's a sin, it is written in the bible, a man for a woman, and a woman for a man. They should not allow those kinds of television programs. The youth, instead of spending their time in studying, they are imitating what they have seen or see in TV.]

PARTICIPANT 5

Changes in the behavior. According to her, these changes depends on how the parents handle their children when it comes to this matter – homosexuality. She believes that the parents should orient their children so that there won't be negative implications to their children.

“Wala nasa explanation naman ng parents yan eh. Kapag may nakikitang malaswang eksena, sinasabi kong actually hindi naman malaswa yan kung paano ang pagkakaintindi nila dun. Halimbawa minsan diba pinapakita na naghahalikan sila okay lang yun dahil mag-asawa sila at na bless na sila. Kagayang MHL, pamilyado sila diba sila Tom, may anak pa, tapos may ano si Tom, may lalaki, tapos ganun yung father nga ng anak niya. Sinasabihan ko sila. In the end, nasa tao naman yan kung pano nila ite-take lahat diba.” [None. I believe that it's up to the parents and how they explain such things to them. Like in my case, I explain every sensitive scene to them. For example, in My Husband's Lover, Tom has a family; he's a father and a husband. But he's a gay. I tell my children that these scenes and issues are really sensitive. In the end, it's up to people how they are going to take everything.]

Relevance of these kinds of TV Programs. She sees these programs relevant because these shows serve as way for homosexuals to be accepted in the society and so that the youth shall learn how to deal with them.

“Oo kase nakakatulong din naman yang mga palabas na yun in a way na na-accept na sila sa society at alam na nila kung paano sila makikipag deal with sa mga to ng di masama. Diba? Diba? Yon!” [These programs show relevance because they help the homosexuals to be more accepted in the society and that it gives the youth advices on how to deal with them in a nice way.]

PARTICIPANT 6

Changes in the behavior. She doesn't notice any changes, but her children learn moral lessons from these kinds of programs.

“Ala kung ano-notice a pamagbayu karela kasi antinjan dane man ing alben da saka base king apapansin ku karela, syempre makakawalang moral lesson.” [I don't notice any changes with my children because they know what they are watching and base on my observations, they get moral lessons to these television programs.]

Changes in the behavior. There are some programs that she's not okay with, because, according to her, some programs pushes youth to do what they are doing bad on TV.

“Ating ali, ating awa. Kasi minsan bala mu tuturuda la deng kayanakang gawan ing gagawan dang marok king TV.” [Sometimes they are irrelevant because it's like these programs are pushing youth to do what they're doing.]

PARTICIPANT 7

Changes in the behavior. She doesn't see any changes to the behavior of her children because she believes that they are matured enough to know what is moral from immoral.

“So far, wala naman eh. Kasi alam naman nila yung tama sa mali. Yung... moral sa immoral. Malaki na sila, alam na nila yung mga ganung bagay.” [So far, none. Because they already knew what's right from wrong and what's moral from immoral. They are matured enough to know these things.]

Relevance of these kinds of TV Programs. Also, she is not favor of showing it in television because for her, the youth might imitate what the homosexuals are doing and might influence those people who are not a member of LGBT.

“Hindi ako pabor sa pagpapalabas ng mga ‘to sa TV kasi very influential sa society naten ngayon yan kumbaga role model. Pwedeng bad influence or bad example sa mga kabataan, pwede nilang gayahin yung mga nakikita nila sa tv kase akala ng mga kabataan tama ang nakikita nila tsaka pwede ring mainpluwensyahan ang mga tao na nagsa-suffer ng identity crisis.” [I’m in favor but I am not in favor of showing it in television, because the television is very influential nowadays, they serve as a role model. It could be a bad influence or a bad example to the youth. They might imitate the one showing in the television because they think that it is the right thing to do, and also it could influence those people who are suffering from identity crisis to come out.]

PARTICIPANT 8

Changes in the behavior. She does not see any changes to the behavior of her children.

“Hindi naman sila naapektuhan. Choice naman nila yun kung papaapekto sila eh.” [No. They are not getting/being affected. It's their choice if they want to be or to get affected.]

Relevance of these kinds of TV Programs. In line with this, she supports these television programs because these too are form of an entertainment and we may get lesson from it too.

“Oo ayos lang naman tong mga tong mga ganitong palabas eh. Tignan nalang naten bilang dagdag entertainment tsaka may lesson din naman eh, may mga... na we get to know na may value din silasa society at dahil dun natututunan natin silang tanggapin.” (Yes. These shows are just fine. It's more of like entertainment. In some ways, we may get lesson too, to know that homosexuals also, have value in our society.)

PARTICIPANT 9

Changes in the behavior. He said that even though his children aren't asking about the issue, they are still curious because they are youth.

“Syempre. Apektadula ren. Syempre kabataan yan eh. Curious la ren queng egana-ganang bage keni yatu. Siguro paminsan minsan, ano ah minsan hindi man sila nagtatanong syempre balu ta naman eh. Curious yang mga

yan.” (Yes, they are being affected of course because they are youth, they are curious about everything. They might not ask but I know they are curious.)

Relevance of these kinds of TV Programs Changes in the behavior. *He supports these kinds of programs because for him, we are being more aware or educated when it comes to homosexuality.*

“Oo. Kasi nung toru panalbayan me ing makanyang programa keng tv, maging kayi eh. Maging nanu’y ta, (aware po?) Wa. Aware tamu kareng makanyan. Lalu na para kareng kayanakan ngeni na alinaman makanta diba, respetuan dala kanta.” [Yes because by watching these programs we are being aware about homosexuals. Especially for the youth who are straight, when they watch these programs they will learn to respect them.]

PARTICIPANT 10

Changes in the behavior. The change that she noticed to her child is that she’s being close to her gay classmates.

“Oo, meron. Nung minsan kinikilig siya sa mga tomboy kaysa sa lalaki dahil pogi sila. Tas ngayon naman mas naging close siya sa mga bakla. Halos kaibigan niya bakla kasi mga kaklase niya bakla.” [Yes, there are some changes. There is one time where she felt this ‘kilig’ vibe when she saw the lesbians on screen. But she felt nothing when she saw a hot guy on TV. Also, she’s close to gays since most of her friends and guy classmates are gays.]

Relevance of these kinds of TV Programs. She is in favor of showing these programs because it serves as an eye-opener.

“Okay lang. Eye opener sila. Pero dapat hindi palagi gumagawang mga ganitong shows or drama kasi naeexpose masyado yung mga bata tas minsan sila lang mag isa nanonood. Dapat hindi sunod-sunod.” [Yes, because they are eye-opener. But these kinds of shows should not be regularly produced and being aired because the youth will be overexposed to these kinds of programs. They should have an interval.]

DISCUSSION

This chapter provides a brief overview of the study, the methods involved and impression of the results in the statement of the problem.

In a society where homosexuality is not something new, having television programs that promote and portray it aired to the public should not be a surprise to everyone. The mass media's influence is so immense that it has a vital role in the formation of the people's opinion and perspective towards things. The youth, as the next generation's young champions, should be aware and open about homosexuality and know how to handle it since homosexuality is still one of the most contentious matters across the globe in our day.

The most watched Philippine television program that promote and portray homosexuality by the respondents – the youth – was presented in the study. Also, their opinions towards it and behaviors when watching these TV programs were also shown. The sexual preference of the respondents, their level of exposure to television, and the relationship between the two, were explained.

In the study, it was shown that among the Philippine television programs that portray and promote homosexuality, *My Husband's Lover* is the most watched. *My Husband's Lover*, according to San Diego Jr. (2014), was 2013's top-rating primetime soap opera and it gained an International Emmy Awards nomination on year 2014. It was a breakthrough for GMA 7.

The audience patronized the show because of the boldness of the characters. The plot itself was delicate, since one wrong move from the story will make a big impact to the society because same-sex marriage is not yet legal in the country. The audience was curious as to how the show would handle the issue.

When it comes to the stand of the respondents on homosexuality, the results show that majority is in favor of homosexuality. It only proves that homosexuality is really not something peculiar these days. This coincided to the result that most of the respondents also approve of the youth watching the TV programs that portray and promote homosexuality. Moreover, the respondents' behaviors towards these television programs were also presented and it can be observed that the behavior that is most manifesting is that the respondents tend to accept homosexuals for who they are. This finding corresponds to the stand of the respondents regarding the matter. Curiosity about homosexuality ranked 2nd in the findings presented. Through these kinds of television programs, the respondents become interested in the topic that they somewhat feel anything unusual when seeing sensitive scenes in these television programs and they want to try to be in a homosexual relationship. These behaviors ranked 3rd and 4th respectively. Moreover, Philippine television programs that promote and portray homosexuality don't affect much the stand of the respondents regarding homosexuality and don't bring them irritation and annoyance since these behaviors tied in 5th rank. Among the behaviors presented in the study, having second thoughts about their gender and their sexual preference being changed or challenged got the last rank. It implies that these had the least impact on the respondents. They accept the homosexuals for who they are through these programs, with their gender not being affected.

The researchers also aimed to find out the gender or sexual preference of the respondents and they found out that 46.6% or almost half of them are homosexuals which supports the result of the majority being in favor of homosexuality.

Most of the respondents are frequently watching television and this indicates why they are being influenced by these kinds of television programs. The findings show that there is a significant relationship between the respondents' level of exposure and stand on watching these kinds of television programs. The more they expose themselves to television, the more their behavior can be affected and their stand regarding the matter shall be influenced.

Only 20% of the respondents had been in a homosexual relationship before and according to the findings in this study, the feeling of wanting to try to enter a homosexual relationship ranked 4th with 43.3% which means that the television programs that portray and promote homosexuality makes the respondents somehow desire to be in a homosexual relationship. One factor that affect this is that because the youth tend to imitate what they see on TV because according to McGovern (2011), "through media exposure, the public will be continuously educated and be given a better insight of the LGBT community. It is within the mass communication's approach to things that our knowledge about homosexuality is being established and how the social changes shall be retorted upon by the society."

Also illustrated in the findings are the respondents' insights why they are in favor or not of homosexuality.

Equality stood out among the answers of the respondents. They are in favor of homosexuality because they believe in gender equality. Other reason includes human rights, the respondents not seeing anything wrong in homosexuality, and the respondents being homosexuals.

On the other hand, those who are not in favor of homosexuality have unified answer and that is because of their biblical basis. This is because the Philippines is a Christian country and even though homosexuality is not a crime in the country, this is still a controversial issue nowadays.

Majority of the respondents are in favor of the youth watching television programs that portray and promote homosexuality because these programs help the youth to know their selves better. For the respondents, they believe that these kinds of programs serve as guide for those who are confused about their gender and sexuality. Also, these are tool for people to be open-minded regarding homosexuality because they promote homosexuality and let the society learn more about it.

Those who are not in favor of these programs have the same reason as those who are against homosexuality. The responses are about homosexuality being immoral and it's a sin against God.

The behaviors that indicate the impact of these television programs to the youth were validated through triangulation. The answers of the youth coincided in the responses of the parents. For example, the youth tend to accept homosexuals for who they are, they are being open minded about the topic and be 31 curious about it. The parents also notice these changes to their children evident in their answers presented in ... findings. Other changes include the change in stance, getting close to homosexuals, and annoyance and irritation to them. The parents who don't see changes on their child/children, on the other hand, believe that it's up to the parents' guidance and teaching on how their children will view these programs. The results in the findings are parallel to the responses of the participants – the parents.

The respondents also think that these kinds of shows are okay to be watched because they help the youth to discover who they really are. This was also validated by the parents' response. They think that these shows are relevant to their children because these shows help the homosexuals to be accepted in the society. In this way, they would be more open to the matter.

As a conclusion, the Philippine television programs that portray and promote homosexuality have a lot of impact to the youth. It impacts them in a way that their behaviors and personality are being affected. There are positive and negative impacts. Positive impacts involve the acceptance of the respondents to homosexuals for who they are, their open-mindedness regarding the matter, that these programs serve as guide to them and that they are somehow educational. The negative impact is that these programs somehow influences that youth to do the things that they should not be doing which is why parental guidance is really recommended by the parents. But in the end, it's still up to the youth how they are going to manage themselves and their thinking.

From the findings that were presented in this study, the researchers recommend that the future researchers should delve further in the other behaviors that could be gained from these television programs. Moreover, it is also recommended to consider the behaviors that were already presented in this research to add up to its essence.

To the parents, parental guidance is also needed for the youth to be watched over more when it comes to this matter.

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مقدمة

تسعى هذه الدراسة إلى دحض خطابات الكراهية ضد الثقافات الأخرى، ورفضها رفضاً قاطعاً، بما في ذلك الثقافة العربية الإسلامية، وكذلك التصدي لفكرة أشاعها المنظر الأمريكي الشهير فرانسيس فوكوياما، ومن سار في ركابه من المفكرين والمنظرين غرباً وشرقاً، وخاصة صموئيل هنتنغتون، وهي فكرة صدام الحضارات الوشيك، وما أشاعه فوكوياما من قرب وقوع حرب عالمية ثالثة تقضى على المسلمين وتمحو أفكارهم.

وفي البداية لا بد أن نطرح على أنفسنا سؤالاً ملحاً، عن جرائم الكراهية ضد المسلمين في المجتمعات الأوروبية بشكل عام، وفي المجتمع الأمريكي بشكل خاص: هل هذه الخطابات التي نسمع عنها في الشرق العربي والإسلامي حقيقة أم وهم؟ إن ما سأقوله في هذا البحث حقيقة، وليس دعاية إعلامية أو استهلاكية، وليس وهماً نتوهمه، إنما هو حقيقة دامغة تواجهنا من خلال تقارير واستبانات تم القيام بها من قبل باحثين متخصصين، تؤكد جميعها أن جرائم الكره ضد المسلمين تضاعفت ثلاث مرات عقب اعتدائي باريس وسان برناردينو (كاليفورنيا) آخر عام 2015. وهذا ما أكدته التقريران الصادران من:

(1) مركز دراسات الكره والتطرف بجامعة كاليفورنيا الحكومية.

(2) مجلس العلاقات الأمريكية - الإسلامية (كير).

ولنتأمل معاً ما قالته الكاتبة الأمريكية سارة لازار على موقع (كومون دريمس) تعليقا على التقريرين السابقين⁽¹⁾. تقول: "أظهرت دراستان منفصلتان نشرتا في ديسمبر الشهر الماضي أن الاعتداءات على المسلمين في الولايات المتحدة، مثل الاعتداء على طالبة محجبة في ضاحية برونكي في (نيويورك) وإحراق مسجد قرب مدينة بالم سبرينغز (كاليفورنيا) هي أكثر من مجرد وقائع مقلقة، من حيث إنها تعكس تصاعد العنف (الإسلاموفوبيا) عبر كل البلاد. بينما أكد مركز دراسة الكره والتطرف أن متوسط عدد الاعتداءات التي كان يشتبه أنها جرائم كراهية من 6 إلى 12 جريمة ضد المسلمين شهريا، ولكن في أعقاب هذه الاعتداءات بلغ العدد 38 جريمة شهريا، تتسم صراحة بجرائم كراهية وتشمل هذه الاعتداءات: إحراق مبان وممتلكات، وتخريباً متعمداً لمساجد، وإطلاق نار وتهديدا بالقتل.

كذلك ذكر المتحدث الرسمي باسم مجلس العلاقات الأمريكية - الإسلامية (إبراهيم هوير) : إننا نشهد في مجتمعاتنا بيئة معادية للمسلمين وأجواء مسمومة بشكل لا يصدق، تستغلها شخصيات عامة، مثل هؤلاء المرشحين الجمهوريين للرئاسة (دونالد ترامب، وبن كارسون، وريك سانتوروم وآخرين). وذكر باحث آخر في مركز دراسة الكره والتطرف، هو (برايا ليفين) في حديث لصحيفة نيويورك تايمز: "إن الهجمات الإرهابية التي تراكمت مع الباحثون الذين أفكار نظمية معادية للمسلمين، ومنتشرة في كل مكان جعلت أناسا يتجرأون، ويقومون باعتداءات بناء على مخاوف وغضب". وقد أشار أجروا هذه الدراسة: إن الاعتداءات لم تبلغ المستوى الذي شاهدناه إثر اعتداءات 11 سبتمبر 2001 مباشرة، لكن هؤلاء الدارسين أشاروا إلى تشابه في الأجواء التحريضية العامة، إلى درجة أن بعض المنتمين إلى جماعة الشيخ تعرضوا للاعتداءات، بناء على ظن خاطئ بأنهم مسلمون.

ومعطيات الدراسة السابقة تتوافق مع نتائج دراسة قام بها باحثون في مجلس العلاقات الأمريكية - الإسلامية (كير) حيث سجلت زيادة حادة في اعتداءات على مساجد وأعمال تخريب وترهيب استهدفت مسلمين، ووجدت دراسة (كير) أن الاعتداءات الـ 29 التي سجلتها الدراسة ضد مساجد في عام 2015 هي العدد السنوي الأكبر من مثل هذه الاعتداءات التي كان مجلس (كير) يسجلها منذ أن بدأ في وضع هذه الدراسة السنوية عام 2009،

ولاحظ إبراهيم هوبر أن الزيادة في نوفمبر تشرين الثاني 2015 كانت الأكبر، حيث سجل ما مجموعه 17 اعتداء على مساجد، وقع 15 منها عقب اعتداءات باريس الإرهابية يوم 13 نوفمبر 2015. وأشار هوبر إلى أن هذه الاعتداءات لا تحدث من فراغ " وقال إننا نشهد في مجتمعنا بيئة معادية للمسلمين ، وهذا يؤدي إلى تزايد جرائم الكراهية على المستوى الوطني. كما وصفه بأنه أكثر بكثير من المعتاد ، وتوقع مزيدا من هذا العنف.

وفي 25 ديسمبر - كانون الأول، شارك حشد كبير في تظاهرة نظمها المركز العربي للموارد والتنظيم في سان فرانسيسكو من أجل الدعوة إلى " صون كرامة الجاليات" ، وقال المركز في بيان له: " لنقف سويا بوجه خطاب الكراهية وضد الهجمة العنصرية تجاه أهلنا ومجتمعاتنا في سان فرانسيسكو ".
وسأحاول إجمال أسباب اشتعال خطاب الكراهية فيما يلي :

- 1- موقف بعض الكتاب والمثقفين في أوروبا وأمريكا، وهذا الدور الذي يؤديه في تأجيج العداء الواضح، مما يؤثر في جماهير القراء والمتابعين سلبيا .
- 2- بعض ما يحدث من قلة غير واعية وغير مسلمة من عمليات إرهابية، تؤجج هذا الصراع ، وتؤسس لتلك الكراهية . والإسلام بريء منهم ، فالإسلام لا يدعو إلى ترويع الأمنين وقتلهم .
- 3- وسائل الإعلام المختلفة من أسباب تأجيج النيران في نفوس البشر، ليصبح الأمر أكثر اشتعالا، ولن أخصص وسائل بعينها، بل في الشرق والغرب على حد سواء . ، ولعل ما حدث من بعض الأمريكيين دليل على ذلك ، فقد تعرض بعض الأمريكيين قتلا لمنتزعين من طائفة الشيخ الهندية اعتقادا منهم أنهم جماعة ينتمون للإسلام ، حيث كانت هيئتهم قريبة من المسلمين ، وما ذلك إلا بسبب تحريض الكتاب ووسائل الإعلام المختلفة على ذلك .
- 4- العولمة وتأثيرها السريع في بناء فكر الأفراد، حيث أصبحت الصورة المؤثرة والسريعة هي الأكثر إثارة للاحتقان .
وهناك أسباب أخرى نستطيع تلمسها ، مثل حصول حوادث عادية تفسر بأنها كراهية من أحد الطرفين.



لقد كان خطاب الكراهية عنواناً للاتجاهات النفسية والفكرية التي سادت الثقافة الغربية لفترات طويلة، وهو الأمر الذي يجد رواجاً ضمن المعتقدات السائدة حول الأقليات في الغرب. وبحسب رأي فيليب ستيفنز، فإن هذا الخطاب العدائي قائم على أساس منظومة مؤكدة من الأفكار والمعتقدات التي تفترض وجود قوى عدوانية شريرة مناهضة، تعمل بلا هوادة على تقويض دعائم وركائز المجتمع الغربي المسيحي. وتتمثل تلك القوى المناهضة في أغلب الأحيان في أقلية عرقية تقودها مجموعة معينة نحو تحزيب وتدمير أسس المجتمعات الغربية وقواعده الراسخة ، هذه الأقلية تصبح في هذه الحالة كبش الفداء المنشود في كل أزمة أو نزاع اجتماعي أو سياسي أو غير ذلك. ونحن لا نعدم الأمثلة الكثيرة على تلك الأقليات المضطهدة في التاريخ الغربي على امتداده؛ فهناك الزنوج و اليهود الذين تعرضوا للاضطهاد مراراً وتكراراً، وهناك الشيوعيون البلاشفة الذين تعرضوا للمحن في الولايات المتحدة وفي غيرها من البلدان، وهناك الأمريكيون من أصل ياباني ممن اضطهدهوا في أميركا إبان الحرب العالمية الثانية، وهناك الهنود الحمر في الولايات المتحدة الذين تعرضوا للإبادة و التطهير العرقي إبان فترة الاستكشاف وما بعدها وحتى الأربعينيات من القرن العشرين " ، وهناك ما طال البعض من الاضطهاد إبان حقب محاربة الهرطقة في أواخر العصور الوسطى ، بما فيه حرق الساحرات على يد كهان الكنيسة الكاثوليكية في أوروبا" (ستيفنز: 1990، ص128)⁽²⁾.

وفي كتابه الموسوم (الثقافة والفوضى) الذي نشر للمرة الأولى عام 1869، يميز المفكر البريطاني (ماثيو آرنولد) بين العقلية السامية الشرقية والعقلية الإغريقية الهلينية الغربية، ويتطرق إلى تأثيرهما على الثقافة الغربية، فيرى أن للعقلية الهلينية بالغ الأثر في الثقافة الغربية؛ لكونها "ثقافة تنطوي على منطق محكم، يتقبله العقل، ويطمئن معه الوجدان ،على النقيض من صرامة وتزمت التعاليم الأخلاقية السامية المصدر. ويرى ماثيو آرنولد أنه في الوقت الذي ركزت فيه الفلسفة الإغريقية على كل ما هو كوني وكل ما هو عام من القيم والمعاني، فإن الساميين وضعوا للقيم معاني متضاربة، وسلموا بكل ما هو مبهم غامض، وانصاعوا لكل ما يناقض المنطق العقلي. ثم يشير آرنولد إلى ما هو أبعد من ذلك، فيقول إن "العقلية الهلينية المتجذرة في الفلسفة الهلينية هي ربيبة الذهنية الإندو

أوروبية. أما الفلسفة العبرية، فهي ربيبة النشأة السامية ولاغربة في أن ننتمي نحن الإنجليز ، الأمة ذات الميراث الإندو أوروبي لتلك الروح الملهلنية" (آرنولد: 1993، ص69)⁽³⁾ .

ولعل في ثنائية آرنولد هذه، التي يراها جاك دريدا- على عكس آرنولد - ليست سوى تباين بين الإغريق واليهود داخل سياق الحضارة الغربية الواحدة، ما يشير إلى صدام حضاري داخل بنية الحضارة الغربية ذاتها. ومع ذلك، فإن هذا القلق إزاء الديانة اليهودية هو ما يفسر بصورة قاطعة مقدار ما عانته صورة اليهود من تشويه ومسوخ في الفن والأدب الغربيين، وكذلك ما بدا من مظاهر العداء للسامية التي بلغت أوجها في المحرقة النازية التي طالت بالحرق والإبادة في المجتمعات اليهودية في أوروبا وإبان الحرب العالمية الثانية. ومن يدقق النظر في نظريات كل من صموئيل هنتنغتون، وفرانيس فوكوياما، يجدهما يسعيان لنقل خوف الغرب الاستعماري وكراهيته لليهود إلى الوجه الآخر للعملة السامية، ألا وهم العرب الذين بمسحهم الخطاب الغربي اليوم باعتبارهم الممخ الجد. ولذلك انتشرت في الثقافة الغربية آلاف الروايات والسرديات الامبريالية والصهيونية المعادية للعرب و المسلمين في فلسطين - على وجه الخصوص- منذ أمد بعيد من أجل توسيع الاستيلاء عليها واستعمارها توطئة لصهنتها. وبينما استندت الأطماع الصهيونية في فلسطين على مجموعة من الادعاءات المغرضة والأساطير التوراتية عن أرض الميعاد، تم إعادة تأويلها وتوظيفها لتحقيق أهداف سياسية مشبوهة، فإن ثمة "صراعًا طويل الأمد بعيد الجذور بين الغرب والشرق، كان سببه الرئيس هو الإسلام" وفق تعبير إدوارد سعيد (سعيد: 1979، ص29)⁽⁴⁾.

يقول الدكتور صديق جوهر (5) : لقد بلغت الأساطير والأكاذيب الاستعمارية المعادية للآخر ذروتها في أطروحات صموئيل هنتنغتون، وفرانيس فوكوياما عشية أوفول القرن العشرين، وتزامن ظهورها مع تفكك واضمحلال الكتلة السوفيتية في أوروبا وآسيا الوسطى، ما مهد الطريق أمام العولمة ويزوغ حقائق جيو سياسية جديدة على المسرح السياسي الدولي توجه ما يعرفه الجميع اليوم تحت اسم "النظام العالمي الجديد". ومن المؤسف، أن الألفية الجديدة قد أطلت بوجهها الذي لطخته الأحداث الدامية المأساوية يوم الحادي عشر من سبتمبر 2001 مما عزز من قوة الجناح الفكري الراديكالي في أميركا من أمثال هنتنغتون وفوكوياما. إن هذين المفكرين دشنا المناظرة المشهودة حول صراع الحضارات ونهاية التاريخ، واستشرفا حتمية الحرب بين الإسلام والغرب. وفي الوقت الذي يؤكد فيه هنتنغتون أن "الحضارات هي أعلى أشكال التكوينات القبلية البشرية، وأن صدام الحضارات إن هو إلا صدامًا قبليًا على مستوى عالمي"، فإن فوكوياما في نظريته عن نهاية التاريخ يؤكد هو الآخر تفوق وهيمنة القيم والمثل الغربية، وحتمية انخيار كافة الأيديولوجيات غير الغربية.

ويذهب فوكوياما في كتابه (نهاية التاريخ والإنسان الأخير) إلى أنه "بالرغم مما يبدو على الإسلام من قوة في مرحلة تجددته الراهنة، فإنه لا يعدو أن يكون ذلك الدين الذي لم يعد يجذب إليه أحدًا، وظل محصورًا في نطاق الدائرة الثقافية الإسلامية التي كوَّنها منذ قرون طويلة. ومن المؤكد، أن أيام الغزو الثقافي الإسلامي قد ولت، قد يسترد الإسلام بعض الأنصار المرتدين الماويين، لكنه عديم الصدى في برلين وطوكيو وموسكو" (فوكوياما:1992، ص45)⁽⁶⁾. ومن المؤكد - في هذا السياق - أن أطروحة فوكوياما حول العلاقة بين الإسلام والغرب هي ما مهد الطريق أمام معظم ما جاء به صموئيل هنتنغتون. الذي يعتنق مذهبًا فكريًا يحط من شأن العرب والمسلمين من أفكار فيما بعد.

وفي صورة عدائية للعرب المسلمين ، يذهب فوكوياما إلى أن العالم الإسلامي هو الذي ستغزوه الأفكار الليبرالية الغربية على المدى الطويل، وليس العكس ، طالما أن الليبرالية قد اجتذبت إلى ساحتها أشياء وأنصارًا كثيرًا من المفكرين والسياسيين والقادة النافذين في المجتمعات الإسلامية على مدار المائة وخمسين سنة الماضية. " ويعود انبعاث الأصولية الإسلامية الراهنة، في جانب منه، إلى الشعور. من جانب الأصوليين الإسلاميين. بمدى جسامته التحدي الذي تمثله القيم الغربية الليبرالية بالنسبة للمجتمعات الإسلامية التقليدية " (فوكوياما:1992، ص42).

ويذهب فوكوياما إلى أن الصراع بين القيم التحررية الغربية وبين الأصولية الإسلامية سينتهي عندما تحقق الليبرالية الغربية الديمقراطية انتصارها الكامل الساحق في كل أرجاء العالم. و مما لاشك فيه ، فإن النظرية التي توصل إليها فوكوياما، والتي صاغها غداة انخيار سور برلين وتفكك الاتحاد السوفيتي، إنما تمثل على نحو ما نشوة الانتصار الغربي الرأسمالي على المعسكر الاشتراكي الأفل. ويصل فوكوياما بنظريته إلى حد الزعم بأنه قد اكتشف القانون العام الذي يحكم حركة الحضارات الإنسانية والذي يبنى بنهاية التاريخ.

ويذهب فوكوياما إلى أن العقود القادمة سوف تشهد نهاية تاريخ الأيديولوجيات، وسيادة مطلقة للأفكار الغربية الليبرالية. ويتوصل إلى أن ثمة تناظرًا بين ما أسماه "المد الإسلامي الأصولي" و"الفاشية الأوروبية"، فيقول: "ليست الصحوة الإسلامية سوى شكل من أشكال التوق إلى الماضي التليد الغابر حيث وجدت. في اعتقادهم. منظومة القيم والمعاني المثلى الصالحة للتطبيق في كل زمان ومكان، وحيث لا مكان لقيم وأفكار الماضي القريب المهزوزة المهترئة، ولا محل لقيم الغرب التي عمد إلى استزراعها كرهًا في غير تربتها في بلدان الشرق الأوسط" (فوكوياما: 1992، ص 236).

و في رأي فرانسيس فوكوياما أن الغرب قد يكون مضطرًا لحوض غمار حرب أخرى (الحرب العالمية الثالثة) ضد الفاشية الإسلامية، وتلك دعوة صريحة لخطاب الصدام بين الحضارات الذي أسس عليه هنتنغتون نظريته الذائعة. إن تأكيد فوكوياما على التناظر والتشابه والتماثل بين الأصولية الإسلامية والفاشية الأوروبية التي أشار إليها في حواراته إنما هي جوهر برنامجه الفكري المتعصب لقيم ومبادئ الغرب الداعي إلى الصدام والمواجهة بين الحضارتين أو العالمين الإسلامي والغربي .

ويشير هنتنغتون في كتابه (صدام الحضارات وإعادة صياغة النظام العالمي) مقتفياً آثار فوكوياما، إلى أن البلدان التي تأخذ بحضارات متباينة، وتعتنق ثقافات مختلفة لابد من أن تتصارع فيما بينها، وأن الدين هو السمة الفارقة التي تميز وجه أي حضارة، وبالتالي، فإن "الحضارات الكبرى في تاريخ البشرية قد ارتبطت ارتباطًا لا انفصام له بالديانات العظمى في كل أنحاء العالم" (هنتنغتون: 1997، ص 42)⁽⁷⁾. ولما كان الدين هو المعلم الرئيس في أية حضارة، فإن النزاعات الحضارية، في رأيه، هي صدامات دائمة "بين شعوب ذات ديانات مختلفة".

وكما ذكرنا سابقاً، يؤكد هنتنغتون أن "الحضارات هي أعلى أشكال التكوينات القبلية البشرية، وأن صدام الحضارات ما هو إلا صدام قبلي، لكن على مستوى علمي" (هنتنغتون: 1997، ص 207). ويذهب إلى أن الصحوة التي تعيشها الديانات غير الغربية في البلدان غير الغربية هي الدليل على تنامي المشاعر المعادية للغرب. ولا يرى أي مجال للحلول الوسطى في الجدال الدائر حول الهوية بين الجماعات المختلفة في دياناتها، فيؤكد الدور الحاسم الذي يلعبه الدين في تأجيج الصراعات الدولية بما يتجاوز تأثير كُلي من الفوارق العنصرية والعرقية. ويذهب هنتنغتون إلى أبعد من ذلك، عندما يجذر من حرب ستدور رحاها على مستوى السياسات الدولية، قطباها: الإسلام والغرب باعتبارهما عدوين تاريخيين لدودين، وأن "الصراع على طول خطوط القتال بين الحضارتين الغربية والإسلامية ظل دائراً متواصلاً على مدى 1300 عام". ويعتقد هنتنغتون أن القيم والأفكار الغربية التي تتبنى: الفردية، والتحررية، وحقوق الإنسان، والمساواة، والحرية السياسية، وحكم القانون، والديمقراطية، والسوق الحر، والعلمانية... إلخ ليس لها وجود في الإسلام.

ويشير الدكتور صديق جوهر إلى أنه من الواضح أن أطروحة هنتنغتون حول مناهضة المجتمعات العربية الإسلامية للانخراط في العولمة الثقافية الراهنة، إنما هي خطاب يستمد مادته من أصول استشراقية، وجذور استعمارية ترعرعت في كنف السياسات الاستعمارية الغربية، والفكر الرجعي المعادي للإنسانية الذي ساد خلال القرن التاسع عشر، وتمخض عنه المشروع الاستعماري الغربي الذي أتى بالصهانية إلى فلسطين. وبحسب إدوارد سعيد، فإن الاستشراق "ليس سوى خطاب يعكس، بكل ما في الكلمة من معنى، العلاقة المنحازة إلى كل ما هو سياسي سلطوي مؤسسي في بلدان الغرب، وقد تم إنتاج هذا الخطاب وتسويقه في ظروف ثقافية وحضارية وسياسية مختلفة، بما لا يضمن تبادلاً متكافئاً بين المنتج الثقافي الغربي والمنتج الثقافي العربي الإسلامي، تلك العلاقة الثقافية غير المتكافئة التي تمخضت عن علاقة سياسية هي بدورها وفي الأساس غير متكافئة كالعلاقة التي تقوم بين المستعمر ومؤسسته، وبين المستعمرين؛ فهناك السلطة الاستعمارية الفكرية، وهناك السلطة الثقافية، وهناك السلطة الأخلاقية كتلك التي تدور حول "ما أنجزناه نحن الغربيون، وما ننجزه من كذا وكذا"، وما لا يمكنهم هم العرب المسلمون القيام به، أو حتى استيعابه وفهمه، كما فعلنا "نحن" (الاستشراق: 1978، ص 12)⁽⁸⁾.

وتعزى تلك النزعة الاستشراقية العدائية المهيمنة على خطاب هنتنغتون في جانب منها إلى تحيزه الغربي المسبق ضد الثقافات الأخرى، وليس أدل على ذلك من دعواه بأن صحوة الديانات غير الغربية هي العلامة الفارقة في تنامي المشاعر المعادية للغرب بين العرب المسلمين. ومن العجيب أنه في الوقت الذي يؤكد فيه هنتنغتون على الدور الرئيس للدين في إثارة النزاعات الدولية، فإنه يقلل من أهمية وشأن الدور الذي تلعبه الاختلافات العنصرية والعرقية في إثارة تلك الصراعات؛ إذ تتميز حقبة ما بعد الحرب الباردة، في رأيه، بوقوع صراعاتٍ عالمية على طول خطوط المواجهة بين الحضارات الكبرى.

يقول هنتنغتون : إن هدف أطروحتي هو أن المصدر الرئيس للصراع في هذا العالم الجديد (عالم ما بعد الحرب الباردة)، لن يكون في الأساس والجوهر مصدرًا أيديولوجيًا أو اقتصاديًا، لكن الاختلافات الإنسانية الكبرى والمصدر الرئيس لأي صراع هو دائمًا وأبدًا الصراع الثقافي المرتبط بالخلفية الحضارية. صحيح أن الدولة الوطنية ستظل الفاعل الأقدر في الشأن الدولي، لكن الصراعات الأساسية فوق حلبة السياسة الدولية، ستتشب بين الأمم والجماعات ذات الحضارات المختلفة، وسوف يهيمن صدام الحضارات على السياسة الدولية من الآن فصاعدًا، وسوف تصبح خطوط المواجهة بين الحضارات هي ذاتها خطوط قتال المستقبل (هنتنغتون: 1997، ص 22) .

ويقرر هنتنغتون أن الحروب العقائدية قد تحولت اليوم إلى حروب حضارات . وفي القلب من صدام الحضارات عند هنتنغتون، يأتي الصراع التاريخي المزمع بين الإسلام والمسيحية. (هنتنغتون: 1997، ص 210). وبناء على التصور السابق ، فإن هنتنغتون، يقرر: "لقد ظل الإسلام على حاله، وظل الغرب على حاله"، وإن "الصراع الجوهري بين هاتين الحضارتين الكبيرتين، وطرق الحياة في كل من بلادهما، سيظل يحدد شكل العلاقة بينهما خلال العقود القادمة، كما حددها طيلة الأربعة عشر قرنًا الفائتة" (هنتنغتون: 1997، ص 212).

وفي إطار حتمية التنبؤ بصدام وشيك الوقوع بين الشرق والغرب ، يزعم هنتنغتون أن "حدود الدول الإسلامية هي حدود صراعات دموية، وساحتها الداخلية الوطنية هي ساحات صراع دموي" (هنتنغتون: 1997، ص 258). ويهاجم جوهر الدين الإسلامي زاعمًا أن المشكلة الرئيسة التي تواجه الغرب ليست هي صحوة الأصولية الإسلامية، بل إنها الإسلام في حد ذاته باعتباره حضارة يؤمن أصحابها بأن ثقافتهم الإسلامية هي الأعلى والأرقى والأجدر بالهيمنة، فيما يتملكهم الإحساس، في الوقت نفسه، بضالة شأهم السياسي، وعدم تناسبه مع اعتقادهم الجازم بسمو حضارتهم (هنتنغتون: 1997، ص 217).

وفي إطار آخر، يعزو - هنتنغتون - فشل المجتمعات الإسلامية، خاصة في العالم العربي، في استيعاب قيم الغرب الثقافية، والانضمام بذلك إلى ركب العولمة القائم على قدم وساق، إلى التباين الديني بين الشرق والغرب أو لما أسماه "الطبيعة العدوانية المتأصلة في الثقافة والمجتمع الإسلاميين" (هنتنغتون: 1997، ص 114). وحتى يدعم هنتنغتون رؤيته المعادية للعالم الإسلامي ، يقدم حجة مفادها: "حيثما يواجه المرء نظره إلى تحوم العالم الإسلامي، يجد نفسه إزاء مشكلات متجددة في التعايش السلمي بين المسلمين وجيرانهم من غير المسلمين. والسؤال الذي يفرض نفسه، هنا بالضرورة، هو عما إن كان هذا النموذج هو ذاته النموذج الذي نصادفه ونعرفه في الصراع بين أبناء الحضارات المختلفة الأخرى في كل أنحاء العالم. والإجابة هي أن الواقع يكذب ذلك؛ فالمسلمون يشكلون قرابة خمس سكان الأرض، لكنهم وفي تسعينيات القرن العشرين - على وجه الخصوص - صاروا طرفًا أصيلًا في العنف الدولي بأكثر مما نجد لدى أي أقوام أخرى من أصحاب الحضارات الأخرى (هنتنغتون: 1997، ص 256).

وليس من نافلة القول، تأكيد أن الأحداث المأساوية التي وقعت في الولايات المتحدة في الحادي عشر من سبتمبر 2001، قد ضاعفت من قوة وتأثير أولئك المفكرين الراديكاليين من أمثال هنتنغتون، وفوكوياما، ممن أشعلوا نار الاتجاهات المعادية للإسلام والمسلمين. وبغض النظر عن أن الأغلبية الساحقة من مسلمي العالم قد أدانوا الجريمة النكراء التي اقترفها مديرو ومنفذو تلك الأحداث، فإن الكثير من الأصوات قد علت في الغرب معتبرة كل من تمت للشرق الأوسط بصلة من المشتبه فيهم كونهم إرهابيين يكونون للغرب وأهله كل ضغينة وشر.

وتستعرض لنا لويز كينكار الآثار المأساوية لرهاب الإسلام والمسلمين الذي ساد في أوساط الغرب، وخاصة الولايات المتحدة، وأصبح سيئًا مسلطًا على رقاب الأقليات المسلمة بما اتخذته الحكومة الاتحادية من إجراءات وسياسات مضادة للإرهاب، وتدابير لم يسبق لها مثل منذ وجود تلك الأقليات داخل أميركا والغرب عمومًا، فتقول: "لقد تركت هجمات الحادي عشر من سبتمبر آثارًا سلبية عميقة على العرب والمسلمين في الولايات المتحدة؛ لأنها أخذت طابعًا تعميميًا، لا يفرق بين أحد من العرب والمسلمين؛ فالكل في نظر الأميركيين إرهابيون" (كينكار: 2004، ص 240)⁽⁹⁾ . إضافة إلى ما ساقته كينكار، فليس ثمة شك في أن هجمات الحادي عشر من سبتمبر لم تكن سببًا في انفجار موجة العداوة للجماعات العربية والمسلمة المقيمة في الغرب، بل إنها كانت

علة اشتداد وطيس الحملة المعادية للبلدان المتهمة بإيواء ومساعدة الإرهاب الدولي. ومن ثم، فقد تمددت الحملة الأميركية التي استهدفت اقتلاع جذور تنظيم القاعدة ومنظمة طالبان، لتشمل ضمن نطاق عملياتها النظام العراقي البائد، ناهيك عن البؤر الإرهابية المحتملة كافة على مستوى العالم.

ويؤكد الدكتور صديق جوهر (10) أن الحملة الدولية على الإرهاب قد شوّعت ومسخت صورة المسلمين في أرجاء الأرض كافة، عندما عمدت إلى الربط بين بعض البلدان العربية الإسلامية، وما أسماه الرئيس الأمريكي السابق جورج دبليو بوش "محور الشر". ومن هذا المنطلق تعدد حادثة الحادي عشر من سبتمبر مشهداً يعاد تفسيره بوصفه شاهداً على صحة مزاعم هنتنغتون بأن العالم على شفير صراع عالمي، وحرب بلا حدود بين الإسلام والغرب. لقد كانت أحداث الحادي عشر من سبتمبر السبب الرئيس في التعجيل بتحويل الجدل الدائر حول العولمة، كأيديولوجية استعمارية تستهدف السيطرة على مقدرات العالم الاقتصادية، إلى صيحة مدوية نافذة تعلن على الملأ مبدأ صدام الحضارات الذي يربط ربطاً وثيقاً بين البلدان العربية الإسلامية، والإرهاب الدولي. واستغلت إسرائيل الفرصة كالمعتاد، فراحت تصنف حركات المقاومة في فلسطين ولبنان ضمن منظومة الإرهاب الدولي.

وبدلاً من استنباط المفكرين والنقاد الغربيين ما كان يجب عليهم استنباطه من أن المشروع الأميركي الجديد إنما يسعى بشكل مؤكد لضرورة السيطرة على منابع النفط في العالم تحقيقاً لمصلحة الرأسمالية العالمية، فإن هؤلاء راحوا يدعون - في صورة عدائية - أن بلدان العالم العربي الإسلامية المختلفة التي ينتمي إليها بعض تلك الجماعات والتنظيمات الإرهابية التي تنبذها الشعوب العربية، هي العقبة الكأداء في طريق النظام العالمي الجديد. ولا شك في أن هذا التصور يعطي زخماً لنسبوء فوكوياما، ويعد تحذيراً بالخطر الذي تمثله المجتمعات العربية والإسلامية الذين طالما كانت حدود بلادهم هي "الحدود الملطخة بالدماء"، وفق رؤية هنتنغتون.

الخاتمة

في النهاية أود التأكيد على الأفكار التالية :

- 1- إن رفض الآخر، وعدم الإيمان بثقافته دون دراسة واعية لفكره خطأ جسيم.
- 2- وضوح العداء السافر عند بعض المفكرين الغربيين للإسلام، مما يستوجب منهم ضرورة إعادة النظر وتقييم أفكارهم مرة أخرى .
- 3- الرفض الواضح لهذه النظرة المتعالية في الفكر الغربي ضد الإسلام.
- 4- الفكر الإسلامي فكر معتدل وسطي، والقليل جدا ممن يدعون الإسلام هم أصحاب الفكر المتطرف .
- 5 - المسلمون أنفسهم يقفون ضد أفكار هذا الفكر المنحرف .
- 6- معاداة الإسلام في الثقافة الغربية في القرون الأخيرة حقيقة لا وهم ، وواقع لا أسطورة .
- 7- رفض أي أحكام عامة على أي فئة من البشر دون دليل .

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خطاب الذات في قصائد الرثاء في الشعر العربي

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ملخص البحث :

يدرس البحث خطاب الذات في قصائد الرثاء التي جاءت تصعيداً لأحزان إنسانية ترنحت فيها الذات تحت وطأة مصابها وعجزها عن استيعاب ما أحاق بها من آلام ممضّة ، فلجأت إلى بوح داخلي حيناً وإلى صراخ حيناً آخر ، وإلى رؤى ونظرات فلسفية تفسر الموت وفق رؤيتها الخاصة .
وخطاب الذات معادل لآلام وإحساسات إنسانية تطوح فيها الذات وتفيض عن مشاعرها بحيث لم تعد قادرة على كتمانها، أو هي رؤية ذاتية للموت ، تحمل النفس على قبوله .
وقد اتخذ خطاب الذات أشكالاً متعددة ، تحت في مجملها على تحيين الحدث، أو فلسفته ، أو تضخيم المصاب خشية النسيان ، أو اضمحلال الذكرى .
وقد حملت تجارب الشعراء في فن الرثاء وجع الذات لفقدان الأحبة ، وتلاشي ذكراهم وتحولهم من الحس إلى الذاكرة . فكان استجداء العين لتسفع الدمع ، وهز أطراف الذكرى ، لعلها تعينهم على تمثّل حدث الفقد أبداً، فتمتد عيونهم إلى أماكن درج عليها الفقيده ، ويستنسخون تجاربه ، ويجسدونها أمامهم لتكون معينات لهم على حضوره دائماً بينهم.
والبحث يحاول أن يدرس القصائد التي تشكل الذات الرائية جزءاً من مفاصلها ، لنبين هذا الجانب في قصيدة الرثاء العربية ، ولن نخفل في هذا المقام قصائد جسّدت الفقد من خلال الوقفة الطللية ، فهي رثاء وتعبير عن الفناء في عصر ما قبل الإسلام. وقد أثرنا اتباع المنهج الفني الجمالي ؛ لأننا نرى فيه المعين في تلمس جوانب الجمال في عواطف الحزن .

المقدمة :

لا يعني الاهتمام بمسألة الموت والرثاء بوصفه فناً يلي الموت ، أننا لا نسلّم بالقضاء والقدر ؛ فالموت والحياة بالمفهوم الإسلامي محددان باللوح المحفوظ ؛ وعلى هذا فالحياة الدنيا هي كدح إلى الله تعالى ، والحياة الآخرة هي ملاقاته الله تعالى .
والحياة الدنيا تمثل المرحلة الأولى من مراحل الوجود الإنساني ، كما أن الموت يمثل نهاية هذه المرحلة وبداية مرحلة جديدة للوجود الإنساني هي الحياة الآخرة . هذه الحقيقة تتضح من خلال تقرير القرآن الكريم أن الموت ليس أمراً عديمياً ، بل هو أمر وجودي كما يتجلى في قوله تعالى : " خلق الموت والحياة ليبلوكم أيكم أحسن عملاً " (1)
ونحن مع إيماننا بالمفهوم الإسلامي للموت ، نسلّم أيضاً بضعف النفس الإنسانية إزاء أمر جلل ، يهزها من الأعماق، ساعة تغيب الأحبة . لذلك كان الموت أصعب التجارب التي يمر بها الإنسان في حياته. وقد أرّق الموت الإنسان منذ القدم ؛ فوقف الإنسان الجاهلي أمامه حائراً ، لا يدري ماذا يفعل ، فلجأ إلى الطلل ، يجسّد فيه تجاور الموت والحياة عبر الوقوف عليه ، والبكاء بين يديه ، ومحاولة إحيائه .
فالوقفة الطللية عند امرئ القيس على سبيل المثال صرخة متمرده أمام حقيقة الموت والحياة ، فقد واجه الشاعر الموت بالحياة المنبعثة من قلبه ، فقال (2) :

قَفَا نَبُكُ مِنْ ذِكْرِي حَبِيبٍ وَمَنْزَلٍ بِسِقْطِ النَّوَى بَيْنَ الدَّخُولِ فَحَوْمَلٍ

يبكي الشاعر ديار الحبيبية ، بكاء مريراً جراء الفناء المحيق بها مستعينا بصحبه (مجازاً) لمواجهة الفناء ؛ فخطاب الرفيقين هنا خطاب للذات والمجتمع ؛ لأنه ليس من المقبول أن يدعو الشاعر رفيقه للبكاء على أطلال حبيبته . بل إن طلبه إلى صاحبيه مشاركته البكاء لذكرى الحبيب غير منطقي ولا يستدعيه الموقف ، فالحزن ينبعث عادة من النفس دون حاجة إلى استدعاء المشاركة، هذا بالإضافة إلى أن دعوة المشاركة لا تتم في حالة الحزن بل في حالة السعادة والفرحة فالشاعر " استوقف من يبكي لذكرى الحبيب وذكراه لا تقتضي بكاء الخلي وإنما يصح طلب الإسعاد في مثل هذا على أن يبكي لبكائه ويرق لصديقه في شدة برحائه، فأما أن يبكي حبيب صديقه وعشيق رفيقه فأمر محال فإن كان المطلوب وقوفه وبكاؤه أيضاً عاشقاً صح الكلام وفسد المعنى من وجه آخر لأنه من السخف ألا يغار على حبيبته وأن يدعو غيره إلى التغازل عليه والتواجد معه فيه" (3) .

فالوقفة الطللية رفض للفناء والتدمير الذي تقوم به الطبيعة إزاء الديار ، التي لا يملك الشاعر لردّها إلا البكاء والشجن ، فقد كانت الطبيعة عاملاً مدمراً ، لا يستطيع الإنسان مواجهته ، فهي تدمر الديار وتطمس معالمها ، ثم تذروها مع الرياح ، فتنتعثر الذكريات ، يؤيد هذا ما ذهب إليه النابغة الذبياني حين أطلق اسم الرامسات على الرياح التي تندفن الأطلال (4) :

كأن مجرد الرامسات ذبولها عليه حصيراً نمقتة الصوانع

فالرامسات هي الدافنات ، وهي التي تغيب الموجودات ، وتمحو الطلل ، وتحيله أثراً بعد عين ، مما يعني أن الطلل يحيلنا إلى الحديث عن الموت لما يثير فينا من شعور التحول والاندثار الذي يتوازي مع تحولات الزمن وسيرورته . وقد وقف الشاعر أمام الطلل حائراً متسائلاً ، مطلقاً سيلاً من الاستفهامات التي نلحظها في أوائل أبيات الطلل لحظة التحول من الماضي إلى المستقبل ، التي تختزن الماضي كنفيس مباشر للحاضر ، وكمطابق صميمي للمستقبل المأمول⁽⁵⁾ ، فالحياة والموت متجاوران ، ومن هنا نفهم انبعاث الحياة فجأة في الطلل بعد رثائه والبكاء عليه . فجدلية الدلالات التي يتكئ عليها الشعراء الجاهليون ، يمكن من خلالها الوقوف على القضية المحورية والأساسية التي انطلقت منها الذات في خطابها للطلل ؛ وهي دلالات الثبات والتحول ورغبة هذا الشاعر بالتحول ، وهذا يعني أن هذا القلق النفسي هو موقف كان يهدد وجوده داخل البيئة الاجتماعية القبلية .

ويصطخب خطاب الذات في المقدمات التي تلت العصر الجاهلي ؛ فالشاعر ذو الرمة يبدأ بقدمه بكائية يحاور فيها ذاته⁽⁶⁾ :

مَا بَالَ عَيْنِكَ مِنْهَا الْمَاءَ يُسْكِبُ كَأَنَّهُ مِنْ كُلِّ مَفْرِيَةٍ سَرِبُ

تساءل الشاعر مخاطباً ذاته مستفهماً عن عينه التي تسكب الدمع مدراراً ، في صورة نستشف من خلالها عمق المأساة واستمرارية الحزن إلى جانب حيرة وجودية تظهر من تساؤلاته التي يطرحها في محيط يجمع فيه الأزمان الثلاثة ، فهل سبب بكائه حاضره المجهول المغيب أم ماضيه المتذكر أم رؤية دمنة هيجت أحرانه⁽⁷⁾ . والمتتبع للقصيدة يلقى الجواب كامن لدى التلقي الذي يريد الشاعر أن يشرکه في أحرانه .

فإذا كان هذا هو خطاب الذات في مطالع القصائد ، فكيف نقرأ علاقة الذات بشعر الرثاء ؟

إن الشاعر يصوغ قصيدته بفعل سلطة العاطفة ، ولكن هذه الصياغة تأخذ منحاً واتجاهات متعددة ، أهمها خطاب الذات للذات . فالذات تحاول الإبقاء على وتيرة واحدة من الحزن ، لذلك تلجأ إلى إحياء الحزن عبر وسائل متعددة ، تتشكل في الخطاب الشعري عبر صيغة الضمير العائد على الذات ، ليتحول الخطاب إلى بوح شخصي منقطع عن الآخرين برهة من الزمن بغية تجاوب الذات مع الحال الراهنة لتستعيد حال الحزن .

فهل الذات ترثي نفسها من خلال إثارة كمانن الوجد ؟ أم أنها تحاول أن تحدد حالة فريدة من الحزن لتعلن عدمية الحياة ؟

هذا ما يزمع بسط القول فيه ، ومناقشة مقولاته الكبرى .

البحث :

إن البحث في خطاب الذات في قصائد الرثاء يستدعي البحث في ماهية الذات التي نقصد . فماهية الذات تمتاز بخصوصية في الوجود ، وبفضلها يمتاز الإنسان عن أقرانه بالوجود ، فهي مغايرة للبدن وأجزائه الظاهرة والباطنة⁽⁸⁾ ، وقد حددت الدراسات الحديثة مفهوم الذات ؛ فجعلتها جهازاً إدارياً للشخصية ، لأنها تسيطر على منافذ العمل والسلوك⁽⁹⁾ ، وميزت بين الأنا والذات ، وجعلت الأنا مرحلة سابقة على الذات ، تنشأ مع الإنسان بعد مرحلة الطفولة اللاواعية ، أي عندما يصبح الإنسان فتى ناضجاً يعي ما يقول وما يريد ، لكنه لم يع بعد مجتمعه كما ينبغي . وتكون الأنا هنا تعبيراً عن الفرد الإنساني وحده ، وهو يعيش الوعي والشعور ، ولم يصل إلى مرحلة اللاشعور ، إنه يعيش نزعة إثبات لذاته تكون الحياة الخاصة راحة على الحياة العامة . وهذه المرحلة يسميها يونغ " الفردية " التي تدور حول النفس الفردية لكل إنسان قبل أن يصل إلى مرحلة " الفردية " التي يدخل فيها اللاشعور الجمعي ، ويبدأ فيها الذات بالتشكل⁽¹⁰⁾ . فإذا ما بدا الإنسان بالمزج بين الشعور الواعي واللاشعور الجمعي لبيئته أو مجتمعه ، أو فرقته ، تحول من مرحلة " الأنا " إلى مرحلة " الذات " ، أو انتقل من الفردية إلى التقديرية ، أي من الإطار الفردي إلى الإطار الجمعي ، وأصبحت له ذات يعبر عن وجودها ، ويقيم سلوكه الإنساني من خلالها ، إذ عد جزءاً لا يتجزأ منها ، ف " الأنا " تكون عند الإنسان فرداً معبراً عن شخصيته ونفسه وسلوكه ، و " الذات " تأتيه في مرحلة لاحقة إذا ما زاد وعيه واتسع فكره ، وأصبح يتحرك وفق جماعة أو أمة ، ويعبر من خلالها ، ويتصرف بما تقتضيه ، ولم يعد مقتصرراً على التعبير عن شخصه متفرداً⁽¹¹⁾ . وذات الشاعر هي حقيقته ، وهويته الشخصية ، وما به يكون الشاعر ذاته ، أي شاعراً بعينه أو بوصفه كائناً اجتماعياً تنهض فيه إمكانية التفرد⁽¹²⁾ .

ولما كانت المراثي من الأغراض الشعرية الغنائية " يعبر فيها الشاعر عن مشاعر الحزن واللوعة التي تنتابه لغياب عزيز فجع بفقد ، أو لكارثة تنزل بأمة أو شعب أو دولة⁽¹³⁾ . فقصيد الرثاء تصعيد نفسي ، يخفف من خلالها الشاعر وطأة المأساة التي حلت به . فالشاعر الرائي قد يستشعر العجز إزاء الفقد ، وقد يقف حائراً لا يعرف كيف يواجه الموقف ، لذلك يلجأ إلى ذاته يخاطبها ، ويستنهض قواها للبكاء أو الصبر على المصاب .

وقد لازم الصدق أشعار المراثي ؛ فقد سأل الأصمعي أعرابياً : " ما بال المراثي أشرف أشعاركم ؟ قال : لأننا نقولها وقلوبنا محترقة " ⁽¹⁴⁾ .

مما تقدم يؤكد أن الحزن وألم الفقد قد لازم الإنسان منذ وجوده على هذه الأرض ، فالموت نهاية ذلك الوجود ، وهذه حقيقة على إيماننا بها ، تؤجج الأحزان ، وتوقد جذوة الألام . وإزاء هذه الحقيقة لا يملك الإنسان الشاعر فيه إلا نافذة الشعر ؛ ليرسل منها

أحانه الشجية إلى من كان ملء العين ، ثم غاب ليشغل مساحة الذاكرة التي ستزف صوراً تلهب المشاعر على مر الأيام ، وإذ ما وهنت الكلمات .

يبدأ الاستفهام ، والاستنكار ، وتقريع الذات ، وحثها على معاودة البكاء ، لتبدأ العين تهمني بوابل من الدمع لإحياء ألم الفقد . فعندما ينهل الشعر من التجربة الذاتية الخاصة للشاعر ، تطفو تلك الذات ، وتتجلى عبر موضوعات شتى تتفقت من الحصر ؛ لأن المشاعر الإنسانية لا يحدها حد ، بل تتسع سعة الحياة نفسها . وهذا ما يبدو لنا من خلال قراءتنا لألم المرثي وهي عينية أبي ذؤيب الهذلي (15) التي يقول فيها (16) :

أَمِنَ الْمَنُونِ وَرَيْبِهَا تَتَوَجَّعُ وَالِدَهْرٍ لَيْسَ بِمَعْتَبٍ مِنْ يَجْرَعُ
قَالَتْ أَمِيمَةٌ مَا لِحَسْمِكَ شَاجِبًا مُنْذُ ابْتَدَلْتُ وَمِثْلُ مَالِكَ يَنْفَعُ
أَمْ مَا لِحَسْمِكَ لَا يَلَانِمُ مَضْجَعًا إِلَّا أَقْضَى عَلَيْكَ ذَاكَ الْمَضْجَعُ
فَأَجَبْتُهَا أَنْ مَا لِحَسْمِي أَنَّهُ أَوْدَى بَنِيَّ مِنَ الْبِلَادِ فَوَدَّعُوا
أَوْدَى بَنِيَّ وَأَعْقَبُونِي غَصَّةً بَعْدَ الرُّقَادِ وَعَبِيرَةٌ لَا تَقْلَعُ
سَبَقُوا هَوًى وَأَعْقَفُوا هَوَاهُمْ فَتُخْرَمُوا وَلِكُلِّ جَنْبٍ مَصْرَعُ
فَغَبِرْتُ بَعْدَهُمْ بَعِيثٍ نَاصِبٍ وَأُخَالُ أَنِّي لِأَحِقُّ مُسْتَبَعُ

المصيبة كبيرة تلك التي حلت بالشاعر ، واي مصيبة أكبر من فقد أبناء ، ودعوا في يوم واحد ، كان يعدهم لشيخوخته . يبدأ الشاعر قصيدته باستفهام تعجبي يوجهه لذاته ليحيلنا إلى الجواب في الشطر الثاني . ويحاور نفسه من خلال امرأة متخيلة ليعبر عن أحزانه ، وهذه حركة نفسية يعرفها تماماً من أمضه الفقد ، وقد جلس يقلب رأسه بين راحتيه ، يفكر بما حل به من مصاب ، لعله يصل إلى جواب شاف لما يدور في ذهنه من أسئلة .

يشكل بيته المفتاح تجسيداً للفناء على مستوى الذات ، فكل فعل يرتد إلى ذاته (أودى بنِيّ) و (أعقبوني) و (فغبرت) و (وأخال أني) ليحفر فيها عميقاً . وإذا كان أبو ذؤيب قد أباح لنفسه الحزن لمأساة الإنسان في هذه الحياة المتمثلة بالموت ، فإن الخنساء توحدت مع العدم ، ورأت الدنيا بعينيها وقد استحالت عدماً . تقول في رثاء أخيها (17) :

قَدِيَّ بَعِينِكَ أَمْ بِالْعَيْنِ عَوَارُ أَمْ ذُرْفَتْ إِذْ خَلْتِ مِنْ أَهْلِهَا الدَّارُ
كَأَنَّ عَيْنِي لِذِكْرَاهُ إِذَا خَطَرَتْ فَيُضِئُ بِسَيْلٍ عَلَى الْخَدَيْنِ مَدْرَارُ
تَبْكِي لِصَخْرٍ هِيَ الْعَبْرَى وَقَدْ وَلَّهَتْ وَدُونَهُ مِنْ جَدِيدِ التُّرْبِ أَسْتَارُ

تلقت الشاعرة على نفسها ، تبدأ مع البكاء وتنتهي إليه بحركة دائرية بما يشي بحركة سرمدية الحزن ، لذلك استدركت على نفسها عندما تساءلت هل الحزن لفتى علق بالعين ؟ لا ، لأن الفتى يمكن أن يزال أو يزول ، لأنه عارض ، أم بسبب الموت ؟ تظهر الذات بصيغ الأمر والطلب ، فهي تطلب مزيداً من الدمع والبكاء بل والجود به ، ولكن ممن تطلب ؟ إنها تطلب من ذاتها ، ولا سيما قد جردت ذاتاً أخرى توجه إليها الحديث .

ولعل التساؤل هنا جاء مكتفياً للحس الانفعالي ، وحمل رغبة عدم تصديق الواقع ، لأنها لم تترك إلى حقيقة ثابتة حول موت أخيها . لاشك في أن غرض الرثاء يتحكم في خطاب الخنساء ، ويوجه بنيته ، ويكيّف دلالاته ، ويفرض على الشاعرة ظواهرها الأسلوبية . وهذا يتجلى أيضاً في قولها (18) :

يَا عَيْنَ مَا لَكَ لَا تَبْكِينَ تَسْكَابًا إِذْ رَابَ دَهْرٌ وَكَانَ الدَّهْرُ رِيَابًا
فَابْكِي أَخَاكَ لِأَيْتَامٍ وَأَرْمَلَةٍ وَابْكِي أَخَاكَ إِذَا جَاوَرْتَ أَجْنَابًا
الْمَجْدُ حُلَّتْهُ ، وَالْجُودُ عَلَّتْهُ وَالصَّدْقُ حَوَزَتْهُ إِنْ قَرْنَهُ هَابًا

وبما أن الخنساء تتفرد بواحدية الغرض والمرثي ، فقد تجلى خطاب الذات في قصائدها . ومن هنا كان إلحاحها على البكاء ، واستدرار الدمع ، فهي تستغرب من عينها لما لا تسكب الدمع تسكاباً في بكائها ، وكأنها تريد أن تخبرنا بنضوب دمعها مع مرور الأيام ، لذلك تستنفر قواها ، بلهجة عتاب مرير ؛ فتقول : مالك؟ وفيها بعض الاستهزاء ، والتخوين ، وكأن عينها لم تخمن حجم الخطب ، والخطب جليل إذ رماها بريب دهر ، وكان ريب ذاك الدهر خص بها ، لذلك قالت : " إذ راب دهر) فريب الدهر تجلى بموت أخيها وحده ، أو لربما ريبه كله تجلى بوقعة واحدة وهي موت أخيها ، والدهر لا يؤمن جانبه . ومن شكواها ينسل الاستسلام للحزن ، واستسلام الذات موجه ، ترجمته الخنساء بصور من البكاء شتى . ولنصغ إلى عبارات التلهف والحسرة في قولها (19) :

يَا لَهْفَ نَفْسِي عَلَى صَخْرٍ وَقَدْ لَهَفْتُ وَهَلْ يَرُدُّنَّ حَبْلَ الْقَلْبِ تَلْهَيْفِي
إِبْكِي أَخَاكَ إِذَا جَاوَرْتَهُمْ سَخْرًا جُودِي عَلَيْهِ بَدْمَعٍ غَيْرِ مَنْزُوفِ

إنها في حيرة من أمرها ، تعرف عدم جدوى التلهف والبكاء من جهة ، وتعرف أنها لا تقوى على السكون من جهة أخرى ، وهذا ما جعلها تترجح تحت قوتين متنافرتين الأمر الذي جعلها متمزقة أمام الإدراك لعدم الجدوى هذه . فهل بقي لها من شيء يسليها ؟

تقضي الخنساء ليلها مؤرقة وحيدة ، فتأوي إلى صوت يشق السحر ، فتدعوه إلى سماع معاناتها ، أليس في هذا دليل على وحدتها ، وقد ملها الآخرون . وابتعدوا عن مجالس حزنها . فتقول (20) :

ألا أيُّها الديكُ المُنادي بسحرةٍ هَلُمَّ كذا أَخْبِرْكَ ما قد بدا لي
بدا لي أني قد رُزنتُ بِقَيْتِيَةٍ بَقِيَّةِ قومٍ أورثوني المَبَاكِيا
وما لي لا أبكي على مَنْ لَوْ أَنَّهُ تَقَدَّمَ يَوْمِي قَبْلَهُ لَبَكَى لِيَا

لقد أحسنت الشاعرة ربط الآخر بالذاتي من خلال الأم الذات و اجترار أحزانها ، مما عمق الأبعاد الذاتية ، ويؤكد الصدق في صيغها الباكية .

إن خطاب الخنساء موجه إلى أعماقها ، تفتش به عما يلهما السلوان أحياناً ، وتقرع نفسها إذا سلت أحياناً أخرى ، هذا الأمر جعلها موزعة بين الماضي والحاضر ، وبين البكاء والأسى ، وبين محاولة السلو .

وإذا ما نظرنا إلى خطاب الذات على أنه أقل إيلاماً حين يكون الميت آخر منفصل عن الذات ، فإن خطاب الذات إلى الذات ، أي إذا كان الرائي والمرثي واحداً ، يقطر المأ .

وتشكل قصيدة مالك بن الربيع مثالا على خطاب الذات في قصائد الرثاء ، فهي تحس آلامها ، وهي المفقودة والفاقد . يقول مالك بن الربيع (21) في رثاء نفسه (22) :

ألا ليت شعري هل أبيتن ليلَةً بوادي الغضى أُرْجِي القلاصَ النواجيا
فليت الغضى لم يقطع الركبُ عَرْضَهُ وليت الغضى ماشى الركبَ لياليا

لقد كان في أهل الغضى لو دنا الغضى مزاراً ولكن الغضى ليس دانيا
ألم ترني بعث الضلالة بالهدى وأصبحت في جيش ابن عفان غازيا
وأصبحت في أرض الأعادي بعد ما أراني عن أرض الأعادي قاصيا

إنه خطاب يرشح ألماً من رجل ملأ الدنيا صخباً زماً ، وها هو اليوم يشعر بدنو أجله ، فتغدو ليلة واحدة في بلده أمنية لا تعدلها أخرى ، ويتمنى لو بقي في بلاده ، أو لو امتدت بلاده معه إلى ما أوصلته إليه قدماء حيث أرض الأعداء . فالذات تبحث عن نفسها من خلال عرض الذكريات التي أظهرت محاولة الشاعر استنفاد وسائل التمني ؛ فتعددت لبيت وليت ، وحفرت في ذاكرتنا تلك العلاقة بين الغضا والإبل ، والغضا والركب ، والغضا وليالي الرحيل ... وهكذا إلى غير ذلك من الوسائل المتحركة (الإبل – الركب – الرحيل) مع الثابت (الغضا) الذي يتمثل بالوطن ، التي تجسد له وسائل الحياة سابقاً ، واليوم يذكرها وسيلة للعزاء فقط، ولا أدل على ذلك من ندائه لرفيقه ليسامره حول الغضا وأهله ، إذ أيقن أن لا عودة له إليه . تشكل قصيدة مالك في مجملها مناجاة نفسية تنبعث من الذات إلى الذات ، وتجلي الذات هو التعبير عن الذات فنياً وظهور خصائصها الإنسانية في التجربة الفردية لدى الفنان أو الأديب (23) ، وهذا الأمر سيؤدي إلى الكشف عن الطبيعة الشخصية لصاحب الأثر الفني (24) .

تُعد القصيدة المذكورة ملاذا لذات الشاعر ، يستجمع فيها حاله الوجدانية التي تملأ عليه حياته ، والشاعر هنا بين غيبوبة الموت وصحوته يستغرق في حاضره وماضيه معاً ، أو لنقل يتناوب في الانتقال بينهما عبر حالات نفسية متضادة تضاداً حاداً . ومالك بن الربيع وهو يصارع الموت ، وتعرض ذاته للفناء يقاوم الفناء من خلال التمسك بالماضي والبحث عن دواعي الحضور ومن ثم البقاء ، ولكن أنى له ذلك وقد بلغت الروح التراقي . يقول :

أقول وقد حالت قري الكرد بيننا جزى الله عمراً خيراً ما كان جازيا
إن الله يرجعني من الغزو لا أرى وإن قل مالي طالبا ما ورانيا
لعمري لئن غالت خراسان هامتي لقد كنت عن بابي خراسان نانيا

فإن أنج من بابي خراسان لا أعد إليها وإن منيئتموني الأمانيا

تبدأ الذات بالتعبير عن نفسها وهي في بلاد نائية ، وكأنه يُشهد الغربة على ما يقول ، ويتعهد بالعودة إلى رشده ، ويبدأ من جديد فيما لو أتيح له ذلك . فهو يحاول تأكيد ذاته ومدّها بنسج الحياة من خلال ذكر ذلك التحول الكبير في حياته ، الموقف الذي يمكن عده أكثر التصاقاً بالمجتمع ، وهو التحول من حياة التشتت والصلعكة إلى حياة الجهاد .

ويمني الشاعر نفسه بأمان كثيرة تتزاحم في أعماقه ، ويشترط لتحقيقها شرط سلامته ، ولكنه ينزع إلى تبسيطها وتقنيدها من خلال الحوار الهادئ الذي أجراه بين وبين نفسه .

ويتجلى خطاب الذات بأنصع صورها من خلال قوله :

أقلب طرفي حول رحلي فلا أرى به من عيون المونسات مراعي
وبالرمل منا نسوة لو شهدنني بكين وفدين الطبيب المداوي
فمنهن أمي وابنتاي وخالتي وباكيا أخرى تهيج البواكيا
وما كان عهد الرمل عندي وأهله نميماً ولا ودعت بالرمل قاليا

يدرك مالك بن الربيب أن الذات يبقى بلا صدى إن عزلت عن الآخرين ، لذلك يحاول البحث عما يبكي عليه ولكنه لا يجد سوى السيف والرمح والفرس، وهي الأشياء التي كان يعتمد عليها في إثبات وجوده والتأكيد على ذاته، ويرتبط بها بكل قوة ، وهذا يعني أنه بمقدار ما ترتبط الذات بالآخر ، فإنها تؤكد نفسها ، ومن هنا كان شعور الإنسان بذاته لدى شعوره بأنه محط أنظار الآخرين واهتماماتهم ، لأنه يعني ارتباطاً قوياً بهم، أو وجوداً قوياً لذواتنا ، ولذلك يمكن أن نقول إن الذات –في الأبيات السابقة- تبكي ذاتها.

ولكن الشاعر يرسم لنا صورة الفقد من خلال صورة الفرس الذي يجرّ عنانه إلى الماء :

وأشقرّ محبوباً يجرّ عنانه إلى الماء لم يترك له الموت ساقياً

التي تعبّر بشكل عجيب عن معنى انكسار الذات ، التي حملتها لفظة (يجرّ) الطافحة بمعاني الضعف والعجز. ومع وضوح فكرة الموت هنا إلا أن الشاعر أكدها بقوله "لم يترك له الموت ساقياً" ليؤكد موت الفرس، أو هو في طريقه إلى الموت. ثم يطلب من صاحبيه أن يرفعاه ليرى نجم سهيل وتقرّ عينيه به :

أقول لأصحابي ارفعوني فإنه يقرّ بعيني أن سُهَيْلٌ بَدَا لِي

ويجسد الضعف ثانية بقوله ارفعوني ، التي ثم يوصيهما بما يريد أن يفعلاه بعد موته. إنه يريد أن يرى النجم الذي كان يراه من بلاده، إن مجرد إحساسه بأنه يرى ما يراه فوقه وأهله يشعره بنوع من الارتياح، وبنوع من الارتباط بهم. وقد لا نكون مسرفين في التأويل إذا قلنا إن هذا النجم يرمز إلى مجتمع الشاعر البعيد، وما رغبة الشاعر في رؤيته سوى تعبير عن تمسكه به حتى النهاية.

والشاعر الرائي يمر بمراحل نفسية متباينة ، وفي إحداها يقترب من تجاوز المحنة ، وإذ به يستنهض جوارحه لتقيض بالحنن من جديد ، فيعيد إحياء الحدث من جديد ، وهكذا حتى تطبق دوائر الحزن على النفس ، وربما يتحول الرائي في هذه الحالات إلى رثاء للذات التي أنهكتها الفجعة ، يقول الخريمي بعد وفاة أخيه⁽²⁵⁾:

أقول لعيني إن يكن ملّ مسعدي فأيتها العين السخينة أسعدي

ولا تبخلي عيني بدمعك إنه متى تسبلي لي رقّ دمعدي وتجمدي

وكيف سلوي عن حبيب خياله أمامي وخلفي في مقامي ومقعددي

يحاور الشاعر ذاته حوار المنكسر المنقطع عن الناس ، ففي عزلته تتعاوره حالات متناقضة ، ماذا يفعل إزاء فقد أخيه ؛ هل يسلوه ؟ أيقوى على ذلك ؟ فيأتي الجواب سريعاً إنه لا يقوى على النسيان فما زال طيف الأخ يراوده أنى اتجه. وفي تراثنا الأدبي مثال على النظرة المتأنيبة العقلانية في لحظات الموت ، فيأتي خطابها منطقياً عقلاً مثلما هو حال ابن الرومي في رثاء ابنه محمد (واسطة العقد)⁽²⁶⁾:

بكاؤك ما يشفي وإن كان لا يجدي فجوداً فقد أودى نظيرك ما عندي

يشي النص بما يعانیه الشاعر إثر موت ولده ، وفيها يقدم رؤيته للحياة والموت ، إذ جعل من القصيدة رمزا للمأساة الإنسانية بالحياة. كما أنها تجسد لعبثية الحياة ، فلا جدوى منها ، لذلك يقول مع من قال بالتطهير من خلال البكاء . ومن خلال الدمع الذي هو تعبير فسيولوجي عن فاجعة الشاعر ، فمن يبكي كمن يعبر عن رفضه لما حل به ، وعن عجزه عن رده . لقد كان ابنه يمثل له سعادته بالوجود وغبطته فيه، فهو قرين عينيه يطل منهما على معالم البهجة. وإثر موته غدا الوجود أعمى، تغشى معالمه الظلمة، وهو تعبير بنوع آخر عن افتقاده هو بالذات للحياة وملذاتها وعجزه عن الفرح والسعادة في رحابها⁽²⁷⁾.

وننتقل إلى قصيدة الرثاء لدى أبي العلاء المعري⁽²⁸⁾ التي تشكل رؤية ذاتية خاصة ، فقد أراد المعري أن يتحرر من الزمن بالموت، ففي الموت حرية الإنسان من عبودية الحياة، لذلك كله لم يبك الحياة ولم يحزن لفقد عزيز ، فكان رثاؤه صادراً من العقل، موجهاً إلى العقل أي من الذات إلى الذات فعقله هو ذاته المتفردة التي وعها جيداً ؛ لذلك كان الرثاء لديه تشكيل فني متميز لرؤيته في الحياة والمصير التي تؤول إلى العدم. وغدت قصيدة الرثاء على يديه باعثاً على التأمل والفكر والبحث عن حقيقة الروح والموت بسخرية رصينة فاجعة يقول في داليته⁽²⁹⁾:

نوحُ باكٍ ولا ترنم شادٍ

غيرُ مُجدٍ في ملّتي واعتقادي

س بصوت البشير في كل نادٍ

وشبيه صوت النعي إذ قب

غنت على فرع غصنها الميادٍ

أبكت تلكم الحمامة أم

حب فأين القبور من عهد عادٍ

صاح هذي قبورنا تملأ الرُحْد

خَفِيفُ الوَطءِ ما أَظنُّ أديمَ الدِّ

أرضٍ إلا من هذه الأَجسادِ

وقبِيحِ بنا وإن قَدَّمَ العَهـ

دِهوانِ الآباءِ والأجدادِ

سِرُّ إن استطعت في الهـــــــــــــــــواءِ

لا اختيالاً على رفاتِ العبادِ

رويـــــــــــــــــدا

وتمثل الدالية أنموذجاً لقصائد الرثاء لديه، التي أسست لأفق شعري جديد، يتجلى في خروج المعري عن معايير الفن المرسومة على مستوى بنائها الفني، فقد اعتمد على التاريخ والحكاية والمقولة الفلسفية المجردة، مما جعل بنية القصيدة خليطاً من مكونات متعددة يمتزج فيها ما هو معرفي بما هو فني في علاقة جدلية تربط بين المتعة الجمالية ولذة المعرفة، لذلك تحولت بنية الشعرية لديه من بنية جمالية "تشرح بدءاً من الحساسية والانفعال إلى بنية تشرح عقلياً"⁽³⁰⁾، لأنها تعنى بالمقولات التجريدية وبالمفاهيم والموضوعات المعرفية، وهذا ما أضاف إلى مفهوم الشعر مفهوم الدالية والمقصدية. لقد افترض متلقياً على قدر كبير من النضج والرقي الفكري، ومع هذا القارئ يغدو الموضوع الجمالي مقترباً بالوظيفة المعرفية بدل الوظيفة ذات المنزع الحسي. وحرص المعري على تقديم حقائق معرفية في قصيدته الدالية وسائر قصائد الرثاء الأخرى، بدل الاهتمام بالعبارة المنطوقة وما تخلفه من نشوة وطرب، وبهذا تخرج وظيفة الشعر عما كانت عليه، حيث يصبح الشعر (لعبة معرفية) تستحضر المشاعر وعلاقاتها الخبيئة إلى حال الوعي. لم يشغل المعري بالبكاء، ولم يحصر نفسه في بؤرة تمجيد الفقيد والثناء عليه، بل رمى في كل مرثية من مرثيته إلى إظهار القيم الإنسانية الخالدة التي تمتع بها الفقيد وانعكاسها على المجتمع، انطلاقاً من مفهومه للحياة والموت (المادة والروح).

ففي قصيدته السابقة، يسمو المعري فوق المناسبة، ويتأمل في قضايا الكون، ويبدو فيها "وكانه يستشرف الحياة من أعلى قمة إنسانية و ينظر إليها نظرة شاملة يحاول من ورائها أن يستشف أسرار الكون، وأن ينفذ إلى أعماقه ليستخلص منها القوانين الثابتة التي تتحكم في الحياة، وأن ينظر من خلال رؤية فلسفية إلى قضية الموت والحياة، أو قضية الوجود والعدم"⁽³¹⁾. لقد بدأ المعري بالنفي، فقدم تجربة ذات وجه واحد، تمت واكتملت في غيبة قدرة الإنسان. فهو يتوجه المعري إلى العقل، وليس إلى العاطفة، لذلك نفى البكاء والندب ليغدو موضوع الرثاء سبيلاً إلى التفكير والتأمل، وتعبيراً ناصعاً عن حقائق الوجود والوجود، وهذا ما رفع الدالية إلى مستوى المثال الأرحب، انطلق فيها إلى آفاق إنسانية، فلم يختص الرثاء بشخص إنما كان رثاؤه - عامة - رثاء للإنسانية.

لقد ارتفع المعري عن مستوى المناسبة، فموت الفقيه الحنفي لم يحدد قيمة القصيدة، بل هو الشعر ذاته الذي أسلم للمعري قياده فسمو المعري إلى مستوى التجربة ومستوى الفن العالي، الذي يصور تجربة إنسانية عامة. فمنذ مطلع القصيدة يؤكد عدمية الحياة، ويقدم حقائق تتوالى، يفتح بعضها على بعضها الآخر، يسردها بشكل تقرير فخير عليها السكون وكأن المعري قد انطلق من هيبية الموقف إلى تخييم الوجود على الأبيات، فعبثية الحياة بوابة للولوج إلى مفهوم سر الحياة لديه، ثم صاغ رؤى ذاتية تساوت فيها الأشياء، البكاء الغناء، الموت والحياة، ولم يعين بتأمل الفرق بينهما، مما خلق ثباتاً أشبه ما يكون بعالم الحقائق الراسخة، وأخذ موقفه فيه، لذلك لا نجد قوله السابق هزيمة فهو لم يهزم، لأن الموت لديه ليس هزيمة، فهو كالحياة تماماً، بل هو بداية تأسيس لكون مقدس على الأرض يصل الإنسان بالله والأخرة. فالحياة سلسة غياب منذ عهد عاد، وسقوط الإنسان يتتالي، كل ينتظر نهايته، وفي النهاية ثبات وتعطيل لزمان الانتظار، فهو يرفض وجوداً يحدده الانتظار.

إن المعري يقبل حقيقة الموت بلا صخب ولا نوح ولا تهديد ولا وعيد، فلم يعد الرثاء فن الموت⁽³²⁾ ولغة الحزن، وإنما غدا رؤى تمثل فلسفة الحياة والموت، فالحياة بشرورها تقابل خير الموت، وهنا انتقل الصراع إلى صراع بين الخير والشر، الذي استعاض به المعري عن النظام الدلالي الذي يقوم على صراع القيم القبليّة المتمثل في ثنائية الشرف والعار. إن صراع الخير والشر لا ينتهي بأن يصرع أحدهما الآخر، بل ينتهي إلى فنائهما لأن منيعهما واحد هو نفس الإنسان. ويعري المعري جانباً من جوانب المضمحل الحزين اليائس في ذاته حين يتوجه بالنجوى إلى الحمامات الهادئة، ويحاول أن يلتمس عندها نوعاً من الود المفقود في خضم الحياة وتهالك الناس على الملذات والعيش الرغيد فهو يناشد الحمامات أن تخلع ثياب الفرح، وترتدي ثياب الحداد أبداً، وأن تشارك بالتغريد الغواني في مأتم الحزن والبكاء، ففي حال يأسه من وفاء الإنسان، مال مع الخيال إلى الحمامات، فاستعانهن على مصيبتيه، واستبكاهن لنزالته.

نَ قَلِيلِ العِزِّ بالإسعادِ

أبنات الهديل أسعدن أوعد

ويتكى المعري هنا على أسطورة قديمة تزعم أن أبا الحمام في عهد نوح، واسمه الهديل، صاده جارح من جوارح الطير، فكل غناء الحمام حتى اليوم ليس إلا بكاء عليه، ومن هنا أطلق العرب على صوت الحمام هديلاً، ولعل تكرار ذكر الحمام يؤول بنا إلى عده رمزاً أو معادلاً موضوعياً للحزن الأبدي المبني على الوفاء، وربما قصد المعري اللجوء إلى الأسطورة لاستحضار

الوفاء الغائب والحنن القائم أبداً، مما يدفعنا إلى تمثّل حالات الحمام التي تزيد الحزن حزناً بشكل يحكم إطباقه على النفس إزاء الفقد الأبدي فالحمامة لديه لم تكن باعثاً على الحزن، بل أراد بها خلق عالم الحزن المبني على الوفاء، بما تمتلكه هذه الأسطورة من قدرة إيحائية قوية، تكون في المقابل لدى المتلقي دلالة معرفية قوية مما خلق حالة إبداعية تتناغم مع جو العدمية والعبيثية في القصيدة.

ولم يعن المعري بالبكاء، ولم يستحضر الأسطورة لإثارة الدمع، ففي البكاء تطهير للنفس من أوصابها وأحزانها - كما رسخ في العرف - وإنما أراد الحزن الأبدي. ومن هنا تستدير الأبيات لتلتقي مع مطلعها القائل بعدمية الحياة. إن المعري قصد قصداً استحضار القصص التي تتيح رؤى تكمل النص الشعري وتنمه وتزيد وضوح رؤيته للحياة. إننا إزاء شاعر مشبع بإحساس الموت، فهو يصادقه ويحاوره، وكان فعله في حياته عندما اعتزل الناس، موقفاً إزاء الحياة الفانية فالموت هو الحقيقة الكونية التي آمن بها، لذلك كان "ينتحسر لكونه إنساناً يعيش سجين موته الذي يتقطر نقطه نقطة، فهو ميت قبل أن يقبر، وليست الحياة إلا موتاً يسعى الثوب الذي يلبسه الإنسان هو الكون والمنزل قبره، وعيشه موته، والموت بعثه، وهو حياته الأصلية"⁽³³⁾.

لقد استعذب المعري الموت، ففيه عودة إلى الأصل وفيه طهره وشقاؤه ودواؤه من العيش المؤلم فالحياة عبث ولهو لا طائل تحتها، لذلك انتهى إلى حقيقة أوصى بكتابتها على قبره:
هذا جناه أبي عليّ وما جنيت على أحد

وكان يقول: "أوردني أبي مورداً لا بد أن أرده، والله لا أوردته أحداً بعدي"⁽³⁴⁾ فالحياة جنائية وخطيئة، لذلك عبّر في رثائه عن الغياب الدائم للحياة، فانعدمت حركية الزمن لديه.
الخاتمة:

في ختام بحثنا لا بد من القول: لقد تقاسمت القصيدة العربية معالم الحياة، ومظاهر الموت منذ القدم، ونبضت فيها الحياة من قلب الموت ولاسيما في قصيدة الرثاء، فكان الموت موضوعاً ورؤية، اختلف فيها الشعراء، من ناحية الأفكار والتأملات، واتفقت من ناحية ما تحمله بينايبعها المتدفقة بالفقد والحزن والألم والحكمة. فأرخت لنا تمظهر الذات من جيل إلى جيل في تلك القصائد، وخطابها الخاص في لحظات الضعف الإنساني. وتبين لنا أن الرثاء ليس ندبا وعزاء وتأبيناً، بل كان تأملياً وفلسفياً وعقلياً وفق الذات الرائية ونظرتها للحياة. لذلك كان الموت في المقدمة الطللية باعثاً للحياة، وكان لدى أبي ذؤيب فناء، ولدى الخنساء عدما، ولدى مالك بن الريب انكساراً وانهزاماً، ولدى ابن الرومي بؤسا وشقاء، ولدى المعري خلاصاً. وقد حاكت أشعارهم رؤاهم المتفردة. واصطبغت بأسواق وتعبير وصيغ متنوعة، وتم تدوير الموت وتأمله في سياق الرؤية الفردية التي تعضدها التجربة الذاتية في الفقد عند كل شاعر.

هوامش البحث:

- 1- سورة الملك، الآية: 2.
- 2- ديوان امرئ القيس، ص: 8.
- 3- إجاز القرآن، الباقلائي، ص: 160.
- 4- ديوان النابغة الذبياني، ص: 75.
- 5- مقالات في الشعر الجاهلي، يوسف اليوسف، ص: 120-121.
- 6- ديوان ذي الرمة، 9:1.
- 7- الرؤية في شعر ذي الرمة، ص: 35.
- 8- أحوال النفس، رسالة في النفس وبقائها ومعادها، ابن سينا، ص: 184.
- 9- سيكولوجية الشخصية، سيد محمد غنيم، ص: 680.
- 10- معجم الأنا، أحمد حيدر، ص: 76-80.
- 11- المصطلحات الأدبية الحديثة (دراسة ومعجم إنجليزي - عربي)، محمد عناني، ص: 46.
- 12- الذات الشاعرة في شعر الحدائث العربية، عبد الواسع الحميري، ص: 12.
- 13- المعجم المفصل في اللغة والأدب، إميل بديع يعقوب - ميشال عاصي، ص: 663-664.
- 14- العقد الفريد، ابن عبد ربه، 3: 183.

15- تُعد عينية أبو ذؤيب من عيون الأدب الجاهلي ، و هي قصيدة أنشدتها بعد أن هلك له خمسة من بنيه في عام واحد، أصابهم الطاعون، و في رواية كان له تسعة شربوا من لبن ، شربت منه حية ثم ماتت فيه ، فهلكوا في يوم واحد، و أبو ذؤيب الهذلي هو خويلد ابن خالد ابن محرث ابن زبيد بن مخزوم. جاهلي إسلامي ، كان راوية لساعدة بن جوبة الهذلي، و خرج مع عبد الله بن الزبير في مغزى نحو المغرب فمات. و قيل في بعض الروايات أنه كان مسلماً على عهد رسول الله ﷺ و الذي لا خلاف فيه أنه جاهلي إسلامي ، و يقال أنه مات في أرض الروم، و دفن هناك . ينظر: الأغاني ، أبو الفرج الأصبهاني ، 6: 469-470، والعقد الفريد 3: 252.

16 - ديوان الهذليين ، 16:1 .

17- ديوان الخنساء ، ص : 38 .

18- السابق ، ص : 22-23 .

19- السابق ، ص : 69 .

20- السابق ، ص : 99 .

21- مالك بن الريب بن حوط بن قُرط بن جسل بن ربيعة ابن كابية بن حُرْقُوص بن مازن بن مالك بن عمرو بن تميم . أما سبب ذهابه إلى خراسان فهناك روايات مختلفة تحاول أن تبيّنه ، فيروى أن معاوية بن أبي سفيان استعمل سعيد بن عثمان بن عفان على خراسان، فمضى سعيد بجنده في طريق فارس، فلقبه بها مالك بن الريب المازني، وكان من أجمل الناس وجهاً، وأحسنهم ثياباً، فلما رآه سعيد أعجبه، وقال له: مالك، ويحك تفسد نفسك بقطع الطريق! وما يدعوك إلى ما يبيلغني عنك من العبث والفساد، وفيك هذا الفضل! قال: يدعوني إليه العجز عن المعالي، ومساواة ذوي المروءات، ومكافأة الإخوان، قال: فإن أنا أغنيتك، واستصحبتك، أتكف عما كنت تفعل؟ قال: إي والله أيها الأمير، أكف كفاً لم يكف أحد أحسن منه، قال: فاستصحبه، وأجرى له خمسمئة درهم في كل شهر .

وتتعدد الروايات في موته ، فيقال إن مالكا مرض عند قفول سعيد من خراسان وأراد أن يلبس خفه فإذا بأفعى في داخلها فلسعته، فلما أحسَّ الموت استلقى على قفاه وأنشد القصيدة. ويقال إنه مات في خان ، فرثته الجان لما رأت من غربته ووحده، ووضعت الصحيفة التي فيها القصيدة تحت رأسه . ينظر : مقدمة ديوان مالك بن الريب : 53- 61 .

22- ديوان مالك بن الريب ، 88-96 .

23- المعجم الأدبي ، جبور عبد النور ، ص : 116.

24- مشكلة الفن، د. زكريا إبراهيم ، ص: 42.

25- ينظر : موقع الديوان العربي ، www.aldiwanalarabi.com .

26- ديوان ابن الرومي ، 2: 624.

27- ينظر : في النقد والأدب ، العصر العباسي وقصائد محللة ، إيليا الحاوي ، 3: 158.

28- ولد أبو العلاء المعري في يوم الجمعة لثلاث بقين من شهر ربيع الأول سنة ثلاث وستين وثلاث مئة في معرة النعمان، ومات يوم الجمعة الثالث عشر من شهر ربيع الأول، سنة تسع وأربعين وأربع مئة .

نشأ ودرج يحمل مأساة أثقلت كاهله، فلّف شعره وحياته ضباب شعره وحياته ضباب كثيف من التشاوم والسخرية من الحياة والأحياء، من هنا كان شعره وحياته يفسر كل منهما الآخر، ولعلّ ترجمة يسيرة لحياته وثقافته تفسر بعض مشكلات شعره وفكره، ففي عامه الرابع رمته الأيام بأول ماخبأت له من كبار المصائب وعظام الأحداث ، حيث أصيب بالجذري فذهب بقوة الإبصار من عينيه، وهكذا تلقى الصدمة الفادحة قبل أن تستقيم خطوته على درب الوجود. وكان كل ما بقي له من ذكريات عهده بنور العين لون الثوب الأحمر الذي ألبسوه إياه في علته، وقد أدرك بعد نضجه ووعيه أن مأساة حياته كلها بدأت بتلك الأفة. وأكثر في الشطر الثاني من حياته الحديث عن محنة العمى والظلام الذي لا ينجاب، وعد من مزايا القبر أن تأمن العين المنطفئة في الثرى من عمى أو رمد. ينظر : تعريف القدماء بأبي العلاء المعري ، د. طه حسين ، مصطفى السقا، عبد الرحيم محمود، عبد السلام هارون، إبراهيم الأبياري، حامد عبد المجيد ، ص: 5 ، وتجديد ذكرى أبي العلاء المعري ، د. طه حسين ، ص : 110 .

29- شروح سقط الزند ، لأبي زكريا التبريزي والبطلبيوسي والخوارزمي ، 2 : 971-975 .

30- مقدمة للشعر العربي ، أدونيس ، ص : 32.

31 - تاريخ الشعر في العصر العباسي ، د. يوسف خليف ، ص:210.

32- الأسلوب ، دراسة بلاغية تحليلية لأصول الأساليب الأدبية ، أحمد الشايب ، ص : 86 .

33- مقدمة للشعر العربي ، ص : 62.

34- تعريف القدماء بأبي العلاء ، ص : 156.

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ملخص

أدرك علماؤنا الأجلاء أصول الخطاب ومكوناته من منطلق نظرتهم الشاملة غير التقليدية إلى الظواهر اللغوية وضوابط تفسيرها. وإن المطلع على كتب النحاة وتحليلاتهم الرصينة- لأحوال الجمل وما يطرأ عليها من ذكر وحذف، وتقديم وتأخير، وتعريف وتنكير- سيعلم يقينا أن النحاة العرب كانوا أول من نادى بعدم جواز دراسة اللغة منفصلة عن سياقات استعمالها، وحتمية فحص ملابسات الاتصال فيها. كما اشتروا أن يتم التواصل في إطار النصوص لا المفردات أو الجمل فحسب، وكانت لهم إشارات ناصعة. وإننا لسنا بصدد التحقق من مبادئ الوظيفية في التراث اللغوي العربي وهو أمر مفروغ منه. فقد لاحظ المتقديون ارتباط اللغة بمحيطها الخارجي، وأن وصف الظواهر النحوية والتحليلات اللغوية المرتبطة بها لن يكتمل بدونها؛ لذا تعاملوا مع المتون اللغوية بوصفها نشاطا اتصاليا حيا، يخضع لمحيطه وظروفه، بما يحويه من شخوص وأحداث. وستسلك الدراسة مسلكا وصفيا تحليليا، يستفيد من معطيات التحليل اللساني التداولي وما يقترحه من تجاوز دلالة الجملة إلى دلالة الخطاب بكل مكوناته من: لغة ومقاصد وسياق وشروط تلق، بهدف إثبات أهم خطوة نوعية ناصعة تجاه وصف الواقع اللغوي، وفق طبيعة ممارسته وحدود اشتغاله، ومنطق استخدامه بين المتحدثين به. وأن نظرتهم للظواهر اللغوية لم تكن تقليدية، بل حازت مرتبة متقدمة على سلم المعرفة اللسانية الاجتماعية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التبليغ- القصيدة- الإفادة - الحال المشاهدة.

مقدمة

فطن لغويو العرب مبكرا إلى عدم جواز دراسة اللغة بمعزل عن سياق إرسائها. وإنَّ المطلع على مصنفاتهم وتحليلاتهم الرصينة سيعلم يقينا أنهم كانوا أول من نادى بحتمية فحص ملابسات الاتصال، واشتروا أن يكون التواصل في إطار النصوص، لا المفردات أو الجمل فحسب، كما رأوا ضرورة أخذ أغراض المتكلمين وأحوال المخاطبين بعين الاعتبار. وكانوا على وعي كاف بتأثير تلك العوامل السياقية في عناصر التراكيب ودلالاتها. وكانت لهم إشارات ناصعة في هذا المضمار، في "معرض الكلام عن الفهم والإفهام أو لردِّ ما يعرض في بناء المادة اللغوية من ظواهر مخالفة إلى أصول النظام النحوي طلبا للاطراد المحكم، أو في الحكم على ما يجوز وما لا يجوز من التراكيب... أو غير ذلك مما يكون في إطار الحرص على اللغة في مستواها العادي المؤلف الموصل إلى فهمها وتعلمها" (السيد، 2004، 140).

كذلك أدرك علماؤنا الأجلاء أصول الخطاب ومكوناته من منطلق نظرتهم الشاملة غير التقليدية إلى الظواهر اللغوية وضوابط تفسيرها. فترى المحدثون يؤكدون أنه "لم يكن كل النحاة العرب بعيدين عن دراسة المعاني في تحليلهم للجمل، بل إن منهم من كان على صلة وثيقة بمعاني الكلام، وأغراض الأساليب ومقاصدها، وبطرق الاستعمال اللغوي وأحواله، وبطبيعة العلاقة بين المتكلمين والمخاطبين، وبملابسات الخطاب ودلالاته وأغراضه. ولم يكن نحوهم كله شكليا خالصا... بل لعل من مظاهر العبقرية عند بعضهم أنهم لم يفهموا من اللغة أنها منظومة من القواعد المجردة فحسب، وإنما فهموا منها أيضا أنها لفظ معين، يؤديه متكلم معين، في مقام معين؛ لأداء غرض تواصلية إبلاغي معين. ولذلك جعلوا من أهداف الدراسة النحوية إفادة المخاطب معنى الخطاب وإيصال رسالة إبلاغية إليه" (صحراوي، 2005، 174). لذلك تراهم "اصطلحوا على المتكلم، والمخاطب، والخطاب، والتخاطب، وحال الخطاب، ومقتضى الحال، والمقام، والوضع، والمواضع، والحديث، والمحدث عنه، والمحدث به... وغير ذلك من المصطلحات المتعلقة بظواهر التبليغ" (إبرير، 2003، 42-43).

وهم قد صنعوا ذلك وإن لم ينصوا عليه أحيانا، وهناك من يؤكد ذلك بقوله: تناول النحاة بنية النصوص والخطابات بوصفها نشاطا إنسانيا، يلقيه الفرد لكي

يتفاعل مع محيطه وظروفه، كما فطنوا إلى أن الكلام له وظيفة ومعنى في عملية التواصل الاجتماعي، وأن هذه الوظيفة وذاك المعنى لهما ارتباط وثيق بسياق الحال أو المقام، وما فيه من شخوص وأحداث. ظهر هذا كله في دراستهم وإن لم ينصوا عليه مبدأ من مبادئ التقعيد، أو أصلا من أصول نظريتهم اللغوية (بشر، 1994، 66). وأشار آخر إلى أن سيبويه خير ذلك المنحى الوظيفي وركّنه حين لم يستقم معيار الصلاحية والقبول عنده بغير مطابقة معايير الاستعمال اللغوي وشروطه، فيقول: "وسيبويه قد استند في أحكامه إلى بنية لسانية متينة، تعي الفارق بين مدلول اللفظ وبين منطق استعماله وإفادته داخل الخطاب" (صالح، 19، 1993).

أسباب الدراسة

- [1] إن الجانب الوظيفي من النظام اللغوي هو الأجدر بالفحص والدرس، ولعمري إن الدراسة اللسانية الحقيقية تُتقدّم ذاك الجانب الوظيفي على غيره.
- [2] إذا كانت الوظيفية تُعنى بالربط بين شكل الخطاب وصيغته من جهة، وبين ملاسبات الخطاب وأغراضه من جهة أخرى (صحراوي، 2003، 16)، فإن لغويي العرب كانوا يستهدفون دراسة اللغة ومقاربتها وظيفيا، تمثّل ذلك في آرائهم وجهودهم التحليلية واحتجاجاتهم ومقولاتهم. هذا وتفيض كتبهم بال نماذج التحليلية، التي تعكس مقدرتهم وإمكاناتهم، مما يؤكد مسعاهم اللساني الوظيفي.

مقاصد الدراسة

- [1] تسليط الضوء على إسهامات العلماء العرب في مجال التبليغ اللغوي، وجهدهم الواعي في تقديم توجيهات أصيلة تسهم في تفسير الخطاب اللغوي، لاسيما أن إشاراتهم الناصعة تدل على تنبهم إلى ذلك، مما له من أهمية في تفسير الخطابات والملفوظات.
- [2] إثبات أن المنتج اللغوي الوظيفي للمتقدمين قد فارق حد الإرهاصات إلى الإدراك اللازم، والتوجيهات الناصعة. فتوجيهاتهم التي بثوها في معية الملفوظات، وفي بنيتها العميقة حققت الانسجام والتطابق بين بنية ظاهر النص وعميقها.
- [3] تعيين نقاط التقاطع بين الأنظار اللغوية العربية القديمة - التي عُنت بتفسير النص القرآني وتفطّن أصحابها إلى وجوه بيانه وإعجازه - وبين المفاهيم اللسانية النصبية الحديثة، لاسيما ما يلابس منها الخصائص غير اللغوية للنصوص والخطابات، أي ما يتصل بالتداول والسياق وبيئة التنزيل ومناسبه.

الدراسات السابقة

أقام المتقدمون غالب تفسيراتهم ومعالجاتهم على مبادئ الاستعمال اللغوي وضوابطه. والظاهر أنهم لم يكونوا يتوقفون عن تتبع سياقات الخطابات والعوامل المصاحبة للإرسال، بل إنهم كانوا يتخطون حدود المباني مفترضين مواقفها المصاحبة، ومستندين إليها في ردّ جملة جائزة تركيبيا، مردودة وفقا لسياق إطلاقها. وكان ذلك ملحظا أساسيا في كثير من الدراسات، تأتي على رأسها دراسات تمام حسان، وأحمد سليمان باقوت، ونهاد الموسى. وإن كانت دراسات نهاد الموسى (نظرية النحو العربي في ضوء مناهج النظر اللغوي الحديث)، وبجته (الوجهة الاجتماعية في منهج سيبويه في كتابه)، وبجته (منزلة السياق في نظرية النحو العربي)، تدور حول سياق الحال أو اللسانيات الاجتماعية في كتاب سيبويه وغيره من الكتب التراثية، ومنها دور المخاطب في بناء التراكيب النحوية. فكان اهتمام المتقدمين بالسالف بالسياق ملحظا أساسيا في كثير من الدراسات، التي انبرت لمهمة إيجاد وثيق الصلة بين نظراتهم اللغوية الناقبة وبين ما أنتجته الدراسات الغربية في المضمار نفسه، ومحاولين الربط بين الدراسات الكلاسيكية العربية وغيرها. ومن تلك الدراسات:

- إدريس مقبول (الأسس الإستمولوجية والتداولية للنظر النحوي عند سيبويه)، وقد انطلقت الدراسة من فرضية أن سيبويه معتزلي المذهب، تبنى أصولهم ومنهجهم الفكري، وظل ينافح عنهما في مصنفه الكتاب، فهو لا يني يطبق أصولهم ومعتقداتهم من خلال نظراته اللغوية ومعالجاته النحوية. لذا انطلق المؤلف ينسج الدقائق والتفاصيل التي تؤيد ظنه حتى قر في نفسه أن سيبويه - من خلال مصنفه - لا يني يطبق أصولهم ومعتقداتهم من خلال نظراته اللغوية ومعالجاته النحوية. وإن كان ذلك لا يمنع من أن الكتاب قد حوى مباحث خطابية تداولية قيمة.
- حازم سليمان الحلي، (ابن جني وأثره في البحث اللغوي الغربي). تتبع أثر أفكار أبي الفتح في البحث اللغوي الغربي، ومظهرها موقف علم اللغة الحديث من أفكاره. وهي دراسة مختصرة، مدونتها كتاب الخصائص، قدم المؤلف فيها بعض العناوين الغربية التي كشفت النقاب عن جهود أبي الفتح الناصعة.

■ مُجَّد وليد حافظ، قراءة في فكر ابن جني من خلال الخصائص على ضوء علم اللغة الحديث. فَصَّلَ فيها الحديث في الانتقادات الموجهة إلى أبي الفتح، وخصوصا ادعاء اضطراب الرؤية اللغوية عنده، وخلطه ما هو نحوي بما هو منطقي، وذلك من خلال العودة إلى مباحث علم اللغة العام، لكي يقارن بين إسهامات أبي الفتح وبين مقولات علماء اللغة في العصر الحديث، ومنطلقا منه إلى بيان التقاطعات بين رؤية ابن جني ومباحث علم اللغة العام في النظريات اللغوية المعاصرة من واقع كتابه الخصائص. وكان مما انتهى إليه: "فانقسم علم اللغة إلى فرعين: علم لغة تعاقبي (تطوري)، وعلم لغة تزامني (سكوبي) موضحة إحداهما الأخرى. وينطبق هذا التقسيم السوسوري على اختصاص ابن جني بالدراسة التطورية للغة، واختصاص الإمام الجرجاني بالدراسة التزامنية لها في دلائل الإعجاز. وتتضمن الدراسات في مدرسة واحدة يطلق عليها مدرسة أبي علي الفارسي"، ص(73).

■ هيثم مُجَّد مصطفى، ملامح من النظرية الوظيفية التواصلية عند ابن جني في كتابه الخصائص، استخلص من خلالها أفكارا وظيفية في فكر ابن جني، ومنتها إلى أن بنية الأقوال عنده تتحدد دلالاتها بين محتواها الوظيفي وسياقها التواصلية. إلا أن إطلالة البحث كانت سريعة عن أن تكشف عمق التحليل أو أن تبرز الأبعاد الوظيفية التي تجعل الرجل صاحب بعد وظيفي في تناول اللغوي.

منهج الدراسة وأدواتها

يروم راقم هذه السطور فحص الجوانب التبليغية التي تنبأها المتقدمون وهم بصدد التعامل مع الظواهر اللغوية، لاسيما أن مقارباتهم كانت تدعو إلى تدويب المسافة بين مكونات النظام اللغوي، وتلح على الانصهار والتفاعل فيما بينها، فجاءت نظرتهم كلية شاملة. أضف إلى ذلك اعتدائهم بفحص العلاقة بين العرف اللغوي - بوصفه معيارا ضابطا - وبين مطالب السياق الاستعمالي، ولم ينجح تجاه مسالك التأويل فيعمد إلى الإضرار والاستتار، وغيرهما من الفرضيات، لرأب الصدع بين واقع الاستخدام الشائع على ألسنة المستعملين وبين القواعد والأحكام، مما يفتح بابا للتصورات الذهنية والتأويلات لا نهاية له. وتمتج الدراسة مهامها ومكوناتها من معطيات المنهج الوصفي وإجراءاته. إذ سيقوم الباحث باستقراء جوانب محددة من مصنفاتهم، دارسا إياها ومجلا، وصارفا همته إلى تحديد نظرتهم الكلية من خلال خطاباتهم، ومنه إلى إثبات أهم لم يكونوا - وهم بصدد وصف القضايا اللغوية وتفسيرها - منصرفين عن مقامات إنجازها، وضوابط إرسائها اللغوية والمعرفية بل قل إن شئت سماتها الشكلية أو الصورية جنبا إلى خصائصها التداولية.

إشكالية الدراسة: تناقض الدراسة عدة إشكالات، هي على النحو الآتي:

- [1] هل أدرك لغويو العرب ذاك المنحى التبليغي في الخطاب اللغوي وانتبهوا إليه؟
- [2] إذا كانوا قد أدركوه وزكوه، فهل وجهوا إليها وأشاروا، وتعاطوه في مصنفاتهم؟
- [3] إلى أي مدى أصابت إشاراتهم في تحقيق مرادهم والوفاء بمقاصدهم؟
- [4] هل ترقى توجيهاتهم وإشاراتهم إلى حد إنجازات الدرس اللساني الحديث، بمعنى آخر: هل قَدَّموا المفاهيم الضابطة محكمة بعدد من المبادئ الضابطة، الموثقة قواعديا.

(أولا) التماس الواقع اللغوي وتحري معهود الخطاب

من الأمور الجديدة بالنظر في التحليل اللغوي التكاملي أن "الناظر في اللغة على وجه التعقيد والوصف والتفسير ينتهي بالضرورة إلى اعتبار المتغيرات الخارجية التي تكتنف المادة اللغوية واستعمالاتها" (الموسى، 1974، 324). ولقد كانت نصوص المتقدمين تشير إشارات ناصعة إلى اتصالهم بالواقع الاستعمالي - إبان معالجتهم اللغوية - واحتكامهم بل انخيازهم إليه، وتفطنهم إلى اجتماعية الانتاج اللغوي واحتفائهم به فوق تقديرات النحاة وتحريجاتهم، مقررّين سريان الأحكام وجرياتها على ما أجرته العرب، حفيين باستعمالاتهم في مواطن كثيرة.

فقد انحاز المتقدمون إلى واقع الاستعمال اللغوي واحتفوا به حين تعارض مع خطاب التعقيد المفترض سلفا، مقررّين جريان الأحكام وفق المعهود من خطاب تَبَّأ [، و] ويخ له وتبَّ [العرب، ومنه قول سيبويه في باب منه استكرهه النحويون وهو قبيح، فوضعوا الكلام فيه على غير ما وضعت العرب: "وذلك قولك . فجعلوا التَبَّ بمنزلة الويح، وجعلوا ويخ بمنزلة التَبَّ، فوضعوا كل واحد منهما على غير الموضع الذي وضعته العرب. ولا بد لويح مع قبحها من [لك وويحًا ، ثم [ويخ له [أن تحمّل على تَبَّ؛ لأنها إذا ابتدئت لم يجر حتى يُبنى عليها كلام، وإذا حملتها على النصب كنت تبنيها على شيء مع قبحها. فإذا قلت: ، فأجريتها على ما [وتبنا لك]، فإنما قطعناها من أول الكلام كأنك قلت: [لك] إذا نصبتها فهي مستغنية عن ألحقها التَبَّ، فإن النصب فيه أحسن؛ لأن تَبَّأ أجزتها العرب" (الكتاب، 334/1).

؟ [ضربت أخوك؟] فقال: كذاك، فقلت: أفتقول: [ضربت أخاك] وفي ذلك يقول ابن جني: "سألت الشجري يوماً، فقلت: يا أبا عبد الله، كيف تقول: أبدا؟ فقال: أيش ذا؟! [أخوك؟] فقال: كذاك، فقلت: ألسنت زعمت أنك لا تقول [ضربي أخوك] أبداً، فقلت: فكيف تقول [أخوك] فقال: لا أقول، قال: [سِرْحَانَا]، قلت: ف [دكاكين]، فقال: [دُكَّانَا] اختلفت جهتا الكلام" (الخصائص 250/1). ومنه كذلك: "وسألته يوماً، فقلت له: كيف تجمع إنساناً، قال: أَيْشٍ عَثَامِينَ! رأيت عثامين]، فقلت له: هلا قلت أيضاً [عثمانون]، قال: [عثمان]، قلت: ف [فَرَطَيْن]، قال: [فُرْطَانَا]، قلت: ف [سراحين] يتكلم بما ليس من لغته، والله لا أقولها أبداً" (السابق 242/1).

كذلك مالوا إلى التماس أمثلة واقعية قريبة المأخذ بهدف تقريب الظاهرة من نفوس المتعلمين ورؤاهم. ومنه ما أورده أبو الفتح في باب القول على البناء ولزوم أواخر الكلمات ضرباً واحداً من السكون أو الحركة، فقال: "وكأنهم إنما سموه بناءً؛ لأنه لما لزم ضرباً واحداً، فلم يتغير تغير الإعراب، سمي بناءً، من حيث كان البناء لازماً موضعه، لا يزول من مكان إلى غيره. وليس كذلك سائر الآلات المنقولة المبتذلة: كالحَيِّمة، والمِظلة، والفُسطاط، والسُرَّادق، ونحو ذلك" (السابق 37/1).

كما التفتوا إلى البنية المعلوماتية في مقابل الصفة القواعدية للجملة أو الخطاب، ورسدوا تأثير العوامل الخارجية في الترتيب المحايد أو الأصولي لمكوناته وفقاً لمؤثرات خارجية تتصل بالمتكلم أو سياق الإرسال اللغوي. وهو مبدأ طبقه سيبويه بصدده حديثه عن جواز تقديم المفعول على الفاعل في قولك **ضرب عبد الله زيداً**: "فإنَّ قدمت المفعول وأخرتَ الفاعلَ جرى اللفظُ كما جرى في الأول، وذلك قولك: ضربَ زيداً عبدُ الله؛ لأنك إنما أردتَ به مؤخراً ما أردتَ به يقدمون [إنما] مقدِّماً، ولم تردْ أن تشغَلِ الفعلَ بأولٍ منه، وإن كان مؤخراً في اللفظ. فمن ثم كان حد اللفظ أن يكون فيه مقدماً، وهو عربي جيد كثير، كأنهم الذي بيانه أهمُّ لهم، وهمُ بيانه أعمى، وإن كانا جميعاً يُهَمَّانِهِم وَيَعْنِيانِهِم" (الكتاب 34/1). ويؤكد المبدأ ذاته في موضع تقديم المفعول على الفعل: "وإن قدمت الاسم فهو عربي جيد، كما كان ذلك عربياً جيداً، وذلك قولك: زيداً ضربتُ، والاهتمامُ والعنايةُ هنا في التقديم والتأخير سواءً، مثله في: ضربتُ زيداً عمراً، وضربتُ عمراً زيداً" (الكتاب 80/1 - 81).

كذلك عالج سيبويه ظاهرة الاختزال الكلامي في إطار الإفادة وأمن اللبس، ويقصد به وقوف المخاطب على غرض محدثه دون لبس أو سوء فهم (الحياشة، 2008، 48). أما المخاطب فينبغي له أن يجتاز الفجوات البلاغية والانقطاعات بأمان، من خلال التفاهم الذي هو "بمثلة المعيار الضابط لطاقة الاختزال أو التصريح في الكلام" (المسدي، 1986، 332). والمتكلم عنده لم يكن ليلجأ إلى اختزال خطابه لو لم يكن وثاقاً من قدرة المخاطب على تخطي تلك الفراغات ليفهم كلامه على وجه المقصود، ولذلك تلقانا مقولات واعية من قبيل: "وإنما صار الإضممار معرفة؛ لأنك إنما تُضْمِر اسماً بعد ما تعلم أن يُجَدِّث قد عرف من تعني وما تعني، وأنتك تريد شيئاً يعلمه"، «واعلم أن المضممر لا يكون موصوفاً، من قبل أنك إنما تُضْمِر حين ترى أن المحدث قد منَّ عرف من تعني" (الكتاب، 6/2 - 11/2).

وبسبب أمن اللبس يأتي الاختزال؛ طلباً للخفة، ولكونه من المعلومات بالضرورة، والمبدأ آنذاك: لو اعترى الخطاب حذف أو نقصان، فالأمر مرده إلى نوايا المتحدث وفطنة سامعه: "تقول إذا كان غداً فأتني، وإذا كان يوم الجمعة فالتقي، فالفعل لغدٍ واليوم، كقولك: إذا جاء غداً فأتني. وإن شئت قلت: إذا كان: إذا كان ما نحن عليه من السلامة أو كان ما نحن عليه من البلاء في غداً فأتني، ولكنهم [له] غداً فأتني، وهي لغة بني تميم، والمعنى أنه لقي رجلاً فقال أضمروا استخفافاً". ومنه قوله: "مررت برجلين مسلم وكافر، جمعت الاسم وفرقت النعت،. وإن شئت كان المسلم والكافر بدلاً، كأنه أجاب من قال: بأي ضرب مررت؟ وإن شاء رفع كأنه أجاب من قال: فما هما؟ فالكلام على هذا وإن لم يلفظ به المخاطب؛ لأنه إنما يجري كلامه على قدر مسألتك عنده لو سألته". «وسألت الخليل عن قوله جل ذكره (حتى إذا جاؤوها وفتحت أبوابها) أين جواها؟ وعن قوله جل وعلا (ولو يرى الذين ظلموا إذ في كلامهم؛ لعلم المخبر لأبي شيء وضع هذا [الجواب] [يرون العذاب])، (ولو ترى إذ وقفوا على النار)، فقال: إن العرب قد تترك في مثل هذا الخبر الكلام" (الكتاب، 224/1 - 431/1 - 103/3).

ثم إنك تجد سيبويه يصل خطابه إذا لمح فيه انقطاعاً؛ لكي يتخطى بالمستمع ذاك الفراغ: "وأما الذي يجيء مبتدأ فقول الشاعر وهو مُهَلِّهْلٍ [ولقد خَبَطُنْ بُيُوتَ يَشْكُرُ خَبَطَةً] ❀ أخواننا وهمُ بنو الأعمام]، كأنه حين قال: خَبَطُنْ بيوت يشكر، قيل له: وما هم؟ فقال: أخواننا، وهم بنو الأعمام. وقد يكون مررت بعبد الله أخوك، كأنه قيل له: من هو؟ أو من عبد الله؟ فقال: أخوك". ومنه: "قال الفرزدق [ورثتُ أبي أخلاقه عاجل القري] ❀ وعَبَطُ المهاري كُومها

وَسُبُّوْهَا] كأنه قيل له: أيُّ المهاري؟ فقال: كَوْمُهَا وَسُبُّوْهَا. وتقول: مررتُ برجلٍ الأسدِ شِدَّةً، كأنك قلت: مررتُ برجلٍ كاملٍ؛ لأنك أردت أن ترفع شأنه". ومنه ما جاء في معرض حديثه عن أسماء السور: "تقول: هذه هودٌ- كما ترى - إذا أردت أن تحذف سورة من قولك: هذه سورة هود، فيصير هذا كقولك: هذه تميمٌ... وأما نوح فيمنزلة هود، تقول: هذه نوحٌ، إذا أردت أن تحذف سورة من قولك: هذه سورة نوح. ومما يدلُّك على أنك حذفْتَ سورة قولهم: هذه الرحمن، ولا يكون هذا [أبداً] إلا وأنت تريد سورة الرحمن" (الكتاب، 16، 17/2 - 16، 17/2 - 17، 16/2 - 17، 16/2).

لا اثنين العدد في الرجل: أتاني رجلٌ - يريد واحداً وقد تكون افتراضات المستمع محدداً رئيساً لوجهة الخطاب، فهي تروم بقاء التفاهم بينهما موصولاً: "يقول أي امرأة أتتكَ، ويقول: أتاني اليوم رجلٌ - أي في قوته رجلٌ، امرأة، فيقال ما أتاك أي أتاك أكثر من ذلك، أو يقول: أتاني رجلٌ لا - فيقال: ما أتاك رجلٌ، لهذا كله" (الكتاب، 55/1). عاماً [الضعفاء. فإذا قال: ما أتاك أحدٌ، صار نفيًا أي: أتاك ونفاذه - فتقول: ما أتاك رجلٌ،

وقد درج سيبويه على سبر الأبعاد التلميحية داخل الخطابات، وهي الأبعاد التي تفرزها بنيتها اللغوية، وكان الحوار مؤسس علي ما يقتضيه سياق التراكيب. ، وإنما هذا أنك [وقيسياً أخرى أقيمياً مرة] وما دام الخطاب لا يسرى وفق نمط الإرسال المعتاد فمرد الأمر إلى نية المتحدث وفطنة المستمع. وذلك قولك وقيسياً أخرى، كأنك قلت: أتحوَّلُ تيمياً مرة وقيسياً أخرى. فأنت في هذه الحال تعملُ في تثبيت هذا له، رأيتَ رجلاً في حال تلُّون وتنفُّل فقلت: أقيمياً مرة تلُّون وتنفُّل، وليس يسأله مسترشداً عن أمر هو جاهل به ليُفهِمَهُ إياه ويخبره عنه، ولكنه ويخبره بذلك". أيضاً: "ومثل ذلك وهو عندك في تلك الحال في في لغة أهل الحجاز: مررتُ بهم ثلاثتهم وأربعتهم، وكذلك إلى العشرة. وزعم الخليل رحمه الله أنه إذا نصَّب ثلاثتهم فكأنه يقول: مررتُ بهمؤلاء فقط، لم أجاوز هؤلاء. كما أنه إذا قال: وحده، وإنما يريد: مررتُ به فقط لم أجاوزه" (الكتاب، 343/1 - 343/1 - 374).

ثانياً) الاعتماد بالمكون الالكلامي، وتحزي الحال المشاهدة في خطاب التفسير اللغوي

يمكننا الجزم أن معالجة المتقدمين للمتون اللغوية لم تكن لتتفصل وهلة عن سياق إرسالها، وبما يجويه الموقف من أبعاد زمكانية، وسياق بصري وحركي، فلطالما تخطوا مبنى الخطاب إلى ظروف إرساله، وامتدت عنايتهم لتطال المكونات الخارجية، حاشدين الأدوات والوسائل التي تضمن لهم محاكاة واقعية لظروف إرسال الخطاب فيما يطلق عليه المسرح اللغوي. ومنه عند سيبويه: "ذلك قولك إذا رأيت رجلاً متوجهاً وجهة الحاج، قاصداً في هيئة الحاج، فقلت: مكة ورب الكعبة، حيث زكيت أنه يريد مكة، كأنك قلت: يريد مكة والله. ويجوز أن تقول: مكة والله، على قولك: أراد مكة والله... أو رأيت رجلاً يُسدِّدُ سهماً قبل القرطاس، فقلت: القرطاس والله، أي يُصيب القرطاس. وإذا سمعت وقع السهم في القرطاس قلت: القرطاس والله، أي أصاب القرطاس. ولو رأيت ناساً الهلال. أو رأيت ضرباً فقلت على وجه التفاؤل: عبد الله، أي يقع بعبد الله، ينظرون الهلال وأنت منهم بعيد، فكبروا، لقلت: الهلال ورب الكعبة، أي أبصروا ببع المصلّي لا عهد ولا عقد، وذلك إن كنت في حال مساومة وحال بيع، فتدع: أباعك؛ استغناء لما فيه من [أو بعبد الله يكون]. ومنه كذلك: "ومثله الحال" (الكتاب، 257/1 - 272/1).

متصرف رويد: "ومن ذلك قولك للرجل تراه يعالج شيئاً: رويداً، إنما تريد: وعن تحكيم البعد المكاني وهيئة التخاطب في كتاب سيبويه، يقول صاحبه في باب علاج رويداً. فهذا على وجه الحال، إلا أن يظهر الموصوف، فيكون على الحال وغير الحال. واعلم أن رويداً تلحقها الكاف، وهي في موضع أفعال، وذلك قولك: رويدك زيدا، ورويدكم زيدا. وهذه الكاف التي لحقت رويداً إنما لحقت لتبين المخاطب المخصوص؛ لأن رويداً تقع للواحد والجمع، والذكر والأنثى، وإنما أدخل الكاف حين خاف التباس من يعني بمن لا يعني، وإنما حذفها في الأول استغناء بعلم المخاطب أنه لا يعني غيره. فلحاق الكاف كقولك: يا فلان، للرجل حتى يقبل عليك، وتركها كقولك للرجل: أنت تفعل، إذا كان مُقبِلاً عليك بوجهه، منصتاً لك" (الكتاب، 244/1).

فالعلاج لم تنطلق سيبويه من واقع تركيبى يتعلق بمبنى كلمة من جهة الزيادة والنقصان، وإنما انطلقت من واقع العلاقة بين المتكلم والمستمع، بل من الواقع الاجتماعي وما يمليه من أن الكاف تلحق كلمة (رويد) أو لا تلحقها وفقاً لوضعية المخاطب، بمعنى أنه لو كان التخاطب وجهاً لوجه، فلا داعي لوجود الكاف، واكتفي ب (رويد). فإذا كان المخاطب فرداً في جماعة وأراد المتكلم تنبيهه بعينه كان وجود الكاف ضرورياً؛ مخافة اللبس وكان ضرورياً أن يلحق الكاف بها.

حاز المتقدمون سبق في ابتكار الحال المشاهدة. وأنت تلحظ على الدوام تحزيهم معانية وضعية الإرسال، وتسجيل مفرداته وملابساته، مما يسهم في غلق دائرة الاتصال وتخطي فجواته البلاغية، وإدراك قصود المتحدثين وتوخي أغراضهم على الوجه الأوفى. وهو حريص على ذلك أشد الحرص.

ومنه تطرق سيبويه إلى عادة القوم في الاجتماع إلى القادم من السفر والاستماع منه، نحو ما ورد في باب ما جرى من الأمر والنهي على إضمار الفعل المستعمل إظهاره: "أو رأيت رجلاً يُحدِّث حديثاً فقطعه، فقلت: حديثك، أو قَدِمَ رجلاً من سفر فقلت: حديثك". أيضاً قوله: "واعلم أن هذه الأشياء لا ينفرد منها شيء دون ما بعده، وذلك أنه لا يجوز أن تقول: كلمته فاه حتى تقول: إلى فيء؛ لأنك إنما تريد مشافهة، والمشافهة لا تكون إلا من اثنين، فإنما يصح المعنى إذا قلت: إلى فيء، ولا يجوز أن تقول: بايعته يداً؛ لأنك إنما تريد أن تقول: أخذ مني وأعطاني، فإنما يصح المعنى إذا قلت: بيد؛ لأنهما عمالان". مُقَدِّمٌ (الكتاب، 1/253 - 270/1 - ومنه كذلك: «ومما يتنصب على إضمار الفعل المستعمل إظهاره، أن ترى الرجل قد قَدِمَ من سفر فتقول: خَيْرٌ (392/1).

، لِبُعْدِ [ع ق ر]، فلو ذهبت تشتق هذا، بأن تجمع بين معنى الصوت وبين معنى [قد رفع عقيرته] [ولابن جني: "ألا ترى إلى قولهم للإنسان إذا رفع صوته: عنك وتَعَسَّفَتْ. وأصله أن رجلاً قطعت إحدى رجله، فرفعها ووضعها على الأخرى، ثم صرخ بأرفع صوته، فقال الناس: رفع عقيرته" (الخصائص/66/1).

فلو قال حاكيا عنها: [أبعلي هذا بالرحى المتقاعس! ♦ تقول - وصكت وجهها بيمينها - [وطالع إن شئت أداءه الوصفي الشارح: «ألا ترى إلى قوله: غلِم [وصكت وجهها] [أبعلي هذا بالرحى المتقاعس، من غير أن يذكر صكَّ الوجه، لأعلمنا بذلك أنها كانت متعجبة منكراً، لكنه لما حكى الحال فقال: بذلك قوة إنكارها، وتعاطف الصورة لها. هذا مع أنك سامع لحكاية الحال، غير مُشَاهِد لها، ولو شاهدتها لكنت بما أعرف، ولعظمت الحال في نفس تلك المرأة أبين. وقد قيل ليس المخبر كالمعائن" (السابق/1-245 - 246).

. لو نَقَل [قلنا لها قفي لنا قالت قاف] وعلى الجانب الآخر حين يأتي الخطاب مفتقداً لبنية وصفية شارحة، تجد أبا الفتح ناقداً لغويًا: «وكذلك قول الآخر: لكان أبين لِمَا كانوا عليه، [وعاجته علينا] أو [وأمسكت بزمام بعيرها]، [قالت قاف] [الشاعر شيئاً آخر من جملة الحال، فقال - مع قوله - إلينا هذا وهو إذا شاهدتها وقد وقفت متعجبة منه. [لنا! يقول لي: قفي، أي: قفي لنا!]، دون أن يُظن أنها أرادت: [توقفت] أو [وقفت] وأدلى على أنها أرادت: " (السابق/1-245 - 246). [قفي لنا] وتعجب منه في قوله إجابة له، لا ردَّ لقوله [قاف] [علم أن قولها

✚ (ثالثاً) القصديّة

لا يكون الكلام كلاماً حقا حتى تحصل من الناطق إرادة واعية في توجيهه إلى آخر غيره، وما لم تتولد لديه تلك الإرادة فلن يكون متكلماً حقا، حتى ولو صادف خطابه حضوراً يتلقفونه (عبد الرحمن، 1998، 214). ومفهوم القصد أصيل في الدراسات التداولية بوصفه "الغرض الذي يبتغيه المتكلم من الخطاب، والفائدة التي يرجو إبلاغها للمخاطب، فلن يكون هناك نص، ولا خطاب دون قصد، وهذا نفسه ما يركز عليه المعاصرون حين يرفعون من شأن القصديّة" (صحراوي، إنترنت).

هذا ويمكن التماس فطنة لغويينا العرب إلى تحري دلائل القصديّة، فقد وجه سيبويه عنايته إلى تحري مقاصد المتكلمين وما يكتنفها من قرائن، ولم يفته "أن أي استعمال يُتكلم به إنما يلوّح عن قصديّة يرومها من ذلك الاستعمال" (الخفاجي، 2011، 188).

ومن أمثلة سيبويه: "وذلك قولك [أتميمياً مرة وقيسياً أخرى]، وإنما هذا أنك رأيت رجلاً في حال تلؤن وتنقّل فقلت: أتميمياً مرة وقيسياً أخرى، كأنك قلت: أتحوّل تميمياً مرة وقيسياً أخرى. فأنت في هذه الحال تعمل في تثبيت هذا له، وهو عندك في تلك الحال في تلؤن وتنقّل، وليس يسأله مسترشداً عن أمر هو جاهل به ليُفهمه إياه ويخبره عنه، ولكنه ويخبره بذلك. وحدثنا بعض العرب أن رجلاً من بني أسد قال يَوْمَ جَبَلَةَ، واستقبله بعيرٌ أعورٌ فطَظِرَ [منه] فقال: يا بني أسد أعورٌ وذا ناب! فلم يُرد أن يسترشدهم ليخبروه عن عوره وصحته، ولكنه نههم، كأنه قال: أتستقبلون أعورٌ وذا ناب! فالاستقبال في حال تنبيهه إياهم كان واقعاً، كما كان التلؤن والتنقّل عندك ثابتين في الحال الأول، وأراد أن يثبت لهم الأعور ليحذروه". وقوله: "ولا يجوز أن تقول: بعث دري ذراعاً، وأنت تريد بدرهم، فبئى المخاطب أن الدار كلُّها ذراعٌ. ولا يجوز أن تقول: بعث شائي شاةً شاةً، وأنت تريد بدرهم، فبئى المخاطب أنك بعثها الأول فالأول على الولاء. ولا يجوز أن تقول: بيئتُ له حساباً باباً، فبئى المخاطب أنك إنما جعلت له حساباً باباً واحداً غير مفسر. ولا يجوز: تصدقتُ بمالي درهماً، فبئى المخاطب أنك تصدقت بدرهم واحد، وكذلك هذا وما أشبهه" (الكتاب، 1/343 - 393/1).

ومن باب تحريه مقصدية المتلفظ ما جاء في باب [أم] إذا كان الكلام بما بمنزلة أيهما وأئهم: "ذلك قولك: أزيد عندك أم عمرو، وأزيداً لقيت أم بشرًا؟ فأنت الآن مدع أن عنده أحدهما؛ لأنك إذا قلت: أيهما عندك، وأيها لقيت، فأنت مدع أن المسئول قد لقي أحدهما أو أن عنده أحدهما، إلا أن علمك قد استوى فيهما، لا تدري أيهما هو. والدليل على أن قولك: أزيد عندك أم عمرو، بمنزلة قولك: أيهما عندك، أنك لو قلت: أزيد عندك أم بشرًا، فقال المسئول: لا، كان محالاً، كما أنه إذا قال: أيهما عندك، فقال: لا، فقد أحال. واعلم أنك إذا أردت هذا المعنى فتقديم الاسم أحسن؛ لأنك لا تسأل عن اللقي، وإنما تسأل عن أحد الاسمين، لا تدري أيهما هو، فبدأت بالاسم؛ لأنك تقصد قصد أن يبين لك أي الاسمين في هذا الحال، وجعلت الاسم الآخر عديلاً للأول، فصار الذي لا تسأل عنه بينهما. ولو قلت: ألقىت زيدا أم عمرا، كان جائزاً حسناً، أو قلت: أعندك زيد أم عمرو، كان كذلك" (الكتاب/3-169-170).

كما تراه يقلب الخطاب على وجوه المحتملة ويستفيض فيه حتى يستخلص له وجهها، وهو خلال ذلك تراه لصيقاً بمبادئ الاستعمال اللغوي وحدوده، فهو على وجه محال، وعلى وجه حسن. فأما المحال فأن تعني أن [مررت برجل حمار] وإجراءاته. ومنه: ما جاء في باب المبدل من المبدل منه: "وذلك قولك الرجل حمار، وأما الذي يحسن فهو أن تقول: مررت برجل، ثم تبدل الحمار مكان الرجل، فتقول: حمار، إما أن تكون غلطت أو نسيت فاستدركت، وإما أن بالرجل، وتجعل مكانه مرورك بالحمار، بعدما كنت أردت غير ذلك. ومثل ذلك قولك: لا، بل حمار. ومن ذلك قولك: يبدو لك أن تُضرب عن مرورك الآخر من الأول مررت برجل بل حمار، وهو على تفسير: مررت برجل حمار. ومن ذلك: ما مررت برجل بل حمار، وما مررت برجل ولكن حمار، أبدلت وجعلته مكانه. وقد يكون فيه الرفع على أن يُذكر الرجل فيقال: من أمره ومن أمره، فتقول أنت: قد مررت به، فما مررت برجل بل حمار ولكن حمار، أي بل هو حمار ولكن هو حمار. ولو ابتدأت كلاماً فقلت: ما مررت برجل ولكن حمار، تريد: ولكن هو حمار، كان عريباً، أو بل حمار، أو لا بل حمار، كان كذلك، كأنه قال: ولكن الذي مررت به حمار. وإذا كان قبل ذلك منعت فأضمرته أو اسم فأضمرته أو أظهرته، فهو أقوى؛ لأنك تُضمر ما ذكرت، وأنت هنا تضرر ما لم تذكر" (الكتاب، 439/1-440).

ولا طائر يطير } كما يمكن التماس فطنة أبي الفتح إلى تحري دلائل المقصدية لتناسب قصود المتحدثين ومرادهم. ومنه ما أورده في تفسير قوله تعالى: على هذا مفيداً، أي ليس الغرض تشبيهه بالطائر ذي الجناحين، بل هو الطائر بجناحيه البتة. وكذلك قوله { يطير بجناحيه } : «فيكون قوله تعالى: { بجناحيه، لجاز أن يُظن { من فوقهم } ولم يقل: { فخر عليهم السقف } مفيداً... لو قيل: { من فوقهم }، قد يكون قوله: { فخر عليهم السقف من فوقهم } عز اسمه: ، زال ذلك المعنى { من فوقهم } . فإذا قال: [قد خربت عليهم دارهم، وقد أهلكك عليهم مواشيتهم وغلاتهم، وقد تلفت عليهم تجارتهم] به أنه كقولك: المحتمل، وصار معناه أنه سقط وهم من تحته، فهذا معنى غير الأول" (الخصائص/2-269-271).

وقد فطن ابن جني إلى دور مقاصد الإبلاغ في ترتيب العناصر داخل الخطاب، لذا قدّم نصا كاشفاً، أبرز خلاله تعدد الأغراض التواصلية للخطاب الواحد، ذي المعنى العميق الواحد، ورصد تأثير العوامل الخارجية في الترتيب المحايد أو الأصولي لمكوناته وفقاً لمؤثرات خارجية تتصل بالمتكلم أو سياق الإرسال. فتارة تؤخر الفعل عن المفعول، وأخرى تعدي الفعل إلى ضمير الاسم وترفعه بالابتداء، وتارة ينصبه الفعل على شريطة التفسير. وقرأ إن شئت: "قال أبو الفتح: . فإذا عَنَاهم ذكر المفعول قَدَموه على الفاعل [ضرب زيد عمراً] ينبغي أن يُعلم ما أذكره هنا، وذلك أن أصل وضع المفعول أن يكون فضلة، وبعد الفاعل، ك . فإن تظاهرت العناية به عقده على أنه ربُّ الجملة، [عمراً ضرب زيداً]. فإن ازدادت عنايتهم به قَدَموه على الفعل الناصبة، فقالوا [ضرب عمراً زيداً] فقالوا ، فحذفوا ضميره [عمرو ضرب زيداً] فجاءوا به مجيئاً يناه كونه فضلة. ثم زاده على هذه الرتبة، فقالوا [عمراً ضربه زيداً] وتجاوزوا به حد كونه فضلة، فقالوا ونووه، ولم ينصبوه على ظاهر أمره؛ رغبة به عن صورة الفضلة، وتحامياً لنصبه الدال على كون غيره صاحب الجملة. ثم إنهم لم يرضوا له بهذه المنزلة حتى صاغوا" (المختص/1-65). [ضرب عمرو] الفعل له، وبنوه على أنه مخصوص به، وألغوا ذكر الفاعل مُظَهراً أو مُضَمراً ، فقالوا:

وبصدد ترتيب بيانات الإرسالية الكلامية تراه يسلك مسلكاً وظيفياً في تقديم المعلومات الجديدة التي يتوخى المتكلم تسريبها على المستمع لغرض ما فإنما في هذا دليل على أن الذي هو غيره لم يأتك، فأما زيد نفسه فلم تعرض للإخبار بإثبات مجيء له أو [ما جاءني غير زيد] فيقول: "ألا ترى أنك إذا قلت: نفيه عنه، فقد يجوز أن يكون قد جاء، وأن يكون أيضاً لم يجيء" (الخصائص/1-135).

✚ (رابعا) اعتماد إفادة المخاطب [الإفادة ⇌ التمام]: الإفادة مبدأ تداولي رصين، يقصد به وقوف المخاطب على غرض محدّته بشكل موثوق فيه، دون لبس أو سوء فهم. وهذا من صميم العمل التداولي، الذي يهدف إلى الوصول بالنشاط التبليغي أبلغ درجات التمام. وقد شغل مبدأ الإفادة في الخطاب اللغوي مرتبة متقدمة عند لغويي العرب، في مواضع عدة - منها التقديم والتأخير والذكر والحذف والنفي والإثبات - تحتاج إلى ضوابط وموجهات لتكتمل إفادة المخاطب. وقد نص المتقدمون على بدهاء تحقق الفائدة للمخاطب، وحدّوها بما يحسن السكوت عليه، ويُسغنى به عن الزيادة، وعدّوا ما عداه لغوا لا يصلح التفاهم به، ولا خير فيه. محتصا بالجمال التوام حصرا: «الجملة الواحدة قد لا تفيد المخاطب - وحدها - في فهم المعنى، وإنما هي في حاجة إلى وحدات [الكلام] أما ابن جني فيرى تبليغية أخرى تتعاضد معهان وتتعاون في تبليغ المراد كاملا إلى المخاطب" (إبرير، 51، 2003). وكثيرا ما عول سيبويه على علل مثل أمن اللبس، والفروق في المعنى، وهو بصدد تفسير الكثير من الظواهر اللغوية وتعليلها (بيري، 2009، 90).

والمتكلم عند سيبويه ينبغي له ألا يستخدم تراكيب مخالفة لما اعتادته الجماعة، وإلا فهو "ملغز تارك لكلام الناس الذي يسبق إلى أفدّهم" (الكتاب، 1/308). وقد بدا هذا الاتجاه بوضوح في مقولاته: "وقال الآخر عمرو بن شأس... أضمّر لعلم المخاطب بما يعنى، وهو اليوم". وقوله: "وما يقوى ترك نحو هذا لعلم المخاطب قوله عز وجل...". ومنه: "ومثله قول الفرزدق... ترك أن يكون للأول خبرٌ حين استغنى بالآخر لعلم المخاطب أن - (76/1). 74. الأول قد دخل في ذلك... (الكتاب: 47/1 - 1

ولطالما راعى سيبويه حال السمع أو المخاطب وظروف تلقيه الخطاب ومدى استيعابه له، وملا بسته للأحداث، ومعابنته لها وجهيا أو سمعيا، فقد كانت بمثابة ضوابط للمتكلم ليكيف خطابه وفق الظروف السالفة حتى يضمن نفاذه وتأثيره، وقد بدا ذلك في حديثه عن الإسناد، واشترطه في المسند إليه أو المبتدأ ألا يكون نكرة محضة؛ وإلا كان هداما لمبدأ الإفادة - عمود التواصل اللغوي - كما أنه يشكل تشويشا على فهم المخاطب، ويمنع من إغلاق دائرة الاتصال. فيقول: "فإن قلت: كان حليمٌ أو رجلٌ، فقد بدأت بنكرة، ولا يستقيم أن تحبّر المخاطب عن المنكور، وليس هذا بالذي يَنزِلُ به المخاطب منزلتك في المعرفة، فكروها أن يقربوا باب لبس. وقد تقول: كان زيدٌ الطويلُ منطلقا، إذا خفتَ التباسَ الزيدين، وتقول: أَسْفِيها كان زيدٌ أم حليما، وأرجلا كان زيدٌ أم صبيا، تجعلها لزيد؛ لأنه إنما ينبغي لك أن تسأله عن خبر من هو معروفٌ عنده، كما حدثته عن خبر من هو معروف عندك، فالمعروف هو المبدوء به. ولا يُبدَأ بما يكون فيه اللبس وهو النكرة. ألا ترى أنك لو قلت: كان إنسانٌ حليما أو كان رجلاً منطلقا، كنت تُلبس؛ لأنه لا يُسْتَنَكِرُ أن يكون في الدنيا إنسان هكذا، فكروها أن يبدءوا بما فيه اللبس، ويجعلوا المعرفة خيرا لما يكون فيه هذا اللبس" (الكتاب 48/1).

ومما يقوي دعائم الإفادة في الخطاب اللغوي عند سيبويه إجازته الحذف بقرينة علم المخاطب، فتجده "يعرض للحذف بجميع ألوانه: من حذف الجر والاسم، سواء كان مضافا أو مضافا إليه، والمبتدأ والخبر، والصفة والموصوف، وحذف الفعل سواء كان للإغراء أو التحذير أو التعجب إلى غير ذلك، مراعيًا في هذا الحذف التخفيف على اللسان، ووجود القرينة التي نلمحها في علم المخاطب" (حسين، 1998، 76).

كذلك احتفى أبو الفتح بظاهرة الاختزال الكلامي في إطار الإفادة وأمن اللبس، ونص على أنه لا حذف إلا بدليل يهدي المستمع ويرشده. ورأى أن من العوامل المساعدة على ذلك الأحوال الضابطة للكلام، فالخذف إذا دلت الدلالة عليه كان في حكم الملفوظ به، كما أنه "بسط القول في ملابسات الحال بما يستحق من أجله الثناء" (حماسة، 1994، 293). ونص الرجل على تلك الظلال الضابطة، وجعلها مسوغا نحويا للحذف. يقول في باب شجاعة والله لا [العربية: «قد حذف العرب الجملة، والمفرد، والحرف، والحركة، وليس شيء من ذلك إلا عن دليل عليه... فأما الجملة، فنحو قولهم في القسم: ، فحذف الفعل والفاعل، وبقيت الحال - من الجارّ والجواب - دليلا على الجملة المحذوفة. وكذلك الأفعال [أقسم بالله]، وأصله: [فعلت، وتا الله لقد فعلت ، أي: إن فعل المرء خيرا جزى خيرا، [الناس يجزيون بأفعالهم، إن خيرا فخييرا، وإن شرا فشرا] في الأمر، والنهي، والتحضيض... وكذلك الشرط في نحو قوله: وإن فعل شرا جزى شرا» (الخصائص 2/360). كذلك يسرد: «أن الدليل إذا قام عليه شيء، كان في حكم الملفوظ به، وإن لم يجز على ألسنتهم استعماله» (السابق 2/343).

✚ التوجيه الصوتي

لم ينس نحة القرن الثاني الهجري خلال صنعهم الفريد - تأسيس بنیان النحو العربي - المسلك الصوتي وفروعه - ولم يغب عن عنايتهم، بل تعهّدوه بالفحص

والتحرّي، حتى جاءت اجتهاداتهم كاشفة عن وعي متقدم. فقد سعوا في تقديم إنجاز صوتي غير مسبوق يتصل بالقرائن الصوتية. ويشير مصطلح **القرائن الصوتية** إلى مقومات الأداء أو المصوتات التمييزية التي تطفو على سطح الأداء النطقي مما يمنح العنصر اللغوي بعدا وظيفيا تبليغيا ما. وللتوضيح ضُرب مثال طريف مفاده: «من يلبس لبسة يظهر بها على هيئة تدل على التواضع أو التكبر أو الفقر أو الترف أو نحو ذلك، فهذه الوظيفة نتيجة لتلك الهيئة أو الكيفية التي لبس بها الثوب، والثوب نفسه- وكذا صاحبه- في الحقيقة لا يدل على معنى من هذه المعاني في حال تجرده من الكيفية الموظفة. فالإطار العام للبسة هنا كالفونيم وهو القرينة، ودلالة اللبسة على تلك المعاني كدلالة القرينة على الوظائف النحوية» (الأنصاري، 2013، 40-41).

✚ **سيبويه [الترنم - مد الصوت]:** اتخذ أبو بشر التوجيهات الصوتية مسلكا يبنى عليه في تمييز المعاني، واستنباط الأحكام المترتبة عليها. ففي [باب الحروف التي ينبه بها المدعو] تجده يوجّه وظيفيا في إلى ضرورة مد أدوات النداء للإلحاح والتنبيه على كل مُتراخٍ أو مُعرضٍ أو نائمٍ لكي يقبل، فيقول: «فأما الاسم غير المندوب فينبه بخمسة أشياء: بيا وأيا وهيا وأيّ وبالألّف، نحو قولك: أحار بن عمرو، إلا أن الأربعة غير الألف قد يستعملونها إذا أرادوا أن يمدوا أصواتهم للشئ المتراخي عنهم، والإنسان المعرض عنهم، الذي يُرون أنه لا يُقبل عليهم إلا بالاجتهاد أو النائم المستنقل... وأما المستغاث به ف (يا) لازمة له؛ لأنه يجتهد، فكذلك المتعجّب منه، وذلك: يا للناس ويا للماء. وإنما اجتهد؛ لأن المستغاث عندهم متراخٍ أو غافل، والتعجب كذلك. والتدبئة يلزمها يا ووا؛ لأنهم يختلطون ويدعون ما قد فات وتعدّ عنهم. ومع ذلك أن التدبئة كأنهم يترمّون فيها، فمن ثم أزموها المد، وألحقوا آخر الاسم المد؛ مبالغة في الترمّم» (الكتاب 2/229-231).

كذلك مال الرجل إلى استخدام مصطلح صوتي أدائي عوضا عن التنغيم، أقصد الترمّم، وقدم توجيهها صوتيا كاشفا، ودعوة للترنم حال الندبة، لما فيها من حرقة وأسى وتوجع، فقال: "اعلم أن المندوب مدعوٌ ولكنه متفجّع عليه، فإن شئت ألحقت في آخر الاسم الألف؛ لأن التدبئة كأنهم يترمّون فيها، وإن شئت لم تُلحِق كما لم تُلحِق في النداء" (الكتاب 2/220). وما إخال أن مفهوم مد الصوت أو مظهله يعني شيئا غير بذل مجهود أكبر في نطق جزء من أجزاء الحدث الكلامي بخلاف غيره من الأجزاء " وهكذا يُعطى هذا الجزء من الكلام بروزا أكبر في السمع، وهو مفهوم متفق وتصورنا الآن عن النبر" (حسام الدين، 1992، 201).

وعن تمطيط الصوت وإطالة الحرف يقول سيبويه - على لسان ابن جني - في (باب في شجاعة العربية): «وقد حذفت الصفة ودلت الحال عليها، وذلك فيما حكاه صاحب الكتاب من قولهم: سير عليه ليل، وهم يريدون: ليل طويل. وكأن هذا إنما حذفت فيه الصفة لما دل من الحال على موضعها، وذلك أنك تحس في كلام القائل لذلك من التطويح والتطريح والتفخيم والتعظيم ما يقوم مقام قوله: طويل أو نحو ذلك» (الخصائص 2 / 370-371).

أتميميا مرة، [وفي باب ما جرى من الأسماء التي لم تؤخذ من الفعل مجرى الأسماء التي أخذت من الفعل] تجد أبا بشر يناقش مفهوم التنغيم: " وذلك قولك: كأنك قلت: أتحوّل تميميا مرة، وقيسيا أخرى، فأنت في [أتميميا مرة وقيسيا أخرى؟]. وإنما هذا أنك رأيت رجلا في حال تلوّن وتنقل، فقلت: [وقيسيا أخرى هذه الحال تعمل في تثبيت هذا له، وهو عندك في تلك الحال في تلوّن وتنقل، وليس يسأله مسترشدا في أمر هو جاهل به، ليفهمه إياه، ويخبره عنه، ولكنه وبخه بذلك. وحدثنا بعض العرب أن رجلا من بني أسد قال يَوْمَ جَبَلَةَ، واستقبله بعيرٌ أعورٌ، فتطَيّر منه، فقال: يا بني أسد أعورٌ وذا ناب! فلم يُرد أن فالاستقبال في حال تنبيهه إياهم كان واقعا" (الكتاب 1/343). ليعبروه عن عوره وصحته، ولكنه نبههم، كأنه قال: أتستقبلون أعورَ وذا ناب! يسترشدكم فهذه وغيرها إشارات لا يمكن أن تؤخذ على محمل الإرهاص، لكنها ترقى إلى حد التنبيه والتوجيه الصريح نحو التزام مسلک أدائي معين حال التلفظ بخطاب، لكي يسلك منحى تبليغيا محمدا، على وجه الضرورة والإلزام.

✚ **ابن جني:** أشار أبو الفتح إلى عدد من الظواهر الصوتية التطريزية - وهو بصدد وصف الواقع الصوتي للمستخدمين- مما يؤكد تحمسه للنبر والتنغيم باعتبارها أساسا في فهم الباب النحوي، كما قدم عددا لا بأس به من التوجيهات الصوتية الدالة، التي تعكس وعيا متقدما، وإدراكا واضحا للملمحين التطريزيين، ومما نستفتح به هذا المبحث كلام ابن جني في باب معرض حديثه عن الفصل بين الكلام والقول: «ومعلوم أن الكلمة الواحدة لا تشجو ولا تُحزّن ولا تتملك قلب السامع، إنما ذلك فيما طال من الكلام، وأمتع سامعيه بعدوية مستمعه، ورقة حواشيه... وقد أكثر الشعراء في هذا الموضع حتى صار الدال عليه كالدال على المشاهد غير المشكوك فيه. ألا ترى إلى قوله:

تتابع جدبا! راعي سنين ✦ وحديثها كالغيث يسمعه

ويقول من فرح: هيا ربا! ✦ فأصاخ يرجو أن يكون حيا

السحاب وسجّره، وهذا لا يكون عن نبرة واحدة ولا رزمة مختلصة، إنما يكون مع البدء فيه والرجع، وتثنى الحنين على صفحات السمع» يعني حنين (الخصائص 27/1-29).

- ضروب النبر [مطل الحركات والحروف - مدتا التذکر والإنكار]: قدم أبو الفتح ضروبا عدة للمصطلح النبري، مُمَيِّزًا إياها بسياقات إرسالها، وشارحا صفات التلفظ بها، وكأنيّ به يُنظَر لهذا الملمح الصوتي. وقد بلغ مطل الحركات والحروف من أبي الفتح مبلغا جعله يخصصه بدراسة مفقودة، عنوانها (مدد الأصوات ومقادير المدات)، ذكر ياقوت الحموي أنه كتبها إلى أبي إسحاق إبراهيم بن أحمد الطبري، في ست عشرة ورقة بخط ولده عالٍ (الحموي 1600/4).

[أ] مطل الحركات: قدّم أبو الفتح أداءً صوتيا قريبا من النبر، وهو مطل الحركة وما يستتبعه من إشباع وتطويل للحركة، وزيادة الضغط على مقطع عينه دون غيره، بمهدف تسليط الضوء عليه وتمييزه، لغاية في نفس الناطق أو لعادة صوتية. فيقول في باب مطل الحركات: «وإذا فعلتُ العرب ذلك أنشأتُ عن الحركة الحرف من جنسها، فتنشئ بعد الفتحة الألف، وبعد الكسرة الياء، وبعد الضمة الواو. فالألف المنشأة عن إشباع الفتحة ما أنشدناه أبو علي لابن هرمة يرثي ابنه، من قوله:

ومن ذم الرجال بمنزاج \diamond فأتت من الغوائل حين ترمى

ومن إشباع الكسرة ومطلها ما جاء عنهم من عنها ألفا. فمطل الفتحة، فأنشأ [أكلت لحما شاة]: مفتعل من الناح... وحكى الفراء عنهم: [بمنزاج] أراد ومن مطل الضمة قوله فيما أنشدناه وغيره: الصياريف المطافيل والجلالعيد.
من حيث ما سلكوا أدنو فأنظور \diamond الهوى بصرى وأني حيث ما يشرى
(الخصائص 121/3-123).

وفي موضع تال ترى الرجل يجعل المطل لازمة لتذکر المنسي من الخطاب، ويقوم سياقا تواليا مفاده افتراض السامع نسيان المتكلم جزءا من حديثه، فيقول في باب مطل الحروف: "كذلك الحركات عند التذکر يُمطلن حتى يفين حروفا، فإذا صرّحها جرين مجرى الحروف المبتدأة توام، فيمطلن أيضا حينئذ كما تمطل أي: أنت عاقلة، ونحو ذلك، ومع [أنتي] أي: قمت يوم الجمعة، ونحو ذلك. ومع الكسرة: [قمتا: قمت] الحروف. وذلك قولهم عند التذکر مع الفتحة في: في: قمت إلى زيد" السابق 129/3-130. ويشير أحد الباحثين إلى ذلك مُفسِّرا: «فالمطل عند ابن جني - في ما أورد - هو زيادة قوة [قمتو] الضمة: الارتكاز بالإشباع أو التضعيف... والقصد من هذا الإشباع زيادة الضغط على مقطع من المقاطع لإبرازه في السمع؛ لتحقيق غرض قصدي" (عبد الجليل، 241/1998).

[ب] مطل الحروف: وهنا نجد أبا الفتح في سياق التذکر نفسه، وفي معرض حديثه عن الحروف الثلاثة اللَّيِّنَة المصوِّتة: الألف والواو والياء، ولزومها المدِّ واللين في أحوال معينة يباشر تنظيره الصوتي الموجّه: «إلا أن الأماكن التي يطول فيها صوتها، وتمكّن مدتها ثلاثة. وهي أن تقع بعدها - وهي سواكن توابع لما هو منهن وهو الحركات من جنسهن - الهمزة، أو الحرف المشدّد، أو أن يوقف عليها عند التذکر... وأما مدتها عند التذکر فنحو قولك: أخواك ضربا [إذا كنت متذكرا للمفعول أو الظرف أو نحو ذلك أي ضربا زيدا ونحوه]. وكذلك تمطل الواو إذا تذكرت، في نحو ضربوا [إذا كنت تتذكر المفعول أو الظرف أو نحو ذلك، أي ضربوا زيدا أو ضربوا يوم الجمعة أو ضربوا قياما، فتتذكر الحال]. وكذلك الياء في نحو اضربي أي اضربي زيدا ونحوه. وإنما مُطلت ومُدت هذه الأحرف في الوقف وعند التذکر من قبل أنك لو وقفت عليها غير ممطولة ولا ممكنة المدة، فقلت: ضربا وضربوا واضربي، وما كانت هذه حاله، وأنت مع ذلك متذكر، لم توجد في لفظك دليلا على أنك متذكر شيئا، ولأوهمت كل الإيهام أنك قد أتمت كلامك ولم يبق من بعده مطلوب متوقع لك، لكنك لما وقفت ومطلت الحرف علم بذلك أنك متطاوول إلى كلام تال للأول، منوط به، معقود ما قبله على تضمينه، وخطه بجملته... والمعنى الجامع بين التذکر والنسبة قوة الحاجة إلى إطالة الصوت في الموضوعين» (الخصائص 125/3-129).

[ج] مدّتا الندبة \rightarrow الإنكار: حاول أبو الفتح - في باب حرف اللين المجهول - أن يوجد جامعا بين خطابين متقاربين نوعيا هما خطابا الندبة والإنكار، من منطلق استبعاد وقوع الحدث والتردد في قبوله، فقد قدم معالجة صوتية مقنعة، تسمح لكليهما بمطل الصوت، فيقول: «وذلك مدّة الإنكار، نحو قولك في جواب من قال: رأيت بكرا: أبكرنيه! وفي جاءني محمد: أمحمدنيه! وفي مررت على قاسم: أقاسمينيه!... وليست كذلك مدة الندبة؛ لأن تلك ألف لا محالة، وليست مدّة مجهولة مدبّرة بما قبلها، ألا تراها تفتح ما قبلها أبدا... غير أننا نقول: إن أخلق الأحوال بما أن تكون ألفا من موضعين، أحدهما أن الإنكار مضاهٍ للندبة، وذلك أنه موضع أريد فيه معنى الإنكار والتعجب، فمُطلّ الصوت به وجعل ذلك أمانة لتناكره، كما جاءت مدة الندبة إظهارا للتفجع، وإيدانا بتناكر الخطب الفاجع، والحدث الواقع. فكما أن مدة الندبة ألف فكذلك ينبغي أن تكون مدة الإنكار ألفا. والآخر: أن الغرض في

الموضعين جميعاً إنما هو مَطْل الصوت، ومَدُّه وتراخيه، والإبعاد فيه لمعنى الحادث هناك. وإذا كان الأمر كذلك فالألف أحق به دون أختيها؛ لأنها أمدهن صوتاً، وأنداهن، وأشدهن إبعاداً (وأناهن)... فإن قلت: فهلا تبعها ما قبلها في الإنكار كما تبعها في الندبة، فقلت في جاءني عمر: أعمراه، كما تقول في الندبة: وأعمراه؟ قيل: فرق ما بينهما أن الإنكار جار مجرى الحكاية، والمعنى الجامع بينهما أنك مع إنكارك للأمر مستثبت، ولذلك قدمت في أول كلامك همزة الاستفهام. فكما تقول في جواب رأيت زيدا: من زيدا؟ كذلك قلت أيضاً في جواب جاءني عَمْر: أعمروه... وأغرب من هذا أنك قد تباشر بعلامة الإنكار غير اللفظ الأول. وذلك في قول بعضهم وقد قيل له: أخرج إلى البادية إن أخصبت، فقال: أنا إنيه! فهذا أمر آخر أطم من الأول، ألا تراك إذا نذبت زيدا ونحوه وإنما تأتي بنفس اللفظ الذي هو عبارة عنه، لا بلفظ آخر ليس بعبارة عنه. وهذا تناه في ترك مباشرة مدة الإنكار للفظ الاسم المتناكرة حاله، وما أبعد هذا عن حديث الندبة!«(الخصائص 154/3-156).

■ **ثانياً) ضروب التنغيم [التطويح والتطريح]:** اختتم ابن جني وطاعة سر الصناعة بتشبيه تمثيلي، مثل فيه للعود وأوتاره بالحلق ومخارجه: "... وإنما أردنا بهذا التمثيل الإصاغة والتقريب، وإن لم يكن هذا الفن مما لنا ولا لهذا الكتاب به تعلُّق، ولكن هذا القبيل من هذا العلم، أعني علم الأصوات والحروف، له تعلق ومشاركة للموسيقى، لما فيه من صنعة الأصوات والنغم» (سر صناعة الإعراب 9/1). والدلالة ناصعة في هذه الوطاعة على أن على أن التنغيم قسيم الإصدار اللغوي وملازمه، بعدما تقضى القول وأشبعه وأكدته بلفظ صاحبنا.

[أ] **تمطيط الصوت وإطالة الحرف [موسيقى الكلام]:** قال أبو الفتح في باب شجاعة العربية: «وقد حُذفت الصفة ودلت الحال عليها. وذلك فيما حكاه صاحب الكتاب من قولهم: سير عليه ليل، وهم يريدون: ليل طويل. وكأن هذا إنما حذفت فيه الصفة لما دل من الحال على موضعها، وذلك أنك تحس في كلام القائل لذلك من التطويح والتطريح والتفخيم والتعظيم ما يقوم مقام قوله: طويل أو نحو ذلك» (الخصائص 370/2-371). وكأني بآبن جني ينسب الفكرة لصاحبها أبي بشر، ثم إنه يباشرها بالفحص والتمحيص ليخرج بتوجيه تنغمي ناصع، يوجّه به خطابه صوتياً، ويستدرك به المحذوف من أصل التركيب.

والتعظيم لتسلك مسلكي النبر والتنغيم، وتؤدي إليهما. وفي ذلك يقول أحد الباحثين: " تشير والتفخيم ولعمري إن مفردات من قبيل: التطويح والتطريح ألفاظ التطويح والتطريح والتفخيم من خلال معانيها اللغوية إلى رفع الصوت وانخفاضه، والذهاب به كل مذهب. وهي على هذا إشارة إلى النبر، وليس النبر غير عملية عضوية يقصد منها ارتفاع الصوت المنبور" (العتبية، 1983، 67-68). فإن تعبيره (فتزيد في قوة اللفظ، وتتمكن في تمطيط اللام وإطالة الصوت بها) يتماس مع مفهوم النبر السياقي. ويقول آخر: «على الرغم من أن أبا الفتح لم يوظف مصطلح التنغيم، بله أن ينظر صراحة لوظائفه، إلا أنه راكم في إشارات عديدة عن هذه الظاهرة التطريزية، مما يعكس إحساسه بها، واستحضاره لها في تحليلاته" (البايبي، 2012، 203). [الخصائص والمحتسب]

[كان والله رجلاً!] ثم إن أبا الفتح يسترسل في المقام ذاته: «وأنت تحس هذا من نفسك إذا تأملت، وذلك أن تكون في مدح إنسان والثناء عليه، فتقول: هذه الكلمة، وتتمكن في تمطيط اللام وإطالة الصوت بها وعليها، أي: رجلاً فاضلاً أو شجاعاً أو كريماً أو نحو ذلك. وكذلك [الله فتزيد في قوة اللفظ بـ ، وتزوي وجهك وتقطبه، فيغني ذلك عن قولك: إنساناً لثيماً أو لجزاً أو مبخلاً أو نحو ذلك. وكذلك إن ذمته [أسألناه فوجدناه إنساناً!] تقول: ، وتزوي وجهك وتقطبه، فيغني ذلك عن قولك: إنساناً لثيماً أو لجزاً أو مبخلاً أو نحو ذلك. فعلى هذا وما [أسألناه وكان إنساناً!] ووصفته بالضيق قلت: يجري مجراه تحذف الصفة" (الخصائص 371/2).

: لقد أكد أبو الفتح على قيمة ^٥ فإن الصور التنغيمية المطروحة هاهنا تعد مدخلاً لتخمين الصفة المحذوفة، والوقوع عليها. أما التوجيه الصوتي ها هنا فهو التلويينات الصوتية، وعلو كعبها حال وقوع الحذف في الخطاب، فيها استقامته وإفادته، وبدونها تسقط الإفادة ويلزم الذكر، والدليل قوله: «فعلى هذا وما يجوز. ألا تراك لو قلت: وردنا البصرة فاجتزنا بالأبلة على يجري مجراه تحذف الصفة، فأما إن عريت من الدلالة عليها من اللفظ أو من الحال فإن حذفها لا تصف من ذكرت أو ما ذكرت، فإن لم تفعل رجل أو رأينا بستاناً، وسكت لم تفد بذلك شيئاً؛ لأن هذا ونحوه مما لا يعرى منه ذلك المكان، وإنما المتوقع أن لا ومن ذلك ما يروى في الحديث: لا صلاة لرجل المسجد إلا في المسجد، أي كلفت علم ما لم تدلل عليه، وهذا لغو من الحديث، وجور في التكليف. صلاة كاملة أو فاضلة ونحو ذلك. وقد خالف في ذلك من لا يعد خلافه خلافاً" (الخصائص 371/2-372).

وقد علق أحد الباحثين على النص السالف بقوله: «وقد استطاع ابن جني أن يوظف النبر في الدلالة، فهذا التمثيل وهذه الإطالة تغنيها عن التصريح مدحه، وهي أبلغ في الدلالة من التصريح بالأوصاف... وهذه الوظيفة الدلالية ليست غريبة علينا، فكثيراً ما نلجأ إليها في لهجاتنا بصفات المذكور في أو نود أن نتحاشى ذكر ألفاظ أو أوصاف بعينها" (مجاهد، 1985، 177). ويقول آخر: «فإنهاء الجملة بإشاحة حين تمدح أو نذم، وأحاديثنا خاصة

الوجه، بعد التطويح والتطريح وتمطيط اللام وإطالتها، يُفهم منه أنه عليها أكثر من تغيير موسيق، وهو نوع من تنعيم الجملة، وقد وظف ابن جني هذا التنعيم لدلالة على المعنى المقصود» (حسنين، 267/1982).

ومما لا تحظ به البصيرة هنا حديث ابن جني المصحوب بإشارة زكي الوجه مما يشف عن نبر وتنعيم متصاحبين معا، وهو أمر يلتقي مع محصول الدرس الصوتي الحديث. فإنك تجد الرجل في المقام الأول يحدد لك مقطعا بعينه من الكلمة - وهو موضع اللام- لتخصها بالتمطيط والإطالة، ولم يفتنه أن يجمع الأمرين من منطلق أن المقطع المنبور يكتسب طولاً عن غيره. [الإطالة → التتمطيط]

ويقول د. كشك مُعجبا على نص أبي الفتح بأعلاه: «نص رائع وممتع، يدل على وعي كامل من ابن جني باعتبار المقام، وكذلك المقال، في تحديد الباب النحوي. فهو يجعل التنعيم وعبارات الوجه أساسا في فهم الباب النحوي هنا، بل دليلا كاملا في تحديده... وإن هذه الإشارة الذكية للملاحظة كان ينقصها أن تعمم من خلال النظر إلى الأبواب النحوية والمعاني كله» (كشك، 2010، 106). ويقول آخر: «إن الإحساس الواعي بالتنعيم أو التطريح عند ابن جني ثابت ثبوتا لا تحظ به بديهة الدارس المنصف، وهو وإن لم يذكر لفظ التنعيم فإنه أدرك الظاهرة» (البايبي 110/2013).

ولا أرى فيما قيل تجاوزا أو تكلفا وإنما أدرك الرجل المفهوم وركنه، ثم انطلق إلى تمثله بوصفه ضغطا على جزء محدد من الكلمة يدرك بالسمع. مما لا يترك أثرا لمعتز أو منكر في معرفة أبي الفتح لتلك الخاصية الصوتية المميزة. ولعمري إن المرء ليعجب من تجاهل تلك الملاحظة الصوتية وغيرها، لأبي الفتح ولغيره، مما وقفنا عليه ومما لم نقف، أئى يكون الفهم والإفهام غير ذلك، وقد قدمنا البيئة بما لا يدع مجالاً لأحد أن يرد الدعوى.

هذا في الوقت الذي تتكلف فيه دراسات أخرى دحض الاتجاه السالف من قبيل دراسة مُجد صالح الضالع التي خلصت إلى إغفال علماء العربية القدماء لظاهرة التنعيم، وأنه لم يشكل عنصرا فاعلا في النظام الفونولوجي للعربية التراثية. وأن العربية إنما اعتمدت على مجموعة من الأدوات تعبر بها عن الأغراض النحوية، مثل الاستفهام والتقرير والتوكيد والتعجب، وأخرى عن الإنكار والسخرية والتوبيخ واللوم. وهي في ذلك تختلف عن لغات تمارس التنعيم بالتعبير عن هذه الأغراض والمشاعر، وهذه القوالب التنعيمية عناصر أصيلة في نظامها الأصواتي والنحوي.

كذلك ذكر ابن جني في باب تدافع الظاهر: «وذلك من شأن المدات؛ ولذلك استعملن في الأرداف والوصول والتأسيس والخروج، وفيهن يجري الصوت للغناء والحذاء والترنم والتطويح» (الخصائص 2/233). ويعقب أحد الباحثين على توجيه ابن جني السالف: "ويذهب بنا الفكر من خلال هذا النص... أن (البايبي، 2013، 109).«التطويح وكذا التطريح - في كتاباته- هما المرادفان الاصطلاحيان للتنعيم في الدرس الصوتي الحديث

[ب] الحذف [حذف المضاف إليه]: أقام أبو الفتح من القرينة الصوتية أحيانا مَوْجبا للحذف، وأجاز الإشباع بوصفه معوّضا عن المضاف إليه: «وقد جاء من هذا الإشباع الذي تنشأ عنه الحروف شيء صالح نثرا ونظما، فمن المنثور قولهم: (بيننا زيد قائم جاء عمرو)، إنما يراد: بين أوقات زيد قائم جاء زيد، فأشبع الفتحة، فأنشأ عنها ألفا» (ابن جني، المحتسب 1/258). بل إنه أجازها بين المضاف والمضاف إليه حال إثباتهما فيقول: «وروى الفراء عن بعضهم انه سمعه يقول: (أكلت لحما شاة)، وهو يريد (لحم شاة)، فأشبع الفتحة فأنشأ عنها ألفا، وهو اعتراض بين المضاف والمضاف إليه، على ضيق الوقت، وقصره بينهما» (المحتسب 1/258).

[ج] توجيه الدلالة: ولنبدأ بابن جني في [باب في نقض الأوضاع إذا ضامها طارئ عليها] يقول: «ومن ذلك لفظ الاستفهام إذا ضامه معنى التعجب استحالة خبرا، وذلك قولك: مررتُ برجلٍ أيّ رجلٍ. فأنت الآن مخبر بتناهي الرجل في الفضل، ولست مستفهما. وكذلك مررتُ برجلٍ أيّما رجلٍ، لأن ما زائدة. وإنما كان كذلك لأن أصل الاستفهام الخبر، والتعجب ضرب من الخبر. فكأن التعجب لما طرأ على الاستفهام إنما أعاده إلى أصله من الخبرية. ومن ذلك: لفظ الواجب، إذا لحقته همزة التقرير عاد نفيًا، وإذا لحقت لفظ النفي عاد إيجابًا. وذلك كقول الله سبحانه: {أَأَنْتَ قُلْتَ لِلنَّاسِ} أي ما قلت لهم، وقوله: {اللَّهُ أَذُنٌ لَكُمْ} أي لم يَأذن لكم. وأما دخولها على النفي فكقوله عز وجل: {أَلَسْتُ بِرَبِّكُمْ} أي أنا كذلك، وقول جرير: [ألستم خير من ركب المطايا] أي أنتم كذلك. وإنما كان الإنكار كذلك لأن منكر الشيء إنما غرضه أن يحيله إلى عكسه وضده؛ فلذلك استحالة به الإيجاب نفيًا، والنفي إيجابًا» (الخصائص 3/269).

✚ ابن يعيش [الترنم في الندبة]: «قال الشارح: اعلم أن المندوب مدعو، ولذلك ذكر مع فصول النداء، لكنه على سبيل التفجع، فأنت تدعوه وإن

كنت تعلم أنه لا يستجيب كما تدعو المستغاث به، وإن كان بحيث لا يسمع، كأنه تعدُّه حاضرا. وأكثر ما يقع في كلام النساء لضعف احتمالهن، وقلة صبرهن. ولما كان مدعوًا بحيث لا يسمع أتوا في أوله بـ (يا) أو (وا) لمدِّ الصوت. ولما كان يُسلَّك في الندبة والتَّوْح مذهب التطريب زادوا الألف آخرًا للترتم، كما يأتون بها في القوافي المطلقة، وخصوصها بالألف دون الياء؛ لأن المد فيها أمكن من أختيها» (ابن يعيش، 1/358/2001).

فمختص به الندبة؛ لأن الندبة تفجُّع وحزن، والمراد رفع الصوت ومدّه لاستماع جميع الحاضرين" (ابن [و]عن حرف الندبة (وا) يعيد القول «وأما يعيش، 7، 120/2001).

النتائج

- [1] إن لغويي العرب قد خطوا خطوة نوعية تجاه وصف الواقع اللغوي، وفق طبيعة ممارسته وحدود اشتغاله، ومنطق استخدامه بين المتحدثين به. وأن نظرهم للظواهر اللغوية لم تكن تقليدية، بل حازت مرتبة متقدمة على سلم المعرفة اللسانية الاجتماعية. وأن المتتبع لأفكارهم الوظيفية التواصلية في البحث اللغوي الغربي، سجد آثارا ناصعة، واستباقات واضحة. وسيجزم لاحتمال أن بنية الخطاب عنده إنما يتحدد دلالاته في حدود محتواه الوظيفي وسياقه التواصلية.
- [2] إن عدم وجود ضوابط محددة ومبادئ ظاهرة للإفادة والتبليغ في كتب المتقدمين لا يعني بالضرورة جهلهم بمهما أو تغافلهم عنهما. فقد استخدموا توجيهات بالغة، كان لها دور ناصع في فرز المقولات إلى أمطاطها التركيبية والدلالية المعتمدة، ولنا في سيبويه وابن جني مثالان مخصوصان. وهي وإن كانت لا ترقى إلى حد إنجازات الدرس الحديث، إلا إشارات إشارات ناصعة، بينة الدلالة على المفاهيم والتصورات ذاتها. ولن نبالغ حين ندعي إن إنجازات لغويي العرب جديدة بأن تبيِّغ عن نفسها، ولئن لم تبلغ عنايتهم بالظواهر التركيبية الأخرى، فإنهم لم يغفلوها، بل وقفوا عندها وتبَّهوا.
- [3] تعددت المصطلحات التي استعملها المتقدمون- خلال توجيهاتهم الصوتية- بوصفها إشارة إلى النبر والتنعيم، منها: المطل والتطريح والتفخيم والتعظيم، وما إخال ذلك باب اضطرابا وتخطأ، وإنما عمق الرؤية وثراؤها.

الخاتمة

خلصت الدراسة إلى أن نظرة المتقدمين للظاهرة اللغوية لم تكن تقليدية، بل كانوا يُصنّفون ويُعدّون وفق ظروف إنتاج الخطابات وحقيقة الممارسة الاجتماعية لها، كما أنهم تمثلوا مقامات تداولية متنوعة داخل الكتاب، وأدلوها بأحكام وفق ذلك التمثل، لذا يمكننا القول بمزيد الثقة إنهم كادوا أن يبلغوا مرتبة محاذية للتداوليين في سياق وصفهم الاستعمالات اللغوية المتنوعة وتحليلهم شروط استخدامها، ولقد كان ذلك منهم وفق مصطلحات وإجراءات تكاد تطابق مصطلحات وإجراءات الدرس التداولي، لاسيما مراعاة سياق الحال، وغرض المتكلم، ومبدأ الإفادة وغيرها من المفاهيم التي تمثل جوهر المنهج التداولي.

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(أثر ألف ليلة وليلة في الشعر العربي الحديث)

One Thousand and One Nights in modern Arabic poetry



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مقدمة

تعد ألف ليلة وليلة من الأعمال الأدبية العالمية التي لها قيمة كبيرة في التراث الأدبي الإنساني كله ، التي تتجلى فيها قدرة المؤلف الشعبي المجهول على أن يستبطن معلومات ، وقيم عصره ، أو عدة عصور ، ويعيد إنتاجها بشكل جديد يعكس ذائقته الخاصة ، وهي من أبرز ألوان الإبداع الذي ألهب خيالات الأدباء والفنانين ، على اختلاف أدوات التعبير التي يشتغلون عليها في الغرب والشرق ، على حد سواء. إذ وضع هؤلاء ، وبتأثيرها ، عدة أعمال فنية وأدبية ، اتسم بعضها بالموضوعية الإبداعية الموشحة بالرصانة التخيلية الساحرة ، بينما حمل بعضها الآخر - لا سيما في الغرب الأوروبي صوراً سلبية عن الشرق ونشأته ، وأساطيره ، وسلطينه ، بفعل جملة عوامل وأحداث ودوافع متباينة . وقد حظيت ألف ليلة وليلة بشهرة منقطعة النظير ، وترجمت إلى لغات كثيرة ، تاركة وراءها أثراً لا يمحي في أدب تلك اللغات . فقد أثرت على الفعل الإبداعي العالمي بشكل قوي ، وفاعل في حقول : الشعر ، والمسرح ، والأدب ، والفن . وكذلك اللغات الأجنبية المختلفة، ك : الفرنسية ، والألمانية ، والانجليزية ، والإيطالية ، إضافة إلى السينما ، والتلفاز ، والمزياع ، والموسيقا ، والفنون التشكيلية ، والصحافة المقروءة . وهي من أبرز المؤلفات التراثية تأثيراً ، لا في الشعر العربي الحديث فحسب ، بل في الآداب والفنون العالمية جميعاً . فقد كان تأثيرها في الشعر الأوروبي سابقاً لترجمتها إلى اللغات العالمية نحو ثمانية قرون ، عن طريق الحروب العربية البيزنطية ، والحروب الصليبية ، فضلاً عن أن التجارة والرحلات لعبت دوراً هاماً في نقل معالم ألف ليلة وليلة إلى الشعوب الأوروبية .

وفي مطلع القرن العشرين رأينا ألف ليلة وليلة تسيطر على وحي الأدباء العرب ، فراحوا يستقون منها مادة أديمهم ، ولعبت دوراً كبيراً في خيال نتاجهم الشعري والقصصي ، وسيطرت بعض موضوعاته على إبداعاتهم . فوجدنا الأديب الناقد الشاعر عباس محمود العقاد يصدر ديوانه في عام 1928 م وقد ضم جزؤه الأول " يقظة الصباح " قصيدة " شهرزاد أو سحر الحديث " ولعل هذه القصيدة هي الأولى في الشعر العربي الحديث التي تستوحي ألف ليلة وليلة . ثم جاء الشاعر المهجري فوزي المعلوف لينقل لنا من ليالي ألف ليلة وليلة " بساط الريح " إلى دار الغربة ، ليحلق بروحه إلى الفضاء الرحب ، إلى عالم كله محبة وخير ، عالم بعيد عن عالم الإنسان الأرضي ، الذي قيده العبودية ، وخنقته الشرور والبغضاء ، والأحقاد والضغائن . ثم سرعان ما انكب الشعراء العرب بدءاً من عام 1947 م على ألف ليلة وليلة يستلهمون منها موضوعاتهم دون إدراك ووعي بدلالاتها التعبيرية عن واقع أمتهم ؛ بل كانت مصدر وحي جميل جذاب للعمل الشعري ، فجاءت رموزها تجريداً للواقع ، تذكرنا بالهروبية عند الرمزيين و الرومانطيين . ثم لم يلبث الشاعر العربي أن حمل قصائده من ألف ليلة وليلة رموزاً تجسد هذا الواقع ، وتمثل الثورة عليه أيما تمثيل ، رموزاً فيها تمردٌ وثورةٌ ، وفيها أيضاً . أملٌ وبشرى ، وتفاؤلاً للمستقبل الوليد .

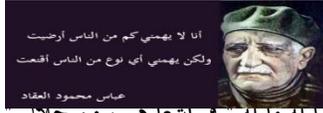
وقد تناولنا في هذه الورقة أثر ألف ليلة وليلة في الشعر العربي الحديث في ثلاث محاور هامة ركز عليها الشعر العربي الحديث ، وضمنها قصائده دون سواها ، من عالم ألف ليلة وليلة ، وهي : " شهرزاد ، والسندباد البحري ، وبساط الريح " . فكان محور الأول : عن أثر شخصية شهرزاد في الشعر العربي ، وجاء محور الثاني . يفصح عن أثر بساط الريح في الشعر المهجري . أما محور الثالث والأخير . فتناول أثر شخصية السندباد البحري في الشعر الحديث ، تلك الشخصية الأسطورية التي تعد من أكثر قصص الليالي رواجاً في أوروبا ، زمن العصور الوسطى . واقتصرنا على هذه المحاور الثلاثة دون سواها ، لأن الشاعر العربي اقتصر على هاتين الشخصيتين : شهرزاد ، والسندباد البحري . وتلك الأداة الخارقة (بساط الريح) دون سواها مما ضمه عالم ألف ليلة وليلة .

المبحث الأول

شهرزاد في الشعر العربي الحديث



أثارت " شهرزاد " ، تلك المرأة الحكيمة . كما أطلق عليها النقاد والباحثون . مخيلة الكتاب والشعراء والقراء ، وأغرت المبدعين .
الباحثين ، وفتقت فرائح الشعراء . كان والدها أحد أعظم وزراء شهباز ، ولم تكن . شهرزاد . على شاكلة غيرها من النساء ، فهي تعتمد كثيراً على درايتها وفطنتها ، ومعرفتها ، وثقافتها الواسعة ، فهي امرأة زكية جميلة عاملة ، مثقفة ، واعية لأحداث عصرها ، قارئة لكتب تاريخ الأمم ، حافظة لها ، راوية لأحداث الزمان ، دراسة لطبائع الأجناس البشرية ، وطوائف المجتمع ، عارفة بخبايا الكون وأسراره ، شهرزاد " التي المرأة التي تقر قبل ألف ليلة وليلة ، ج1، ص 13) ، إنها الملكة الرشيدة ، الباحثة اللبيلة الأولى على لسان الصبية : " أن المرأة إذا أرادت أمراً لا يعلها شيء " (قد ألمت بوضع شهباز النفسي أكثر من غيرها من النساء ، فاستطاعت أن تتعرف إلى . عن الفضيلة في أبي حنبلها ، ذات عقل مشرق ، ونظر بعيد الوحش الضاري ، القابع في صدر شهباز ، فحولته إلى قط مستأنس ، حتى سميت المرأة الساحرة . فأخذت تطوف بهذا الملك طوافاً سحرياً في ممالك الكون ، فجاءته مجموعة من القصص تشاغله بها كل ليلة ، وكأنها تمتطي بساط الريح تسامره تارة ، وتحادثه أخرى ، بأسلوبها العذب ، وصوتها الساحر الفتان ، تسحره تارة ، وتدغدغ عواطفه تارة أخرى ، تريجه مرة ، وتداوي جرحه مرات ، وتدرجياً تكسب ثقته ، وتنمي في أعماقه الرهو ، ولكنها تذكر إلى جانبها أفاصيص أخرى عن وفائهن ، وذكائهن ، وإخلاصهن ، ولم ترعجه بالمواعظ المباشرة ، وإنما أسعدته بالحكايات المشوقة ، و النوارد الطريفة ، و أثارت عنده ولعا بهذا الفن الممتع لمدة ألف ليلة وليلة . كانت تتركه فيها عند الصباح متعباً بنام من غير حراك . وبذلك استطاعت "شهرزاد" عن طريق سردها للحكايات ، أن تقصي شهباز عن "عقدة الخيانة" هذه لتعالجها بقدرتها على الحكيم في مهمة وعرة وأثبتت بكل ذكاء أن الإنسان طفل في جميع مراحل عمره تستهويه الحكايات في جميع مراحل الزمن من المهد إلى . صعبة لكنها تنجح فيها في النهاية ألف ليلة وليلة ، ج1، ص اللحد ، وكان أعظم ما أنجزته هو تحول زوجها من الظلمة إلى النور ، ثم صارت بعد شريكة حكمه وسيدة قصره .
لذا فقد انبهر الشعراء العرب المحدثون بهذه الشخصية الأسطورية ، فاستلهموا هذه ال " شهرزاد " في أشعارهم ، ليعبروا عن ذواتهم ، (13 فكانت " شهرزاد " بمثابة القناع الذي يبررون به عبره أفكارهم . وسوف أقصر في حديثي هنا على نماذج من الشعراء ، إذ ليس بوسعنا هنا أن نتناول أشعار كل الشعراء المحدثين الذين تأثروا بهذه الأسطورة الشهرزادية . وهم كثير ، لضيق السطور ، ولطبيعة البحث الموجزة التي لا تمكننا من إفراد الصفحات الطوال ..



أنا لا يهمني كم من الناس أرحمت
ولكن يهمني أي نوع من الناس أقمعت
عباس محمود العقاد

أولاً - شهرزاد في فكر العقاد :

كان الشاعر عباس محمود العقاد في طليعة الشعراء المحدثين الذين استلهموا " ألف ليلة وليلة " في أشعارهم ، من خلال قصيدة " شهرزاد " أو " سحر الحديث " (ديوان العقاد : يقظة الصباح ، ج1) ، وتعد هذه القصيدة من أروع قصائده ، وهي تتسم بالطابع القصصي الذي يروي فيه الشاعر أحداثاً ، ويصور شخصيات ، ويضمنه رأياً له في السعادة والجمال وسحر الأدب ، إذ لم يتعد العقاد فيها صوغ حكايات " شهرزاد " ألف ليلة وليلة في قالب شعري . فقد رسم العقاد في المقطع الأول من قصيدته صورة الطاغية المنحون " شهباز " ناقما على جميع النساء ، بسبب خيانة زوجها الملكة الأولى له ، حاقداً عليهن ، منتقماً منهن في أشخاص عرائسه ، إذ صار كلما يأخذ بنتاً بكراً ، يزيل بكارتها ، ويقتلها من ليانتها (ألف ليلة وليلة : ج1 ص 50) ، فوصفه بأنه حقود تمكن الشر منه حتى جعله صنيعته :

أضمر الشر للنساء حقوداً وأبي الحقد أن يكون رشيداً

حقرت عهدَه فتاةً فآلى لا يصونن للنساء عهدودا

. ويرى العقاد أن ثورة شهباز الجاحمة ، الحاقد ، على زوجته الخائنة ، حولته إلى أسد جسور ، يسلط أنيابه المسمومة على كل وردة غضة ، بعد أن يشمها ، ويعب من رحيقها ، فكان ينتقم من كل فتاة تقضي معه ليلة واحدة ، فيذبحها ، يقول الشاعر :

زهرات يشمها ثم يري بشبا السيف غصنها الأملودا

أنفأ أن يمس غير شبا السيف نحوراً يلهو بها وقودودا

وتولى الردى يزف إليه كل يوم حوراء كالشمس رودا

ثم يستمر الشاعر في رسم صورة شهريار الطاغية بكل قسوة ، فإراه وقد نزع من قلبه نطفة العطف و الحنان والرحمة ، فلا يشفع عنده جمال امرأة ، ولا نضرة شبابها ، فهو لا يرى أمامه إلا الانتقام من بنات حواء جميعا ، فيقول :

وكأي من كاعب لو يرد الميـه
ت شيء لردت الملحودا

. وفي المقطع الثاني من القصيدة تظهر شهرياد ، وقد عرفت داء شهريار ودواؤه ، فتقلب حياته وتفكيره ، وتغير من حاله ، يقول الشاعر العقاد :

عرفت طب دائه شهر زأد
فدعته وهو الشقي سعيدا

كان فظاً فؤأه مغلق النفس
كظيماً لا يستلان عنيدا

فألانته بالمقال فأصغى
ومن القول ما يلين الحديدا

وهكذا تمكنت شهرياد- برأى العقاد- من علاج شهريار ، فألانته بالقول الجميل ، والحكايات الحزينة عن مآسي الحياة ، وتمكنت من علاجه ، حين لقد علمت " حكايات شهرياد " شهريار أن الحياة ليست سعادة كلها ، فلا بد من تعثر الإنسان . أبصر في مرآة الحياة ، ليجد نفسه ليس وحيداً بالمشاكل والأزمات ، وليس له أن يعتقد أن ما أصابه لم يصب أحدا سواه :

فرأى قلبا وكان فريداً
لم يكن بعد في القلوب فريدا

. ويقرر الشاعر العقاد أن نصر شهرياد على شهريار ما كان أبداً يتحقق لولا أنها قد جمعت بين سحر العيون وسحر الفنون : إنما السحر آيتان فمن

يملد كهما يملك الملوك عبيدا

يستبي القول ساحرأت الغواني
والغواني تُسبي القول المجيدا

آيتا فتنة تصاد وتصاد
د فأنأ صيدا وأنا صيودا

وهكذا كانت شهرياد في نظر العقاد تلك المرأة الزكية ، البهية ، المحدثه اللبقة ، التي أسرت بحدنها وجمالها قلب شهريار القاسي ، فتحول بينه وبين

الاستمرار في انتقامه من بنات حواء جميعا .

ثانيا . شهرياد في فكر الشاعر أحمد خميس :

وقد رسم الشاعر أحمد خميس في شعره صورة رائعة لـ " شهرياد " ، صورة تلك الفتاة الفاتنة ، المرفهة ، التي يشع حولها ترف الشرق ، وأجواء الخيالية الساحرة . فإراه يرمز بها في قصيدته " ليالي شهرياد " (مجلة الهلال ، 1949) إلى الجمال



من بريق الأعاجيب ، وتظهر فيها بغداد في صورة مدينة الفن ، والمتعة ، والسعادة . ويرسم لنا لمحة من الساحرة الخلابة التي تركتها أجواء " ألف ليلة وليلة " في خيال الشاعر العربي ، وكأن الشاعر كان ينوي الإحاطة بدقائق هذه الصور المتخيلة الجميلة ، ولكن طبيعة الخلق

الشعري تمردت على محاولته ، فخرجت الصورة في توقعات متتابعة ، بفصل بينها إطار الليالي التقليدي :

[وهنا أدركها طيف الصباح ... ضاحك الأهداب فتأ الشواح ... فاطوي يا حسناء عن همس مباح]

. ولعل هذا الإطار هو أبرز ما في القصيدة سواء أكان افتنانا بموجبات التعبير الشعبي أو محاولة لصياغة التعبير الشعبي في قالب شعري لاستخدامه في

ربط الإيقاعات المختلفة التي تتكون منها القصيدة . ثم يصورها الشاعر أحمد خميس في قصيدة أخرى عنوانها " شهرياد سنة 2000 (مجلة الهلال

، 1950م .) ، يصور هذه " الشهرياد " وكأنها امرأة خالدة ، تعيش في كل زمان ومكان ، فهي تعيش الآن بيننا ، تعطي رأيها فيما يحدث في واقعنا ،

وتحن إلى الماضي ، وتعبر عن قلقها مما يجنبه المستقبل ، فيقول :

[يا إلهي : أي سر هو عني غائب ... جعل العالم يبدو في شقاء وعناء؟

صيحة مشبوبة بعد رقاد ... أرسلتها في الليالي شهرياد

فرأت طيفا شروداً أشجأه أساها ... يتنادى: أين يا ليل زمان الشعراء ؟

راعها فيه أسير للسهاد ... فتهادت في حنان شهرياد

أطرق الشاعر يُخفي بادران من بكاء ... فأطلته يداها في حنو ... وإخاء

قال : أضحي الكون غابا ، والأناسي ذنابا ... ليس منهم حياة الخير والحقد رجاء

ذلّوا العلم لما شاءوا ، وسلّوها حراباً ... فإذا بالأرض بحر من دموع ودماء...
وأجادوا صنعة الحرباء طبعاً واهاباً ... فأحالوا العيش زوراً وأفانين رياء.]
. ثم تطلق " شهرزاد" زفرة اليأس والقنوط ، والإحباط من الحاضر المشين ، والواقع المرير ، وتحن إلى عالمها الماضي ، عالم الأسطورة والحياة !:
[فأجابت وبعينها شقاءً وشقاءً : آو يا ضيعة أحلامي وقد صارت هباء
أين مني الآن ذكرى ليلةٍ من " ألف ليلة " ... وأميرِ فاتنِ الطلعة تجلّو البهاء
طالما ألقى على عمري وآمالي ظلُّهُ ... فكسّا عمري وآمالي أنواب الهناء
لم أجد من بعده حبًّا .. ولا نادمتُ قبْلَهُ ... غيرَ أحلامي العذاري ، وخيالاتي الوضاء
وأغانٍ تزكّيت في كلِّ وإدٍ ... " شهريارا" يتمنى " شهرزاد "]



ثالثاً - شهرزاد في فكر الشاعر عبد الوهاب البياتي :

وقد وظف عبد الوهاب البياتي شهرزاد في سبعة قصائد : ثلاثة منها في الجزء الأول من أعماله الشعرية : (الحريم . شهرزاد .) ، وأربعة منها في الجزء الثاني (شيء من ألف ليلة ، الورث ، الجرادة الذهبية ، العراف الأعمى) بالإضافة إلى قصيدته " امرأة " . وجعل من شهرزاد " أنموذجاً" للمرأة الشرقية الجديدة ، فرسم لنا في قصيدة الحريم " جانباً آخر من شخصية شهرزاد ، فجعلها تثور بالسلاح على الشرق القديم ، وتحطم جدران الحريم ، وبذلك عبر عن نغمة المرأة الشرقية وتحريها ..

وكأنّ البياتي لم يستطع أن يتخلص من التفسير الجنسي الشائع عن شخصية " شهرزاد " فإذا بشهرزاده ، المفروض أن تكون صورة المرأة الشرقية الجديدة تبدو في مطلع القصيدة بصورة " تسيل شهوانية " على حد تعبير الدكتور إحسان عباس (البياتي : ص 91 ، 1949م . ، وفاروق سعد : ص 106 ، 1962): [شفتاك جرح لا يزال دمًا يسيل ...

على وسادتنا طوال الليل ، يا عصفورتي ، جرح يسيل .]

. بيد أن الشاعر لم يستطع التخلّص مما توحىه المرأة الشرقية القديمة من الضعف والاستسلام لمصيرها ، وانعدام الاستقلال في شخصيتها ، فإذا به يأتي لشهرزاد بفارس يجيئها ... وهكذا جاء النفس الرومنطقي متجلباً في القصيدة:

[ويظل فارسها يعني تحت شرفتها " طوال الليل آلاف الحريم... يولدن ثم يمتمن عند الفجر إلا أنت يا حلّمي الجميل... على وسادتنا ، طوال الليل ، يا حلّمي الجميل .]

. وكأنّ الشاعر يستدرك ما فاتته بتأثير النفس الرومنطقي ، فإذا به ينتقل فجأة ليصور الشرق الحامل الذي لا بد له من ثورة : [وعمائم خضر ،

وصيادو الذئاب ... يخمسون " قصيدة عصماء " في ذم الزمان... وسحائب الأفيون ، والشرق القديم ... ما زال يلعب بالحصى والرمل ، فما زال

التنابلة العبيد... يستنزفون دم المساكين ، الخزاني الكادحين... على وسائد من عبر... ويزاولون تجارة القول المزيف ، والرقيق.]

. ويسترسل البياتي في عرض أوضاع الشرق الحامل حتى يصل إلى المرأة : [... وآلف الحريم ... يولدن ثم يمتمن عند الفجر في أحضان " هرون الرشيد

" .. ويعود فارسها يعني " لم تعود شهرزاد - زاد المعاد - جسداً بأسواق المدينة في المزداد ... جسداً يباع ... يا أنت ، يا عصفورتي ، يا شهرزاد.]

. ولا يكاد الشاعر يتابع تصوير وضعية المرأة حتى تعود صور الشرق : [ومنابع البترول والكهان والشرق القديم... وحطم الأغلال يبصق في الظلام

على القبور... ما زال أعداء الحياة يزاولون ... تجارة القول المزيف والرقيق.]

. و الشاعر البياتي يربط هنا بين تحرر المرأة ، وتحرر الشرق ، وهذا ما يجعلنا لا نوافق الدكتور عباس في تفسيره الجمع بين صورة الشرق وصورة المرأة

على أنه " طغيان لصورة الشرق على الموضوع الأصلي للقصيدة ، وهو تحرر المرأة ، لأن هذا الموضوع تكرر ثلاث مرات بسرعة ، أشبه بالمرأة

السابقة " (عبد الوهاب البياتي ، ص 91 ، 1949)

. ونحن نتفق مع الأستاذ فاروق سعد بأن هذا التكرار الذي يستند إليه الدكتور عباس في رأيه ، كان من قبيل التأكيد الشعري لفكرة ارتباط تحرر المرأة بتحرر الشرق . ألم يطمئن الشاعر إلى تأكيده عندما انتقل من صورة الشرق القديم ليعرض وضعية المرأة الشرقية الجديدة التي ثارت على " حياة الحرير " بعد أن عانتها قرونا طويلة :

[ويعود فارسها يغني ، تحت شرفتها " حياتي شهرزاد ... كحياة باقي الناس كانت ، كالفقاعة في الهواء حتى حملت معي السلاح ... سلاح ثورتنا على الشرق القديم ... وهدمت أسوار الحرير (فاروق سعد مج1ص: 108، 1962م) .



المبحث الثاني
بساط الريح في الشعر العربي المهجري
 بساط الريح أو البساط السحري هو : الذي يتصف بقدرته الفائقة على نقل الأشخاص الجالسين عليه فوراً ، وقد وردت قصة هذا البساط في حكايات " ألف ليلة وليلة " في حكاية الأمير أحمد والجنية بري بانو :
 [في هذا الخاتم ... جني محبوس يستنجد بي... لو تنجده ، يحملنا فوق بساط الريح... إلى غرناطة... عمياء أنا ... لكني أحلى من ولادة... أنظم لكني كنت أخلق... فوق مروج الشعر سحابة (البيهقي: ص12، ... شعرا في نومي... لكني أنسى ما أنظمه... رجل يشبه سيف الدولة... عانقي (1998)]

. لقد استعار الشاعر المهجري تسمية " بساط الريح " أداة ألف ليلة وليلة الخارقة ، في قصائده الشعرية ، ولم يكن بذلك يريد تصوير أجواء الحكايات العربية ، أو التعبير عن مواقفها ، أو الرمز إلى شخصياتها ونمادجها . وإنما اتخذها ركيزة ينطلق منها إلى الأفق البعيد ، بعيداً عن واقعه ، وما يعاينيه من مرارات الاغتراب في المهجر وبعده عن وطنه الأم ، حيث يخلق في سماء الخيال ، متخيلاً نفسه فيها ممتطياً بساط الريح ، يسبح به في الفضاء الطلق الرحب ، بعيداً عن لوثة الأرض وشروها ، وعفونة أحقادها وضغائنها ، يشق به الأجواء السحيقة ، إلى عالم رحب جميل ، صنعته خياله .



وقد كتب من شعراء المهجر الشاعر فوزي المعلوف
 ملحمة " على بساط الريح ، وكذا كتب جورج صيدح ، قصيدته " على بساط الريح " . وكلاهما استعار تسميته بساط الريح نصائره التي حملته بعيداً في الأفق ، عن خلانه وأحبابه ، أو في رحلته على إحدى شواطئ البرازيل . وتعد ملحمة «على بساط الريح» (1957) لشاعر المهجر " فوزي المعلوف (ت.1929) " (فوزي المعلوف : هو الشاعر اللبناني المهجري ، صاحب ملحمة "على بساط الريح" رائدة الملاحم الشعرية في شعرنا المعاصر ، وقد توفي الشاعر قبل أن يتم كل مقاطعها ، وهو شاعر مرّ كالشهاب في حياتنا الأدبية نجمة انطفأ بسرعة ، إذ أنه مات وهو في حدود الثلاثين من عمره ، فقد ولد عام 1899 في زحلة ، وتوفي عام 1929 في ريو دي جانيرو بالبرازيل ، وتعد السيرة الشعرية لفوزي المعلوف سيرة رائدة ، إنه حلقة من حلقات تطور الشعر العربي في القرن العشرين ، ولا شك أنه لو عاش لأعطى للشعر أكثر مما أعطاه .
 وهذه الملحمة من أهم الملاحم الشعرية الحديثة ، التي خلدت اسمه في عالم الأدب العربي رغم عمره القصير الذي لم يتجاوز الثلاثين عامًا . وقد نالت هذه الملحمة حظاً واسعاً من الاحتفاء والتقدير ، فقد هزت أعماق المثقفين العرب وقت صدورها لأول مرة بعد رحيل الشاعر ، وبمقدمة كتبها لها كبير شعراء الأسبان فرنسيسكو فيلا سياسا . ولأهمية هذه الملحمة وقيمتها الفنية ترجمت إلى لغات عدة . وفيها ينطلق الشاعر " فوزي المعلوف " إلى رحلة خيالية ، ساجاً في الفضاء بروحه ، نلمس فيها من خلال الأبيات معاناته الذاتية النابعة من بعده عن وطنه الأم ، ومرارات الاغتراب في وتتجلى في هذه الملحمة روح الرومانسية . المهجر ، وكذلك نستشعر حنينه للأبدية ، كأنه يتمنى أن يظل محلّقاً في الفضاء ، بعيداً عن الأرض بالأمها ، فهو فيها يكاد يضيق بالأرض ومن عليها ، فيطير في الفضاء الرحب منشداً: [في عباب الفضاء فوق غيومه فوق نسره ونجمته ... حيث بث الهوى بثغر نسيمة كل عطره ورقته... موطن الشاعر المخلق منذ البدء لكن بروحه لا بجسمه... أنزلته فيه عروس قوافيه بعيداً عن الوجود وظلمه] . ويرى فوزي المعلوف أن روحه ليست من هذه الأرض ، فيقول: [لست من عالم التراب وإن كنت تقمصت بالتراب عليه... أنت من عالم بعيد عن الأرض يفيض الجلال عن جانبه...]

. وأخيراً يناجي فوزي معلوف قلمه ، وهو رفيقه في رحلته السماوية ، ويقول: [يا يراعي رافقت كل حياتي... فارو عني ما كان حقاً وصدقا... إن لم ألق مثل صمتك صمتا.. حولته عرائس الشعر نطقاً.]

. وقد تخيل الشاعر فوزي المعلوف في "على بساط الريح" رحلة على سهوات الريح ، واستعار تسمية " بساط الريح" للطائرة التي حملته في رحلة جوية قصيرة على شاطئ من شواطئ البرازيل ، وأوحت له ملحمة " على بساط الريح ":

فوق طيارة على سهوات الريح ... راحت تروّض المستحيلاً
هي طير من الجماد كأن ... الجنّ في صدرها تحثّ خيولاً
حمحت تضرب الرياح بنعليها ... فشقت إلى السماء سبيلاً
ثم مدت إلى السماء جناحين ... وجرت على السحاب ذيولاً

وبعد ..، فإن ملحمة على بساط الريح ، تعد " نفثات شاعر يحس بأن جسمه مقيد في الأرض ، بينما تسبح روحه في الفضاء الطلق الرحب ، بعيداً عن شرور الأرض ، وحزازات النفس ، لمعانقة روحه الخلقية الحرة ... ولهفته إلى معانقة هذا الروح السابحة في الجو فوق النور ، هي التي جعلته يتخيل نفسه ممتطياً بساط الريح ، يشق به الأجواء السحيقة ، هازئاً بالطيور والنجوم ، والأرواح العلوية ، وهو يسجل هذا كله في أربعة عشر نشيداً ، تظهر فيها براعة الشاعر ، وقوة شاعريته ، وخياله الموهوب ، كما يظهر فيها قلبه الكبير الذي يتألم لشقاء البشر ، ويحاول أن ينفي الشرور من دنياهم ليسعدوا بها " (مجلة " الرسالة " عدد 11 ، 1957)



المبحث الثالث

السندباد في الشعر العربي الحديث

تعد مغامرات السندباد البحري ، أول ما تُرجم إلى اللغات الأجنبية من ألف ليلة وليلة ، حيث بدأ السبع عن مخطوطة لم تُحقق بعد ، ثم اكتُشف أنّ هذه الحكايات هي جزءٌ من مجموعة قصصية باسم " ألف ليلة وليلة". ثم نُشرت لمغامرات السندباد البحري ورحلاته ترجمت كثيرة مستقلة للكبار والصغار على السواء. وقد استهوت هذه الشخصية بما فيها من قلق وتطلع شعراء العصر الحديث ، ووجدوا في مخاطرات السندباد " معنى الانعتاق من الواقع والتمرد عليه ، والرغبة في تنفس هواءٍ جديد ، وتلك زوَجُ الشاعر العظيم الذي تحفزه الرغبة على الكشف ، واستكناه الوجود ، ويلهبه توق دائم إلى تغيير الواقع ، وتجاوز الممكن إلى ما يجب أن يكون ، فيضرب بتجربته الشعرية في أكباد الحقيقة لأنه رحالة أبدي المغامرة .

(. انس داود : الأسطورة في الشعر العربي المعاصر : ص 308)

لذا استلهم الشعر العربي الحديث شخصية السندباد البحري المعروفة في الليالي العربية ، ووظفها لكي تكون قناعاً رمزياً ، يُعبّر بها الشاعر عن ملامح عصره ، لكونها تُمثل في تراثنا الشعبي والأسطوري رمز الرحلة والتجوال ، ومحاولةً لتحقيق الذات من خلال رحلاته ومغامراته السبع في عرض البحار القصصية. ولا شك أنّ اهتمام الأوروبيين البالغ بشخصية السندباد البحري كان له أثر كبير في شيوعها في الشعر العربي الحديث والاستفادة منه فنياً.



1- السندباد في فكر السياب

وقد استغل الشاعر العراقي بدر شاكر السيّاب شخصية السندباد البحري استغلالاً فنياً ناجحاً في قصيدته "رسالة من البحر" بعنوانه "منزل الأقتان"، حيث مزج السيّاب فيها مزجاً فنياً بارعاً بين شخصيتي السندباد وأوليس ، أو بمعنى أدق كما يقول د. زايد : "يستعير بعض ملامح أوليس لشخصية السندباد التي استخدمها ليعبر من خلالها عن إحساسه بانتصار المرض عليه، حيث يرى نفسه سندباداً مهزوماً كبيراً، أسرته آلهة البحار في قلعة سوداء ، ويطلب من زوجته الوفية المنتظرة ألا تنتظره بعد، فهو لن يعود...". يقول الشاعر السيّاب في القصيدة : [وجلست تنتظرين عودة سندباد من الإسفار... والبحرُ يصرُخُ من ورائك بالعواصف والرُّعود... هو لن يعود... أو ما علّمتِ بأنه أسرته آلهة البحار... في قلعة سوداء... في جُزُرٍ من الدّم والمَحَار...]

. ولا ينسى السيّاب أن يستخدم رمز الأثني ، ولا نستطيع البتّ أهي الأمّ أم الحبيبة أو الأرض ؟ ولعلّها هي كل ذلك ، فالشاعر يرد وداعهنّ جميعاً ... [وجلّستِ تنتظرين عودة سنديباد من السّفار: ، فهذه الأثني تنتظر بقلبي عودته ، ولكنّه عاجزٌ عن الوفاء بعهد الرجوع والحفاظ عليها ، فيقول]
 [خلاصتُ شِعرك لم يصنّها السنديبادُ من الدّمارُ
 ثمّ يفتتح رمز السنديباد على الأساطير الإغريقية ، عبر رمز (أوديسيوس) بطل (الأوديسة) ، والذي أسرته الآلهة (كاليسو) في جزيرتها ، بعد أن غضب عليه إله البحار (بوسايدون) ، ومنعته من العودة لولا وساطة الآلهة بعد سبع سنواتٍ ، أي أنّه عاد ، ومن جديدٍ يترك السيّاب رمزه بلا عودةٍ []
 [أو ما علّمتُ بأنّه أسرتهُ آلهةُ البحار : ، فقد وقع أسيراً للموت
 . هكذا يمضي الإيقاع الحزين ليستغرق القصيدة كلّها ، وهي تفيض بصرخات الحزن والألم والأشجان ، لبيدع الشاعر حقاً في مزج الأسطورة بالظلال النفسية المعتمة!!

. ونرى السيّاب في " مدينة السنديباد" يجتاز أبعاد اسطوره ، فيعيش السنديباد في ذاته ، يرافقه في إبحاره عبر الزمن في عالمٍ رحبٍ ، تتردد في أرجائه أصداؤه "ياباب" أليوت (إحسان عباس : ص 106 - 112 ، 1955) : [جوعان في القبر بلا غذاء ... عريان في الثلج بلا رداء ... صرخت في الشتاء ... اقض يا مطر ... مضاجع العظام والثلوج والهباء ... مضاجع الحجر ... وانبت البذور ولفتح الزهر ... واحرق البيادر القيم بالبروق ... وفجر العروق ... واتقل الشجر]
 . وقد رمز البياتي بالسنديباد في قصيدته " وجوه السنديباد" إلى الإنسان المعاصر الذي يبحث عن ذاته الضائعة ، الإنسان المعاصر في قلقه ، وانفصام شخصيته ، و بحثه عن معنى الراحة والخلود ، لقد تنقل وحرب وعانى وتألم . ويلحظ في هذه القصيدة التجريد الكلي لشخصية السنديباد ، وأسطورته ، وامتزاجهما بذات الشاعر امتزاجاً محكماً ، لدرجة أصبح من العبث الفصل بينهما .

[السنديباد من هنا مر ؟ ومرت هذه العصور ... وهو على مسحاته :. والسنديباد عند البياتي هو رمز الناثر الذي يحمل لواء التغيير ، فيقول .. (البياتي: ديوان عن الموت والثورة ص 138 .)] يدور ... والشاه في بلاطه مخمور ... يغرق في الحرير والأطياب ... ويطعم الكلاب
 [كل ما أكتبه ... يا سنديبادي ... كل ما أكتبه محض حروف ... فأنا :. والسنديباد هو . أيضاً . القصيدة والحرف الذي يحمل القضية ، فيقول البياتي
 أه لا توفظ جراحتي ودعني حول أمواتي أطوف ... أيها ... اعتصر الحرف وورقائي مع الصبح هتوف ... وأنا يا سنديبادي ... متعب قلبي عزوف الحرف ... الذي علمني جوب البحار ... سنديبادي مات مقتولاً على مركب نار ... أين من يأخذ ثأر السنديباد ... أيها السيف الذي للغمد عاد ... دمننا كان المداد ... أيها الريح الذي يحمل مركب ... سنديبادي ... أيها الحرف المعذب ... أينما تذهب أذهب (البياتي: ديوان النار والكلمات ص 21-17) [

[من يشتري ؟ الله يرحمكم ... ويرحم أجمعين ... أباءكم ، يا :. والسنديباد هو الفلسطيني الذي كتب عليه أن يجوب المنافي وفي ذلك يقول البياتي محسنون ... اللاجئ العربي والانسان والحرف المبين برغيف خبز ... ان اعراقي تجف وتضحكون ... السنديباد أنا ... كنوزي في قلوب صغاركم ... للسنديباد بزي شحاذ حزين (البياتي: ديوان النار والكلمات ص 37)]



2- ويُعدُّ الشاعر اللبناني خليل حاوي

أكثر الشعراء اكتسماً من الوجهة الفنية في استخدام شخصية السنديباد البحري للتعبير عن مرحلة من أهم مراحل تطوره الشعري والفكري وهي مرحلة بحثه عن ذاته عبر مجموعة من المعامرات الوجودية . وكتب حاوي في قصيدة «البحار والدرويش» من ديوانه «نهر الرماد» الرسم التخطيطي لشخصية السنديباد البحري، تلك الشخصية التي تكاملت صورتها الشخصية في «الريح» .



3- «سنديباد» نجيب سرور:

أما نجيب سرور فقد تحدث عن تجنّبه في دروب ومسالك الحياة المتشابهة الموحسه ، في منصف «السنديباد الذي لن يعود» من قصيدة «إنه الإنسان» ضمن ديوانه «التراجيديا الإنسانية» ، محاولاً استغلال بعض ملامح شخصية السنديباد ، يقول : [حتّى رأيت فيها قبة بيضاء في الأفق ... كانت تلوح كالضريح ... أتيته مع الشروق .. دُرْتُ حولها إلى الغروب هنيهةً ... وخيمت سحابة والشمس غابت ... وارتمى للأفق ظلّ والريح هبت ... دوّمت ... واهتزت القفار ... وحطَّ رحُّ كاجلج فوق الضريح ... ثمّ نام ... وقيل أن يفيق في الصباح ... ربطت نفسي يا حبيبي بمخلبه.]

4- سندباد الشاعر صلاح عبد الصبور :

وقد وظف الشاعر صلاح عبد الصبور شخصية السندباد البحري في بعض قصصه (السندباد) ، وفيها لم يكن السندباد غريبا عن سندباد ألف ليلة وليلة ، فهو لازال يحتفظ بذلك " الشعور الملتهب الذي سيدفع به إلى المغامرة غير جاهل أو عابئ بما سيصيبه من أهوال " (مجلة لآداب ، العدد الرابع ، 1958)

و تتألف قصيدته " رحلة في الليل " من ديوانه الأول " الناس في بلادي " من ست توقيعات (نفسية) تستأثر أسطورة السندباد بالتوقيعة الرابعة منها . ويذهب أنس داود إلى أن الشاعر صلاح عبد الصبور يعد أول من استخدم رمز السندباد وتقمصه ، وتحدث من خلاله ، وإن كان الشاعر علي محمود طه قد أشار إليه دون أن يفصح بمرمى السندباد في ديوانه " الملاح النائه " الذي يجوب بحار الفكر والمعاناة ، بحثا عن رؤية شعرية (الأسطورة في الشعر العربي المعاصر ، ص 138)

. لقد وجد صلاح عبد الصبور في أسطورة السندباد التي اتخذ منها قناعا ليسط أفكاره ، وتأملاته الفلسفية على مدى تطور حياته الشعرية التي يمكن تقسيمها إلى ثلاث مراحل ، كان السندباد في كل مرحلة يطهر



. أما خليل حاوي

[بعد أن عانى دوار البحر ... : "فقد اتخذ السندباد علما عا" ديوانه الأول " نهر الرماد" في قصيدته "البحار والدريوش والضوء المداحي ، عبر عتبات الطريق... ومدى الجهول ينشق عن الجهول ... عن موت محيق ... بعد أن راوغه الريح رماه...الريح للشرق العريق ... حط في أرض حكى عنها الرواة (ديوان خليل حاوي : ص 41-42)

. واعتبر نفسه راحلا أبديا في سبيل المعرفة ، وقد أفصح أحيانا عن اسم " السندباد " واكتفى أحيانا أخرى بالحديث عن الرحلة والمغامرة ومشقات التطلع والبحث ، وقد حاول -عبر هذا الرحيل - أن يعثر على اللغة الفطرية البكر . (الأسطورة في الشعر العربي المعاصر ، ص 258) ففي قصيدته " الناي والريح " من ديوانه الثاني ، يبحث خليل حاوي عن لغة الانسان الأولى ، التي تحمل كل آثار الإحساس المفعم بمشاهد الوجود ، وكان طريقه إلى تلك اللغة طريق صعب

[دري إلى البدوية السمراء... واحات العجين البكر ... والفجوات أودية الهجير...وزوايع الرمل المرير... تعصى وليس يروضها... غير الذي يتمص الجمل الصبور... وقلبه طفل يكور جنة... غير الذي يقتات من ثمر عجيب... نصف من الجنات يسقط في السلال... يأتي بلا تعب حلال.. نصف من العرق الصبيب.. الشوك ينبث في شقوق أظافري... الشوق في شفتي يبرج باللهيب (خليل حاوي : ص 202-205).

. فالشاعر _ خليل حاوي - قد بدأ بالرحيل من أجل المعرفة ، والبحث عن ماهية الوجود ، وانتهى بذويانه في نهر الجوع ، والتطلع إلى ازدهار الحياة ونضارتها ، عبر جيل عربي جديد

[يعبرون الجسر في الصبح خفافا ... أضلعي امتدت لهم جسرا وطيد ... من كهوف الشرق ، من مستنقع الشرق ... إلى الشرق الجديد (خليل حاوي : ص 169)

[داري التي تحطمت... تنهض من .. وفي ديوانه الثاني " الناي والريح " واصل خليل حاوي الأيمان بالبعث العربي المبشر بالعودة إلى الماضي الحلم لو لم أركم تغتسلون - بالصبح - في النيل... أنقاضها ... تختلج الأخشاب... تلتهم وتحيا قبة خضراء في الربيع... ما كان لي أن أحتفي بالشمس وفي الأردن...والفرات من دمعة الخطيئة (خليل حاوي : ص 272)]

[ماذا سوى كهف يجوع ... فم بيور ... :. أما في ديوانه الأخير " ببادر الجوع " فقد بدا كسير القلب والروح ، يائسا من الانبعاث الذاتي العربي ويد مجوفة تحط وتمسح الخط الجوف في فتور...هذي العقارب لا تدور .. رباه كيف تمط أرجلها الدقائق... تستحيل إلى عصور (خليل حاوي : ص 314]

. ثم اتخذ من السندباد نموذجا يتبناه الشاعر في قصيدته " السندباد في رحلته الثامنة " حتى عد من أكثر الشعراء توظيفا لشخصية سندباد ، لأنه وجد فيها قيما ورموزا صالحة للتعبير عن شتى أبعاد تجربته الروحية والشعرية ، لا سيما تلك الفترة الحاسمة من فترات تطوره الفكري ، وهي فترة البحث عن الذات عبر مجموعة من المغامرات الوجودية فمغامرة الشاعر الفنية تحمل طابع مغامرات السندباد ، وتقمص شخصيته ، فالشاعر يتوحد بالمجتمع رافضا

التفوق الاقليمي، ويتجلى هذا التوحد في قصيدته " السندباد في رحلته الثامنة " من ديوانه " الناي والريح " لترسم هذه الرحلة من بدايتها الى نهايتها (وتختصر المسافة وكأنها القصيدة التي اكتملت عندها الرؤي .) ابتسام محفوظ محمود أبو محفوظ:290

[تحتل عيني بروج مدخنت . وفي المقطع التاسع تتحقق البشارة ويطل السندباد على داره الجديدة التي تشكل المحور الرئيسي الثاني في القصيدة ... واله بعضه بلع خصب ... بعضه جبار فحم ونار... مليون دار مثل داري ودار... تزهو بأطفال غصون الكروم ... والزيتون جمر الربيع ...] (ابتسام محفوظ محمود أبو محفوظ:290

. لقد اتخذ الشاعر من السندباد قناعا له ، اذ يتفاعل صوته مع صوت السندباد حيث الغى المسافة التي تفصل بينهما وألقى نفسه في خصم الموقف ولربما كانت هذه المعاناة التي مر بها خليل حاوي " هي تلك التي ساقته الى الايمان .الدرامي هادفا إلى تطهير ذاته في انتظار النبء أو الوحي بالحضارة على أنها فعل تقدم ، وأن إله التقدم هو إله الإنسان الحقيقي " (خليل حاوي في سطور ، ص 135 وما بعدها).

. لقد تم التغيير عند خليل حاوي انطلاقا من ذات السندباد وبالتالي من ذات الجماعة عن طريق التطهر واجتناب المفاصد . و خليل حاوي نفسه يعلق على رمز السندباد بقوله : "وما يحكى عن السندباد أنه راح يبحث في دنا ذاته فكان يقع هنا وهناك على أكداس من الأمتعة العتيقة والمفاهيم الرثة، رمى بها جميعا في البحر، ولم يأسف على خسارة، تعرى حتى بلغ بالعري الى جوهر فطرته ثم عاد يحمل البنا كنزا لا يشبه له بين الكنوز التي اقتنصها في ديوان خليل حاوي : ص : 253). رحلته السالفة ")

● ونختتم توظيف الشعراء لشخصية السندباد البحري بقصيدة " حفيد السندباد"



صوفيا (بلغاريا)

(2012) ت. للشاعر العراقي رشيد ياسين

، ضمن ديوانه "الموت في الصحراء" التي عبر فيها عن ثلاث صور هي : صورة الفتاة ، وصورة الشاعر ، وصورة الواقع ، حيث تقول الفتاة :

[عشقتُ بلادك منذ الطفولة... فهل هي حقاً بلادٌ جميلة كما وصفتها لنا شهرزاد ؟
وتنتثرُ فوق الوِساد.. وأحلمُ أيَّ أميرةٍ سيأتي ويحفظها السندباد...]

. ويتابع ياسين قائلاً على لسان الشاعر: [مِن أَقاصي الليل يدنو السندباد شبحاً يُجَلِّله السَّواد .. أرايتَ ما فعلوا ؟! ... لقد قتلوا الجميلة شهرزاد ... وسفَّانِي ، لم يتركوا منها على وجه المياه سوى الرَّماد].

. أما الصورة الثالثة وهي صورة الواقع فيعبر عنها قائلاً : [مَن نحنُ ؟ ماذا ظلَّ فينا مِن طموح السندباد ؟ ماذا تبقى مِن عالمٍ شهر زاد؟ ... تحطمت أشرعة السندباد. (رشيد ياسين : 1986)]

الخاتمة

من خلال تناولنا لهذه النماذج الشعرية السابقة لبعض الشعراء العرب الحديثين التي كشفت عن تجليات التراث العربي ومدى تغلغل ألف ليلة وليلة في الشعر العربي الحديث ، اذ اعتمدوا كثيراً على حكايات شهرزاد العجيبة ، وأسطورة السندباد ، التي تعد من أكثر قصص الليالي رواجاً في أوروبا ، زمن العصور الوسطى. ،وتلك الأداة الخارقة (بساط الريح) دون سواها من حكايات ألف ليلة وليلة ، في إضفاء شيء من الخيال الرقيق المرهف الى إبداعاتهم ، أو لتصوير بعض آرائهم وأفكارهم ، تصويراً حياً ، في نقدهم الأدبي والاجتماعي، معولن في كل ذلك على معرفة القارئ العربي لهذه الليالي وهذه الشخصيات ، فقد كانت شخصيات : شهرزاد وشهريار ، والسندباد ، والبساط ، حاضرة بقوة في الشعر العربي الحديث عبروا من خلالها عن تجاربهم النفسية والشعرية ، وأثروا بما ابداعهم ، إذ شكلت لهم رافدا مهما يستقون منه نماذجهم وصورهم ، وامتزجت مع أخيلتهم ورؤاهم ، ودفعتهم نحو عوالم الإبداع الأدبي ، وساعدتهم على الإنفكاك من أسر الواقع البغيض ، وحررتهم من العادي والمألوف ، ودفعتهم للانطلاق نحو فضاء التغيير ، وحفزتهم على الاقتراب من المتلقي الذي تعيش الليالي في أعماقه ، بأسلوب يبتعد عن المباشرة ، وعبرت عن موقف الشعراء الحديثين من التراث العربي بشكل عام ، وعن طبيعة علاقتهم بمصادره ، وعن كيفية إفادتهم منه بطريقة خلاقية ، وعبروا من خلاله عن تجاربه النفسية والشعرية ، وأثروا به إبداعهم ، فبدى شعرهم من خلاله أكثر أصالة ، وأجمل تعبيرا ، وأكثر فنية .وأن الشعراء الحديثين على الرغم من إفادتهم من ألف ليلة وليلة في إبداعهم ، فإن هذا الجانب لم يستغرق مساحة واسعة في أشعارهم.

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الأثار النحوية والدلالية لإعادة الترتيب بين عناصر التركيب

في ضوء النظرية التوليدية التحويلية

أ.د/عامر صلاح محمد شلقامي .

أستاذ النحو والصرف والعروض بقسم اللغة العربية .

وعميد كلية الآداب بالعريش

المقدمة

الحمد لله وحده ، والصلاة والسلام على من لا نبي بعده سيدنا ونبينا محمد بن عبد الله (ﷺ) وبعد ،

فإن في العربية ظواهر جدية بأن تثير انتباه الباحث المدقق ، وتستحق الدرس والتحليل ، ولعل ظاهرة " إعادة الترتيب " -

التي بها يتم مخالفة أصل الكلام ؛ لأن الأصل في الكلام أن يأتي على ترتيبه ؛ لذا عُدت إعادة الترتيب مخالفةً للأصل - هي

إحدى هذه الظواهر ؛ لِمَا لها من أهمية كبرى في إبراز مظاهر الجمال في لغتنا العربية ، ولِمَا يترتب عليها من آثار نحوية

ودلالية وتركيبية لا يمكن إنكارها . حيث توزعت مسائلها وتناثرت بين كتب التراث .

ولعل من حسن الطالع أن يستهدي الباحث بتلك الإيماءات المتفرقة في كتب التراث ، إذ فرض عليه سلطان الجودة أن يتناول

هذه الظاهرة ؛ لجمع أشتاتها وما نَدَّ من مسائلها ، وضم شواردها .

لذا فقد اعتمد الباحث في عمله هذا على المنهج الوصفي الذي يقوم على عرض مسائل هذه الظاهرة عرضاً يكشف عن

مكوناتها - كما وردت في كتب التراث - ويحاول توضيحها ، كما اعتمد على المنهج التوليدي التحويلي - وهو أحد المناهج

اللغوية الحديثة - في تحليل مسائل هذه الظاهرة ما استطاع إلى ذلك سبيلاً . ويسعى البحث إلى تحقيق الأهداف الآتية :

أ- خدمة علم النحو بلم شعث ما تبعثر من مسائل هذه الظاهرة ، وما تفرق منها في كتب القدامى والمحدثين من

النحاة والبلاغيين ، ثم طرحها على بساط الدرس النحوي الحديث .

ب- إبراز العلاقة الوطيدة بين علمي النحو والدلالة من خلال الربط والجمع بين الأثار النحوية والتركيبية ،

والدلالية لمسائل هذا الظاهرة .

ت- الاستفادة من الدراسات اللغوية الحديثة في تفسير الظواهر اللغوية وتحليلها ، وذلك من خلال تحليل مسائل

البحث في ضوء النظرية التوليدية التحويلية .

وفي ضوء ما عَنَّ للباحث من مطالعات ، وما طالته يده من مصادر ومراجع ، لم يجد دراسة متخصصة تناولت هذه

الظاهرة بالعرض والتحليل ، وإن كانت الأمانة العلمية تقتضي الإشارة إلى دراسة أعدها الدكتور علي أبو المكارم بعنوان "

الظواهر اللغوية في التراث النحوي " عرض خلالها لظاهرة الترتيب ، وهي دراسة لها مكانتها من حيث الهدف الذي حُدد لها ،

كما أن ثمة دراسة أخرى أعدت لنيل درجة الدكتوراه في اللغة العربية للباحث أشرف السعيد السيد خضر ، وهي بعنوان "

التقديم والتأخير في بناء الجملة عند سيبويه " في ضوء الدراسات اللغوية الحديثة فهي دراسة عنيت وحُصت ببناء الجملة عند

سيبويه . غير أن كلاً من الدراستين تختلف منهجاً وهدفاً عن هذه الدراسة .

ومع أن مسائل هذا البحث قد تضمنتها كتب التراث والكتب المعاصرة إلا أن الباحث سوف يعالج هذه المسائل معالجة

مختلفة .

وقد ارتأى الباحث أن يكون عرض مسائل بحثه في قسمين :

الأول : يضم مسائل خاصة بالجملة الاسمية . كإعادة الترتيب في باب الابتداء ، أو باب النواسخ ... إلخ

الثاني : يضم مسائل خاصة بالجملة الفعلية . كإعادة الترتيب بين المفعول به والفاعل ، أو بين المفعول والفعل والفاعل معاً ، أو بين الفعل ومتعلقاته ، أو بين الفعل " اختار " ومعموليه ، أو بين " إذن " والفعل ، أو " إذن " ومعمول الفعل .
وبعدُ فإنَّ هذا البحث قد أخلصت فيه النية لله وحده ، وتحريبت فيه الدقة والصواب ما استطعت ، فإن كنت قد وُفقت فمن الله وحده ، وما توفيقي إلا بالله ، وإن كانت الأخرى فحسبي أني اجتهدت ، وما منّا إلا مخطئ ومصيب .

التمهيد

لم تُوضع المفردات كي يُعرف بها المعنى في نفسها ، وإنما وُضعت كي تكون مركبة في جمل تظهر معناها إذا فالتركيب هو العامل الرئيس في إظهار معاني المفردات ، غير أن النحاة لم يجعلوا هذا التركيب عشوائياً ، بل قيده بقوانين تحكمه حتى يسير وفق نظام معين وضع له ؛ لذا لزم أن يكون هناك نظام يحكم العلاقة بين أجزاء التركيب ذلك هو ما يُسمّى " الرتبة " ، إذ هي التي تنظم العلاقة بين أجزاء السياق ، أو كما عرفها د. تمام حسان هي : " قرينة لفظية وعلاقة بين جزأين مرتبين من أجزاء السياق يدل موقع كل منهما من الآخر على معناه " (1) .

وحيث إنّ الكلام مؤلف من كلمتين أو أكثر ، وليس من المستطاع التلطف به دفعة واحدة ، فمن أجل ذلك كان لابد من تقديم بعض أجزاء الكلام وتأخير بعضه الآخر عند النطق - وما التقديم والتأخير إلا ترتيب ، أو إعادة ترتيب بين الأجزاء . وما قصدته بإعادة الترتيب في عنوان البحث هو تقديم ما حقه التأخير وتأخير ما حقه التقديم - لفظاً مما يسمح به السياق - وإنما يحدث التقديم والتأخير للإفادة من إمكانات تعبيرية في اللغة تتناسب مع الموقف الخارجي بما يخضع له كل من المتكلم والسامع من تأثيرات اجتماعية أو نفسية ، فالتقديم والتأخير يكون خاضعاً لقصد المتكلم وما يريد التعبير عنه من المعاني المترتبة داخل نفسه .

وإنما يكون الترتيب في اللفظ⁽²⁾ دون المعنى ، إذ إنّ العبارة قُسمت بين اللفظ والمعنى ، فاللفظ محله اللسان ، ومحل المعنى القلب ، فإذا ما ذهب اللسان باللفظ إلى غير محله وموضعه فإن القلب لم يذهب بالمعنى إلا إلى محله وموضعه .

والرتب عند النحاة نوعان⁽³⁾ :

أ - رتب محفوظة " مقيدة " fixed word order : وهي التي يلتزم فيها كلُّ من الجزأين برتبته ، فلا يتقدم أحدهما على الآخر ، فلا تتقدم الصلة على الموصول ، ولا الصفة على الموصوف ، ولا التوكيد على المؤكد ، ولا البديل على المبدل منه إلخ...

ب- رتب غير محفوظة free word order أي : الحُرّة : وهي التي يُسمح فيها بتقديم أحد الجزأين على الآخر لغرض من الأغراض ، فيتقدم الخبر على المبتدأ ، وخبر النواسخ على أسمائها - مع مراعاة الخلاف بين النحاة في ذلك - ويتقدم المفعول على الفاعل ، وعلى الفعل والفاعل معاً ... إلخ .

وليس شيء من أجزاء الكلام⁽⁴⁾ - في حد ذاته - أولى بالتقديم من الآخر - باستثناء الأدوات التي تجب لها الصدارة كأدوات الشرط والاستفهام - لأن جميع الألفاظ - من حيث هي ألفاظ - تشترك في درجة الاعتبار . غير أنّ الأصل اللغوي يفترض أن يكون بين كل جزء والآخر ترتيب معين ، يظهر ذلك في كل باب نحوي في كتب القدامى ، كما ورد عندهم في حد الفاعل ، وحد المفعول ، وحد المبتدأ والخبر ، حيث يذكرون رتبة الموقع الذي يحتله كلٌّ من هذه .

فالرتبة ركن أساسيٌّ لبيان العلاقة بين عناصر التركيب ، ولقد عنى النحاة بدراسة الرتبة ودورها في تحقيق الاتساق والانسجام بين عناصر التركيب ، إذ إن أي تغيير غير مدروس في الترتيب بين عناصر التركيب من شأنه أن يؤدي إلى خللٍ

بيّن في هذا التركيب ؛ مما ينتج عنه وجود جمل غير نحوية أطلق عليها نحاة الغرب ungrammatical sentence مع أنّ التركيب قد يؤدي - أحياناً - معنى مفهوماً ، كما في قولك مثلاً : قد الجملة مفيدة تكون .
 فلو نظرنا إلى هذا التركيب لوجدناه يؤدي معنى مفهوماً إلى حد ما ، غير أنه تركيب غير سليم نحويّاً ؛ لعدم مراعاة الترتيب الصحيح بين عناصره ، حيث إنّ ثمة خللاً بيّناً في الترتيب يتضح من خلال السياق ، ذلك ما دفع إلى القول بأنه غير نحوي . وبناء عليه فإن الترتيب النحوي الصحيح للتركيب السابق له احتمالان :
الأول : قد تكون الجملة مفيدة .
والثاني : الجملة قد تكون مفيدة .

القسم الأول

إعادة الترتيب بين عناصر التركيب في الجملة الاسمية

أ- إعادة الترتيب في باب المبتدأ والخبر " المسند إليه ، والمسند " :

إعادة الترتيب بين المبتدأ وخبره من المسائل الخلافية بين النحاة فمنهم من أجازها ، ومنهم من منعه ، قال الأنباري : " ذهب الكوفيون إلى أنه لا يجوز تقديم خبر المبتدأ عليه ، مفرداً كان أو جملة ، فالمفرد نحو: "قائمٌ زيدٌ ، وذاهبٌ عمرو" ، والجملة نحو: "أبوه قائمٌ زيدٌ ، وأبوه ذاهبٌ عمرو" ، وذهب البصريون إلى أنه يجوز تقديم خبر المبتدأ عليه المفرد والجملة " (5) ، وقد فند الأنباري (6) حجج كل من الفريقين ، وانتصر للبصريين وقال ابن جني : "وبعدُ فليس في الدنيا مرفوع يجوز تقديمه على رافعه ، فأما خبر المبتدأ فلم يتقدم عندنا على رافعه ؛ لأن رافعه ليس المبتدأ وحده ، إنما الرافع له المبتدأ والابتداء جميعاً ، فلم يتقدم الخبر عليهما معاً ، وإنما تقدم على أحدهما وهو المبتدأ ، فهذا لا ينتقض . لكنه على قول أبي الحسن مرفوع بالمبتدأ وحده ، ولو كان كذلك لم يجز تقديمه على المبتدأ " (7) ، وقال العكبري: "يجوز تقديم خبر المبتدأ عليه مفرداً كان أو جملة ، ويكون فيه ضمير كما لو تأخر . وقال الكوفيون لا يجوز" (8) ، وقال ابن مالك : " والأصل تأخير الخبر ، ويجوز تقديمه إن لم يؤهم ابتدائية الخبر ، أو فاعلية المبتدأ ، أو يُقرن بالفاء أو بـ " إلا " لفظاً أو معنى في الاختيار ، أو يكن لمقرون بلام الابتداء ، أو لضمير الشأن أو شبهه أو لأداة استفهام ، أو شرط ، أو مضاف إلى إحداهما " (9) . ونظراً لهذا الخلاف الواقع في جواز التقديم أو عدمه فإن إعادة الترتيب بين المبتدأ وخبره لا يقع إلا لأمر يتطلبه السياق ، أو حاجة تقتضيها الدلالة ، "ولا يكون هذا التقديم أو ذلك ، ما لم يكن ثمة غرضٌ في المقام يستدعيه ، ونكتة في العبارة تتطلبه ، إذ الأصل أن يأتي الكلام على الترتيب " (10) ، أما مجيئه على إعادة الترتيب فهذا على غير الأصل . وقد قال الزركشي عن إعادة الترتيب : " هو أحد أساليب البلاغة ؛ فإنهم أتوا به دلالة على تمكنهم في الفصاحة وملكتهم في الكلام وانقياده لهم ، وله في القلوب أحسن موقعاً ، وأعذب مذاقاً " (11) ، وقال السيوطي : " ذكر ابن الأثير وابن النفيس وغيرهما أن تقديم الخبر على المبتدأ يفيد الاختصاص ، ورده صاحب الفلك الدائر بأنه لم يقل به أحد وهو ممنوع ، فقد صرح السكاكي وغيره بأن تقديم ما رتبته التأخير يفيد ، ومثّلوه بنحو : تميميٌ أنا " (12) ، وحجة من أجاز التقديم مبنية على السماع ، والقياس (13) .

فالسماح في قولهم: تميميٌ أنا ، ومشنوءٌ من يشنؤك . والقياس من وجهين: الأول: مشابهة الخبر للفعل ، والفعل يتقدم ويتأخر فكذلك الخبر ، والوجه الثاني : أن الخبر يشبه المفعول ؛ لأنه قد يصير مفعولاً في قولك : ظننتُ زيداً قائماً ، والمفعول يجوز

تقديمه . وحجة من منعه أن تقديم الخبر إضمار قبل الذكر ، وقد رُدَّ ذلك بأنه غير مانع من التقديم ؛ لأن الخبر مؤخر تقديرًا ، فالنية به التأخير .

إعادة الترتيب بين المبتدأ النكرة والخبر " شبه الجملة " :

من مواضع وجوب إعادة الترتيب بين المبتدأ " المسند إليه" ، والخبر "المسند " أن يقع المبتدأ نكرة ، والخبر شبه جملة "جار ومجرور ، أو ظرف" ، وذلك كقولك : في الدار رجلٌ ، وعندك مالٌ . حيث إنّ الترتيب الأصلي - أو البنية العميقة - في الجملتين هو: رجلٌ في الدار ، ومالٌ عندك . فقد تعرضت هذه البنية لإجراء تحويري بإعادة الترتيب بين عناصر التركيب - في كل من الجملتين - وذلك بتقديم الخبر " في الدار ، وعندك " وجوباً على المبتدأ " رجلٌ ، ومالٌ" ، فكان لذلك أثره النحوي حيث أدى إلى دفع توهم كون الخبر صفة، أي: منع إلباس الخبر بالصفة وذلك "لأنّ النكرة تطلب الظرف والمجرور والجملة - لتختص بها - طلباً حثيثاً، فلو تأخر الخبر فيها لتوهم أنه الصفة ؛ لأن الجملة وشبهها بعد النكرات صفات ، فالتزم النحاة التقديم دفعاً لهذا الالتباس"⁽¹⁴⁾ ، وقيل - أيضاً - في علة تقديم الخبر: "وإنما كان تقديمه مصححاً؛ لأن تأخيره يوهم كونه نعتاً، وتقديمه يؤمن معه ذلك"⁽¹⁵⁾ . ومعنى ذلك أننا لو وقفنا على الترتيب الأصلي للجملتين وهو : رجلٌ في الدار ، مالٌ عندك . لوجدنا أنّ ثمة لبساً حاصلًا في إعراب شبه الجملة هل هي في موضع رفع على الصفة أم على الخبر؟ وإنما وقع اللبس لأن النكرة حاجتها إلى الصفة أكثر من حاجتها إلى الخبر ، فكان تقديم الخبر مزيلاً لهذا اللبس ، وللتنبية⁽¹⁶⁾ على أنه خبر ليس نعتاً ؛ لأنّ " طلب النكرة الوصف طلبٌ حثيث ، فالتزم تقديمه دفعاً لهذا الوهم "⁽¹⁷⁾ . ومن شواهد ذلك قول حسان بن ثابت يمدح رسول الله (ﷺ) (18) :

لَهُ هِمَمٌ لَا مُنْتَهَى لِكِبَارِهَا وَهَمَّتُهُ الصُّغْرَى أَجَلٌ مِنَ الدَّهْرِ .
لَهُ رَاحَةٌ لَوْ أَنَّ مَعَشَارَ جُودِهَا عَلَى الْبِرِّ كَانَ الْبِرُّ أُنْدَى مِنَ الْبَحْرِ .

الشاهد في البيت في قوله : لَهُ هِمَمٌ " حيث أعيد الترتيب بين المبتدأ النكرة " هممٌ ، وراحة" وبين الخبر شبه الجملة " له " ، فتقدم الخبر وجوباً على المبتدأ ، مما أدى إلى دفع توهم كون الخبر نعتاً ، وإن كان هذا التوهم سرعان ما يزول إلا أنّ إيقاع المعنى في النفوس من أول وهلة أولى بمقام المدح ؛ ليتمكن المعنى في نفس السامع ، وتجري النعوت العظيمة الواردة على قوله : همم . ولهذا جاء الترتيب في البيت على عكس الأصل ، إذ الأصل - البنية العميقة - أن يقول : " هممٌ له ، وراحةٌ له " ، حيث تعرضت هذه البنية لإجراء تحويري بإعادة الترتيب أدى إلى تقديم الخبر وجوباً - لفظاً لا رتبة - وحقه التأخير ، وتأخير المبتدأ - أيضاً لفظاً لا رتبةً - وكان حقه التقديم ، وذلك لغرض نحوي وآخر دلالي .

أما الغرض النحوي : فهو إثبات الخبرية أو الإسناد لشبه الجملة ، ودفع توهم كون الخبر صفة ؛ لأنّ الخبر والصفة بينهما تقارب ، وإنما يفرّق بينهما باعتبارات معنوية ، فما يصلح صفة قد يصلح أن يكون خبراً ، غير أن الخبر أقوى من الصفة في دلالاته؛ لأنه ركن أساسي في الجملة وليست الصفة كذلك ، ولذلك جاء تقديم الخبر لتدرك لأول وهلة أنه خبر لا صفة ؛ لأنه لا يجوز تقديم الصفة على الموصوف على عكس الخبر الذي يتقدم على المبتدأ لذلك لما تصدر شبه الجملة الكلام عُلم أنه خبر لا صفة .

وأما الغرض الدلالي : فهو القصر والتخصيص: قصر هذه الهمم بصفاتها المذكورة على الرسول (ﷺ) دون غيره

إعادة الترتيب بين المبتدأ المضاف والخبر في التعجب :

من مواضع إعادة الترتيب بين المبتدأ وخبره وجوباً (19) ما جاء في قولهم : **للهِ دَرُّهُ فارساً ، أو للهِ دَرُّكَ عالماً** حيث وقع التقديم لغرض دلالي وهو أن الخبر يكون دالاً بالتقديم على ما لا يُفهم بالتأخير . والشاهد هنا هو تقديم الخبر شبه الجملة " لله " على المبتدأ " دَرّه " للدلالة على معنى التعجب المقصود من الكلام ، ولو أن الكلام جاء على أصله ، **لَمَّا وَضُحَ التعجب المراد من التركيب، ولصار المعنى المراد خفياً ، إذ الترتيب الأصلي هو :** " دره لله فارساً ، ودَرُّكَ لله عالماً" فالبنيتان لا تحملان معنى التعجب، ولا يتضح منهما أن المقصود هو معنى التعجب، ولذلك " فإنَّ تعجبها لا يُفهم إلا بتقديم الخبر ، وتأخير المبتدأ " (20) ؛ لذا كانت إعادة الترتيب بين المبتدأ والخبر هنا واجبة ؛ لأنَّ الخبر دال بالتقديم على ما لا يُفهم بالتأخير .

إعادة الترتيب بين المبتدأ المكوّن من " أن " وصلتها (21) والخبر :

من مواضع وجوب إعادة الترتيب بين المبتدأ والخبر أيضاً أن يكون الخبر مسنداً إلى " أن " وصلتها ، كما في قولك : **عندي أنك بارعٌ .** فالشاهد : تقديم الخبر " عندي " - وجوباً - على المبتدأ المكون من المصدر المؤول من " أن " وصلتها - أي : معموليها - الضمير " الكاف" ، و " بارع " ، وقد أثر إعادة الترتيب هنا على الدلالة ، إذ إن في تقديم الخبر دفعا للبس الذي قد يحدث من تأخيره ، حيث إن الحفاظ على الترتيب الأصلي للجملة يكون مؤدياً إلى احتمال اللبس بين " أن " المشددة التي بمعنى التوكيد وتُسبك مع معموليها بمصدر مفرد ، وبين " أن " التي بمعنى " لعل " والتي تُكوّن مع معموليها جملة ، فلا تُسبك معهما بمصدر مفرد ، وثمة فرق كبير في الإعراب بين الجملة والمفرد ، وفي المعنى بين التوكيد والترجي أو الظنّ ، كما أنه بإعادة الترتيب يسهل إعراب الظرف " عندي " خبراً ، وليس معمولاً للخبر متقدماً عليه ؛ لأنّ " هذا الِباسُ لا يتأتى مع تقدم الظرف ؛ لأنّ " إن " المؤكدة المكسورة ، و " أن " المفتوحة الهمزة التي بمعنى " لعل " لا يتقدم معمول خبرهما عليهما " (22) سواء أكان المعمول ظرفاً ، أم غير ظرف . إذاً فإعادة الترتيب بين المبتدأ وخبره هنا قد صرف الظرف " عندي " إلى الخبرية ، ومنع الخلط بين " أن " المؤكدة التي تنسبك مع معموليها بمصدر مفرد ، و " أن " التي بمعنى " لعل " والتي تُسبك مع معموليها بخبر جملة ، "و غاية القول أنه يجب تقديم الخبر في كل موضع يؤدي فيه تأخيره إلى لبس ، أو خفاء في المعنى، أو فساد فيه " (23) ، كما أنّ في إعادة الترتيب تغييراً لحكم همزة " إن " حيث إنها كانت مكسورة - على الترتيب الأصلي للجملة - فلما أُعيد الترتيب فُتحت الهمزة ؛ لينسبك منها مع معموليها مصدر مؤول يناسب الموقع الإعرابي الجديد وهو " المبتدأ " . ويمكن تمثيل ما حدث في البنية العميقة للجملة كالاتي :

أنت بارعٌ إجراء تحويلي بإضافة " إن " لتوكيد المعنى إنك بارعٌ
(بنية عميقة)

إنك بارعٌ إجراء تحويلي بإضافة الظرف " عندي " إنك بارعٌ عندي
إنك بارعٌ عندي إجراء تحويلي بإعادة الترتيب عندي أنك بارعٌ . (بنية سطحية)

ب- إعادة الترتيب في باب النواسخ :

إعادة الترتيب بين اسم " ما " الحجازية ، وخبرها :

" القياس ألا تعمل " ما " ؛ لأنها غير مختصة (24) ، فهي كحرف الاستفهام والعطف وغيرهما ، ولهذا لم يعملها بنو تميم ، وإنما عملها أهل الحجاز ؛ لشبهها بـ " ليس " ، وهي تشبهها في أربعة أشياء : النفي ، ونفي ما في الحال ، ودخولها على المبتدأ والخبر ، ودخول الباء في خبرها ، وقد تقرر أن الشيء إذا أشبه غيره من وجهين فصاعداً حُمِلَ عليه ما لم يفسد المعنى" (25) ، أي أنّ " ما " تعمل - عند الحجازيين ونجد - في الجملة الاسمية فقط ، وقيل عملها أهل تهامة (26) أيضاً وإنما عملت

لوقوع الشبه بينها وبين " ليس " ، غير أنه " لَمَا كان عمل " ما " استحسانياً لا قياسياً أُشترط فيه تأخر الخبر ، وتأخر معموله " (27) ، والمقصود أن " ما " لما كانت محمولة في العمل على " ليس " فهي فرع على الأصل ، والفرع لا يقوى قوة الأصل ؛ لهذا كان عملها مشروطاً بشروط منها : حفظ الرتبة بين اسمها وخبرها ، فلا يُسمح بتقديم الخبر على الاسم ، ولا بتقديم معمول الخبر على الاسم ، فإذا ما أعيد الترتيب و تقدم الخبر على الاسم فإن ذلك يؤثر على عملها فيبطله (28) كقولك : ما منطلقٌ زيدٌ ، وهذا مذهب الجمهور (29) قال سيبويه : " فإذا قلت : ما منطلقٌ عبدُ الله ، أو ما مسيءٌ مَنْ أعتبَ . رفعت ، ولا يجوز أن يكون مقدماً مثله مؤخراً ، كما لا يجوز أن تقول : إنَّ أخوك عبدُ الله ، على حد قولك : إنَّ عبدُ الله أخوك ؛ لأنها ليست بفعل ، وإنما جُعِلت بمنزلته ، فكما لم تتصرف "إنَّ" كالفعل كذلك لم يجز فيها كل ما يجوز فيه ، ولم تقوَ قوته ، وكذلك ما " (30) ، وقال ابن الحاجب : " وإذا زيدت " إنَّ " مع " ما " ، أو انتقض النفي ، أو تقدم الخبر بطل العمل " (31) .

مما سبق يتضح أن إعادة الترتيب بين معمولي " ما " - وذلك بتقديم خبرها على اسمها - يبطل عملها ؛ فيرتفع معمولها على الابتداء والخبر ، كما جاء في قول سيبويه : ما منطلقٌ عبدُ الله ، وما مسيءٌ مَنْ أعتبَ . الشاهد في المثالين هو إعادة الترتيب بين اسم " ما " وخبرها ، حيث تقدم الخبر الذي هو " منطلقٌ " في المثال الأول ، وتأخر الاسم الذي هو " عبدُ الله " ، وكذلك في المثال الثاني تقدم الخبر الذي هو " مسيءٌ " ، وتأخر اسمها الذي هو اسم الموصول " مَنْ " ؛ فأدى ذلك إلى إبطال عمل " ما " في الجملتين ؛ فارتفع الاسمان الأولان " منطلقٌ ، ومسيءٌ " على أنهما خبران مقدمان ، كما ارتفع الاسمان الآخران " عبدُ الله ، ومَنْ " على أنهما مبتدآن مقدمان ، حيث إنَّ الترتيب الأصلي في الجملتين هو : ما عبدُ الله منطلقاً ، وما مَنْ أعتبَ مسيئاً . ويمكن توضيح ما حدث في البنية العميقة للجملتين كالآتي :

عبدُ الله منطلقٌ (بنية عميقة) إجراء تحويلي بإضافة " ما " النافية ← ما عبدُ الله منطلقاً (" ما " عاملة)
 ما عبدُ الله منطلقاً إجراء تحويلي بإعادة الترتيب ← ما منطلقٌ عبدُ الله .
 بين اسم " ما " وخبرها (" ما " مبطلّة) (بنية سطحية)
 مَنْ أعتبَ مسيءٌ (بنية عميقة) إجراء تحويلي بإضافة " ما " النافية ← ما مَنْ أعتبَ مسيئاً
 ما مَنْ أعتبَ مسيئاً إجراء تحويلي بإعادة الترتيب ← ما مسيءٌ مَنْ أعتبَ .
 بين اسم " ما " وخبرها (" ما " مبطلّة) (بنية سطحية)

ومن الشواهد الشعرية الواردة على إبطال عمل " ما " عند إعادة الترتيب قوله (32) :

وما خُدِّلُ قومي فأخضعَ للعدى ولكنْ إذا أدعوهم فهُمُ همُّ .

الشاهد في قوله : " ما خُدِّلُ قومي " حيث تقدم خبر " ما " " خُدِّلُ " على اسمها " قومي " . غير أن بعضهم (33) أجاز

نصب خبر " ما " المتقدم على الاسم على الندور ، ونسب هذا الرأي إلى سيبويه ، وفي نسبه نظر ؛ لأن سيبويه إنما حكاه عن

غيره فقال : " وزعموا أنّ بعضهم قال ، وهو قول الفرزدق : فأصَبَحوا قد أعادَ اللهُ نِعَمَتَهُمْ إذْ هُمُ فُرَيْشٌ وإذْ ما مثلَهُم

بَشْرُ .

وهذا لا يكاد يعرف " (34) .

الشاهد في البيت هو إعمال " ما " النصب في الخبر مع تقديمه على الاسم ، أي : إعمال " ما " مع إعادة الترتيب بين

اسمها وخبرها ، وهذا مخالف لشروط عمل " ما " ، وقد تعددت الآراء حول هذا الشاهد فأنكره سيبويه واستبعده بقوله : " وهذا

لا يكاد يُعرف " ، ومنعه الجمهور ، وذهب بعضهم إلى أنّ هذا قد وقع غلطاً (35) من الفرزدق ؛ لأنه تميمي وأراد أن يتكلم بلغة

أهل الحجاز، ولم يعرف شرطها عندهم، قال المبرد: "فالرفع هو الوجه، وقد نصبه بعض النحويين، وذهب إلى أنه خبر مقدم، وهذا خطأ فاحش، وغلط بيّن، ولكن نصبه يجوز على أن تجعله نعتاً مقدماً وتضمّر الخبر، فتنصبه على الحال مثل قولك: فيها قائماً رجلاً" (36)

وقيل (37): "مثلهم" مبتدأ، ولكنه بُني لإبهامه مع إضافته للمبني، وقيل: "مثلهم" حال، والخبر محذوف والتقدير: ما في الوجود بشرٌ مثلهم. كما أن العكبري (38) قد علّق على نصب "مثل" - جمع فيه ما قيل حول ذلك - فذهب إلى أنّ في النصب أربعة أوجه: الأول: أنّ الفرزدق غلط؛ لأنّ لغته تميمية، لكنه ظن أن أهل الحجاز ينصبون الخبر مقدماً ومؤخراً؛ فتكلم بلغتهم فنصب الخبر الثاني: أنها لغة ضعيفة. الثالث: أن "مثل" منصوب على الحال والتقدير: إذ ما في الدنيا بشرٌ مثلهم، فلما قدم صفة النكرة نصبها، وهذا ضعيف. الرابع: أن "مثل" منصوب على الظرفية، والتقدير: وإذ ما مكانهم بشرٌ. أي: في مثل حالهم، إلا أنه سوّغه شبه "مثل" بالظرف.

وقيل هو لغة قال المرادي: "قال الجرمي: إنه لغة، وحكى: ما مسيئاً من أعتب" (39)، وذهب بعضهم (40) - أيضاً - إلى تجويز عمل "ما" مع تقديم خبرها ولكن بشرط كون الخبر شبه جملة "جار ومجرور، أو ظرف" فيحكم على محلها بالنصب، وإن كان الخبر غير ذلك لم يجز عندهم.

إعادة الترتيب بين اسم "ما" ومعمول خبرها:

كما أن إعادة الترتيب بين اسم "ما" وخبرها يبطل عملها، كذلك فإن إعادة الترتيب بين اسم "ما" ومعمول خبرها - الذي ليس بشبه جملة - يبطل العمل أيضاً (41)، نحو: ما طعمك زيدٌ أكلٌ، حيث تقدم "طعمك" - وهو معمول الخبر حيث هو مفعول به لاسم الفاعل "أكلٌ" الذي هو خبر "ما" - على الاسم "زيدٌ" فأبطل عمل "ما"، وارتفع المعمولان بعدها على الابتداء والخبر؛ فارتفع "زيدٌ" على أنه مبتدأ، وارتفع "أكلٌ" على أنه خبر المبتدأ. ومنه قول مزاحم بن الحارث بن الأعمى العقيلي (42):

وقالوا تعرّفها المنازل من منى وما كُُلٌّ من وافي منى أنا عارفٌ (43)

الشاهد قوله: وما كُُلٌّ من وافي منى أنا عارفٌ. وذلك على رواية من نصب "كُلٌّ" على أنها مفعول به لاسم الفاعل "عارفٌ"، والأصل في الشاهد هو: وما أنا عارفاً كُُلٌّ من وافي منى. قال الأشموني: "وأجاز ابن كيسان بقاء العمل والحالة هذه" (44) ويمكن توضيح ما تعرضت له البنية من إجراءات كالاتي:

أنا عارفٌ (بنية عميقة) إجراء تحويلي بإضافة عدة عناصر مكملة ← أنا عارفٌ كُُلٌّ من وافي منى
أنا عارفٌ كُُلٌّ من وافي منى إجراء تحويلي بإضافة "ما" ← ما أنا عارفاً كُُلٌّ من وافي منى ("ما" عاملة)

ما أنا عارفاً كُُلٌّ من وافي منى إجراء تحويلي بإعادة الترتيب ← ما كُُلٌّ من وافي منى أنا عارفٌ ("ما" مبطلّة) (بنية سطحية)

أما إذا كان معمول الخبر شبه جملة (45) فإنهم جوزوا الإعمال والإبطال؛ وبذلك يكون حكم عمل "ما" قد تحول من وجوب الإبطال إلى جواز الإعمال والإبطال نحو: ما في الشر أنت راغباً أو راغبٌ. حيث إنّ الأصل في الترتيب هو: ما أنت راغباً في الشر، فحول الأصل وأعيد الترتيب بين اسم "ما" ومعمول الخبر، فأثر ذلك على عمل "ما" حيث جاز فيها

الإعمال والإبطال، بنصب الخبر - راغباً - على إعمال " ما " ، أو رفعه - راغبٌ - على إبطال عملها . ومن ذلك أيضاً قولهم : ما عندك فضلٌ ضائعاً ، أو ضائعٌ . بتقديم المعمول الطرف على اسم " ما " .

إعادة الترتيب بين اسم " لا " النافية للوحدة وخبرها :

ما يجري على " ما " يجري على " لا " في إعمالها كل منهما عمل " ليس " ، بنفس (46) الشروط ، قال الزمخشري : " فإذا انتقض النفي بالآ أو تقدّم الخبر بطل العمل ، فقيل : ما زيد إلا منطلقٌ ، ولا رجلٌ إلا أفضلٌ منك ، وما منطلقٌ زيدٌ ، ولا أفضلٌ منك رجلٌ " (47) ، أي يبطل عمل " لا " إذا أعيد الترتيب بين اسمها وخبرها ؛ وذلك بتقديم الخبر على الاسم - كما هو الحال في " ما " - والشاهد على ذلك ما أورده الزمخشري في قوله : لا منطلقٌ زيدٌ . حيث قُدم الخبر " منطلق " على الاسم " زيدٌ " فارتفع " منطلقٌ " على أنه خبر مقدم ، وارتفع " زيدٌ " على أنه مبتدأ مؤخر . وأصل الترتيب في الجملة هو : لا زيدٌ منطلقاً . وأما البنية العميقة للشاهد فهي : زيدٌ منطلقٌ . حيث تعرضت هذه البنية لإجراء تحويلي بإضافة " لا " ؛ لإفادة معنى النفي فصارت البنية : لا زيدٌ منطلقاً ، فتعرضت لإجراء تحويلي آخر بإعادة الترتيب بين اسم " لا " ، وخبرها فصارت البنية : لا منطلقٌ زيدٌ .

زيدٌ منطلقٌ (بنية عميقة) إجراء تحويلي بإضافة " لا " لنفي الوحدة لا زيدٌ منطلقاً

لا زيدٌ منطلقاً إجراء تحويلي بإعادة الترتيب بين اسم " لا " وخبرها لا منطلقٌ زيدٌ . (بنية سطحية)

إعادة الترتيب بين اسم " إن " وخبرها :

" إن " من الأحرف التي تعمل في الجملة الاسمية فتنبص المبتدأ ويسمى اسمها ، وترفع الخبر ويسمى خبرها ، " وسبب إعمال هذه الأحرف اختصاصها بمشابهة " كان " الناقصة في لزوم المبتدأ والخبر ، والاستغناء بهما " (48) . إذأ فهي فرع على أصل في العمل ؛ لذا كان عملها مشروطاً بحفظ الرتبة (49) بين اسمها وخبرها ، بتقديم الاسم وتأخير الخبر ، ما لم يكن الخبر شبه جملة - جار ومجرور أو ظرف - فيجوز توسيطه ، ومن خصائص " إن " ألا تدخل على لام الابتداء ؛ لأن الأصل (50) في " لام " الابتداء أن تسبق " إن " ، فحقها أن تدخل على أول الكلام ؛ لأن لها الصدارة ، فهي المصاحبة للمبتدأ تؤكداً ، فلما كانت للتأكيد ، و " إن " للتأكيد كرهوا أن يجمعوا بين حرفين لمعنى واحد ؛ فزحلقوا اللام إلى الخبر دون الاسم . غير أن إعادة الترتيب بين الاسم والخبر يُبيح للام الابتداء أن تدخل على اسم " إن " - والأصل عدم دخولها على الاسم - لذا اشترط النحاة (51) لدخول لام الابتداء على الاسم أن يتأخر الاسم ويتقدم الخبر نحو : إن في الدار لزيداً ، وإن من القوم لأحاك ، و كما في قوله تعالى : " إن في ذلك لَعِبْرَةٌ " (52) . الشاهد في الآية هو إعادة الترتيب بين اسم " إن " وخبرها ؛ فكان لذلك أثره على التركيب حيث سوغ دخول لام الابتداء على اسم " إن " بعد أن كان ممنوعاً . ومن ذلك قول الشاعر مخاطباً زوجته : إن من شيمتي لبذلٌ تلامي دونَ عرضي ، فإن رَضيتِ فكوني (53) .

الشاهد في البيت إعادة الترتيب بين اسم " إن " وهو " بذل " وبين خبرها " من شيمتي " حيث تقدم الاسم على الخبر ، فكان لذلك أثر في التركيب حيث سوغ دخول لام الابتداء على الاسم " لبذل " مما أدى إلى إحداث أثر دلالي وهو زيادة التوكيد في الجملة بإضافة اللام الدالة على معنى التوكيد فأصبحت الجملة مؤكدة بمؤكدين : إن ، واللام . ويمكن تمثيل ما حدث لبنية الشاهد كالآتي :

بذلٌ تلامي من شيمتي (بنية عميقة) إجراء تحويلي بإضافة " إن " إن بذلٌ تلامي من شيمتي (لا يمكن دخول لام

الابتداء

إنّ بدلَ تلامي من شيمتي إجراء تحويلي بإعادة الترتيب إنّ من شيمتي لبذلَ تلامي .
وآخر بإضافة لام الابتداء أمكن دخول لام الابتداء على الاسم (بنية سطحية

(

إعادة الترتيب بين اسم " لا " التبرئة وخبرها :

" لا " التبرئة محمولة على " إنّ " في العمل ، و " إنّ " فرع ؛ فهي فرع على فرع ، فهي تعمل بضعف ، لذا فإنه " إذا انفصل مصحوب " لا " ، أو كان معرفة بطل العمل بإجماع ، ويلزم حينئذٍ التكرار في غير ضرورة ، خلافاً للمبرد وابن كيسان " (54) ، من النص السابق يتضح أن من شروط عمل " لا " حفظ الترتيب بين اسمها وخبرها - حتى لو كان الخبر شبه جملة - لأن المقصود بقوله : " إذا انفصل مصحوب لا " أي : تقدم الخبر فوق فاصلاً بينها وبين مصحوبها الذي هو اسمها ، إذا فإنه لكي تعمل " لا " لا بد من أن يستلزم الترتيب بين معموليها ، فإذا أعيد الترتيب فإن ذلك يؤثر في العمل فيبطله (55) ، كما أنه يؤثر في التركيب فيؤدي إلى تكرارها ، كما في قوله تعالى : " لا فيها عَوْلٌ ولا هُمْ عَنْهَا يُنْزَفُونَ " (56) . الشاهد في الآية إعادة الترتيب بين اسم " لا " النافية للجنس وخبرها ، حيث تعرضت البنية لإجراء تحويلي بإعادة الترتيب أدى إلى تقدم الخبر " فيها " ، وتأخر الاسم " عَوْلٌ " ، وأصل الترتيب هو : لا عَوْلَ فيها . وقد كان لإعادة الترتيب هنا أكثر من أثر : أثر إعرابي هو إبطال - أو إلغاء - عمل " لا " فارتفع " عَوْلٌ " على أنه مبتدأ مؤخر بعد أن كان مبنياً مع " لا " في محل نصب ، وأثر تركيب هو : وجوب تكرار " لا " مع العطف حيث لا يمكن إضافة عنصر جديد - عن طريق العطف - إلى التركيب إلا بعد تكرار " لا " ، وأثر دلالي هو : إفادة التخصيص .

ت- إعادة الترتيب في باب أفعال القلوب " ظنّ " وأخواتها :

إعادة الترتيب بين الفعل القلبي ومعموليّه :

كما جاز إعادة الترتيب بين الفعل القلبي وأحد معموليه فإنه يجوز أيضاً إعادة الترتيب بين الفعل ومعموليّه معاً ، أي : تقديم معمولين معاً على الفعل القلبي ، ولكن الأثر المُحدَث هذه المرة سيكون مختلفاً ، حيث إن إعادة الترتيب سيؤدي إلى أن يكون الإلغاء (57) أحسن من الأعمال على عكس ما كان الحال عليه عند تقديم أحد معمولين وتوسط الفعل ؛ لأن الفعل هنا سيكون متأخراً عن معموليه ، قال سيبويه : " وكلما أردت الإلغاء فالتأخير أقوى . وكلُّ عربيٍّ جيد وإنما كان التأخير أقوى ؛ لأنه إنما يجيء بالشك بعدما يمضي كلامه على اليقين ، أو بعدما يبتدئ وهو يريد اليقين ثم يدركه الشك فإذا ابتدأ كلامه على ما في نيته من الشك أعمل الفعل فُدم أو أحر كما قال : زيداً رأيتُ ، ورأيتُ زيداً . وكلما طال الكلام ضعف التأخير إذا أعملت " (58) ، وقال العكبري : " وأما إذا تأخر عن المفعولين فالإلغاء أقوى عند الجميع ؛ لأن المبتدأ قد وليه الخبر ، وازداد الفعل ضعفاً بالتأخير بخلاف ما إذا توسط ؛ لأن نسبته إلى الرتبة الأولى كنسبته إلى الرتبة الثالثة ، وإذا تأخر صار بينه وبين الرتبة الأولى مرتبة وسطى " (59) ، وقال ابن هشام : " وإلغاء المتأخر أقوى من إعماله " (60) وذلك كقولك : عبدُ الله ذاهبٌ حسبتُ ، أو زيدٌ منطلقٌ ظننتُ . حيث أعيد الترتيب بين كل من الفعل القلبي " حسبتُ ، ظننتُ " - في المثالين - وبين معموليهما ؛ فأدى ذلك إلى إلغائهما عن العمل ؛ فارتفع كل من المفعولين على الابتداء والخبر . ومن ذلك قول أبي سيدة الديبيري :
هما سيّدانِ يزعمانِ ، وإنّما يسودانِنا إنّ أيسرَتْ غناهُما .

الشاهد إعادة الترتيب بين الفعل القلبي - مع فاعله " يزعمان " ومفعوليه " هما سيدان " ، وذلك بتقديم المفعولين على الفعل العامل فيهما ، فأدى إلى إلغاء عمل الفعل في معموليه لفظاً ومحلاً - على الأحسن بإجماع النحاة - ، والترتيب الأصلي في بنية الشاهد هو : يزعمان هما سيدين . لكن البنية العميقة هي : " هما سيدان " حيث تعرضت هذه البنية لإجراء تحويري بإضافة الفعل القلبي وفاعله " يزعمان " ، فإجراء تحويري آخر بإعادة الترتيب بين الفعل ومفعوليه . ويمكن توضيح ذلك كالاتي :

هما سيّدان (بنية عميقة) إجراء تحويري بإضافة الفعل القلبي مع فاعله يزعمان هما سيّدان (الفعل واجب العمل)

يزعمان هما سيّدان إجراء تحويري بإعادة الترتيب بين الفعل ومفعوليه هما سيّدان يزعمان .
الفعل ملغى على الأحسن (بنية سطحية)

القسم الثاني

إعادة الترتيب بين عناصر التركيب في الجملة الفعلية

إعادة الترتيب بين الفاعل والمفعول به :

من المعروف أنّ رتبة المفعول به مع الفاعل رتبة حرة " والأصل تقديم الفاعل على المفعول ؛ لأنه لازم في الجملة ، جارٍ مجرى جزء من الفعل ، والمفعول قد يستغنى عنه ، والفاعل يصدر منه الفعل ثم يفضي إلى المفعول به بعد ذلك ، إلا أنّ تقديم المفعول جائز لقوة الفعل بتصرفه ، وللحاجة إلى اتساع الألفاظ ، فإنّ خيف اللبس لم يجز التقديم " (61) ، لهذا يُسمح للمفعول بالتقدم على الفاعل عند توفر الشروط (62) لذلك ؛ فيصير فاصلاً بين الفعل وفاعله .

أ- الفاعل المؤنث :

عندما يكون الفاعل مؤنثاً فإنّ الفعل الماضي تلحقه تاء التانيث الساكنة في آخره ؛ وإنما لحقت هذه التاء بالفعل للدلالة على تانيث (63) الفاعل لا على تانيث الفعل ، وكان حق هذه التاء ألا تلحق الفعل ؛ لأنّ معناها في الفاعل ، يريد أنه لما كان الفاعل كجزء الفعل جاز أن يدل ما اتصل بالفعل على معنى في الفاعل ، كجواز اتصال الفاعل بعلامة رفع الفعل في الأوزان الخمسة . ويتفاوت حكم اتصال هذه التاء بالفعل ما بين الجواز والوجوب بحسب نوع تانيث الفاعل ، فإذا كان الفاعل حقيقي التانيث ملاصقاً للفعل كان حكم الاتصال هو الوجوب ، وإنما لزمت العلامة؛ للزوم التانيث ، وخوف اللبس ؛ لأنّ المؤنث (64) قد ينقل ويراد به المؤنث والعكس . غير أنّ هذا الحكم يلحقه التغيير إذا ما حدث إعادة ترتيب بين الفاعل ، والمفعول به كأن يتقدم المفعول وحده - لفظاً لا رتبة - على الفاعل ، أو يتقدم المفعول والظرف معاً ؛ فيتحول الحكم من الوجوب إلى الجواز ، أي : يجوز حذف العلامة أو إثباتها . يقول ابن مالك :

وقد يبيحُ الفصلُ تركَ التاءِ في نحو " أتى القاضي بنتُ الواقفِ " (65)

فلك أن تقول : أتى القاضي بنتُ الواقفِ ، أو أنتت القاضي بنتُ الواقفِ - وهم على خلاف (66) في ذلك - وقد غل هذا التغيير في الحكم بأنّ المتقدم سواء كان المفعول به وحده ، أو معه الظرف قد صار فاصلاً بين الفعل وفاعله المؤنث ، فصار الفصل (67) كالعوض عن علامة التانيث ، أو كالموجب غفلةً عنها ؛ لأنّ ثبوت العلامة إنما لزم لكون الفاعل كالجزء من الفعل ،

فلما أعيد الترتيب ؛ وقع الفصل بين الفعل وفاعله ؛ فامتنع بذلك تقدير الجزئية أي : لم يقدر كون الفاعل جزءاً من الفعل ؛ ولأنَّ بُعد الفعل عن فاعله المؤنث كان سبباً في ضعف العناية بالفاعل ، ولا تحذف العلامة إلا عند أمن اللبس في الجملة أي : عند وجود قرينة تعين على تحديد الفاعل والمفعول ، أما عند عدم أمن اللبس فلا تحذف العلامة ؛ لأنها ستكون دليلاً على الفاعل كما في قولك : ضربت موسى هدى ، فلا يمكن حذف العلامة هنا لأنها دليل على أنَّ الفاعل هو " هدى " وليس " موسى " وفي حال حذفها سيتغير الفاعل ويكون " موسى " بدلاً من " هدى " .

ومن مواضع إعادة الترتيب وتقديم المفعول وحده - مع أمن اللبس - قولهم (68) : أتى القاضي بنتُ الواقفِ ، ومن مواضع تقديم المفعول والظرف معاً قولهم (69) : حضرَ القاضيَ اليومَ امرأةٌ .

لو لاحظنا المثالين السابقين لوجدنا أن الفعلين " أتى ، وحضر " غير متصلين ببناء التأنيث مع أن الفاعل مؤنث حقيقي في الحالتين ، والسبب في ذلك هو إعادة الترتيب التي حدثت بين الفاعل والمفعول به في المثال الأول ، وبين الفاعل والمفعول به مع الظرف في المثال الثاني ، والأصل فيهما : أتت بنتُ الواقفِ القاضي ، وحضرتُ امرأةُ القاضيَ اليومَ . إذاً فلإعادة الترتيب بين عناصر التركيب في الجملتين - هنا - أثر على حكم اتصال الفعل بعلامة التأنيث الدالة على الفاعل المؤنث ، فحُذفت العلامة ، وانقُصت بنية الفعل ، وفي ذلك إشعارٌ ببعد الفعل عن فاعله ، ويمكن تمثيل ما حدث في المثالين السابقين كالآتي :

أتتُ بنتُ الواقفِ القاضيَ (بنية عميقة) إجراء تحويري بإعادة الترتيب وتقديم المفعول أتتُ القاضيَ بنتُ الواقفِ
 أتتُ القاضيَ بنتُ الواقفِ إجراء تحويري بحذف علامة التأنيث من الفعل أتى القاضيَ بنتُ الواقفِ . (بنية سطحية)

وقد وقع ذلك في الشعر أيضاً كما في قول جرير يهجو الأخطل : (70)

لقد وُلِدَ الأُخَيْطَلُ أُمُّ سَوِّءٍ على بابِ اسْتِهَا صُلْبٌ وَشَامٌ (71)

الشاهد: "ولد الأخطل أمُّ سَوِّءٍ" حيث أعيد الترتيب بتقديم المفعول به " الأخطل " ، وتأخير الفاعل " أمُّ سَوِّءٍ " فأثر ذلك على حكم تأنيث الفعل ، فحُذفت العلامة وجُعل الفاصل عِوضاً عن العلامة المحذوفة ، وأصل الترتيب : ولدتُ أمُّ سَوِّءٍ الأُخَيْطَلُ .

ومن الشواهد أيضاً قول الشاعر (72) :

إِنَّ امْرَأَةً عَزَّهُ مِنْكَ وَاحِدَةً بَعْدِي وَبَعْدِكَ فِي الدُّنْيَا مَغْرُورٌ .

الشاهد قوله : عَزَّهُ مِنْكَ وَاحِدَةً ، حيث أعيد الترتيب بين الفاعل والمفعول به وذلك بتقديم المفعول به - هاء الغيبة - مع الجار والمجرور - منك - وأخر الفاعل ، فحُذفت علامة التأنيث من الفعل . والأصل في الشاهد هو : إِنَّ غَرَّتْ وَاحِدَةً مِنْكَ امْرَأَةً ، فُتَدَّمِ الْمَفْعُولُ فِي صُورَةِ الضَّمِيرِ ، وَتَأخَّرَ الْفَاعِلُ ، وَالْجَارُ وَالْمَجْرُورُ مَعاً " مِنْكَ وَاحِدَةً " .

ب- الفاعل المنكّر :

ورد ذلك في قوله تعالى : " إِنَّمَا يَخْشَى اللَّهَ مِنْ عِبَادِهِ الْعُلَمَاءُ " (73) حيث تم إعادة الترتيب بين الفاعل " العلماء " ، والمفعول به لفظ الجلالة " الله " ؛ فتقدم المفعول وتأخر الفاعل ، ومما أوجب (74) إعادة الترتيب هنا - باتفاق - هو كون الفاعل محصوراً بأداة الحصر " إنما " ، وقد كان لإعادة الترتيب أثر في الدلالة وهو قصر خشية الله على العلماء ، فالمعنى مع إعادة الترتيب يختلف عنه إذا التزمت الرتبة وقُدِّمَ الفاعل وتأخر المفعول ، حيث إن المعنى سيتغير (75) ففي تأخير الفاعل نفياً للخشية

أن تتعلق بغير الله سبحانه وتعالى وهذا واضح لا خفاء به عند التأمل . ويمكن توضيح ما من تحويل للبنية في الآية السابقة كالآتي :

يخشى العلماء الله (بنية عميقة) إجراء تحويلي بإضافة بعض العناصر
إنما يخشى العلماء الله من عباده إجراء تحويلي بإعادة الترتيب
إنما يخشى العلماء الله من عباده العلماء . (بنية سطحية)

بين الفاعل والمفعول به

إعادة الترتيب بين مفعولي الفعل " اختار " :

الأصل في الترتيب بين المفعولين - بشكل عام - أن يكون المفعول الأول سابقاً للمفعول الثاني لعدة اعتبارات⁽⁷⁶⁾ : إما لكون الأول مبتدأ في الأصل، والثاني خبره ، كما في باب " ظنّ " . أو لكون الأول فاعلاً في المعنى، والثاني مفعول معنى كما في باب " أعطى " . أو لكون الأول مطلقاً غير مقيد بجار لفظاً أو تقديرأ ، والآخر مقيد بحرف جر لفظاً أو تقديرأ كما في باب " اختار " . غير أنه- وبالرغم من الاعتبارات السابقة - قد يتقدم المفعول الثاني على الأول ، وقد تناول سيبويه⁽⁷⁷⁾ ذلك تحت باب " هذا باب الفاعل الذي يتعداه فعله إلى مفعولين فإن شئت اقتصرت على المفعول الأول ، وإن شئت تعدى إلى الثاني كما تعدى إلى الأول " كما في قولك : اخترت الرجال عبد الله ، وقوله تعالى : " واختار موسى قومَهُ سبعين رجلاً " ⁽⁷⁸⁾ .

الشاهد في المثال السابق ، والآية هو إعادة الترتيب بين مفعولي الفعل " اختار " حيث تقدم المفعول الثاني " الرجال " على المفعول الأول ، ثم حُذف حرف الجر " من " ؛ لأنّ الأصل⁽⁷⁹⁾ في الفعل " اختار " التعدي إلى مفعوله الثاني بحرف الجر " من " ؛ لأنّ المعنى إخراج شيء من شيء . قال السهيلي : " فإذا حذف حرف الجر لم يكن بد من التقديم للاسم الذي كان مجروراً نحو : اخترت الرجال عشرة ، ولو قلت : " اخترت عشرة قومك " ، أو : " اخترت فرساً الخيل " ، لم يجز ، والحكمة في ذلك أنّ المعنى الذي من أجله حُذف حرف الجر هو معنى غير لفظ ، فلم يقو على حذف حرف الجر إلا بعد اتصاله به وقربه منه " ⁽⁸⁰⁾ ، إذا فسقوط حرف الجر نتج عن قرب المجرور من الفعل ، وهو الذي جعل تقديم المفعول الثاني على الأول واجباً فيما سبق ، لكن عند عدم حذف حرف الجر فإنّ حكم التقديم يكون جوازاً ، إن شئت قدمت ، وإن شئت أخرت ، غير أن الاختيار التقديم ؛ لأن تأخيرها فيه وقوع في الوهم واللبس بأنّ الجار والمجرور في موضع النعت للاسم المتقدم لا في موضع المفعول الثاني ، لهذا كان تقديمه أحق بالاهتمام حيث إن قولك : " اخترت عبد الله من الرجال " يوهم بأنّ الجار والمجرور " من الرجال " في موضع النعت لا في موضع المفعول الثاني ، فمنعاً لهذا الوهم واللبس كان تقديم المفعول الثاني - في وجود حرف الجر - أولى وأحق بالاهتمام مع جواز التأخير ، أما عند إسقاط حرف الجر فالتقديم صار لازماً لا جواز فيه ؛ وكأني أرى أن العلة في وجوب التقديم بعد إسقاط الجار هو أنّ الفعل لا يقوى على العمل في الاسم على البعد بعد حذف حرف الجر ؛ لأن الفعل غير متعدٍ لمفعولين بنفسه ، الله أعلم .

وهذه التحويلات السابقة هي ذاتها التي تعرضت لها البنية في قوله تعالى : " واختار موسى قومَهُ سبعين رجلاً " إذ إنّ

البنية العميقة في الآية هي : " واختار موسى قومَهُ سبعين رجلاً " ، ، ويمكن تمثيل ذلك تحويلياً كالآتي :

واختار موسى سبعين رجلاً (بنية عميقة) إجراء تحويلي بإضافة
واختار موسى سبعين رجلاً من قومه إجراء تحويلي بإعادة الترتيب بين المفعولين
واختار موسى سبعين رجلاً من قومه

واختارَ موسى من قومه سبعين رجلاً إجراء تحويلي بحذف حرف الجر واختارَ موسى قومه سبعين رجلاً (بنية سطحية)

إعادة الترتيب بين " إذن " والفعل :

" إذن " حرف على مذهب الجمهور⁽⁸¹⁾ ، وقيل معناها الجواب والجزاء ، والأكثر أن تكون جواباً لـ " إن " أو " لو " مقدرتين أو ظاهرتين ، واختلفوا عند الوقف عليها فقيل : الصحيح أن تُبدل نونها ألفاً تشبيهاً لها بتنوين المنصوب ، وقيل : يُوقف عليها بالنون ؛ لأنها مثل نون " لن " ، و " إن " ، ومنهم من يتوسط بين الرأيين السابقين فيرى كتابتها بالنون إذا كانت عاملة ، وإلا كتبت بالألف المنونة ، والجمهور على أنها ترسم بالألف ، وكذا رُسمت في المصاحف . أما عن عملها فقد قال المبرد : " اعلم أنّ " إذن " من عوامل الأفعال كـ " ظننت " من عوامل الأسماء ؛ لأنها تعمل وتُلغى كظننتُ ألا ترى أنك تقول : ظننتُ زيداً قائماً ، وزيدٌ ظننتُ قائمٌ ، إذا أردتَ زيدٌ قائمٌ في ظني ؟ " ⁽⁸²⁾ ، وقال السهيلي : " إذن في عوامل الأفعال كـ " ظننتُ " في عوامل الأسماء ؛ لأن ظننتُ تعمل إذا وقعت في رتبها ، وتُلغى إذا أزيلت عنها ، وكذلك " إذن " ؛ لأنها إذا اعتمد الفعل عليها وأبتدئ بها في الجواب وقعت في رتبها كقول القائل : أنا أزورك ، فتقول مجيباً : إذن أكرمك " ⁽⁸³⁾ ، " ولا فرق في وقوعها دالة على الجواب بين أن تكون في أول جملتها ، ووسطها ، وآخرها ، غير أنها لا تنصب المضارع إلا إذا كانت في صدر جملتها تقول : إذن أعتذر لك مخلصاً .. أو أعتذر لك مخلصاً إذاً " وبناءً على ما تقدم فإنّ " إذن " ⁽⁸⁴⁾ حرف ينصب الفعل المضارع بشروط ⁽⁸⁵⁾ منها : أن تتقدم على الفعل في الرتبة فإذا ما حدث إعادة ترتيب بينها وبين الفعل ، أو معمول الفعل فإنّ ذلك يؤثر على عملها فتُلغى ⁽⁸⁶⁾ حتماً ، ويبطل عملها كما في قولك : أكرمك إذاً . جواباً لمن قال لك : أنا أتيك .

الشاهد : إعادة الترتيب بين الحرف العامل " إذن " ، وبين معموله الفعل " أكرمك " ، وذلك بتقديم الفعل وتأخير " إذن " فأثر ذلك في الإعراب حيث أبطل عمل " إذن " في الفعل بعدها ؛ فارتفع الفعل بعد أن كان منصوباً ويمكن تمثيل ذلك تحويلاً كالآتي :

أنا أتيك (إذن أكرمك) (بنية عميقة) إجراء تحويلي بإعادة الترتيب بين العامل والمعمول أكرمك إذن . (بنية سطحية)

إذن أعتذر لك مخلصاً (بنية عميقة) إجراء تحويلي بإعادة الترتيب بين أعتذر لك مخلصاً إذاً .
(بنية سطحية) " إذن " والفعل مع معموله ومتعلقه

إعادة الترتيب بين المستثنى والمستثنى منه :

الرتبة بين المستثنى منه والمستثنى غير محفوظة – أما رتبة المستثنى مع الأداة فهي رتبة محفوظة - ؛ لذا فقد يعاد الترتيب بينهما فيتقدم المستثنى مع الأداة على المستثنى منه ، ذكر ذلك سيبويه تحت عنوان " هذا باب ما يقدم فيه المستثنى " ، فقال : " وزعم الخليل - رحمه الله - أنه إنما حملهم على نصب هذا أنّ المستثنى إنما وجهه عندهم أن يكون بدلاً ، ولا يكون مبدلاً منه ؛ لأن الاستثناء إنما حده أن تداركه بعدما تنفي فتبدله ، فلما لم يكن وجه الكلام هذا حملوه على وجه قد يجوز إذا أخرجت المستثنى " ⁽⁸⁷⁾ ، كما ذكره المبرد تحت عنوان " هذا ما لا يجوز فيه البديل " ، وذلك هو الاستثناء المقدم فقال : " فلما قدمت المستثنى بطل وجه البديل ، فلم يبق إلا الوجه الثاني " ⁽⁸⁸⁾ ، وقال ابن جني : " تقول : ما قام إلا زيداً أحدٌ ، فتوجب النصب إذا تقدم المستثنى ، إلا في لغة ضعيفة . وذلك أنك كنت تجيز : ما قام أحدٌ إلا زيداً فلما قدمت المستثنى لم تجد قبله ما تبدله منه ؛ فأوجب من النصب له ما كان جائزاً فيه " ⁽⁸⁹⁾ وقال ابن هشام : " إذا تقدم المستثنى على المستثنى منه وجب نصبه مطلقاً " ⁽⁹⁰⁾ ،

أي سواء كان الاستثناء منقطعاً نحو : ما فيها إلا حماراً أحدٌ ، أو متصلاً كقولك : ما جاءني إلا زيداً أحدٌ ، وما مررتُ إلا زيداً بأحدٍ . وقيل إن الذي سوغ تقديم المستثنى على المستثنى منه هنا هو " لأنَّ المستثنى لما تجاذبه شَبَهَان : أحدهما : كونه مفعولاً ، والآخر : كونه بدلاً ؛ جُعِلت له منزلة متوسطة ، فجاز تقديمه على المستثنى منه ، ولم يجز تقديمه على الفعل الذي ينصبه ، عملاً بكلا الشبهين ، على أن من العرب من يجوز البديل مع التقديم فيقول : ما جاءني إلا زيداً أحدٌ ، فيرفع على البديل مع تقديمه ؛ لأن هذا التقديم التقدير به التأخير ، وإن كانت اللغة الفصيحة العالية النصب والله أعلم " (91) .

الشاهد في الجملتين السابقتين هو إعادة الترتيب بين المستثنى منه " أحدٌ ، بأحدٍ " ، وبين المستثنى مع الأداة " إلا زيداً " ، حيث أثر ذلك على الحكم الإعرابي للمستثنى فجعله واجب النصب على الاستثناء بعد أن كان الوجه فيه – على أصل الكلام – : الإعراب على البديل بحسب المبدل منه – وهو الأرجح (92) – ، أو النصب على الاستثناء ؛ لأنه يجوز فيما صلح فيه البديل أن يُنصب على الاستثناء وفي ظني- والله أعلم - أنّ علة إبطال وجه البديل هنا - عند إعادة الترتيب - عدم وجود مبدل منه سابق للاسم الذي نُصب على الاستثناء " زيداً " ؛ لكي يُبدل منه ؛ لأنه لا يجوز الإبدال من متأخر ، إذ الأصل في الجملتين السابقتين هو :

ما جاءني أحدٌ إلا زيدٌ (بالرفع على البديل من المستثنى منه " أحدٌ " ، وهو أرجحها) ، أو زيداً (بالنصب على الاستثناء) .
وما مررتُ بأحدٍ إلا زيداً (بالنصب على الاستثناء) ، أو زيد (بالجر على البديل من المستثنى منه " بأحدٍ ") .
وبناء عليه فإنَّ إعادة الترتيب - بين المستثنى منه والمستثنى - أثر على الحكم الإعرابي للمستثنى ، فحوله من جواز النصب إلى وجوبه . ويمكن تفسير ما حدث بأنَّ الجملة - في كلا المثالين - قد تعرضت لعدة إجراءات تحويلية تم من خلالها تحويل الجملة من بنيتها العميقة إلى البنية السطحية التي ظهرت عليها - أي : الصورة المنطوقة للجملة - وحيث إن العميقة لكل من الجملتين على الترتيب هي : جاءني أحدٌ ، مررتُ بأحدٍ ، فإنَّ هذه الإجراءات التحويلية التي تعرضت لها كل منهما هي كالاتي :

أ- إجراء تحويلي بإضافة عنصر النفي " ما " إلى الجملة ؛ فصارت البنية : ما جاءني أحدٌ ، ما مررتُ بأحدٍ .
ب- إجراء تحويلي بإضافة والإقحام لكل من أداة الاستثناء " إلا " والمستثنى " زيد " ؛ فصارت البنية في كلتا الجملتين هي :

- ما جاءني أحدٌ إلا زيداً (مستثنى منصوب) ، أو زيدٌ (بدل من المستثنى منه مرفوع) .
- ما مررتُ بأحدٍ إلا زيداً (بالنصب على الاستثناء) ، أو زيد (بالجر على البديل) .
ت- إجراء تحويلي بإعادة الترتيب بين المستثنى منه والمستثنى مع أداة الاستثناء ؛ فصارت البنية في الجملتين :
- ما جاءني إلا زيداً أحدٌ . بالنصب في " زيد " على الاستثناء فقط دون وجه البديل ، وذلك هو الأثر الذي أحدثه إعادة الترتيب بين عناصر التركيب .
- ما مررتُ إلا زيداً بأحدٍ . أيضاً بنصب ما بعد إلا على الاستثناء دون البديل ، وهو نفس الأثر الذي أحدث في الجملة الأولى .

ويمكن تمثيل ما حدث في إحدى الجملتين تحويلياً كالاتي :

جاءني أحدٌ إجراءات تحويلية بإضافة وإقحام بعض العناصر ما جاءني أحدٌ إلا زيدٌ أو زيداً (93)

وتحويل التركيب إلى صورة الاستثناء المنفي (بنية عميقة)

هذا في حالة ما إذا كانت هذه العناصر قد أضيفت إلى التركيب جُملةً أي : دفعة واحدة . وإلا فسوف يكون هناك تحليل آخر هو :

جاءني أحدٌ (بنية عميقة) إجراء تحويلي بإضافة " ما " ما جاءني أحدٌ

ما جاءني أحدٌ إجراء تحويلي بإضافة أداة الاستثناء والمستثنى ما جاءني أحدٌ إلا زيداً أو زيداً

وتحويل التركيب إلى الاستثناء ، ومعنى الإثبات

ما جاءني أحدٌ إلا زيداً أو زيداً إجراء تحويلي بإعادة الترتيب ما جاءني إلا زيداً أحدٌ . (بنية سطحية)

وقد وردت أمثلة على ذلك في الشعر كقول الكميت (94) :

مالي إلا آل أحمد شيعَةٌ وما لي إلا مشعب الحق مشعب . (95)

الشاهد في البيت هو إعادة الترتيب بين المستثنى منه ، والمستثنى مع أداة الاستثناء ، وذلك في قوله في الشطر الأول: " آل - من " آل أحمد " - وفي الشطر الثاني : " مشعب " - من " مشعب الحق " فكل منهما مستثنى وكان حقه التأخير بعد المستثنى منه "شيعَةٌ"، و"مشعب" ، إذ البنية العميقة هي: ما لي شيعَةٌ إلا (آل أو آل) أحمد، وما لي مشعبٌ إلا (مشعب ، أو مشعب) الحق . بالنصب على الاستثناء أو الرفع على أنه بدل من المستثنى منه، فهو مستثنى مقدم على المستثنى منه ، إلا أنه لما أعيد الترتيب، وتقدم المستثنى على المستثنى منه لزمه⁽⁹⁶⁾ - في لغة عامة العرب - النصب على الاستثناء ولم يجز فيه الإتيان على البديل ؛ لأن البديل الذي يجوز رفعه قد بطل⁽⁹⁷⁾ لتقدمه ؛ لأنه لا يجوز بدل الأول من الثاني ، لأن رتبة البديل مع المبدل منه رتبة محفوظة، فلا يتقدم البديل على المبدل منه؛ لأنه تابع، ورتبة التابع يجب أن تلي رتبة المتبوع . وتفسير ما حدث في الشاهد السابق كالآتي :

وبذلك يتضح الأثر الإعرابي الذي أحدثه إعادة الترتيب . ويمكن تمثيل ذلك تحويلياً كالآتي :

شيعَةٌ لي (بنية عميقة) إجراء تحويلي بإعادة الترتيب لي شيعَةٌ

لي شيعَةٌ إجراء تحويلي بالإضافة ما لي شيعَةٌ

مالي شيعَةٌ إجراءات تحويليان بالإضافة مالي شيعَةٌ إلا " آل ، آل " أحمد

مالي شيعَةٌ إلا " آل ، آل " أحمد إجراء تحويلي بإعادة الترتيب مالي إلا آل أحمد شيعَةٌ (بنية

سطحية)

إعادة الترتيب بين الحال وصاحبها الذي كان أصله صفة :

رتبة الصفة مع الموصوف من الرتب المحفوظة التي لا يمكن فيها إعادة الترتيب ؛ فلا يُسمح فيها بالتقديم والتأخير ، ولهذا فإنه عندما تتقدم الصفة على موصوفها النكرة؛ فإن الكلام يخرج عن باب، و تخرج الصفة عن كونها صفة وتدخل في باب الحال⁽⁹⁸⁾ - ذكر ذلك سيبويه تحت باب " هذا باب ما ينتصب لأنه قبيح أن يوصف بما بعده ويُبنى على ما قبله، وذلك قولك: هذا قائماً رجلاً ، وفيها قائماً رجلاً"⁽⁹⁹⁾، ونقل عن الخليل أنهم لمّا: "استقبحوا أن يكون الاسم صفة في قولهم : فيها قائماً رجلاً . حملوه على وجه قد يجوز لو أخرجت الصفة، وكان هذا الوجه أمثل عندهم من أن يحملوا الكلام على غير وجه"⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ . أي أنّ هذه الصفة المتقدمة يجوز فيها وهي متأخرة وجهان⁽¹⁰¹⁾ : الأول : الإتيان لما قبلها على النعت ، أي : فيها رجلاً قائمٌ . وهذا الوجه هو الأقوى .

الثاني : النصب على الحال ، أي : فيها رجلٌ قائماً ، ولكن ذلك على ضعف ؛ لأنَّ صاحب الحال يكون نكرة ، ولإمكان الإتيان ، فالأولى أن تُرفع على الصفة ؛ لأنَّ " صاحب الحال شرطه أن يكون معرفة غالباً ، فإن جاء نكرة فلا يخلو إما أن يتقدم على الحال أو يتقدم الحال عليه ، فإن تقدم فإما أن يوصف أو لا يوصف ، فإن لم يوصف فمجيء الحال عنه نكرة قبيح ؛ لإمكان الحمل على الصفة مع المخالفة له في الإعراب" (102) . قال الشلوبين : " ولا فرق بين قولك : جاءني رجلٌ راكبٌ ، وجاءني رجلٌ راكباً . ولذلك ضعف الحال من النكرات ، لما أمكن فيها المشاكلة والجريان على الموصوف في الإعراب ، فضعفت غير المشاكلة ، ولولا أن المعنى واحد في وصف النكرة والحال منها لما ضعف الحال من النكرة وحقُّ النكرة إذا جاءت بعدها الصفة أن تكون جارية عليها ؛ ليتفق اللفظ ، أما نصب الصفة على الحال فيضعف عندهم ؛ لاختلاف اللفظ من غير ضرورة ، هذا منتهى قول النحويين " (103) ؛ وقيل إنما ضعف نصب الاسم على الحال بعد النكرة ؛ لأن ذلك قد يشتبه (104) في حال انتصاب ذي الحال بالوصف نحو : رأيتُ رجلاً راكباً . إذ يلتبس الحال بالصفة عند النصب ؛ فاطرد المنع رفعاً وجرأً ، ولهذا لما أعيد الترتيب بين الصفة والموصوف وتقدمت النكرة على موصوفها ضعفت المشاكلة بين الصفة والموصوف - التي كانت قوية في التأخير - ، وزال الضعف الكائن في الحال لتعذر الإتيان ؛ لأنه قبيح أن يوصف الاسم بما بعده - كما ذكر سيبويه - ويبنى على ما قبله ، لهذا قويت الحال ، لذا قالوا : " وإذا تقدمت النكرة عليها نُصب على الحال لِيُفَرَّقَ بين تقدمه وتأخره في ذلك " (105) ، وكان هذا الأمر (106) بمنزلة قولنا - في الاستثناء - ما قام أحدٌ إلا زيدٌ . فإنَّ النصب مع تأخر المستثنى ضعيف ؛ لإمكان الإتيان ، فإذا تقدم المستثنى لزم النصب على الاستثناء في المشهور من كلامهم نظراً لتعذر الإتيان ، كذلك فإنَّ نعت النكرة إذا تقدم عليها أعرب حالاً (107) .

وَجُعِلَ التقديم مسوغاً (108) لمجيء صاحب الحال نكرة ، كما صار التقديم واجباً لكي يعرب الاسم حالاً ، قال السهيلي : " وإن تقدمت نعت النكرة عليها نُصب على الحال " (109) ، وقال ابن الحاجب عن الحال : " فإن كان صاحبها نكرة وجب تقديمها " (110) .

إذا فمذهب النحويين أن يكون ما بعد النكرة جارياً على الصفة دون النصب على الحال ؛ إيثراً لاتفاق اللفظ ، ولتقارب ما بين المعنيين في النكرة ، وتباعد ما بينهما في المعرفة ؛ لأن الصفة في النكرة مجهولة عند المخاطب حالاً كانت ، أو نعتاً ، وهي في المعرفة بخلاف ذلك . من ذلك نجد أنَّ إعادة الترتيب بين الصفة وموصوفها النكرة يؤثِّر على إعراب الاسم الواقع صفة ؛ فيحوله من الإتيان لما قبله إلى النصب وجوباً على الحال ، يتضح ذلك من خلال الشواهد التي وردت في النصوص السابقة كما في قول سيبويه : هذا قائماً رجلاً ، وفيها قائماً رجلاً . حيث نصب قوله " قائماً " وجوباً على الحال في الجملتين ، بعد أن كان مرفوعاً على النعت لكلمة " رجلاً " . ويمكن تمثيل ذلك تحويلياً كالآتي :

الجملة الأولى :

هذا رجلٌ (بنية عميقة) إجراء تحويلي بإضافة عنصر جديد هو النعت هذا رجلٌ قائمٌ (نعت)
 هذا رجلٌ قائمٌ إجراء تحويلي بإعادة الترتيب بين النعت والمنعوت هذا قائماً رجلاً . (حال) (بنية سطحية)

الجملة الثانية :

رجلٌ فيها (بنية عميقة) إجراء بإعادة الترتيب بين المبتدأ وخبره فيها رجلٌ فيها رجلٌ فيها (نعت) إجراء تحويلي بإضافة عنصر جديد هو النعت فيها رجلٌ قائمٌ (نعت)

فيها رجلٌ قائمٌ إجراء تحويلي بإعادة الترتيب بين النعت والمنعوت فيها قائماً رجلٌ . (حال) (بنية سطحية)

ومن الشواهد الشعرية على إعادة الترتيب بين الصفة والموصوف كقوله (111) :

لَمِيَّةٌ مُوحِشاً طَلُّهُ يَلُوخُ كَأَنَّهُ خِلْتُ (112) .

الشاهد قوله " موحشاً طللٌ " حيث انتصب قوله " موحشاً " على الحال (113) ، والأصل فيها التأخير والرفع على الصفة ، إذا الأصل هو : " طللٌ موحشٌ " ، فلما أعيد الترتيب قدموا (114) صفة النكرة عليها فوجب نصب الصفة على الحال (115) ، ولم يجز إتباعها للموصوف ؛ وذلك لأن الصفة تابع للموصوف ، ولا يجوز تقديم التابع على المتبوع ؛ لأن رتبة التابع تلي رتبة المتبوع .

وقوله : وبالجسم مئياً بيئاً لو علمته شُحوبٌ وإن تَسْتَشْهَدِي العَيْنَ تَشْهَدُ . (116)

الشاهد " بيئاً شُحوبٌ " أعيد الترتيب بين الموصوف وصفته ، حيث قدمت الصفة على الموصوف " شُحوبٌ " فصارت حالاً بدلاً من الصفة ، والأصل التركيب في الشاهد هو : وبالجسم مئياً شُحوبٌ بيئاً . حيث تعرضت هذه البنية لعدة تحويلات حتى ظهرت على الصورة التي هي عليها في الشاهد ، وتوضيح هذه التحويلات كالاتي :

شُحوبٌ بالجسم (بنية عميقة) إجراء تحويلي بإعادة الترتيب لعدم الابتداء بالنكرة بالجسم شُحوبٌ

بالجسم شُحوبٌ إجراء تحويلي بإقحام الجار والمجرور بين المبتدأ وخبره بالجسم مئياً شُحوبٌ

بالجسم مئياً شُحوبٌ إجراءات تحويلية بإضافة بعض العناصر و بالجسم مئياً شُحوبٌ بيئاً

و بالجسم مئياً شُحوبٌ بيئاً إجراء بإعادة الترتيب بين الموصوف وصفته و بالجسم مئياً شُحوبٌ . (بنية سطحية)

الخاتمة

وختاماً أحمدُ الله تعالى أنْ منَّ عليَّ بإتمام هذا العمل ، ويسرّه لي ، كما أقر بما وقع عليّ من نفعٍ عظيم بعد جمع مادته وصياغة أسلوبه ، وبعد ،

فإن ثمة نتائج قد كشف عنها البحث جاءت متناثرة في ثناياه ، وتجنباً للتكرار فقد عَنَّ للباحث تتبعه لمسائل هذه الظاهرة ورصد آثارها أن يُجمل أهمها . وأهم ما أجمله الباحث يتمثل في أنّ ظاهرة إعادة الترتيب :

- ظاهرة مبنية على مخالفة أصل الكلام ، إذ الأصل في الكلام أن يأتي على الترتيب الموضوع له ، فإذا كان الكلام موضوعاً على صورة الجملة الاسمية فالأصل أن يتقدم المبتدأ ويتأخر الخبر ، أما أن يُعاد الترتيب - بما هو مسموح به - فيتقدم الخبر ويتأخر المبتدأ فإنّ ذلك يكون مخالفاً للأصل . وإذا كان الكلام موضوعاً على صورة الجملة الفعلية ، فالأصل أن يأتي الفعل فالفاعل ثم المفعول ، فإذا ما أعيد الترتيب - بما يُسمح به - وتقدم المفعول على الفاعل ، أو على الفعل والفاعل معاً ؛ فإنّ في ذلك أيضاً مخالفاً للأصل ، وكذا في أبواب النحو الأخرى كما ورد بالبحث .

- أنها من الظواهر التي أمكن تفسيرها في ضوء الدراسات اللغوية الحديثة ، يتضح ذلك من خلال تحليل مسائل هذا البحث في ضوء القواعد التحويلية .
 - أنها لم تقع في التركيب عشوائياً ، أو جزئياً ، فعلى الرغم من مخالفتها لأصل الكلام إلا أنها ظاهرة مدروسة تكون خاضعة لقصد المتكلم ، وما يريد التعبير عنه من المعاني المترتبة داخل نفسه ، فلا تتم إلا في ضوء ما يحقق الانسجام بين عناصر التركيب في السياق ، فهي إما لكون السياق يقتضي إعادة الترتيب بين عناصره ، وإما لغرض التفنن في الفصاحة وإخراج الكلام على عدة أساليب ، فهي إنما تقع لبيان علة ، أو تسويغ حكم ، أو إبراز غرض بلاغي خاص بالدلالة .
 - تقع بين المعمولات التي يكون العامل فيها لفظياً لا معنوياً ، ومن هنا وقع الخلاف بين النحاة حول تقديم الخبر على المبتدأ ، لأن العامل في المبتدأ معنوي .
 - لم تقع دائماً على سبيل الوجوب ، وإنما جاءت واجبة في بعض المواضع ، وجائزة في بعضها الآخر .
- تعددت آثارها ما بين النحوي ، والتركيبي ، والدلالي : أما الأثر النحوي فتمثل في :
- أ- إبطال أو إلغاء عمل نحوي - ظهر ذلك في الفروع دون الأصول - وتمثل ذلك في :
- عوامل الأسماء : كإبطال عمل " ما " الحجازية، و " لا " النافية للوحدة العاملتين عمل " ليس "، وعمل " لا " التبرئة .
- وعوامل الأفعال كإبطال عمل " إذن " النصب في الفعل المضارع .
- ب- إيجاب حكم نحوي كان جائزاً ، وإلغاء آخر ، كوجوب النصب على الاستثناء في المستثنى المتقدم بعد أن كان جائزاً ، وإلغاء حكم التبعية على البديل كقوله : * ما لي إلا آل أحمد شيعة * .
- ت- تسويغ حكم نحوي لم يكن سائغاً ، كتسويغ مجيء صاحب الحال نكرة عند تقديمها عليه، كما في قوله : * لمية موحشاً طلل * .
- ث- تغيير إعراب كتغيير إعراب الصفة - المتقدمة على موصوفها - من الإعراب على التبعية إلى النصب على الحال ، وكتغيير إعراب الاسم - المحتمل كونه تمييزاً أو حالاً - إلى الحال .
- ج- دفع توهم حكم نحوي غير موجود كدفع توهم كون الخبر نعتاً في باب إعادة الترتيب بين الخبر شبه الجملة ، والمبتدأ النكرة نحو : في الدار رجل .
- وأما الأثر التركيبي فتمثل في تسويغ إضافة عناصر إلى التركيب ، أو تسويغ حذف كتسويغ حذف حرف الجر من مفعول الفعل " اختار " .
- وأما الأثر الدلالي فتمثل في إفادة العناية والاهتمام ، أو الاختصاص ، أو القصر والحصر كل هذه المعاني المفهومة من التقديم ، وكإفادة معنى التعجب المستفاد من تقديم الخبر على المبتدأ في : لله دره فارساً .
- هذا وقد ضم البحث نتائج أخرى مفصلة في مواضعها لم يذكرها الباحث إيثاراً للإيجاز وعدم الإطناب . وعلى الله قصد السبيل.

- (1) اللغة العربية " معناها ومبناها " للدكتور تمام حسان ، عالم الكتب ، الطبعة الثانية 1418 هـ -1998 م ص 209 .
- (2) انظر نتائج الفكر في النحو ، لأبي القاسم عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله السهيلي ، تحقيق د. محمد إبراهيم البنا ، دار الرياض للنشر والتوزيع ص 402 .
- (3) انظر اللغة العربية " معناها ومبناها " ص 209 .
- (4) انظر في البلاغة العربية " علم المعاني " تأليف عبد العزيز عتيق ، دار النهضة العربية ، بيروت ، طبعة 1405 هـ -1985 م . ص 148 .
- (5) الإنصاف في مسائل الخلاف بين النحويين البصريين والكوفيين ، للأنباري ت 513 – 577 هـ، ومعه الانتصاف من الإنصاف للشيخ محمد محي الدين ، المكتبة العصرية ، صيدا – بيروت ، طبعة 1992 م . 1 / 65 ، وانظر شرح ابن عقيل لألفية ابن مالك ، ومعه كتاب منحة الجليل بتحقيق شرح ابن عقيل ، تأليف محمد محي الدين عبد الحميد ، المكتبة الفيصلية – مكة المكرمة . 1 / 197 .
- (6) انظر الإنصاف 1 / 66 : 68 .
- (7) الخصائص لأبي الفتح عثمان بن جني ، تحقيق محمد علي النجار . 2 / 385 .
- (8) التبيين عن مذاهب النحويين البصريين والكوفيين ، لأبي النقاء العكبري ت 538 – 616 هـ ، ص 245 .
- (9) شرح التسهيل لابن مالك ت 600 – 672 هـ ، تحقيق د . عبد الرحمن السيد ، د . محمد بدوي المختون ، هجر للطباعة والنشر . 1 / 296

- (10) بلاغة التراكيب ص 133 .
- (11) البرهان في علوم القرآن للزركشي ن تحقيق د. محمد أبو الفضل إبراهيم 3 / 233 .
- (12) الإتقان في علوم القرآن 2 / 51 ، وانظر المثل السائر لابن الأثير 2 / 240 ، والفلك الدائر على المثل السائر لابن أبي الحديد ص 233 .
- (13) انظر اللباب في علل البناء والإعراب 1 / 142 ، والتبيين ص 246 .
- (14) شرح التصريح على التوضيح 1 / 175 .
- (15) شرح التسهيل 1 / 301 .
- (16) انظر اللباب 1 / 145 ، وفي البلاغة العربية " علم المعاني " ص 154 ، والبلاغة فنونها وأفانها ص 231 ، والتطبيق النحوي ص 109 .
- (17) شرح قطر الندى وبل الصدى ص 119 .
- (18) انظر خصائص التراكيب ص 315 ، وبلاغة التراكيب ص 132 ، وأساليب بلاغية ص 171 ، والبلاغة فنونها وأفانها ص 230 .
- (19) انظر شرح التسهيل 1 / 300 ، والنحو الوافي 1 / 504 .
- (20) شرح التسهيل 1 / 301 .
- (21) انظر شرح التسهيل 1 / 301 ، والنحو الوافي 1 / 504 : 505 .
- (22) شرح التصريح على التوضيح 1 / 174 ، انظر النحو الوافي 1 / 505 .
- (23) النحو الوافي 1 / 506 .
- (24) هذا القول منسوب للكوفيين . انظر الإنصاف 1 / 165 .
- (25) اللباب 1 / 175 ، وانظر الجنى الداني ص 322 : 323 .
- (26) انظر الجنى الداني في حروف المعاني ص 322 .
- (27) شرح التسهيل 1 / 369 .
- (28) انظر المفصل في علم العربية ص 102 : 103 ، والتبيين ص 326 ، وشرح قطر الندى ص 139 ، والنحو الوافي 1 / 595 ، والتطبيق النحوي ص ، وشرح شذور الذهب ص 185130 .
- (29) انظر أوضح المسالك 1 / 279 .
- (30) الكتاب 1 / 59 .
- (31) الكافية في النحو 1 / 226 .
- (32) انظر حاشية الصبان 1 / 248 ، وأوضح المسالك 1 / 279 .
- (33) انظر أوضح المسالك 1 / 279 ، وذكر المحقق " الشيخ محمد محي الدين " أن الفراء لا يرى إبطال العمل مع التقديم مطلقاً ، ويرى ابن عصفور إبطال العمل إلا إذا كان الخبر شبه جملة ؛ لأن الطرف ، والجار والمجرور يتوسع فيهما ما لا يتوسع في غيرهما ، وانظر النحو والصرف بين التميميين والحجازيين ، د . الشريف عبد الله علي الحسيني البركاتي ، ص 35 .

- (34) الكتاب 1 / 60 ، وسيبويه لم يسمعه عن العرب .
- (35) انظر أوضح المسالك 1 / 280 .
- (36) المقتضب 4 / 191 : 192 .
- (37) انظر أبيات النحو في تفسير البحر المحيط ، لشعاع إبراهيم عبد الرحمن منصور ص 306 .
- (38) انظر اللباب 1 / 177 .
- (39) الجنى الداني في حروف المعاني ص 323 .
- (40) انظر السابق ص 324 .
- (41) انظر اللباب 1 / 177 ، وشرح ابن عقيل 1 / 262 ، وحاشية الخضري على شرح ابن عقيل 1 / 232 ، وشرح شذور الذهب ص 185 .
- (42) انظر أوضح المسالك 1 / 282 ، وشرح الأشموني 1 / 356 ، والنحو الوافي 1 / 595 .
- (43) ويروى الشاهد برفع " كل " على أنها اسم " ما " ، وجملة " أنا عارف " بعدها في محل نصب خبر " ما " ، أو على أن " كل " مرفوع على الابتداء ، وخبره جملة " أنا عارف " بعده . انظر أوضح المسالك 1 / 283 ، وشرح التسهيل 1 / 370 ، وشرح شذور الذهب ص 187 .
- (44) شرح الأشموني 1 / 357 .
- (45) انظر النحو الوافي 1 / 595 .
- (46) انظر شرح المفصل 1 / 109 ، وشرح ابن عقيل 1 / 272 ، وحاشية الخضري على شرح ابن عقيل 1 / 237 ، والنحو والصرف بين التميميين والحجازيين ص 66 : 67 ، والتطبيق النحوي ص 134 .
- (47) المفصل في علم العربية ص 102 : 103 .
- (48) شرح التسهيل 2 / 8 .
- (49) انظر شرح التسهيل 2 / 10 : 11 ، 2 / 25 : 26 ، وشرح الأشموني 1 / 408 ، والنحو الوافي 1 / 638 .
- (50) انظر المقتضب 2 / 345 ، وشرح التسهيل 2 / 25 ، وشرح الأشموني 1 / 420 .
- (51) انظر شرح قطر الندى ص 159 ، والنحو الوافي 1 / 664 ، والتطبيق النحوي ص 158 .
- (52) النازعات من الآية (26) ، وآل عمران من الآية (13) .
- (53) تلاميذ : مالي الأصيل الذي ليس طارئاً ، فكوني : أي : فداومي على حياتك معي (انظر النحو الوافي 1 / 66) .
- (54) شرح التسهيل 2 / 64 .
- (55) انظر شرح ابن عقيل 1 / 336 ، وحاشية الخضري 1 / 280 ، شرح القطر ص 162 ، وشرح شذور الذهب ص 201 ، والنحو الوافي 1 / 690 ، والتطبيق النحوي ص 168 .
- (56) الصافات من الآية (46) .
- (57) انظر شرح ابن عقيل 1 / 370 .
- (58) الكتاب 1 / 119 : 120 .
- (59) اللباب 1 / 50 .
- (60) أوضح المسالك 2 / 60 .
- (61) اللباب في علل البناء والإعراب 1 / 153 .
- (62) من المواضع التي لا يجوز فيها تقديم المفعول به على الفاعل وحده : كون الفاعل ضميراً متصلاً ، أو أن يكون الفاعل مضافاً إليه المصدر المقدر بـ " أن " والفعل ، أو بـ " أن " التي خبرها فعل ، أو اسم مشتق منه . انظر الأشباه والنظائر 1 / 84 .
- (63) انظر الأشباه والنظائر للسيوطي 1 / 83 : 84 ، وشرح الأشموني على ألفية ابن مالك 2 / 102 ، وحاشية الصبان على شرح الأشموني 2 / 51 .
- (64) انظر شرح ألفية ابن معطي 1 / 480 .
- (65) شرح ابن عقيل 1 / 404 .
- (66) يرى ابن الحاجب أنه لا بد من إثبات العلامة في الفعل إذا كان الفاعل حقيقي التأنيث ، سواء كان بينهما فاصل أو لم يكن ، وجعل حذف العلامة لغةً رديئةً ، وذلك ما رده المبرد ، ولكن المختار والصحيح عند غير ابن الحاجب جواز الأمرين : الحذف ، والإثبات ، وابن مالك ممن أجازوا ترك التاء ، وابن هشام يرى أن إثبات التاء أفصح . (انظر أمالي ابن الحاجب 2 / 693 ، والمقتضب 2 / 148 ، وأوضح المسالك 2 / 113 ، وشرح قطر الندى ص 179) .
- (67) انظر السابق 1 / 482 ، وأوضح المسالك إلى ألفية ابن مالك 2 / 113 ..
- (68) انظر شرح الأشموني 2 / 103 ، و الحاشية 2 / 52 ، والظواهر اللغوية في التراث النحوي 1 / 258 .
- (69) انظر نتائج الفكر في النحو ص 168 ، وأوضح المسالك إلى ألفية ابن مالك 2 / 113 ، وشرح للمع 1 لابن برهان العكبري ت 456 هـ 1 / 43 .
- (70) انظر الخصائص 2 / 414 ، والمقتضب للمبرد 2 / 148 ، وشرح المقدمة الجزولية الكبير 2 / 578 ، والإنصاف 1 / 175 ، وأوضح المسالك 2 / 112 ، وشرح الأشموني 2 / 104 ، والحاشية 2 / 52 .

(71) انظر الإنصاف 1 / 174 ، وفي رواية " على قمع استنها صلب وشام " ، صُلب: جمع صليب . شام : اسم جمع شامة ، وهي العلامة . وهو يقصد بهذا الوصف أنه يعرف ذلك الموضع من أم الأخطل . انظر المقتضب 2 / 148 ، 338 ، وأوضح المسالك 2 / 112 .

(72) انظر الإنصاف 1 / 175 ، وأوضح المسالك 2 / 113 ، وأبيات النحو في تفسير البحر المحيط ، لشعاع إبراهيم عبد الرحمن المنصور ، دار التراث ، طبعة 1414 هـ - 1994 م ، ص 321 .
(73) فاطر (28) .

(74) انظر النحو الوافي 2 / 88 ، والظواهر اللغوية في التراث النحوي د . علي أبو المكارم ، القاهرة طبعة 1387 هـ - 1968 م الجزء الأول " الظواهر التركيبية " ص 261 .

(75) انظر نتائج الفكر في النحو ص 175 .

(76) انظر شرح التصريح على التوضيح 1 / 313 ، والظواهر اللغوية في التراث النحوي 1 / 263 .

(77) انظر الكتاب 1 / 37 : 38 .

(78) سورة

(79) انظر نتائج الفكر في النحو ص 330 .

(80) نتائج الفكر ص 330 : 331 .

(81) انظر مغني اللبيب 1 / 27 : 28 ، وشرح التسهيل 4 / 19 .

(82) المقتضب لأبي العباس المبرد ، عالم الكتب - بيروت ، تحقيق محمد عبد الخالق عزيمة . 2 / 10 .

(83) اللباب في علل البناء والإعراب 2 / 35 : 36 .

(84) النحو الوافي 4 / 309 .

(85) من شروطها : أن يكون الفعل بعدها للاستقبال ، وألا يفصل بينها وبين الفعل بغير القسم ، أو " لا " النافية . انظر مغني اللبيب 1 / 28 .

(86) انظر الجنى الداني في حروف المعاني ص 361 ، وحاشية الصبان 3 / 287 ، وشرح المقدمة الجزولية الكبير 2 / 477 .

(87) الكتاب 2 / 335 .

(88) المقتضب ، للمبرد 4 / 397 .

(89) الخصائص 3 / 85 .

(90) أوضح المسالك إلى ألفية ابن مالك 2 / 265 . وقد فسر الشيخ محمد محي الدين قوله " مطلقاً " أنّ المصنف أراد بكلمة مطلقاً في هذا الموضع أنه يستوي في ذلك الاستثناء المتصل نحو : ما قام إلا زيداً أحدٌ، والاستثناء المنقطع نحو : ما في الدار إلا حماراً أحدٌ . بعد أن يكون الكلام منفياً ، وانظر شرح قطر الندى ص 252 ، وقال سيبويه : " وحدثنا يونس : أنّ بعض العرب الموثوق بهم يقولون : " ما لي إلا أبوك أحدٌ " ؛ فيجعلون أحداً بدلاً " (الكتاب 1 / 372) ، وقال ابن هشام أيضاً : ".....وبعضهم يجيز غير النصب في المسبوق بالنفي ، فيقول : " ما قام إلا زيداً أحدٌ " سمع يونس " ما لي إلا أبوك ناصرٌ " ، وقال حسان : لأنهم يرجون منه شفاعَةً إذا لم يكن إلا النبيون شافعٌ .

برفع النبيين مع أنها مستثنى مقدم على المستثنى منه ، وكان ينبغي فيه النصب وجوباً على الاستثناء بسبب التقديم ، غير أن العلماء يخرجونه على أنه استثناء مفرغٌ ، وجعلوا " النبيون " فاعل لـ " كان " التامة - السابقة لـ " إلا " - ، و " شافعٌ " بدل كل من كل . (انظر أوضح المسالك 2 / 265 ، 268 ، 269) . وذهب عباس حسن إلى أن المران جائزان - الرفع ، والنصب - قياسيان ، ولكن أحدهما في الاستعمال من الآخر كثرة نسبية . (انظر النحو الوافي 2 / 325) .

(91) الإنصاف 1 / 277 .

(92) انظر مغني اللبيب 2 / 645 .

(93) حاولت في هذا المثال - وكل الأمثلة التالية في باب الاستثناء - أن أقدم الإتياع على البديل ، وأؤخر النصب على الاستثناء ، بناءً على رأي النحاة في ترجيح الإتياع على البديل على النصب على الاستثناء .

(94) انظر شرح أبيات سيبويه 2 / 134 : 135 ، والإنصاف في مسائل الخلاف 1 / 275 ، وشرح ابن عقيل 1 / 508 ، وشرح الأشموني على ألفية ابن مالك 2 / 249 ، وشرح قطر الندى ص 252 ، وحاشية الخضري 1 / 415 .

(95) وروي الشطر الثاني من البيت * وما لي إلا مذهب لحقّ مذهب * انظر أوضح المسالك 2 / 266 ، وشرح ابن معطي على الألفية 2 / 601 .

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(96) انظر الإنصاف 1 / 275 .

(97) انظر شرح ألفية ابن معطي 1 / 602 .

(98) الفرق بين الصفة والحال : أن الحال وإن كانت صفة كالنعت إلا أنه صفة ليست بلازمة للاسم كالنعت ، وإنما صفة للاسم في حين وجود الفعل خاصة ، فالفعل إذاً أولى بها من الاسم ، فعمل فيها دونه ؛ فلما عمل فيها الفعل جاز تقديمها إليه كقولك : جاء ضاحكاً زيدٌ ،

وتقديمها عليه كقولك : ضاحكاً جاء زيد . انظر نتائج الفكر في النحو ص 233 .

- (99) الكتاب 1 / 276 ، وذكر سيبويه أن هذا كلام أكثره ما يكون في الشعر ، وأقل ما يكون في الكلام .
 (100) السابق 2 / 335 .
 (101) انظر المقتضب 4 / 397 .
 (102) شرح ألفية ابن معطي 1 / 564 .
 (103) شرح المقدمة الجزولية الكبير 2 / 725 : 726 .
 (104) انظر الكافية في النحو 1 / 204 .
 (105) انظر شرح المقدمة الجزولية 2 / 726 .
 (106) انظر الخصائص 3 / ، 85 ، وشرح التسهيل 2 / 233 .
 (107) انظر حاشية الخضري 1 / 435 ، والنحو الوافي 2 / 402 ، والتطبيق النحوي ، د . عبده الراجحي ص 269 .
 (108) انظر أوضح المسالك 2 / 311 ، وشرح التسهيل 2 / ، وشرح المفصل الموسوم بالتنخير 1 / 434 .
 (109) نتائج الفكر في النحو ص 231 : 234 . وراجع الجمل في النحو ص 27 .
 (110) الكافية في النحو 1 / 204 .
 (111) انظر الكتاب 1 / 276 ، 277 ، والإنصاف 1 / 275 ، وشرح الأشموني 2 / 291 ، ومغني اللبيب 1 / 100 ، 2 / 759 ، وقد ذكر بن هشام هذا البيت شاهداً على تنكير صاحب الحال ؛ لتأخره ، وشرح قطر الندى وبل الصدى ص 241 : 242 ، وشرح الشذور ص 26 ، ص 239 ، وشرح اللمع لابن برهان العكبري ت 456 هـ ، 1 / 135 .
 (112) جُلل : جمع جُلَّة بكسر الخاء ، وهي بطانة تغشى بها أجفان السيوف (انظر أوضح المسالك 2 / 310 ، وحاشية الصبان 2 / 174) ، والبيت المشهور :
 لعزة موحشاً ظلُّ بلوح كأنه جُلل ..
 (113) وصاحب الحال عند سيبويه هو النكرة " ظلُّ " ، وهو عنده اسم مرفوع بالابتداء ، وليس فاعلاً خلافاً للأخفش والكوفيين ، كما أن الناصب للحال عنده هو الاستقرار الذي تعلق به الظرف . انظر الكتاب 1 / 276 ، ومغني اللبيب 2 / 759 .
 (114) انظر الإنصاف 1 / 275 .
 (115) لا يقال لو كان " موحشاً " حال من ظلل " للزم المحال من وجهين :
 أحدهما : أنه لا يصدق عليه حد الحال لكونه هيئة للمبتدأ ، والحال يجب أن يكون هيئة للفاعل ، أو المفعول .
 الوجه الثاني : أنه يؤدي أن يكون الابتداء عاملاً في الحال لوجوب كون العامل في الحال عاملاً في صاحبها وهو محال . فلا نسلم بعدم صدق حد الحال عليه ؛ لأن النكرة لتي هي " ظلل " مفعولة في المعنى ، والتقدير : اختصت فيه بطلل في حال كونه موحشاً . (شرح ألفية ابن معطي 1 / 565)
 (116) انظر شرح ابن عقيل 1 / 535 ، وشرح الأشموني 2 / 292 ، وحاشية الصبان 2 / 175 ، وحاشية الخضري 1 / 435 .

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CHANGING NEWS PRESENTATION FORMATS IN JOURNALISM AND APPLICATIONS ALONG WITH NEW MEDIA: VIDEO-SUPPORTED NEWS REPORTING

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ABSTRACT

Since the beginning of 17th century, when the printed newspaper emerged, until today; radical changes have occurred in methods of reaching the target audience due to increase both in expectations of readers and application fields of technological developments. These changes increase the interaction between the news-producing media organization and the target audience -in the position of the recipient of the news- while on the other hand bring in the differences on the news presentation formats. By reaching the news via many different platforms and through any possible technological advantages without location limitations; the reader/user begins to put the pressure on media organizations where news are produced and presented through resources provided by new media. As the new media reach the target audience by covering the unique characteristics of all three traditional channels where in the past years named as printed media covering the newspapers and magazines, visual press is referring to television and audio broadcasting covering radio; media perception of the target audience has undergone changes. Unlike the one-sided news transmission or journalism; new media user, as being in a mutual interactive process where they could be involved in or express an opinion about the content and furthermore rapidly changes decisions and whom patience threshold is relatively low; initiated media organizations in forming a news presentation using all the benefits of new media. Video-supported news reporting and presentation is one the practices revealed by this new reporting approach. In this context, firstly a theoretical framework will be drawn in the study; relating to journalism, new media and news concept. Then, information will be given for the video-supported news presentation applications emerged with new media and assessments will be made over sample practices.

Keywords: Journalism, News Presentation, New Media, Video-Supported News

1. INTRODUCTION

The current century continues to be one in which many changes have been being experienced and in which the influences of those changes are clearly seen. Changes have been experienced in many aspects from interpersonal communications of individuals to the way they express themselves. From face-to-face to mediate or from verbal to nonverbal, all kinds of communication of individuals have changed shape within the frame of the innovations brought by the 21st century. All kinds of changes and novelties enabled by technology have led to differences in the living conditions of individuals and in their communications with their external environment. When we look from a perspective that enables a comprehensive assessment from shopping methods to reading habits and from training methods to the ways accessing information, we see that the picture we face has completely changed. All the novelties created by technology bring an interactional environment from all aspects and this situation also entails an obligation. Technological advancements which go very fast and are added one over another; force individuals to keep pace with the speed of this change; where the failure of which results in a living condition that regresses each passing day.

The same applies to companies as well and in fact companies face the situation in a much harsher way since they must keep up with the competitive environment, make profit and survive. Technological advancement and change have also completely changed their structuring and the way they make business based on those structures. Great changes have been experienced both in the corporate communications of companies with other companies and also in the way they reach their own target audiences. As a result of a very rigorous environment created by competition on the one hand and financial difficulties on the other hand, many companies have failed to keep pace with the changes in this new environment created by technology. And those companies which take great efforts for and succeeding in keeping step with the change have had to change

their systems from the way they make business to their communications with their target audiences, regardless of the industry they operate in. Those businesses which have managed to internalize this process, which is very difficult and also costly, should permanently maintain the same determination and sensitivity in this century where technology changes very rapidly. Otherwise, they might face a situation whereby all their efforts fail within the mercilessness of the 'new world order' created by globalization.

Such big changes that technology has brought both for individuals and also for organizations, has influenced a rather broad hinterland regardless of individual characteristics or industries. It can easily be argued that the Internet is the basic trigger of this change and that the media is the primary industry which has been influenced the most from the changes revealed by the Internet technology. The concept of new media, which can be considered as a supra-concept covering all kinds of innovations based on the Internet and the Internet technology, has formed the foundation of all kinds of changes that have arisen in the media industry.

With the new media, a change has occurred in the interaction between producer media companies and consumer readers/listeners/viewers. Media consumers who previously displayed reactive behaviors in a passive mode; now enjoy a new media environment whereby they can interact with and change the content along with the new media. Assuming an active position and beginning to display proactive behaviors, they have become determiners in many changes and in creation of many news reports today. Unlike unilateral news transmission or unilateral concept of news making; new media users, who are now in an interactional process whereby they can become included in the content and express their opinions about contents and who change their minds very rapidly and have a low threshold of patience, have forced media institutions to create a news presentation way so as to utilize all the opportunities enabled by new media.

Video news presentation is also one of the applications introduced this new concept of news making. In this context, the current study will first draw a theoretical frame regarding the concepts of journalism, new media and news. Then it will provide some information about the application of video news presentation that has emerged with the new media and make assessments based on sample applications.

2. JOURNALISM, NEW MEDIA AND THE CONCEPT OF NEWS

The world journalist started to become common in the early 18th century to designate a new kind of writer, about a century before journalism made its appearance to describe what those writers produced. Despite its etymology, however, journalism originated as a form of discourse long before it became a stable and readily identifiable means of gainful employment. From the outset, this discourse was closely related to, but also transcended, the writing of news. Though varying in form from one age and society to another, it gradually distinguished itself from ballads, chronicles, history, and the novel through its focus on the unfolding present, its eyewitness perspective on current events, and its reliance on everyday language, among other characteristics. These discursive features later influenced the working arrangements and internal hierarchies governing journalism as an institutionalized occupation (Ross, 2009: 1). Journalism is a trade, or a craft, rather than a “proper” profession such as medicine or the law. But what is journalism for? To pay the mortgage, if you ask many hacks. But journalism is about more than that. It is a form of communication based on asking, and answering, the questions “Who?, What?, Where?, When?, Why?, How?”. Of course, journalism is a job, journalists do need to feed their kids or pay off student loans, and they have been known to refer to their workplaces as “word factories”. Yet being a journalist is not the same as working in other types of factory because journalists play a social role that goes beyond the production of commodities to sell in the marketplace. Journalism informs society about itself and makes public that which would otherwise be private (Harcup, 2009: 3).

Journalism entered the twenty-first century caught in a paradox of its own making. We have more news and more influential journalism, across an unprecedented range of media, than at any time since the birth of the free press in the eighteenth century; yet journalism is also under widespread attack, from politicians, philosophers, the general public, and even from journalists themselves (Hargreaves, 2003: 2). The journalist’s social role is critical, but often is not understood by the public and poorly explained by the profession. While most journalists talk about protections the Constitution and the courts offer them, few explain to critics and the public why society protects journalists (Brown, 2011: 23).

It's not that news doesn't sell things, or persuade people to do things. But that is not the goal. The goal of the news is to share that information with others under the assumption that when citizens are properly informed, they will make sound decisions (Craft & Davis, 2013: 12-13). There are two concepts to take away from this information -versus- news discussion. First, news is a product, created by journalists, who happen to be human beings with all the promise and pitfalls of the species. Second, because news is a product, it is constructed. Its value lies in the fact that it is created to inform, first and foremost, by bringing meaning and context to what happened today. No similar institution exists in democracies (Craft & Davis, 2013: 13). Analysis of the values and processes involved in the selection of news is one of the most important areas of journalism studies as it goes to the heart of what is included, what is excluded, and why. As we shall see, it is also claimed that by shedding light on the values inherent in news selection we can help illuminate arguments about the wider role(s) and meaning(s) of journalism within contemporary society (O'Neill & Harcup, 2009: 162).

Traditionally, news has been defined by reference to a predetermined list of values. Ansell (2005) defines that these might include:

Novelty: News is what is new; what readers do not yet know; what has happened since the previous edition of the paper-or what has newly been found out, even about long past events.

Importance: News is about those events, ideas, institutions and practices which feature large in the lives of readers.

Interest: News is about the kinds of topics readers are already keen to know and talk about.

Timing: News happens just in time to make the deadline and scoop the opposition.

Size: News is about the biggest, the best, the worst...

Proximity: News is about our own country, our neighborhood, topics which our culture helps us to identify with. "The further away from your own doorstep an event is, the less important it is," said Bill Hardcastle, late editor of the British Daily Mail.

Familiarity: News should be easily understood by readers. It should not drag them into unfamiliar geographical or intellectual territory which they have to be persuaded or educated to think about.

Surprise: News should have what some journalists have called the “My God!” factor: information so startling or unexpected that you just have to tell someone else about it. Dog bites man-no news: man bites dog-My God!

Results: News is the events that will have an effect on readers’ lives.

Relevance: As well as relevance to readers’ lives, news is often selected because it is relevant to the rest of the “package” an editor is compiling; it will fit thematically with other stories on the pages, or reflect the overall values of the publication.

Personalities: News consists of the actions and statements of people who have already achieved personal fame (by winning an Oscar, ruling a country, committing a major bank heist) or who are related to such people.

Power: News is made by “Great Men” who have power to change the lives of readers.

Bad news and conflict: News is disasters, scandals, disagreements. “News hurts: the rest is advertising.” Bad news stands out and can easily be grasped by readers.

Availability: News occurs in major centres or major countries from which information and photographs can be easily accessed in time for deadline.

Marketability: News is those stories which will help to sell the paper to readers and advertisers (Ansell, 2005: 2-3).

In recent decades, the media have seen an unprecedented amount of change, in quantity, technology, and wider public participation. New media modes have come to the forefront: newspaper and radio have been joined by television and the internet. The speed of transmission has increased, and many more readers/viewers participate both passively, and actively (Aitchison

& Lewis, 2003: 1). Manovich (2001) say that the following are some of the popularly held notions about the difference between new and old media:

1. New media is analog media converted to a digital representation. In contrast to analog media which is continuous, digitally encoded media is discrete.
2. All digital media (text, still images, visual or audio time data, shapes, 3D spaces) share the same the same digital code. This allows different media types to be displayed using one machine, i.e., a computer, which acts as a multimedia display device.
3. New media allows for random access. In contrast to film or videotape which store data sequentially, computer storage devices make possible to access any data element equally fast.
4. Digitization involves inevitable loss of information. In contrast to an analog representation, a digitally encoded representation contains a fixed amount of information.
5. In contrast to analog media where each successive copy loses quality, digitally encoded media can be copied endlessly without degradation.
6. New media is interactive. In contrast to traditional media where the order of presentation was fixed, the user can now interact with a media object. In the process of interaction the user can choose which elements to display or which paths to follow, thus generating a unique work. Thus the user becomes the co-author of the work (Manovich, 2001: 49).

The term “new media” will in general refer to those digital media that are interactive, incorporate two-way communication, and involve some form of computing as opposed to “old media” such as the telephone, radio and television (Logan, 2010: 4). But what exactly are new media? An initial distinction may be drawn between digital communications media and older analogue technologies (Gane & Beer, 2008: 12). Fidler (1997) defines new media as “all emerging forms of communication media.” Olise (2008) adds from a new dimension that new media have to do with the convergence of computer technology and telecommunications technologies. They are new communication technologies that combine the computers and telecommunication technologies and are used as channels for the dissemination of information to

a heterogeneous audience regardless of time, space and distance. There are different examples of new media such as the Internet, mobile phones, videoconferencing, e-mail, chat rooms, online newspapers/newsmagazines among host of others (Ikpe & Olise, 2010: 63).

The question of ethical and responsible practices among media practitioners has become significant and heavily monitored. With the proliferation of new media technology, media consumers are exposed to current information and minute details of what is going on around them through the Internet. They are also exposed to the latest information through social networks such as Facebook, twitter and blogs where citizen journalists are active. Such is the current information trend in the age of globalization where there is a thin demarcation line between what is professional and what is not (Ibrahim etc., 2011: 2). It is true that people can form communities online, feeling a common bond and perhaps a sense of shared identity with people to whom have they no other connection expect their online interactions. But can online journalism focused on local issues build the same sense of community for those who live geographically near each other, people who actually have a relationship to each other beyond their online interactions? Over time, perhaps it can, 140 characters at a time (Elliott, 2012: 86). So, what is social networking? It is so that a group of people can contact between each other for a specific reason. One of the best examples to be given as a social network is anyone's circle of friends. In this environment, there are similar characteristics and patterns of behavior, which are an essential part of every human being. In other words, anyone who has their own group of friends carries out social networking. Social networks serve for all purposes, in all shapes and sizes. Some social networks are designed for the most basic level of interaction such as sharing of private information, while others are designed to solve complex problems. With the invention of telegraphy, radio, telephone, and the Internet, people have created and maintained their social networks in recent history against large distances. All over the world, the synchronous communication ability has encouraged the whole new form of social networks that never existed before. People now can easily connect to other people living thousands of kilometers away (Ryan, 2011: 4,6).

3. VIDEO-SUPPORTED NEWS REPORTING AND SAMPLE APPLICATIONS

One of the most striking examples of news telling and transmission methods brought by new media is video-supported news telling and presentation. As with all developments which we call as new and which emerge in connection with social needs, video-supported news telling and presentation has begun to be used in connection with social necessities and the opportunities offered by the age of technology and communication. But, which needs or necessities are we talking about? We should progress by answering this question firstly.

The most important determinant here is the opportunities offered by new media and communication technologies and the characteristics of new media consumers or users. Shaping their behaviors based on emotional rather than rational realities, new media consumers are very impatient and they prefer an information and news flow which does not require long efforts. At this point, a content production brought about by visual elements and brief telling types steps in. Developing or expecting a type of news reception which is supplied in a summarized way, shaped with short narrations and supported by photographs and visual elements rather than long texts, detailed contents and news reports or a reading that requires an effort, new media consumers prefer news contents as shortened and summarized as possible.

Video-supported news telling and presentation transmits static news contents to new media consumers through the features offered by new media (mutual interaction, updates, multimedia, engaging in content, etc.) and within the frame of the effect of images. Thus a news production process which is suitable for both the characteristics of media consumers and also to the behavior of receiving news is realized and also news transmission process is presented in a much more successful composition thanks to the advantages enabled by multimedia features. One of the important factors here is to perform a work of news telling and presentation based on a content production which is suitable to the expectations of target audience and to their behaviors. Providing new media consumers with a concise and unsophisticated video effectively conveying news contents will increase the interaction of media consumers with news reports and also their responsiveness to those reports, and also stimulate the rational side of the brain by arousing interest in news reports and their contents in the long-term to the extent it can create a positive perception and attract the interest and attention of media consumers. This will both enable the actualization of a news telling and transmission method which is suitable for new media

consumers and also increase their sensitivity towards news reports, thereby maximizing the extent to which consumers are engaged in a deep process of news reception.

It will be very helpful to give two examples about this. The New York Times can be given as a first example of successfully performing video-supported news telling and presentation.

When Mark Thompson, a former director general at the BBC, was appointed president and CEO of the New York Times Company, the reaction inside the company was a mix of relief and apprehension. Thompson says the paper is not so much cutting back as creating a new “skills mix.” “We’ve been going through a process at the New York Times of a change in the talent and skills mix you need in a modern newsroom” he says. Many people have gone and many people have arrived, designers and videographers coming in the newsroom. It’s not been a sense of cutting back; it’s changing the mix. “It’s incredibly important that we get the amount of money we spend on everything right” he says, “particularly in the newsroom.” In place of the 30 reporters and editors who left last winter, the Times is hiring -dozens of videographers to create new -content for the paper’s website. And in February, it was Thompson who hired a general manager of video production, Rebecca Howard of AOL and the Huffington Post, to oversee the new video push. Though she was billed as part of a “video-journalism” effort, Howard is a business executive with an office in the editorial suites (Hagan, 2013). This enabled making right decisions in right times and carrying out required applications.

The video rollout is an important part of Thompson’s ambitions to create a genuinely multimedia Times. Pushed on specifics, however, Thompson has little to reveal about what Times video will look like. “What I’ll say about video: It’s not there to replace great written journalism,” he says. Of course, there’s ample skepticism about the value of the video unit. Some observers wonder if Thompson is only pursuing it because it’s what he knows from his tenure at the BBC. And besides, it’s hugely expensive to do well, especially against competitors like Google and Facebook (Hagan, 2013). In the course of time, video support has been received especially in those news reports about travel and food and in the actualization of this process, coordinated efforts were taken with the editorial department of the newspaper in order to produce higher-quality content and offer a presentation, which is suitable to the expectations of new media users.

The second example can be The Huffington Post that has successfully implemented with video-supported news telling and presentation. Beginning its new broadcasting life in the new media field and increasing its activities in the media industry each passing day, The Huffington Post is the first example that can be mentioned of those Internet sites which produce and present news in accordance with the changing concept of media. Having been established on May 9, 2005, by Arianna Huffington (additionally Kenneth Lerner and Jonah Peretti), The Huffington Post began its broadcasting life as a blog site initially. As an aggregator that designs its operation by taking news contents from other Internet sites or printed/visual/audio media organs and presenting them in its own website, The Huffington Post did not produce content itself in its first years. Creating its content by the news reports that it gathered from other publications, commenting on those reports and supporting this by citizen journalism in addition to blogs, The Huffington Post organize those contents in their own headquarters. Although the fact that it creates its content through the information that is obtained from other websites and traditional media brought some legal problems (Turgut, 2013: 73-74), a negative situation has been transformed into a positive one, by mutual dialogues and by creating a situation whereby all related parties enjoy benefits by giving links to news report sources (Bulunmaz, 2015: 327-328).

As regards content production and presentation in the new media, The Huffington Post has carried out highly successful applications through the website www.huffingtonpost.com; which they still to do so. Carefully analyzing new media users and producing its content based on their demands and expectations, The Huffington Post answered the question, “What should news report writing techniques be like in the new media?” by the concept of broadcasting that it adopts. Understanding the importance of presenting a content which is suitable to the ‘new type’ of readers who are bored of reading long texts, attach importance to visuality, and whose ‘patience threshold’ about visuality is also low, The Huffington Post has carried out a very successful media broadcasting in accordance with the unique nature of new media by keeping news texts and contents short, formatting them as concise summaries and, maybe most importantly, supporting those contents with videos and slideshows (Turgut, 2013: 75-77).

Presenting all news reports with visual elements, The Huffington Post established its own new center and editorial department by time and created a news network just like those media

companies which are the representatives of the status quo but when doing this, as the biggest difference compared with traditional media, it built a system which is open to an interactive and continuous development along with new media users. Successfully synthesizing the conditions of getting bored of reading or even not reading long texts and having an interest in contents supported by visual elements, which are shown as some of the fundamental characteristics of new media users, The Huffington Post drew upon its competitive advantages against traditional media companies and has become one of the most important representatives of a pioneer application in the new media broadcasting. Offering a different perspective to the general course of the system and to the stereotypical perspectives in its operation by its content and its concept of broadcasting (Bulunmaz, 2015: 328-329), The Huffington Post clearly reveals its general policy with the following words of the owner of the media company, Arianna Huffington (Huffington, 2008: 40): “Someone please alert the media: not every issue fits your cherished right/left paradigm. Indeed, that way of looking at the world is becoming less and less relevant- and more and more obsolete. And more and more dangerous.”

The Huffington Post has successfully integrated the video news system into its own processes by selecting new media as its initial channel in the field of media and also by its very flexible style. Noticing the importance of producing and presenting video news, accurately identifying the characteristics of new media users’ on-site, effectively implementing mutual interaction process and acting very fast about updating content, The Huffington Post is in a leading position with its applications in the field of new media. Conveying its videos that are filled with a concise content to new media consumers and formatting them for suitability to various platforms (the Internet, mobile, social media, tablets, cell phones), The Huffington Post creates awareness by its successful applications within the ecosystem of new media by attaching importance to the nature of content and by presenting it in accordance with the characteristics of new media users.

What is important here is enabling the transmission of video news; which are created based on a fast, flexible, updatable and interactional concept, to new media users independently of the concepts of time and space. It will provide substantial competitive advantages for those organizations which operate in the media sector to follow up innovative technologies in the

industry and integrate such technologies into their institutional system by becoming aware of the fact that video news which both contain thematic and satisfying information and also are summarized in a concise way constitute a news production and presentation method which is suitable to the characteristics of new media users.

4. CONCLUSION

There is no industry which has not been influenced by all the innovations and changes brought by the Internet. The Internet technology, which has completely changed systems, processes and structures; has also carried the way companies make business and their interactions with their target audiences, to a different dimension. The media industry, in which especially technology and speed is extremely important, is the primary industry which has been influenced the most from this change and which has fundamentally modified its behaviors towards its own target audience. The traditional media concepts involving a unilateral information transfer on the one side and the new media, which is based on mutual interaction and which brings media users to a completely active position, and the media atmosphere it has created on the other side, have turned all habits and applications upside down. New media users have shifted from just being passive receivers of contents to becoming their producer at the same time, based on the multimedia features offered by new media and also on the 'infinity' of the mutual interaction process.

As a result of this renewed identity of media consumers and their opportunity to influence the content production process, it is possible to claim that they have also attained a relatively 'determining' position about the news production process and the way it is presented. Reaching a very big audience over many different platforms by the Internet technology and its ever-expanding field of influence, media product have required taking of different decisions about how its transmittance to target audiences should be like as well as about the hardening media environment created by competition and the quality of content. In this frame, importance of the way these contents are presented has increased; thanks to the changing ways of news narrations in journals and also to the opportunities offered by new media. The video news presentation format has emerged as an application of the 'new' communication environment created by new media and also the changing expectations and needs of the target audience.

Video news presentation, which has been created as a result of the changing ways of news telling in journals and also the problematic about how to convey contents to the target audience, ensures that the content is transmitted to the target by attracting the interest and attention of media consumers with which it is in interaction, and revolutionizes new media consumers who are very impatient and change their habits rapidly, thanks to the visuality that it contributes to news reports. In this way, the changing news telling in journalism as a result of the new media ecology, has added video next to text and photograph. The biggest difference compared with the multimedia features already contained in the media product produced in new media is that the content is prepared in a format to express itself clearly and it is presented in a concise manner. This keeps the attention of watchers/users aroused; while at the same time trying to attract new media consumers who are easily bored and impatient and have many alternatives.

Positioned fully against the approach of the traditional media, which is static and which keeps media consumers completely outside in terms of content production, new media production process enables consumers to interfere with the emerging communication products at each stage and to contribute to the content. It also guides about how the content presentation should be like; because the media industry, in which competition is very intense, has created a structure where a new and different format or application is offered to media consumers each passing day with the full integration of the Internet technology to the system.

As also seen in the assessments made over the information given about video news presentation and sample applications, when the opportunities created by the new media environment and the interactional process, which involves the target audience, are taken into consideration, all kinds of innovations and opportunities offered by technology are also influential on the ways the media industry works and presents contents. Therefore, many of the journalism applications in the past times have been replaced by ones supported by new media in connection with the opportunities currently being offered by technological infrastructure. Video supported news presentation, which is one of the most important and newest example of them, put forwards a format in accordance with the characteristics of the target audience or new media consumers with its unique way of news telling, the content it produces in the way of presenting that content. The system needs to be operated based on a method which is very fast, flexible and

swiftly updateable in order to satisfy the wants and needs of the easily bored and impatient new media consumers, to attract their attention based on content produced and its way of presentation, and to orient them to their products. Otherwise it would become difficult to survive and compete with rivals in an environment that is created by the pressure of the intense competition. As a conclusion, the Internet and communication technologies which are renewed, change and progress each passing day; create an operational mechanism which is open to innovation by developing alternative production and presentation methods for its target audience with new applications that emerge along with new media such as video supported news presentation.

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