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MEETING
MARCH 2017**

SOCIOCRI '17 / IV. International Sociology Conference
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on Social Movements
CULTURAL STUDIES '17 / International Conference on Cultural Studies

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**SOCIOCRI '17 / IV.
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SOCIOLOGY
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FRAGMENTED NATURE AND AUGMENTED REALITY: FEMINIST THEORY ON SEXTechs

GÜLÇE BAŞKAYA, HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY

Abstract

There are millions of different life forms that we can fully or partly perceive. Those categories of life are replacing with more mechanical versions and humans are in the line. In order to comprehend this evolution and its connection with feminist theory, I shall divide the topic into different parts. The industrial developments, the psychological effects and my main analysis with an approximation function.

The aim of this article is to explain and evaluate the crucial effects of technology to our perspectives of life. How patriarchy is not going to destroy by it but rather get stronger, in contrast to Haraway and other body-centered feminists. If the body and its functions are the problem of the patriarchy and how is it going to develop even we destroy the given and normal body? In order to understand this, firstly we must interpret the following question, "Do humans only form within a physical body and nothing beside it?" and if we accept that we are losing our humanity by becoming-cyborg then how can we overcome patriarchy in different life forms.

Consequently, the main aim of this article is the explain all of them within a theory, examples and also in an analytical screening. While robotics and cyborg industry still using the woman's body for production and commerce, it is not going to decrease the objectification of women. Last but not least, changing the woman body is not the answer the overcoming the patriarchy and will not be.

Key words: post-human studies, cyborgology, radical feminism

Introduction

"...but the boundary between science fiction and social reality is an optical illusion." (Haraway, 1991)

The nature is fragmenting. All the "normal" we have known until today is in absolute change. The experiences that we are subject to begin to more personalized and plural only in one year gap. The technological effect on those is undeniable, unforeseen and uncontrollable. The nature has a substance about what makes it natural, but augmentation of the "idea" of the real is overwhelming the natural. This article is prefer to examine that augmentation and fragmentation within a causal relationship. Along with this, the concept of patriarchy is keep in the middle of those arguments because while we are augmenting the reality and decaying natural, we are also augmenting different kinds of patriarchy which is technological-patriarchy, I prefer to examine in this article.

In 2017, people need to begin considering their dynamic environments and conditions both in public and private spheres. Where are we headed with technology? Is there any destination calling or is it just another reflexive mechanism of human nature that will vanish soon? People could say that predictions about the future may be over-exaggerated but in this paper I may provide some important documents and examples that shown it is not that impossible to see them in 50 years.

Cybernetics and robotics are the main point of origin to research and make investigations. We can say that "A Cyborg Manifesto" is the bible of post-human studies especially when connected and considered with sexuality studies.

After brief definitions of sexuality-related technologies, which I prefer to call sextechs, and Haraway's main arguments about cyborgology, I will move on to current data and news about sextechs. In the following section, I will explain why Haraway was wrong at some points but still farsighted regarding human nature and how we can relate cyborgology directly to the nature of sexual intercourse. Another important argument on this paper is how feminism and patriarchy are both to be tested by these sextechs. Finally, I will offer a conclusion my own hypothesis for this problematization.

Many questions are being raised today; "should robots have rights?", "does bioethics applicable?", "are we still human or stay as human or should we stay as human?" etc. In this paper, I shall try to answer them by offering my own perspective. Cyborgology and future-sextechs are included in to this area because of their direct effects on the bodily functions of human beings. After a hundred years we might essentially have law books that protect the lives and properties of cyborgs and robots. This is why I am considering nature as a fragmented concept; because it will be fragmented eventually.

The Digital Love Industry

Technological developments are more and more widespread in every field of life and thus affect our perspectives on the world. Every new day, we need to accept and agree on some changes that are happening apart from us.

For example, we have no say in a new feature for our smart phones that observes our sleeping behaviors; we only accept to buy it or not but somehow we are nevertheless pushing to have them. Technology is the extreme illusion of our lives - we feel a certain necessity to have what we don't really need.

When the human body and technology target the same page, the ultimate changings of human body, which means "becoming-cyborg", our point of origin to thinking on bioethics and cyborgology. Cyborgology etymologically comes from cyborg which means biological and mechanical forms are maintain the same body at the same time. Cyborgology is connected with dozens of concepts, but I will examine only three of them; robot fetishism, transabled people/transablism, and the Uncanny Valley.

Sexual-oriented-mechanisms which I prefer to call sextechs are the other side of the same coin. Cyborgology and sextechs are changing the normal way of our sexual experiences. Today, hundreds of products are being developed with millions of dollars investments and they have become very popular. For instance, the world's most famous adult website "pornhub", opened a VR enterprise in order to create sexual content with more lively and actionable figures. *Virtual Reality (VR)*, is the most common content producers nowadays. VR contents are being used in real estate, fashion, and now in the sex industry as well. People are seeking more lively experiences without a real partner. This has advantages for those interested in using these sextechs products. It is easy to use, helping asocial people to experience their sexualities and more crucially, it does not include any existence of a woman or man.

The post-human discussions start exactly on this point. Are we becoming non-humans or transforming the man-made products to humans? Normally, sexual experience includes a man and a woman, though it can also be man to man or woman to woman but always includes a human body form to interact with. After sextechs, and some of them prefer to call it "*the digital love industry (Vice, 2014)*", "virtual romance" or "artificial sexual interaction" it changed. One way or another, it exists and keeps developing every day even more. Sex dolls/robots have become the most common sex-partners in the world. They used to be produced with fewer features and complications but now they can have vibrating vaginas and even reflections of some emotions (The Sun, 2016). The Silicon Wives (Silicon Wives, 2015), is a well-known sex-doll producers in the world, and luckily we have comments on their products in the website of a Q/A platform Quora: "*I'd say the general consensus is the dolls are great for the physical pleasure part of sex but lack in fulfilling the emotional intimacy component of sex.*" (a review from a user.) (Quora.com, 2016)

In 2010, Anthony Ferguson published a book named "*The Sex Doll: A History*" which includes all history of the sex dolls. "*Thus the twentieth century begins a growing synthesis between the image of women as dolls and as items of consumption. While such a notion was hinted at in earlier times, the growth of technology afforded the opportunity to turn fantasy into reality.*" (Ferguson, 2010)

According to another research, which is the only official statistical data can be found on internet, doll-owners have some common features: "*The majority doll-owners sampled are: (a) males, (b) middle-aged, (c) White, (d) single, (e) employed, (f) hold a high school degree (or its equivalent) or higher, (g) identify sexual orientation as heterosexual.*" (Valverde, 2012)

The theory and the practice are quite overlapping. The women are subjects of the sex-doll industry. There are male sex-dolls as well but their numbers are not as high as the female dolls. This situation is still reproducing the oppression, inequality and patriarchy even upon the lifeless-machines forms of women. This discussion will be extended in the further sections.

Uncanny Valley

"Since the origin of philosophy, the relationship between man and machine has been object of interrogation. Aristotle thought that the goal of techne was to create what nature found impossible to accomplish... this will a reconstruction of the concept of machine that goes far beyond the technical machine."(Guattari, 1992)

In 1992, only one year after Haraway published *Simians, Cyborgs and Women*, Guattari wrote *Chaosmosis*. In the chapter two, *Machinic Heterogenesis*, Guattari was referring to Cybernetic perspectives. In the philosophy of Guattari and of course in Deleuze, "becoming" was a substantial concept. Becoming is also connected with the creation of new situations, forms or machines. Becoming-machine or becoming-cyborg in my part, connected to that creation of new condition. Cybernetics, sextechs and all industry that serves for humans with machines creating a new condition in our individuation processes. Humans can highly adaptive to the new situations and this is just one of them, but the problem is, are we becoming less human when machines become more human; in this article's opinion, the answer is yes.

The augmentations in reality by cybernetic developments, causes a fragmentation in nature thus what we consider normal as well. In 1970, *Masahiro Mori* used the term of the Uncanny Valley for the first time. This

concept is referring to alienation from artificial forms which overly resembles their natural versions. Cyborgs, sex dolls and every kind of human-like artificial forms are in this uncanny valley if they are too close to be natural like humans.

Sex-dolls are heading to humanly form and humans are becoming-cyborgs by losing their humanly functions and physical looks. This is the opposite effects of technology on human nature.

Neil Harbisson, who is the first legal cyborg in the world, taking as a “cyborg” with apparatuses on his head which provide him an ability to “hear” colours as vibrations because he is color-blind. Nameless sex-dolls are gaining more humanly looks than Neil Harbisson if we consider that normal humans do not have any apparatus on the top of their heads. This is still augmentation of realities but also a destruction of the nature part by part. An ambiguity of realities in which all of us fall into the uncanny valley by calling both of them as “nearly humans”. They keep closing in on the same point from different directions but eventually they will pass over each other and the one which we call normal will become abnormal and the abnormal will become more normal. In this case, are we either need to change our meaning of normal and accept what is going on in our world or keep denying and try to focus on staying as “human”?

Frankly speaking, the obsession of inertia **will** destroy the nature of human being not the movement. *Terence*, the famous Roman playwright, has a saying about human nature, “*Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*”, the translation is, “*I am a human and nothing which came from human is alienated to me.*” (*Jocelyn, 1973*). It is clearly highlighted the confusion of our era, the acceptance of what is created by our hands or make it alien to us like we never created it by ourselves.

Aristotle’s concept of *techne* reminds us that creation and craftwork were always there and philosophy was always aware of it, but nowadays, more likely since Heidegger, we have started to fear what we are capable to create.

Analysis

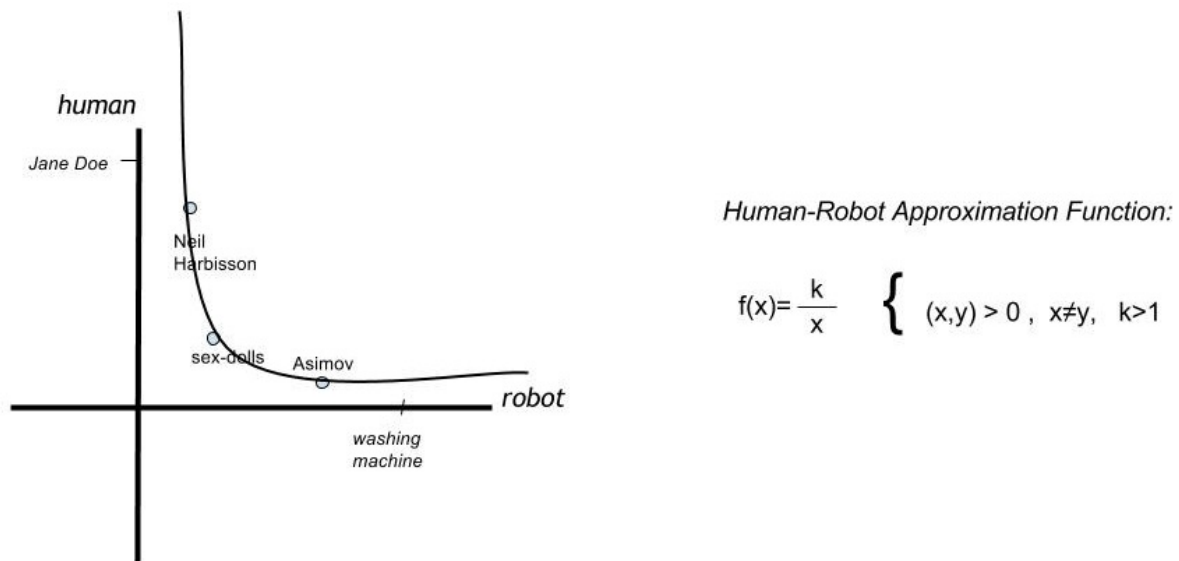


Figure 1. Human-Robot Approximation Function (Başkaya, 2017)

Last but not least, the analysis is the most crucial part of this article. First of all, people need to accept that we are changing, and this change is irreversible, as yet. The denial of this change will only cause more and more conflicts that irritated the nature of human beings. As we accept the change, things won't get any more clear but can be bearable.

The two way street of the human/robot dilemma can and will be stay as a conflict. The sex doll industry is still producing patriarchy because of the using the woman body as a production tool but on the other hand it is limiting harassment and letting people do whatever they want with a lifeless form thus another problem occurs from here, the dolls or robots may necessitate a right to protect. Because humans attitude towards them may exceed the *prima facie* intention and become uncontrollable in a possible future.

Today, we can face to face with robot fetishism cases and intentional amputations to become cyborgs whom transabled people. Transabled people willingly amputate limbs of themselves and use cyborg limbs in order to become more able to express their true identities. Robot fetishists express their sexual interests through the robots. Nothing seems impossible after that point, and it shouldn't be forced to stay impossible.

According to my function, at the beginning of this section, and my main hypothesis, we are becoming them and they are becoming us. Human is the main subject to both of them but it is not possible to stay human and stay robot equally, that's why in this equation x can't be equal to y . This exponential function is aiming to prove the becoming-cyborg approximation by analytic screening.

Asimov is more human than a washing machine but still less human than an overqualified sex doll. Jane Doe is more human than Neil Harbisson because in order to become cyborg, Neil Harbisson cannot be equal to other non-apparatus-having humans, and he also has legal documents that prove he is a cyborg. It creates a difference between him and Jane Doe.

I formed this graphic because I intend to say that while we are becoming robots, which I am considering cyborgs are including that process, we are losing our human features and hence our nature is decaying.

As a last word, in a TED talk Juan Enriquez, a researcher at Harvard University, answered the question of "*Is it ethical to evolve the human body?*" with this clear sentence "*It is unethical not to evolve the human body.*" (TEDx, 2016), which I am strongly agree with it.

We are accepting the evolution of the human body to robot or cyborg but we are refusing that it is overcome the patriarchy while still using *bionic-women*. In order to fight with patriarchy and penis-politics we shouldn't make concessions from our bodies. We can change, or evolve but the important part is to stay as a "woman", cyborg or robot does not matter. We should bear in mind that woman robots are still women that we need to protect. If we are in this fight because of our bodies, they are our strongest weapons.

Conclusion

Consequently, in order to solve *the technological patriarchy*, female and male dolls and other products should be bought in the same numbers. The male body is less an object for manufacturing because of lesser demands on the market. This is also related with social construction as well because women are always oppressed to hide their sexualities because of culture, religion so on and so forth.

Predominantly, this industry running by men but this market also has personalized features thus it does not reproducing a common body shape for women. Today, we can say that cybernetic technologies will create a post-gender era. All those apparatuses, tools, devices, features can reduce the burdens of having a real functioning body. For women, it can be helpful to not the subject to objectification everyday because there are other forms that can carry that, like dolls and tools without reacting to it. Ethical questions directly rising after this consideration, and moral irritations include; is it simply reproducing another oppression towards robots and if still there is an oppression, can we accept that we have overcome the patriarchy? Briefly, if concept of patriarchy keeping survive, we are only tricking ourselves because there are a "robot-body" that subject to that danger.

This paper is not offering any solutions to future problems, rather just predicting that it could take place in future. Mainly, we must ask the important question, if we made a robot that gave birth for our parts will we overcome the system, or just keep reproducing it another system that not includes us but "another thing" that is a robot?

Post-genderism proposing a solution that becoming-cyborg and using the technology to change our sexual identities could solve the problems. I can frankly accept that we will become-cyborgs but it will far beyond the solution to our problems, it is only a way through the future that we will live other experiences with our overqualified bodies and with other robots that we made. "*It's not just that 'god' is dead; so is the goddess.*"(Haraway, 1991) We should not kill our goddesses inside us in order to be free and equal, we must make them stronger by accepting them thus this will be our real trophy. God shall stay as dead but not the misogyny and its creators.

The experiences will change but if those experiences still keep imprisoning the women body, it will not solve anything. It is already a problematic way to "cure" patriarchy by changing our bodies to other bodies or mechanisms. Patriarchy will only be overcome by unfettering our minds and bodies, not simply by changing who or what is subjected to it.

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DESIRE FOR AND ACCESS TO BRANDED FASHION IN CHINA

VOON CHIN PHUA AND YALIN LIAN

ABSTRACT

Preference in branded fashion reflects not only aesthetics, comfort, status symbolism and personal style, but also broader societal issues. Unequal access to branded fashion and cost-savings in part have created the demand for imitation branded fashion. The degrees of imitation range from an exact copy to a playful combination of various aspects of the branded fashion items. These variations also created grey areas for law enforcement policing counterfeit products. Several studies have examined different aspects on these issues including but not limited to the relationship of morality and purchase of counterfeit products, the concepts of brandedness and authenticity, and reasons for purchasing these products. In this paper, we contribute to the current literature by examining the debate on the purchase of imitation clothing in China. The data we used originated from an online posting of a commentary on counterfeit purchase that had resulted in 759 responses. These comments mirrored the responses from unstructured focus group interviews where participants were not responding to a structured set of questions. We performed a content analysis using these commentaries. The findings show varying degrees of agreement on whether the purchase of counterfeit products is right. At the same time, the results also raise questions of awareness, unequal access, symbolic status and price differentials. All these underscores how life-stages and symbolic social mobility further exacerbate the broader of socio-economic inequalities in China.

Keywords: inequality, fashion, counterfeit, China

(RE)FORMATION OF A COLLECTIVE IDENTITY: MULTIPLE ACTORS AND MULTIPLE PROCESSES

SEHER ŞEN

ABSTRACT

It is possible to talk about an Alevi revival since 1990s both in Turkey and in certain European Countries such as Germany, Netherlands, Denmark, France and Austria. The urbanization process in Turkey and urbanization with migration to European cities have broken traditionally structured Alevi community ties that gave rise to (re)formation of the community with its own institutions in urban space. Within this context, Cemevis and Alevi Cultural Centers emerged as the new spaces of the Alevi identity in the contemporary world. These places have become peculiar institutions of urban Alevis that are both outcomes and mediums of new conditions. In other words, while they were brought by the process of urbanization, they have given new shapes to Alevi collective organizations and practices. Moreover, Cemevis and Alevi Cultural Centers enabled the encounter of different groups and actors in different contexts. This paper aims to understand this process of (re)formation of Alevi collective identity in the Netherlands. The study is based on the evaluation of the in-dept interviews that are conducted with heads of Alevi Cultural Centers and Cemevis in the Netherlands.

Keywords: collective identity, cemevis and cultural centers, Alevis

POLICING PROTEST AND POLICE ENVIRONMENTAL CULTURE IN CONTEMPORARY RUSSIA

ALEXANDER NIKIFOROV

Alexander Nikiforov, Policing protest and police environmental culture in contemporary Russia, assistant professor, Saint-Petersburg State University

Abstract

Exploring policing protest often becomes a part of research on political regime openness and law enforcement. The classical study of policing protest provides analytical framework and typologies for defining relations between political openness and the use of coercion policing. The main goal of my current research is to move from in-depth analysis of Russian political regime to explore Russian police environmental culture and professional knowledge formation. Conclusions are based on bibliometric analysis of the “extremism” research field to define influence of institutional science on police knowledge formation. Discourse analysis explores Russian police networked community for defining public issue agenda and main intentions towards actors of contentious politics. On the other hand, research notifies stereotypes on protest actions and activists. Initial results of research show narrow institutional science effect on the process of corporate knowledge formation. Classic distinction between «good» and «bad» demonstrators in Russia is largely based on the type of public claims (social/political), mobilization and contentious repertoire.

Introduction

Exploring policing protest often becomes a part of research on political regime openness and policy of repression enforcement. The classical study of policing styles by Donatella della Porta and Reiter (1995; 1998), McPhail (1998), Fillieule and Jobard (1998), and other scholars provides analytical framework and typology for defining relations between the factors of political openness, management style of executive bodies, institutional autonomy of police and the number of others. Hybrid regimes could employ tactics of escalated force or negotiated management depends on protesting repertoire or its organizers. The source of media could be used to instill fear or delegitimize political opposition (Gel'man, 2015).

For this reason the present paper will make a preliminary effort to explore the question of what ideas, issue agenda, stereotypes on protest activists can tell us about environmental culture and common knowledge of Russian police and its special units (riot police). The main question that the paper will address is that of the factors that influence on certification of the protest action as “right” or “wrong” and emotional support of the claimants or its ideas. Is a police prone to be successful in policing of any sort of protest contention obediently following the orders of the government? What are the dominant trends in the process of professional knowledge formation for administrative field of police?

Research design contains two dimensions. Both could be generalized in on logic but each one has specifics.

First one is based on exploring the connection between public research area and professional knowledge formation for administrative field of police departments and follows the Foucault's concept of knowledge/power (Foucault, 1980, p.92-108), especially the function of normalization. Two-step approach was used to analyze the largely unexplored intersection between protest/extremism research area and the Institutional attribution of the publications on these topics. At first, there was bibliometric analysis of the scientific production in the respected field in Russia. It is generally based on the method that is widely acknowledged as being reliable (Aguillo, 2011). Then I identify contribution of the academies of Interior Ministry for this research area. Finally I try to “join the dots” of research agenda and normative discourse in order to develop theoretical perspectives for the next part of research.

Second one is based on issue agenda and discourse analyze of public interviews that were given by the Russian riot police officers (former *OMON*) to the journalists (Gulova, 2010; Akhmedova, 2013) and, on the other hand, intentional statements from professional forum of police. The largest share of the materials is dated between 2008 and 2013 that limits research conclusions in some respect. Statistical implications have only relative significance due to sampling and source quality. This type of analysis helps to define the actual intentions regarding protest repertoire, ideology, state authorities, and opposition. Hence, intentions were defined and classified along the research objects (political actors) and position of the speaker (positive/negative). Most evident, direct, and emotional-driven statements on research objects were analyzed separately by generalizing the descriptions of object's attributes.

Narrow institutional science in making protest policing narrative

Russian police succeeds deep ties with the system of special professional a higher education that had been forming for decades since the Soviet period. These specifics based on high social and political profile of police (former *militsiya*) in Soviet Union. Outgrowth of the Soviet administrative system in 1960-1970 provided the numbers of departmental and research institutes. Legal studies had coherence with Soviet regime and state hierarchy that shared the general logic of structural-functional integrity with bureaucratic interests on administrative market. These specifics were not overcome after the collapse of Soviet state bodies. Rebirth of the administrative markets in post-soviet Russia after the fail of structural-administrative revolution (Kordonski, 2008) in the middle of 1990th gave sources and channels for institutionalized professional “estates” (corporations).

Simon Kordonski concepts of administrative market and estates society for Soviet and post-soviet studies give institutional background for the research perspective on knowledge/power relations in case of executive bodies of Russia. I would define this relation as a narrow institutional science that would be argued as an important element in the process of organizational framing. This process coincides with the general problem of bending science (McGarity and Wagner, 2008) but in different conditions. This type of relations between knowledge formation and political power follows increasing influence of institutions and its subsequent initiatives that could be backed by the internal experts, studies, and actual issue agenda.

Focal research agenda and narrow institutional science make gaps and fragmentations in science and knowledge maps. This process gives us the implication of organization theory when academia and society weakens its influence in a face of enclosure of the state bodies. Following DiMaggio and Powel approach to institutional isomorphic change (1983), narrow institutional science and education tend to use coercive, mimetic, and normative mechanisms for altering the organizational field. In case of police these processes work together: regime transformations and politics set new agenda (policy-relevant research issues and study courses); closed or semi-open knowledge field tends to nurture a Parsonian-style imperative with overestimation of professional limitations and goals; law, regulations and guidelines make systemic reference marks for framing process. On the other hand, there are political and public perspectives for expansion of such vision.

Russian Interior Ministry has 40 educational units: 30 universities and its regional units (including 4 academies), 3 professional schools and its regional units, and 7 military schools. These universities and its regional units issue 30 referenced scientific journals and have dissertation boards, which define them as a part of national educational and scientific space.

Bibliometric research protocol implies the analysis of Russian scientific literature in the fields of “*ekstremizm*” (extremism) and is based on a statistical search of all journal papers and conference proceedings that include the pertinent keyword as a title, abstract or a keyword. Results were filtered by the year, number of citations, organizational affiliation. In order to build a representative dataset, I adopted the high-profile Russian digital library *eLIBRARY.RU* with its search and statistical service.

After the computer-aided extraction, the resulting publications included 7163 manuscripts on extremism for available time period (1992-2016). Publication activities show significant annual growth by year from 2000 to 2016. This process could be supported by the policy-relevant background of Second Chechen War, terrorist actions and anti-extremist law implementation. The analysis of the publication’s keywords shows the main categories (in descending order): terrorism, youth, religion (predominantly Islam), tolerance, radicalism, (national) security, extremism prevention. These categories have become quite stable for annual variations since 2006. Comparative analysis of two selections - on the base of high number of citations and institutional affiliation (Interior Ministry) – gives no significant changes in core categories. Institutionally filtered selection gives only one new significant core category of Internet. Such result generally follows contemporary state-led anti-extremist policy and shows the influence of the normative vision on research agenda. This tendency to link quite a broad understanding of extremism with terrorism, youth activism and radical agenda - usually on a level of conceptualization – supports a conceptual frame that lead to regression logic in case of its implementation for participants of contentious actions.

The second step of bibliometric research involved analyzing the institutional affiliation of selected publications. Results were clustered on the base of organizational affiliation. Represented data (see Table 1) shows the relative influence of narrow institutional publications in scientific field. This argument is supported by the parallel analysis of another selection (N=488) that includes publications with a high number of citations (more than 5 per publication). Relatively share of Institutional affiliation for this selection is slightly higher (26.94%).

Dynamic analysis shows the time period of 2004 when universities with Interior Ministry affiliation provided high share in annual publication activity.

ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION	NUMBER OF PUBLICATIONS	RELATIVE SHARE (IN %)
Academia, NGO and foreign organizations	3589	65.25
Interior Ministry	1324	24.07
Ministry of Justice and Federal Penitentiary Service	186	3.38
President	168	3.05
Prosecution agencies	111	2.01
Government of Russia, federal services, etc.	65	1.18
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	41	0.74
Ministry of Defense	24	0.43
Judicial bodies	14	0.25
Ministry of Emergency Situations	10	0.18
Federal Security Service	9	0.16
Regional bodies	5	0.09
Representative bodies	4	0.07
Selection number = 7163;		
Number of publications with institutional reference = 5550		

Table 1. Institutional reference of publications in Russian research of extremism

However, the most important result of such analysis is a relatively high scientific relation within the network of narrow institutional science. Special selection (N=499) that was aggregated all publications with Interior Ministry affiliation shows pattern of frequent mutual citation among the authors. The share of cross-citing is near of 56% that supports relative internal consistency of the share of research area.

This landscape of organizational knowledge makes logical consistence of counter-extremism policing strategy, law enforcement, and issue agenda (global and national challenges). For this reasons the preventive detention and harassment of political activists to preempt protest actions, so as imposing of new regulations on NGOs (Robertson, 2009; Gorbunova and Baranov, 2013), are determined on the multi-level base. Research narrative places political contest in conceptual frame with systemic imperatives for suppressing actions in case of decertification of civil and political organizations as functionally safe. This long-run shift from hard-line policing of the counter-government contention to multi-level administrative regime for channeling and policing of contentious politics seems to have self-developing logic that are based rather on juridical background and social vision of structural functionalism then on ideological one.

Neither the king nor a citizen: political discourse of Russian police

The primary task for this part of analysis was to define the main elements of issue agenda, the level of politicization of police networked community, specific socio-political topics that provoke discussion. Defining of issue agenda also was used as an instrument to identify core elements for the further analysis of discourse structure: the main objects of evaluation and their attributes. For this purpose the news section of the largest professional police forum *police-russia.ru* was analyzed along with its issue-topic structure. News section was defined as a relevant field due to research perspective and high discussion density (on the level of the most discussed sections). Research protocol included the coding of topics with social or political agenda via category selection, which were determined by repeated subject of discussion. Each relevant topic was coded with keywords for a more complete definition of issue agenda. Final issue agenda map combined 301 relevant topics. Table 2 presents generalized result and reflects the most important objects of discourse and its relative share weight in general volume.

DISCUSSED OBJECTS	RELATIVE SHARE (IN %)	KEY PUBLIC ISSUE AGENDA	RELATIVE SHARE (IN %)
Contention and protest actions	26.57	Civil protest actions	5.98
Ethnicity	17.6	Violent forms of contention	5.64
Government and state authorities	16.94	Legitimacy of the state bodies	5.64

International relations and world politics	16.27	Hard-line policing style of the protest action	5.31
Political opposition	6.64	Ethnic labor migrants	4.31
European experience	3.98	Events in world politics	3.98
Human rights activists and press	3.65	Protest actions of SMO and grassroots	4.98
Ramzan Kadyrov	1.66	Police stuff claim making	2.65
Political legitimacy	1.66	Nationalist protest	2.65
Soviet heritage	1.66	Domestic and world politicians	2.65
Terrorism	1.32	Hard-line policing style of ethnic contention	2.32
Vladimir Putin	0.99	Social protest	1.99
Religion	0.99	Retirements of the state authorities	1.99
		Violence in world politics	1.66
		Reduction of social spending in Russia	1.32
		Legitimacy of the protest actions	1.32
		Hard-line policing against political opposition	1.32
		Other and no specified issues	44.18
<hr/>			
Selection number = 301			

Table 2. Public issue agenda of Russian police networked community

Results show that networked social-political discourse of the police gives a significant role not only for the evident issue of protest behavior, but also for ethnic, world politics and of state authorities. Key issues are often associated with the above-mentioned topics. At the same time the issue of political legitimacy of the Russian authorities is quite clearly shown, which generates the question of possible limits of subordination. The problem of ethnicity and nationalism is quite sharp because internal structure of this agenda detects connection with nationalist ideology. The issue of violence detects multiple reconnections with other objects of discourse (ethnic groups, the political opposition, and world politics) so it could be defined as a possible priority strategy for countering the various groups.

More detailed discourse analysis covers topics on contention and protest actions and follows the classical conception of "legitimate" protest (distinction between "good" and "bad" demonstrators), general value principle of police ("citizens' police" vs. "King's police"), and stereotypes attribution (Della Porta and Fillieule, 2004, pp.225-227). Discourse research model implies coding of intentions (positive or negative) towards state policy and ideology (anti-extremism law, nationalism), forms of contention (political protest, social protest) and policing style (insurgency, hard-line policing style), political actors (political opposition, nationalist movement, high-rank state authorities,) and the subjects of contention (youth, workers, human right activists, press, SMO's activists, police stuff).

OBJECT OF EVALUATION	RELATIVE LEGITIMACY
Hard-line policing style (including police violence)	3
Nationalism	3
Police (self-evaluation)	2
Police staff protests	2
Police policing (current practice)	2
Right to civil discontent (citizen-state reactions, peaceful forms)	2
Press	1
Nationalist actions	1
Leaders of political opposition	1
Protest actions	1
Right to civil self-resistance (citizen-state reactions, insurgency)	1
Anti-extremism policy	1
Human right activists	0
Government and state authorities (including state-promoted initiatives)	0
SMO	0
Third party interference (protest mobilization or funding by hidden domestic actors or by the foreign states)	0
Religious extremism	0
Comments:	
3 – high legitimacy (relative consensus among debaters)	2 – medium legitimacy (significant share of opposite evaluations among debaters)
1 – low legitimacy (huge share of opposite evaluations among debaters)	0 – zero level of legitimacy (relative consensus among debaters)
Selection number = 80	

Table 3. Evaluations of contentious politics by Russian police networked community

Table 3 results of object evaluations do not simply support classical dichotomy of “citizen’s police” and “King’s police”. Government and state authorities (especially federal government, high-rank police authorities, regional and local administrations, deputies) in negative context so as political opposition or political activists. This vision supports two processes. On the one hand, front-line police members become alienated from moral integrity with political regime. Formal status of police in Russia bans strikes of other type of civil disobedience that goes along with passive grievance and the fall of moral motivation (focus on city-periphery inequality, dependence on salary and fellowship, etc.). On the other, this increases the closeness of professional community (police and military) and enforces moral solidarity and the logic of internal corporate standards and values that could differ from the civil one. This idea explains the high level of disrespect to human right activists and press. Commenters frequently blame them for immorality, professional disturbance making, and acts of social sabotage (police and military critics). This logic often supports the idea of the use of force against such groups or justifies such behavior. It is hard to simply define elements of legitimate protest for this reason. SMO, political activists and the leaders of opposition (Boris Nemtsov, Garry Kasparov, Alexei Navalny) were described as agents provocateurs (youths and radicals) and status-motivated persons (leaders) with narrow social base, ideological inconsistency (critic of liberal democracy), and foreign foundation (political opposition). The idea of foreign-sponsored protest is quite popular and has public references to patriotic discourse on counter-revolution and “USA-lead export of democracy”, that had been disseminated by political and academic agenda after the waves of political revolutions and civil wars in Eastern Europe, post-soviet courtiers, and the Middle East, where mass protest in the streets resulted in the ouster of former leaders or widespread warfare.

The difference in moral support of nationalism ideas and protest actions is based on the following vision of legitimate protest itself that is a quite complex. The image of political activists and ordinary participants of the rally predominantly depends on the type of claim-making, mobilization type (level of organization, social status of participants), contentious repertoire and personal behavior. Protest could be defined as legitimate in case the following: a) of social or local agenda; b) trade union or grassroots – leded mobilization of industrial or public

sector workers, pensioners, local citizens; b) high level of organization (small share of youth: no alcohol, performances or provocative actions). On the other hand, this vision often implies mutually exclusive reproaches. One opinion is quite influential for understanding of cognitive logic. It states that civil grievance should be channeled with the use of formal institutions (elections, petition campaigns, lawsuits) without occupation of public spaces (sidewalks, highways, railway or any city space that could be crowded). In other words, protesters should solve their problems by their own sources and means to protect others from the bothering and additional expenses. In some cases the same logic was used to blame of extremist actions and support of the right to civil self-resistance. The blame of the anarchists and Islam extremists for bombing, so as blocking roads repertoire by the social claimants, was focused on the fact that actions were mistargeted (i.e. actions should be moved to personal or official space of the high-ranking state executives).

Negative stereotypes in Russia generally repeat the main conclusions that were made by the scholars before. Persons who produce disorders are references to "young", "drunk", "guided by mob". Political activists are references to the categories of "loafer", "easy manipulated", and "fools" (Della Porta and Fillieule, 2004, p.227). Stereotype analysis defines some distinguish patterns for recognizing of young political activists. They are mainly describes as "unsupervised persons without ideas" with "to much personal time". A rough overlook gives us single logical connection of stereotypes: "society is infected with legal nihilism", "people live one's own life and hate any kind of political power", "democracy leads to chaos", "youth are prone to be manipulated", "uncontrolled protest actions lead to disorders", "revolution leads to mass disorders and murders".

Consequently, the popular claim on political rallies "Police among the people!" is going to fail in change of policing frame. However, the issue of political legitimacy is still important because of historical background of Russian police: juridical and moral uncertainty during the widespread interstate contention of 1991 and 1993; police insubordination during the political revolution in the "neighbor" states (Ukraine and Georgia), "sell-out" of police interests in the second political revolution in Ukraine ("Euromaidan"). Analysis shows slight difference in interpretation of liability and order execution. Police discourse shows distrust position and doubts on efficient of hard-line social policing with intention of passive action ("have to"; "no other way out"). On the contrary, riot police discourse exemplifies more active position ("riot police should live by an order"; "the force should be used").

Conclusion

Police environmental culture is defined as images of policing area and cognitive patterns that define forms and local regimes of law enforcement. Post-soviet transformations did not change the principles and organization sources of knowledge framing formation fundamentally. Anti-extremism Russian state policy was backed by the effect of narrow institutional science that provides policy relevance and forms analytical framework for a broader conceptualization for the protest policing.

Public issue agenda of Russian police networked community is focused mainly on protest behavior, ethnicity, political authorities, and world politics. Additionally, agenda composition relates to contemporary social attitudes. On the other hand, the content of public discourse problems detects a high level of distrust either to public authorities and nor to society. High legitimacy of police violence is accompanied by informal corporate ethics of police community demonstrates the process of alienation of the police from the national policy and society.

Such a perception of the external environment and actors neither as unreliable and illegitimate (political power) nor as a hostile and legal nihilism affected (population). This vision expects an autocratic governance and hard-line protest policing on the base of institutional autonomy and external motivation model of police.

Police agenda and discourse affect the political context that was formed by high-profile court cases and conflicts: a) public campaign after video address of police officer Alexey Dymovsky with an information about abuse and corruption in 2009; b) the series of armed attacks on police that were organized by the youth group (so-called "Primorsky partisans") and justified by the reasons of "total corruption and lawlessness of police" in 2009 and 2010; c) the murder of a former army officer Yuri Budanov in 2011 who was jailed after resonant criminal cases on the killing of civilian in Chechnya; d) a guilty verdict for the former military intelligence officer Vladimir Kvachkov in 2013 on the charge of extremism. These events were coincided with reform of the Interior Ministry structures that could sharply polarize political discourse.

Although the effects of these crises could be exhausted for the present police agenda, its structure remains quite relevant, especially for setting agenda of protest activity and the key elements of the main stereotypes on activists and the political opposition. The dominance of the general negative attitudes towards protesters delegitimizes mainly political protest, the organizers and participants which are considered in terms of "irresponsibility", "international influence" and "social alien". This frame of group exclusion is particularly explicit in case of youth, which is considered in terms of "radicalism", "prone to manipulation", and "lack of ideas".

Consequently, police stereotypes on protesters generally legitimize hard-line policing strategy and pastoral-like vision on the actors of contentious politics.

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**SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS
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MOVEMENTS**

A NEW THEORY TO ANALYZE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

GÖZDE YILMAZ

ABSTRACT

Democracy is a cultural issue; if there is no tradition of public discussion and if there is also the tradition of monolog rather than dialog; if people are not trusting each other, we can not expect democratic movements in that society. But, politics can create a culture in long term and we call this as political culture. It is impossible to think these processes separate from each other. Although sociological research examined the sociology of social movements, investigating how such movements behave, how they form, develop, and end, or how they differ from other modes of social association, encounters, organizations, or markets, it does not show the micro level dynamics. The micro level dynamics are shaped by the political culture and the culture in pure sense which is related with belonging to a specific culture and which also shapes the identity. Collective identity always shadowed the personal identity, different cultures and their responses and caused generalizations. Since it is hard to examine different cultures and their motivations towards social movements and how they are effected by the political culture and the social circumstances where they live; the existing frameworks did not include a concept which focuses on the impact of different cultures on social movements. Here, the researcher needs to work as an ethnographer, anthropologist and try to look from a wider perspective while analyzing the small patterns. When we take into account that social movements come from the social psychology and its dynamics; the importance of seeing the whole picture will be clear. Emotions play a big role social movements and they are culturally shaped and socially structured. Although New Social Movements theories try to explain social movements related with culture; they refuse to count lifeworld mass movements as political animals in their own right, and instead define them as preliminary to rather than part of the political process. Identity must be analyzed in the political culture, it needs to be analyzed in the political and historical processes. Identity which is shaped by the culture has a dialectical relationship with the politics. One effects on the other and in the long term, the other also effects and changes the first one. It is obvious that individuals have different motivations, consciousness, ideologies, cultures, different view of the world. Mentioning about a collective identity misleads us and we tend to make generalizations. Human life is combined with other dimensions of life and when we are talking about politics, one needs to analyze all these dimensions. As the cells in the brain act together for managing a job; different dimensions act together to achieve something in real life; maybe it can be called as butterfly effect in social life. But as mentioned above, culture plays a significant role in all of these dimensions. A person is social before and becomes individual after that. One needs to analyze the others and shapes his or her identity after that. If you take away the specific culture of that person, one can never talk about a "human" after that. For talking about a social movement or collective identity, one need to see the cultural aspect and analyze it. Rather than that, one can only talk about masses which are robots and have no emotion. Using theoretical explanations and creating a theory which is named as "integral social theory"; this paper will analyze the relationship between culture, political culture, identity and social movements by the references from theories.

Keywords: Social Movements, Integral Social Theory, Political Culture

PROHIBITION OF DISCRIMINATION IN THE FIELD OF CONTRACT SPECIFIC TO SYRIANS IN TURKEY

AHMET TÜRKMEN

Abstract

The number of the Syrians who had to leave their country due to the civil war conditions since March 2011 has reached up to 4.862.778. According to the data provided by the United Nations, there are 2.814.631 Syrians in Turkey in January 2017. Not considered as “refugees” according to the Turkish regulations, Syrians are accepted in the status of “temporary protection”. Some of the Syrians within this status try to pursue their lives in the refugee centers whereas a high number of them try to continue their lives in the places other than refugee centers, under challenging conditions.

The Syrians who try to pursue their lives and meet their needs in Turkey are required to place private law contracts with Turkish citizens from time to time. Despite the general hospitality and tolerant nature of our society, it is sometimes observed that incidents of direct or indirect discrimination have occurred in the contracts made within the free economic market between Syrians and Turkish people.

The rule in Turkish private law is freedom of contract. Freedom of contract includes to conclude or not to conclude a contract, to assess the terms of contract and to choose the party of contract. No freedom of contract can violate the prohibition of discrimination. However, there is no specific arrangement related to the prohibition of discrimination in Turkish private law. Thereby, the prohibition of discrimination could be utilized regarding the general provisions in the Turkish private law. In this context, the provisions of protection of personality (TCC Article 23 etc.), provisions regarding causing loss or damage to another in an immortal manner (TCC Article 49/II) and unfair advantage should be taken into consideration. Besides this, the provisions of the Law no. 6701 on Human Rights and Equality Institution of Turkey which entered in force on April 20, 2016 can apply indirectly, if not directly. Because any discrimination in the means of race, ethnicity, religion, language etc. within all contracts including the ones entitled to private law result in administrative fines.

This paper analyzes and reviews the types of legal action which the Syrians live in Turkey may take within the contracts of private law (excluding labor law) in case of discrimination.

I. Legal Status of Syrians in Turkey

According to the latest figures of the United Nations, the war in the region has displaced almost 7.7 million Syrians internally and created more than four million refugees. The same figures indicate that, as of December 2016, there are 2.790.767 registered Syrian refugees in Turkey (United Nations Refugees Agency Data Bank, 2017). Also influenced by our historical and cultural bounds, Turkey adopted the *open door policy* towards the Syrians who reached the border and asked to enter the country, enabled their arrival and by pursuing the non-refoulement principle, welcomed all Syrians, without discrimination of religion, language, ethnicity etc. (Kaya, 2016, p. 179; Kap, 2014, p. 30). In accordance with the Law No. 6458 Law on Foreigners and International Protection; Syrians in Turkey do not meet the refugee requirements. They are under temporary protection. Temporary protection may be provided for foreigners who have been forced to leave their country, cannot return to the country that they have left, and have arrived at or crossed the borders of Turkey in a mass influx situation seeking immediate and temporary protection (Law No. 6458 Article 91/I). Temporary protection is a status which was provided for people who arrived at the borders of a country in a mass influx situation and who cannot benefit from the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees dated 1951. It is aimed to transfer the people who had to leave their country to safe zones and protect their basic human rights (Ergüven/Özturanlı, 2013, p. 32). A person who applies for or granted temporary protection status must provide their own accommodation (Law No. 6458, Article 95/I). However, Turkish government tries to provide all the support possible by establishing accommodation centers where the accommodation, food, healthcare, social and other needs of applicants and international protection beneficiaries are met. The Syrians whose applications for temporary protection status were approved may accommodate in the cities determined by the Directorate General of Migration Management in accordance with the Temporary Protection Regulations (Temporary Protection Regulations, Article 24). Foreigners under this Regulation may be provided with health, education, access to labor market, social assistance, interpretation and similar services. Free of charge translation services are provided in case communication with the foreigner cannot be had at the desired level in the absence of an interpreter (Regulations, Article 26-31). The Syrians under the

status of temporary protection either stay in the temporary accommodation centers established by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and directed by the offices of governor or live outside the centers.

II. Issues Face by Syrians in Turkey in terms of Contract

Only a small number of the Syrians in Turkey have the opportunity to accommodate in the temporary accommodation centers established by the Ministry. By December 12, 2016, a total number of 258,333 Syrians live in 26 temporary centers founded as tent city or container city in 10 cities (Turkish Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency Report – Syria, 2015). Other Syrians live in other places. The temporary accommodation centers where health, education, food, clothing, social activities and similar services are provided are regarded as the centers with the highest service quality compared to their counterparts in other regions of the world, by the International Crisis Group's report (Kaya, 2016, p. 186; Examples of Temporary Protection in Europe, 2015, p. 29; Orsam, 2014, p. 13). Nevertheless, due to the disciplinary rules and isolated life style, the temporary accommodation centers may not be preferred (Examples of Temporary Protection in Europe, 2015, p. 30). Furthermore, the individuals who illegally entered and are not registered or wish to get registered or who once lived in the temporary accommodation centers and could not adjust the conditions and left, who are in good conditions financially and prefer to live outside the accommodation centers based on personal or private reasons, who have to wait due to the limited capacity of centers and individuals who wish to live in the regions recommended by their relatives in Turkey are among the Syrians who pursue their lives outside the accommodation centers (Orsam, 2014, p. 15).

The Syrians who live outside the accommodation centers mostly accommodate in the cities near the Syria border. However, a high number of them also prefer to live in the big cities of Turkey, primarily Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir (Orsam, 2014, p. 15; Examples of Temporary Protection in Europe, 2015, p31).

The Syrians who reside in the places other than the temporary accommodation centers have to meet their daily needs, such as accommodation, food, clothing themselves. It is revealed that from time to time, the Syrians face discrimination in the contracts which they must make in order to meet daily basic life requirements (Amnesty International, 2014, p. 30). They suffer from the employment contracts by which they are paid low wages, renting inadequate or unfit dwellings by unreasonably high prices, being rejected by the landlords only because they are Syrians or especially the high market prices in the cities near the borders (Amnesty International, 2014, p. 36; Orsam, 2014, p. 16; Examples of Temporary Protection in Europe, 2015, p. 32 et al.) Furthermore, the Syrians who managed to rent a place to live usually have to share their places with a huge number of others and a significant number of them have to rent basements where they face respiratory disorder due to the high level of humidity and some do not even have a written rental agreement (Amnesty International, 2014, p. 30).

The Syrians need to make numerous private law contracts in order to pursue their living, however, they are rejected. In this context, they also have the opportunity to enjoy protective rights to avoid the discrimination in accordance with the Turkish law. In fact, in accordance with the Turkish private law, reserving the exceptional limitations within the code, every person is entitled to a vested right and accordingly, all the persons are equal in using rights and fulfilling obligations within the legal limits regardless their race, language, religion, ethnicity etc. (Turkish Civil Code, Article 8). Likewise, the person having capacity to act may possess any right by his/her own will and may undertake any obligation thereof (Turkish Civil Code, Article 9). Being a Syrian does not play any role in the general right to make a contract and undertake any obligation within. However, the Syrians in Turkey do not take legal action in Turkey due to various reasons. Foremost among these reasons, they are not informed of their rights, they cannot speak our mother tongue fluently, and they are reluctant to take legal action because they do not feel secure of their legal status (Amnesty International, 2014, p. 31). At this point, it is to be stated that the bar associations and non-governmental organizations in Turkey have to play a more efficient role against the discriminations.

III. Freedom of Contract and Prohibition of Discrimination

Freedom of contract enables individuals to determine their legal relations in the way they wish. In this scope, freedom of contract includes freedom to enter or not to enter into a contract, freedom to choose the parties to the contract, freedom to assess the terms and form of the contract, and freedom to modify or terminate the contract (Kocayusufpaşaoğlu, 2014, p. 503; Eren, 2015, p. 300 et al.). Freedom of contract is not an absolute principle and cannot be against the prohibition of discrimination. Discrimination refers to the treatment or consideration of, or making a distinction in favor of or against, a person or thing based on the group, class, or category to which that person or thing belongs rather than on individual merit. In this context, treatment of the individuals under the same conditions differently based on their certain features or treatment of the individuals under different conditions identically despite necessity of different treatment or consideration is considered discrimination (Karan, 2012, p. 139). Prohibition of contract is significant for contract law especially based on the aspects of freedom to enter or not to enter into a contract, freedom to choose the parties to the contract, freedom to assess the terms and form of the contract, and freedom to modify or terminate the contract. Although there is no special sanction against prohibition of discrimination in the Turkish private law regulation, the individuals who are subject to discrimination may be protected by the Law no. 6701 on Human Rights and Equality Institution of Turkey and various regulations.

IV. Possible Sanctions against Discrimination

A. Protection within the Law no. 6701 on Human Rights and Equality Institution of Turkey

Law no. 6701 on Human Rights and Equality Institution of Turkey, which aimed a more efficient struggle against discrimination and secure individuals' right of equal treatment entered into force on April 20, 2016.

In accordance with the Law, it is set forth that everybody can enjoy the legally vested rights. Any discrimination based on gender, race, color, language, religion, belief, sect, philosophical and political view, ethnic origin, wealth, birth, marital status, health condition, disability, and age is clearly prohibited. (Law no. 6701 Article 3/II). Within the Law, no state or private institution is allowed to discriminate against citizens who use or apply for services such as education, justice, police, health, transportation, communication, social security, social services, social aid, sports, accommodation, culture, and tourism. This provision covers the public domains and access to buildings (Law no. 6701, Article 5/I). For example, it is considered discrimination if a Syrian is not allowed to enter a public transportation vehicle or hotel, if a doctor avoids treating him/her, or he/she is not allowed into a restaurant or a shopping mall. Besides, the Law prohibits any discrimination by public institutions, professional organizations with public institution status, real persons, private law juristic persons, and others authorized by them in renting or selling movable or real estates, providing information on movables or real estates, assessing the terms or termination of a rental contract and in the process of transfer and sale (Law no. 6701, Article 5/II). No discrimination is allowed in any steps of a contract including contract negotiations, establishment of a contract, and assessment of terms of the contract, execution and termination of the contract before the contract within the contracts related to the listed service activities and publicly announced rental and sale contracts. For example, it is prohibited to restrain a Syrian from shopping from a store. Again, it is prohibited to use the expression "Not for Syrians" in a house for rent ad. A rent contract cannot be assessed according to the tenant's ethnicity. It is not allowed to charge him extra deposit, irrationally high rents, asking for an annual sum instead of regular monthly payments. However, to consider an act discriminative, the party must prove that all the charges or demands are put forward based on the fact that the potential tenant is Syrian. Any objective reasons to reject to enter into a contract are not considered discriminative. For example, it makes sense when a landlord who rents a two bedroom apartment does not want to rent his/her estate to the family of 10-15 people.

Different treatments due to the arrival and accommodation conditions and legal status of the people who are not citizens are not included in the scope of the law. However, this covers only the exclusive situations based on the arrival and legal conditions and legal status (Law no. 6701 Article 7/I). The issues apart from these are subject to the protection of the legal provisions of the prohibition of discrimination. Nevertheless, to be protected by the Law, the act of discrimination must be based on race, color, language, religion, belief or sect. Natural persons and legal entities can file complaints of discrimination. Applications can be made directly to the Human Rights and Equality Institution or through governors in towns and sub-governors in sub-towns. Applications are free of charge (Law no. 6701 Article 17/I). The Institution will settle complaints within 3 months following receipt of application or following decision to initiate an ex-officio investigation. This period can be extended for a maximum of 3 months by the President of the Institution (Law no. 6701 Article 18/I). The party claimed to have discriminated will be asked to submit in written form his/her testimony. Upon request, the parties can be called to make oral statements separately before the Board (Law no. 6701 Article 18/II). On its own initiative or upon request, the President of the Institution may bring victim and perpetrator to a settlement to reach a compromise. On its own

initiative or upon request, the President of the Institution may bring victim and perpetrator to a settlement (Law no. 6701 Article 18/IV). Applications which are not concluded by a settlement will be submitted to the Board that is authorized to make a decision. In case of violation of prohibition of discrimination, administrative fines can be imposed by the Board (Law no. 6701 Article 25/I).

It is possible to say that Law no. 6701 is the most efficient and facilitating protection method for the Syrians in Turkey because the Institution may make a decision whether there is a violation or not, upon request or ex-officio. In this context, non-governmental organizations or third parties can also file complaints. However, the Law no. 6701 does not impose the perpetrator the obligation of making a contract. Therefore, if the contract is avoided due to the person's ethnicity, race, color or religion or the person's access to the required areas and buildings is prevented, the Law no. 6701 cannot offer a protection to the victim within this scope. The Law can only impose administrative fines on the perpetrator. The obligation to make a contract is only possible when there is a case of an assault on his/her personal rights and a legal demand to an action for prevention of assault (Turkish Civil Code, Article 25/I) or in case a person, by his faulty and unlawful behavior, causes damage to another and obliged to provide compensation (Turkish Code of Obligations, Article 49/II). It is required to file a lawsuit in court for the both cases.

B. Protection within the Provisions to Protect Personality

In all relations of contract, if there is a discrimination in the process of contract negotiations, conclusion of the contract, assessing the terms of the contract, execution and termination of contract or there is a case of rejection of starting contract negotiations or prevention of access to the building or area where the contract is to be made, a person can enjoy the protective provisions of the Turkish Civil Code (Turkish Civil Code, Article 24-25). The party who suffers from an assault to his/her personality due to discrimination may demand from the judge to take an action for prevention of assault, elimination of such threat and determination of unlawful consequences of the assault (Turkish Civil Code, Article 25/I). The discrimination against the Syrians in Turkey based on race, religion, language, ethnicity, color and sect can be considered a personal right infringement. To reject a person's request to conclude a contract solely based on the person's specific feature which is not sine qua non within the contract or related to the subject and scope of the contract, is a personal right infringement (Ayrancı, 2003, p. 246). To claim a personal right infringement, the identity of the addressee must be clear. The scope of the provision as a person covers all natural persons including Syrians. Within the provisions to protect personality, the victim may ask to conclude a contract (Kocayusufpaşaoğlu, 2014, p. 509-510; Schmidt-Räntsch, 2007, p. 16). It is not important if the person who has been discriminated can provide the good and service by other channels or not (Kocayusufpaşaoğlu, 2014, p. 509). However, if it is no more possible to discharge of conventional obligations, the person cannot demand to make a contract and has to settle by compensation (Kocayusufpaşaoğlu, 2014, p. 513). For example, in a rental contract, if the rented estate bears the quality of a nonfungible good and has been rented to another person, it is not possible to demand to conclude a contract.

Within an action to order that an existing infringement ceases, the victim may ask the consequences of the transaction or the act which consists of discrimination to be rearranged in a way that it no more leads to an infringement on personality, such as adjusting the consideration decided within the contract, modification of the terms of the contract or termination of the contract, based on the aspects of the discrimination. For example, if a Syrian who was charged annual rental value, instead of monthly payments files a claim to bring an action to order that an existing infringement cease and the judge decided that the infringement is a violation of personal rights, the perpetrator will have to return the deferred liabilities or the overcharged deposit. Likewise, if an unfit dwelling whose condition threatens human health is rented to the Syrians, the landlord will be responsible for the defective good. There is no way the liability of the landlord is discharged just because the tenant approved the contract in its poor condition. The non-liability contract must be considered invalid based on the personality protection provisions if the defectiveness causes a serious threat to the health of the tenant or the people who live with him/her (Zevkliler/Gökyayla, 2014, p. 265). Furthermore, the person who is discriminated may claim for damages depending upon the fault of the person who refuses to conclude a contract (Turkish Civil Code, Article 25/III).

C. Protection within the Provisions of Tort

According to Turkish Code of Obligations, Article 49/II a person who wilfully causes loss or damage to another in an immoral manner is likewise obliged to provide compensation (Kocayusufpaşaoğlu, 2014, p. 510. Ayrancı, 2003, p. 246). The judge may decide that the damages are to be paid in specie or in cash (Turkish Code of Obligations, Article 51/II). A person, who suffered loss because of the discrimination of a person in an immoral manner in the process of pre contract and establishment of the contract, has right to indemnity (Naturalrestitution) (Eren, 2015, p. 306-307; Ayrancı, 2003, p. 248). If the person who suffered loss still wishes to make a contract with the person who acted in an immoral manner, the judge may decide that the contract will be concluded by the parties within the compensation in kind principle. For example; if a person was not accepted in a hotel just because he/she is Syrian, the hotel owner's apology will not be sufficient, compensation in kind will be provided when the victim is served in the way the other customers of hotel are (Schmidt-Räntsch, 2007, p. 15).

D. Other Opportunities Inflicted by Contract Law

1. Protection within Unfair Advantage Provisions

In Turkish law, as a rule, the parties can decide on the acts which are subject to the obligations and assessment of the contract in the way they wish. In principal, it is not possible to interfere in the consideration which has been determined by the parties within the contracts in which the act of one party forms the value. Exceptionally, it is possible to change the consideration by the decision of the judge within the contracts in which the parties are obliged. One of the exceptional cases is the unfair advantage provisions in the Turkish Code of Obligations (Turkish Code of Obligations, Article 28). To talk about an unfair advantage, there should be a clear discrepancy between performance and consideration and this discrepancy must be created because of the person's thoughtlessness, inexperience or the straitened circumstances and the perpetrator must have taken the advantage of weak condition of the other party knowingly and on purpose (Kocayusufpaşaoğlu, 2014, p. 483 et al.). Thanks to the unfair advantage provisions, the injured party will not honor the contract and demand restitution of any performance already made. It is known that the Syrians in Turkey face the risk of being harmed especially in the employment and rental contracts due to their difficult situation, thoughtlessness or inexperience (Amnesty International, 2014, p. 36; Orsam, 2014, p. 16; Examples of Temporary Protection in Europe, 2015, p. 32 et al.). They are under the risk of being exploited since they do not speak Turkish, know a little about the market prices or they have to meet their daily needs and find housing and they are forced to accept the offers without considering enough. Occasionally, the terms of the contract and especially the price are determined based on the fact that the other party is Syrian so that they have to work on very low wage or pay rents much over the market price. Under such conditions, the injured party may demand restitution of any performance already made or ask for the elimination of discrepancy based on the contract (Kocayusufpaşaoğlu, 2014, p. 497-498). Moreover, the injured party who terminated the contract may ask for damages in accordance with the *culpa in contrahendo* provisions or the injured party who has not terminated the contract although the period of prescription was over and still did not perform an obligation may ask for the removal of the unfair advantage when the obligation is demanded (Kocayusufpaşaoğlu, 2014, p. 498). Within this context, the person who was discriminated has a right to use the right within the five years after the conclusion of the contract in every situation and one year after he/she found out the result of his/her thoughtlessness and inexperience and the situation perished (Turkish Code of Obligations, Article 28/II).

2. Obligation to Contract within Consumer Transactions

According to Consumer Protection Law No. 6502 goods that are unrolled on a showcase, shelf, electronic media or any other clear visible place may not be avoided from selling unless there is a clear statement that those are not for sale (Consumer Protection Law No. 6502 Art. 6/I)and it cannot be avoided to provide service without a legitimate cause (Consumer Protection Law No. 6502 Art. 6/II). This provision applies only based on the consumer transactions. In other words, prohibition of abstain from sale and providing service will only find a field of practice within the contracts where the trader or supplier acts on commercial or occupational purposes and the consumer does not act on commercial or occupational purposes. For the obligation to contract within consumer transaction, publicly promised remuneration is not required (Kocayusufpaşaoğlu, 2014, p. 523). To be considered a consumer, it is not important if the transaction party is Syrian or not. The law accepts everyone as a consumer who fits the description. Therefore, people who publicly announce their goods or services on commercial or occupational purposes are required to make a contract with the parties who are qualified as a consumer. An action of performance can be filed for the person who does not want to make a contract in order to force him/her to make one. Nonetheless, the trader and supplier may avoid a contract due to a reason other than discrimination. An administrative fine for the contract or each transaction may be imposed on the ones who violate this and refuse to

provide service or sell goods (Turkish Consumer Protection Act, Article 77). The injured party's right to ask for an administrative sanction punishment in accordance with the Law No 6701 is also reserved.

3. Conclusion of a Contract within the Display of Merchandise with an Indication of its Price

The sending of tariffs, price lists and the like does not constitute an offer. By contrast, the display of merchandise with an indication of its price does generally constitute an offer (Turkish Code of Obligations, Article 8/II). According to this, when the buyer accepts the offer, the contract is concluded and obligation to contract is naturally beside the point (İnceoğlu, 2000, p. 412). In this situation, the discriminated person may ask the other party to perform an obligation based on the provisions of the contract after the offer was accepted (Turkish Code of Obligations, Article 112 et al.). However, if the injured person is a consumer, he/she can apply to the Human Rights and Equity Institution of Turkey in accordance with the Turkish Consumer Protection Act, Article 77/I and Law No. 6701 for asking administrative sanction on the person who refuses to perform the obligation due to the discrimination. For example; if the trader refuses the deliver a good in a grocery store where its price is indicated, the victim may both ask for the delivery of the good based on the concept of performing an obligation and apply to the Institution due to the discrimination. The act may also result in infliction of an administrative fine sanction in accordance with the Turkish Consumer Protection Act, Article 77/I. However, in the cases of the service presentations other than product display, the contract is not considered concluded by the approval of the person who wishes to benefit from the service (Kocayusufpaşaoğlu, 2014, p. 189; Eren, 2015, p. 249) Then, the provider may be obliged to a contract with the victim based on the infringement on the personality rights and loss or damage caused by an immoral manner.

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LOCATING THE NEW ZEALAND FOODIE IN LIFESTYLE MOVEMENT ACTIVITY

JENNIE WATTS

ABSTRACT

This paper begins to share the findings of my 2016 doctoral thesis. This research is an interpretive exploration of the foodie phenomenon and the ways that foodie activity intersects with contemporary social movements. Self-identifying foodies living in New Zealand were interviewed and the interview data was analysed thematically.

The most significant of my findings is that foodies are participants in a 'lifestyle movement', which is located at the intersection of social movement and subcultural phenomena. The lifestyle movement is a contemporary form of social movement based in day-to-day lived experience that is informed by notions of principled consumption. For the foodie participants in this research, food is about much more than taste. Rather, food is the site of three realms of behaviour: pleasure, thought, and care, based on their antecedent convictions about food and the responsibility they feel as politically engaged consumers. The principles that motivate these foodies include environmental concerns, animal welfare, and economic justice and equality. In this paper I will specify the ways in which these foodies are participants in this contemporary form of social movement, identify the power and potential of activity based in the 'lifeworld', and discuss the foodie's evolution from lifestyle based action to traditional social movement activism.

Keywords: Lifestyle movements, Lifestyle activism, Foodies, Environmental concerns, Animal welfare, Economic justice

IDEOLOGY AND THE FUTURE OF PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

RAFAL SOBORSKI

ABSTRACT

The predominant interest in ideology to be found in deliberations about anti-neoliberal movements has been articulated with the intention of putting the relevance of ideology into doubt, of claiming that the movements have somehow become 'post-ideological.' The dismissal of ideology has been articulated by activists and sympathetic commentators particularly in the context of two recent waves of anti-neoliberal mobilization. The first wave consisted of a succession of protests, notably in Seattle (1999), Prague (2000) and Genoa (2001), which assembled a huge diversity of groups and stood up to institutional embodiments of the global free-market agenda in the form of the WTO, the World Bank and the IMF. World Social Forums and their regional equivalents, which meet annually as gatherings of diverse non-governmental organizations and social movements critical of neoliberalism, provided a parallel opportunity for activists to protest the globalization of free-market capitalism and discuss alternatives to it. At the heart of arguments advanced in the earlier period of political mobilization, often dubbed alter-globalization or global justice movement, was its networking logic and the popular claim was that networks offer the means of liberation from the ideological straightjacket. More recently, a renewed reflection on the nature, constraints and prospects of global anti-neoliberal activism has been stimulated by popular mobilizations, such as Indignados and Occupy, against the way the financial crisis has been managed by capitalist governments. While the connection between activist networking and post-ideology claims continues in this literature, a new element, the 99 percent slogan, has taken over the main role in arguments against ideology. The paper analyses the main assumption of these critiques of ideology and advances a set of counterarguments regarding the role of ideology in anti-neoliberal mobilization. The author's position is that movements against global neoliberalism are unlikely to be effective if they persist in their refusal to embrace a political vision. To be sure, activist mobilization will, inevitably and regardless of declarations to the contrary, be guided by a set of ideological beliefs. However, while these movements are inescapably ideology-laden, by denying their ideological identity they cut themselves off from the resources obtainable from established traditions of political thought. Furthermore, the argument advanced in the paper is that the very supposition of visionless activism has been politically counterproductive. On the one hand, it may be linked to the extent within anti-neoliberal politics of a faddish, easily co-opted and commodified form of tokenistic political engagement. On the other hand, the neglect of ideology may have given undue credence to the neoliberal pronouncement of irrelevance of alternative socio-political projects. At the climax of its hegemony in the 1990s neoliberalism declared ideology to be dead (neoliberalism itself is not an ideology, we have been told, but merely an optimal, entirely pragmatic response to the natural forces of the market). In this context, it seems paradoxical that the assumption that ideology has now become irrelevant has been so enthusiastically endorsed by many activists who otherwise oppose neoliberal theory and practice.

Keywords: Ideology, End of ideology thesis, Social movements, Anti-neoliberalism, Anti-capitalism

POLITICAL DISOBEDINCE IN ISRAEL: A STRATEGY OF RESISTANCE AMONG PALESTINIANS IN ISRAEL

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After the *Nakba*, the Palestinian catastrophe in 1948, and the establishment of Israel on 78 percent of Mandatory Palestine, 160,000 Palestinians remained in their homeland which Western powers created as the State of Israel. There remained a clear presence of those with whom the founders of Israel had fought, and who had been captured in their consciousness as "the enemy." The "1948 Palestinians" or "Arab Israelis" who remained were mostly peasants and were described by the Israeli sociologist Baruch Kimberling (2003) as "*a body with no head*", pointing to the loose organization and structure of the political leadership and the Palestinian elite as a result of the 1948 war. The first years of living under the Israeli sovereignty and the trauma of the great defeat in 1948, crystalized the primary battle of "surviving" and steadfastness known in Arabic as the battle of *Bqaa* and *Sumud* among the Palestinians in Israel. This battle aimed to prevent another wave of refugees and emphasized the importance of the physical existence of the Palestinians in their homeland, despite the new circumstances of becoming "*strangers at their homes*" as was described by Sabri Jiries (1969), a Palestinian scholar. Meanwhile, the newly established State of Israel aimed to portray itself as a liberal democratic state which granted equal rights for all its citizens. In 1952 Israel granted Israeli citizenship to its "Arab" inhabitants. However, holding Israeli citizenship and Palestinian citizens' participation in the election did not prevent Israel from imposing a harsh military rule on the Arab citizens between the years of 1948 and 1966. Under these conditions, 1948 Palestinians utilized nonviolent resistance, particularly parliamentary activism was the safest and most appropriate way to lead the battle for the Palestinians in Israel to remain in their homeland. This was largely accomplished through a civic struggle for equal citizenship. They believed that by reaching the parliament podium, they would be able to demand equal civil rights and to impact broad Israeli policies. In January 2017, the Israeli government demolished 11 houses belonging to Palestinian citizens of Israel, accusing them of "building with no permission" in *Qalansuwa*, an Arab village in Israel. Two weeks later, Israel demolished the Bedouin village of *Umm al- Hiran*, in southern Israel. These actions expose the continual internal debate among Palestinians in Israel, regarding the effective tools that should be adopted to tackle Israeli policies. The policies and discriminatory laws are perceived to be part of the continuing *Nakba* of 1948 that aims to erase the Palestinian existence in Israel. After nearly 70 years of taking part in the Israeli political system through participation in elections, the Palestinians in Israel feel that they are at a critical juncture, questioning their choices of tools for protest and the efficacy of being an integral part of a political system that oppresses them, hoping to bring change from "inside". The question of effective resistance methods seems to be more acute in the shadow of political, economic and social changes, both among the Israelis and the Palestinians in Israel. These dynamic contexts invite us to investigate the strengths and the weaknesses of the Palestinians in Israel in their ability to affect social change and participate as equal citizens. After years of employing certain tools within the citizenship approach and the tension between the "appropriate" and the "effective" methods of protest, it is timely to evaluate their effectiveness. It also opens the door for examining the hidden potential of the Palestinians in Israel in reshaping the political power structures in Israel. This paper explores the buried potential of the Palestinians in Israel based on interviews that were conducted with Palestinian activists in Israel as part of my Ph.D. research. The doctoral dissertation explores the potential of 1948 Palestinians to reconstruct the power relations in Israel and to reshape the Palestinian resistance in general.

1. Research Considerations and Methodology

The current paper is part of wider research that takes a sector of a particular group in a single setting - Palestinian activists in Israel is the case under study. In addition to my personal motivation in documenting the Palestinian struggles in Israel, a single site study offers a significant insight into understand how multiple activists who share the same political context of oppression act differently. Simultaneously and not less importantly, it offers the opportunity to discover the common ground in their lives, and how their behaviour "transforms" their overall understanding of the concept of resistance in the reality of ongoing conflict.

On the other hand, concentrating on the Palestinians in Israel who are marginalized in resistance research contributes to the re-examination of the concept of resistance in the Palestinian case apart from the dualism of

armed and unarmed resistance. Palestinian activists in Israel were chosen as the focus of this research for reasons of applicability and feasibility. In terms of applicability, research on Palestinians in Israel is still under development due to the political power structures, and most of the research is carried out under the supervision of the Israeli academy. Most of this research has been "traditionally addressed from the point of view of the Israeli political order" (Samooaha, 1990; Lustick, 1980). Recently some developments have taken another direction, particularly as Palestinian researchers are researching their politics and society. However, this research is still confined to one dimension which concentrates on the experience of living in Israel. In fact, some feminist researchers have emerged in the last five years (Shalhoub- Kevorkian, 2003), yet I could not find any academic research about the Palestinian activists in Israel. One criticism that should be directed at current research is that Palestinians in Israel were approached through their political leadership and heads of NGO's. In this way, Palestinian groups including women and youth pay the price by pushing to the margins their political and social potential role in transforming power structures not only from reality but also from research. Thus, this research attempts to bring marginal groups to the fore in order to enrich the existing body of research by exploring the politics from "below", through the words of the Palestinian activists themselves. Feasibility is also recognized as a significant element in the research design (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Thus, situating the study in the researcher's home country enabled a significant amount of time to be spent in the field due to free accommodation and familiarity with the location, especially in unstable contexts. It also allowed the researcher to use his personal networks to identify and contact research participants, as he speaks the languages of Israel, both Arabic and Hebrew. In addition, familiarity with the cultural context and modes of thought delivered a sense of trust and a high level of mutual understanding between the researcher and the participants, and all these elements motivated the participants to take part in the research. This trust is particularly important for activists who live under the authority of Israeli law. Grassroots knowledge helped the researcher to ask deep, complex and sensitive questions, and contributed to the developing of further questions. According to Razavi and Iverson (2006,p.461), in grounded theory methodology, "*informants chosen for interviewing must be expert participants, with rich, extensive prior experience with the phenomenon, in order to be able to provide the researcher with a valid account of their experience.*" For this reason research participants in the current research consist of Palestinian activists, both female and male, who use their activism to challenge the existing power structures, whether Palestinian or Israeli. Participants in the research are Palestinian activists who are citizens of Israel and live in Israel, not in the West Bank, Gaza Strip or outside the country. Moreover, activists from Jerusalem, which was occupied in 1967 and annexed to Israel in 1988, are not part of the research group. This is because although Jerusalem was officially declared the capital of Israel, Palestinians in Jerusalem are not citizens of Israel. Participants can be independent activists or members of political parties or movements, excluding members of the Zionist parties and politicians who occupy official positions such as the Palestinian Knesset members. Additionally, they come from different political backgrounds and represent the three religious groups that form the Palestinian society in Israel: Muslims, Christians, and Druze. Participants in this research are at least 18 years old and Arabic speakers (not activists with original Arab roots who grew up abroad and came to work with Palestinians in Israel). I interviewed twenty-five Palestinian activists in Israel between August and November 2016, using semi-structured interviews, as they enable the interviewees to articulate their ideas, express their views and opinions in detail and at the same time assist the interviewer to systematically cover all relevant issues (Polit & Beck, C 2008). The interviews took between 90 and 120 minutes to complete. They were based on open-ended questions, but the interviewees' responses determined the length of the interview. The constructivist approach in grounded theory was selected as the most appropriate methodology to explore the power of the Palestinians in Israel in transforming and challenging power structures in Israel. This paper aims to uncover the hidden potential of the Palestinians in Israel in challenging the Israeli power structure as it understood by Palestinian activists and their contribution in reshaping the Palestinian resistance in general.

2. Theoretical Considerations: Nonviolent Resistance, Pragmatic Resistance, Ethical Resistance To understand the nature of resistance among the Palestinians in Israel and its hidden potential, it is necessary to clarify the theoretical foundations of resistance, minority resistance and the idea of *Sumud*. This paper briefly presents an overview of resistance and minority resistance as it appears in the literature.

Whereas in the past direct physical attacks, violent rebellion, revolutions or war seemed to be the only appropriate responses to oppression, nonviolent political action, civil resistance or "people power" became important mechanisms for achieving political and social change, especially in places where armed force and political violence failed or due to a power imbalance, as some Palestinian activists stress. Recent examples can be found quite recent actions in the Arab Spring, particularly in Egypt and Tunisia. On the surface, the difference

between violent and nonviolent action seems to be clear. However, while violent and nonviolent action are both direct action, they work through different mechanisms. Violent action works through physical and coercive force, and the fear of detention, bodily harm, or death. Nonviolent action works by eliminating the opponent, through social powers and the human mind by using manipulation. In this way it is used to change relationships rather than destroy opponents. Moreover, Todd May (2015) in his book *Nonviolent Resistance: A Philosophical Introduction*, suggests equality and dignity as another sharp differentiation between violent and nonviolent action. Iain Atack (2012, p.8), defines non-violent action as a "collective action outside the formal institution or procedures of the state that avoids the systematic or deliberate use of violence or armed force to achieve its political or social objectives". Michael Randle (1994) use the term "civil resistance" to refer to nonviolent political action. In their terms, they are emphasizing the character of collective action, bringing the public's attention to ordinary citizens, who are located outside conventional political structures such as political parties. Furthermore, nonviolent resistance not only avoids using violence, it is also a collective political action that motivates ordinary citizens to organize themselves through civil society groups or social movements to achieve their political and social goals. Mahatma Ghandi and Martin Luther King are two famous examples from the twentieth century, who pioneered in adopting and promoting nonviolent political action as a method for political change

Scholars distinguish between two types of nonviolence resistance: pragmatic and principled nonviolence. Pragmatic is also referred to as strategic, tactical, selective, or qualified nonviolence. This approach is associated with the scholar Gene Sharp (1973), who introduced the pragmatic approach in his book *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. Pragmatic nonviolence is an approach to conflict in which participants choose adopting nonviolence because they think that this is "the best and the most viable method for achieving their goals" (Nepstad 2015:216). According to this view, nonviolent resistance is seen as a set of techniques and not a way of life or moral commitment. The principled nonviolence approach also refers to ethical, comprehensive or unqualified nonviolence (Atack, 2012, pp.6-34) is linked to a lifestyle in which violence is viewed as immoral or unethical. A principled approach to nonviolence is associated with Mohandas Gandhi, the ideology of pacifism, and some religions' traditions. Those who support principled approach view nonviolence not only as an effective political strategy but also as a transformative one. Thus, they aim to change "the opponents' hearts and minds as well as their behaviours" (Nepstad,2015,p. 217). In this sense, Gandhi referred to "nonviolence for the weak", referring to the pragmatic use of nonviolent techniques, and "nonviolence for the strong" as principled nonviolent lifestyle and struggles. In other words, the pragmatic approach views the nonviolence method of struggle as the most effective strategy in contexts of conflict, while the principal approach considers nonviolence method as the best ethical strategy for normal living.

The assumption of nonviolent resistance is that the subordinate can effectively undermine power by breaking away from their subordination and withholding their participation in the political system by adopting methods such as civil disobedience and boycotting. Therefore, the power of people's obedience is turned back on itself, but this time in a disobedient form which delegitimizes the existing power structures (Vinthagen, 2007). This understanding of power opens the door for considering the power of the powerless and the weak as significant sectors for social change.

To summarize, resistance as an action and as a behaviour takes many forms, targets, and goals. It might be "violent or nonviolent, confrontational or circumventing, deconstructing or reconstructing, refusing or hindering, individual or collective, accommodating or enforcing, materialistic or idealistic" (Vinthagen, 2007,p. 6).

2.1 Minority Resistance

Minority protest is defined as the "combination of all anti-government and anti-majority acts of demonstration and violence. Non-violent protest in the open regime is one of the popular tools used by a minority for political change, its range from rhetoric to illegal action" (Yiftachel 2000, p.147).

The leading explanations are given for ethnic protest fall either within the "relative deprivation" or the "ethnic nationalism-identity" schools of thought. A third school links public protest and political mobilization to the "mobilization of group resources", Yiftachel, sees this approach less relevant to the case of "homeland" ethnic minority, referring to the Palestinian minority in Israel.

According to the deprivation school, the gaps between minority and majority increase tension between the groups, and so ethnic conflicts often revolve around sharing national resources, while ethnicity, in this case, is an instrument for mobilizing support for civil struggle (Galzer, 1983; Gurr, 1993; Horowitz, 1985). In other words, the protest will target issues of socio-economic deprivation, and will not challenge the structure and character of the state.

However, it is important to stress that socio-economic deprivation is a result of public policy, thus protest against ethnic deprivation will target government policies and the distribution of public resources. Gurr (1993), finds a direct link between state policies, ethnic deprivation and stages of an ethnic conflict, pointing out that "in most

democratic regimes, who adopt reforms in ethnic relations, ethnic protest and violence was limited" (Gurr, 1993, p. 193). It was also noticed that this relative link between deprivation of ethnic protest and conflicts applicable to immigrant societies, where ethnic minorities categorized as "ethnic classes" (Connor 1987; Gurr 1993; Lichbach 1989).

On the other hand, the ethnic-national approach claims that ethnic differences are an integral part of human behavior. This means that ethnic protest and political mobilization are first expressions of ethnic selfdetermination, and this approach considers ethnicity as "bio-social" (Berghe 1981), that sees ethnic protest as part of the worldwide process of ethnic revival, thus ethnic protest focuses on national, cultural and territorial issues and less on socio-economic subjects (Connor, 1987; Smith, 1981; Smith, 1992).

However, a protest may begin around local and general deprivation issues and later move to territorial and selfdetermination demands. National issues are likely to guarantee the most intense level of protests, such as those in Quebec, Northern Ireland, and Sri Lanka, that continued over long periods (Yiftachel, 2000). The ethnonational approach has been experienced by homeland ethnic minorities (Mikesell & Murphy, 1991; Yiftachel, 1994). These two approaches of minority protest apply to the Palestinian minority in Israel.

Based on Gurr's definition, the Palestinians in Israel are categorized as an ethnopolitical group. Gurr (2000, p.5) defines ethnic group as "people who share a distinctive and enduring collective identity based on a belief in common descent and on shared experiences and cultural traits", while ethnopolitical groups are "groups whose ethnicity has political consequences, resulting either in differential treatment of group members or in political action on behalf of group interests". On his minority categorization, he divides the Palestinians in Israel into two ethnopolitical groups. First, he identifies the Arabs in Israel as an ethnoclass group, while the Palestinians in Israel are identified as an ethnonational group.

Gurr (2000) distinguishes between Arabs and Palestinians in his significant book *Peoples versus States: Minorities at risk in the new century*, where he studied the behavior of 275 politically active ethnic groups. This is a great example of showing the inability of applying the liberal-democratic research of the Western state to explain what Rabinowitz (2010, p.64) call "trapped minority", which he defines as "a segment of larger group spread across at least two states. Citizens of a state hegemonies by others, its members are alienated from political power. Unable to influence the definition of public goods or enjoy them, its members are at the same time marginal within their mother nation abroad". Rabinowitz (2010, p.64) points out to the fall of the "traditional concepts of states and nations" to acknowledge and theorize such minorities. He suggests adopting the discourse of transnationalism that "helps to dislodge the study of minorities from the analytical straight-jacket of the state". The definition of the Palestinians in Israel is crucial in understanding their protest methods. However, even Rabinowitz' description of being "trapped" between two political structures is insufficient to categorize the Palestinians in Israel, mainly because it ignores two important elements, in my opinion: first, the Palestinians in Israel identify themselves as the indigenous people of the area. Secondly, they are part of the reality of on-going conflict. The questions "Who are we? And "How should we define ourselves? Were highlighted during the interviews as the main obstacle to building a clear strategy of resistance. It was clear that these many definitions, positions and approaches led to the development of various methods of resistance in the individual but not as part of a whole project of resistance.

2.2 Sumud

The concept of *Sumud* as steadfastness finds its roots originally in Islam (Schicocchel, 2012). However, *Sumud* emerged as a political term within the Palestinian context during the 1970s and 1980s, presented by the PLO to emphasize the significant role of maintaining a physical presence on the land, despite Israeli policies of emptying and reconstructing the geographical space, thus imposing different means to control Palestinians' daily life and making it hard to survive (Vinhagen & Johansson 2013). Thus, *Sumud* referred to the right to remain in the land, the need to resist forced expulsions and the commitment to have many children who would continue the struggle for liberation and independence (Van Teeffelen, 2006). This understanding of *Sumud* was criticized as a form of "passive non-resistance focusing on survival only" (Vinhagen & Johansson, 2013). Conceptualizations of *Sumud* vary. It can be understood as an attitude, a cultural trait or an "inward-directed" life stance (Johansson & Vinhagen, 2015; Van Teeffelen, 2006.; Schicocchel, 2012) *Sumud*, in other words is the ability to live in the shadow of loss and calamity. Richter-Devroe (2011) conceptualises *Sumud* as a social practice and a form of everyday and non-violent resistance. Raja Shehadeh, a Palestinian lawyer and activist, adds the dimension of political strategy for understanding *Sumud* by describing it as "the third way", that is neither armed struggle nor passive acceptance (Bahbah, 1985).

3. Contextual Considerations: Palestinian Citizens in Israel

By the end of the war in 1949, my grandfather Hassan, originally from the village of *Mia'ar* in north Palestine which was destroyed along with 523 Palestinian villages, witnessed the collapse of his society and the construction of a new society on the ashes of the old system that he was familiar and engaged with, along with 167,000 Palestinians who remained in their homeland that was the day before called Palestine. They were traumatized from the outcomes of the war, the break-up of families and the loss of their houses. In the shadow of their great defeat and fear, they faced the threat of becoming refugees outside of their homeland, which turned to be "officially" Israel.

For the remaining Palestinians it was the collapse of their world. They woke up to a new geopolitical reality. The place and people they knew were replaced with new faces of immigrants, mostly from Europe, a new language and new "bosses". They were like a branch cut from a tree, when they were forced to cut all their cultural, familial and financial relationships with the entire Arab world and the Middle East, which turned to be the "enemy" of the state of which they were citizens. This state of separation of the remaining Palestinians from their natural environment dismantled bridges with the Arab world, and positioned them in a questionable situation regarding their identity and loyalty to the Palestinian cause. Thus, it is not surprising that the Palestinian identity continues to be a sensitive struggle for the Palestinians in Israel, not only in the face of Israel but also to the rest of the Arab world. As a result, these sudden changes weakened the status of the Palestinians, who turned to be a minority, weak and strangers in their homeland.

On the other hand, the newly established state found itself burdened with Palestinian who were until 1948 "*an integral part of the fabric of Palestinian society and the big Middle East, which resist the colonial project of the Zionist movement...*" (Rouhana & Sabbagh-Khoury, 2011,p.6) inside its boundaries that were known as the green line. Israel ruled with an oppressive hand over the Palestinian minority in every possible way, imposing a harsh military rule in the areas where the Palestinians lived, in forcing limitations on their freedom of movement and expression (Kimmerling & Migdal, 2003). In other words, from 1948 until 1966, military rule was the central Israeli institutional body operating among the Palestinians in Israel. Military rule was imposed on 21 October 1948 by David Ben-Gurion and was based on the Defence (Emergency) Regulations established by the British Mandate in 1945. The military governor had unlimited control over every aspect of the Palestinians as individuals and collectively. He had the right to arrest people without a warrant and detain them without trial for long periods, the authority to ban them or expel them from their homes, and to put them under house arrest, in addition to the authority to close schools, businesses, newspapers, and banning demonstrations and protests. This military rule is an open wound in the memory of the Palestinians in Israel whereby their political behaviour was shaped in the shadow of fear. It was also a formative chapter in the relationship between them and the state. But this does not describe the total situation. Palestinians in Israel comprise 20 percent of the population of Israel. Some Palestinian citizens have reached real levels of success in the Jewish state as judges, medical professionals, writers, academics, broadcasters, and even in the area of sport. The number of Palestinian students and lecturers is growing, as is the number of Palestinians in the civil service. These individual successes have made the Palestinians a more self-confident society, but which represents an even greater threat in the eyes of the Jewish community, which is "*still motivated by an ideological stance that negates the right of the Palestinians to live alongside them*" (Pappe, 2011, p.6).

3.1 Political Contextualization: In and Out Reality

Any serious investigation of a political player, individual or collective, particularly in conflictual realities, must start by defining the settings in which it operate and the roots of its patterns of behaviour (Jamal, 2014). Writing about the Palestinians in Israel means writing about Israel. Israel is declared to be a Jewish and democratic state. This definition reflects the legal rights of all its citizens by articulating the Jewish nature of Israel through laws, regulations, and politics. Scholars from different areas have accumulated a body of research which "*focuses on or takes considerable account of the Palestinian citizens of Israel*"(Rabinowitz, 2010, p.68), for creating a typology the Israeli regime. As student who obtained her Bachelor's and Master's degrees in Political Science from Israeli universities, the most popular definition for Israel was the "ethnic democracy" model that was introduced by Sammy Smooha (1990). Smooha argued that Israel represents a new type of democracy; ethnic democracy, which "*combines the extension of political and civil rights to individuals and certain collective rights to minorities with institutional dominance over the state by one of the ethnic group*"(Samooha, 1990, p.391). This model of ethnic democracy caused a heated debate in Israel and has gained considerable attention.

Samooha proposes a formal level of democracy, which may guarantee full citizenship rights in terms of voting, for example, but in practice, this ethnic group will suffer from continuing marginalization. According to Sa'adi (2000), the ethnic democracy model is problematic because the control by the state of one national group harms the principle of equality. Moreover, in order to maintain one group's superiority, it is necessary to maintain the other

group's inferiority. On this point, Samoooha does not provide any explanation of why ethnic democracy is different from a dictatorship of the majority. In addition, Samoooha, telling us that the denial of equal rights to a group of citizens can go hand in hand with democracy, does not answer the question of active citizenship among minorities - which is the essential basis of any democratic regime (Bashir, 2015).

Regarding the minorities, his model suggests that they will be "*disadvantaged, but they can avail themselves of democratic means to negotiate better terms of coexistence*" (Bashir, 2015, p.410). In other words, this means that the majority controls the state and sets up the priorities; the duty of the minority group is to try very hard to fit into the system, in order to obtain better conditions in their daily life, such as in housing, education and the health system, but they will not have any say or influence on the state's goals (Sa'di, 2000). For Samoooha, the basic liberal idea of individual freedoms is enough to describe Israel as a democratic state. In contrast, Will Kymlicka, who emphasizes the difference between an ethnic nation and a civic one, as a way of understanding types of minorities and state - minority relations, points out that "ethnic nationalism is exclusive, civic nationalism is inclusive" (Kymlicka, 2000). Samoooha ignores many defects inherent in the system, such as exploitation of emergency regulations which allows the authorities to withhold basic rights; the lack of a legal framework that protects the rights of minorities or ensures equality for individuals from these minorities; the existence of non-democratic political culture among its citizens and the problematical definition of Israel as a "Jewish state" and its consequent structure. Others define Israel as a settler-colonial state, such as Elia Zureik (1979), whose work investigate the marginal status of the Palestinians in Israel for his typology of Israel as a colonial-settler state. Gershon Shafir (1989) present an important study of land and labor in Zionism, emphasizing the "specific circumstances of the Jewish national movement", by locating it in the colonial paradigm. Strengthening the link between labor, economy and nationality can be found in Michael Shalev's (1992) work on the Israeli split economy and Lev Greenberg's (1991) analysis of the Labor movement. Ian Lustick (1980) investigates the structural and institutional characteristics that were developed by the Jewish hegemony to control the Palestinian citizens. Yoav Peled (1992) investigate the restrictions on Palestinians candidates and parties in comparison to the free access of Jewish Israelis in political life. His conclusion was that Israel offers the Palestinian citizens a "*nominal and weakened form of citizenship*" (Rabinowitz, 2010, p.69). However, viewing Israel as a settler-colonial state is not new, though it is gaining popularity in the recent times. In sum, it is important to notice that the civic status of the Palestinians in Israel is shaped by the political reality of being "in" and "out", which is crucial for understanding the motivation behind patterns of protest among this group.

4. Three Battles of Resistance

Presenting the theoretical and contextual aspects allows me to locate the main battles of the Palestinians in Israel as they emerged from the field research and interviews with Palestinian activists. The data yields information about three battles which reflect the hidden potential of the Palestinians in Israel in transforming and challenging the Israeli power structure.

4.1 The Battle of "Equal Citizenship"

The first battle of the Palestinian citizens in Israel, especially after the *Nakba* and during the military rule, was not directed against land confiscation and the overall situation, but focused on the matter of citizenship. Ironically, Israeli citizenship served as a shield for the Palestinians in validating their presence. The term *Sumud*, meaning 'steadfastness' was employed during that period to describe the struggle to remain in the land, despite the difficult circumstances. The Palestinian activists demanded full citizenship of Israel on the basis of their natural rights as the indigenous people of the land. However, it should be noted that the motivation that underlies this demand lay in the instrumental power of Israeli citizenship which allows its holders to stay and live in Israel permanently. For the Palestinians in Israel, this was the only guarantee for them not to become refugees. In this sense, Palestinians were successful in ensuring their physical presence. Yet this struggle that began in 1949 did not end when "equal" citizenship is spoken about. Given the inner logic of Zionism and the idea of a Jewish state, non-Jewish citizens could be tolerated as long as they did not endanger the Jewish supremacy of the state. Therefore, from its foundation the state distinguished between Jewish and non-Jewish citizens (Pappe,2011). Thus, the stubborn demand of equal citizenship challenges the essential nature of Israel as a Zionist and Jewish state.

The political leadership of the Palestinian minority use every possible means and available platform for advocating their case: participating in the elections and approaching the Supreme Court and the Hebrew media, in addition to the employment of popular struggle through petitions and demonstrations demanding equal citizenship in the Jewish state. It is very important to stress that none of the means employed succeed in influencing the legal and constitutional realities (Pappe, 2011,p.35). Yet activists point to the importance of the civic struggle for changing the exclusive nature of Israel and its potential for proving and showing the true face of the country.

4.2 The “Electoral” Battle

Israeli citizenship guarantees the right to vote, which seems on the surface to be a powerful card in the hands of the Palestinian citizens in Israel. However, the Israeli political system is built in a way that keeps the Palestinian representatives out of the policy makers’ circle. The fact that the Palestinians in Israel have the right to participate in elections does not mean that they influence Israeli decision-making, especially when it comes to security concerns. The Zionist political establishment excludes Arab parties from being part of the government and parliamentary committees’ dealings with defence, security and strategic planning. In other words, Palestinians are inside the political game but outside the political process. This reality of being “in” on the surface and “out” in reality creates a lot of frustration among activists, including those who are members of political parties. Thus the heated debate of the effectiveness of participating in Israeli elections is not surprising. Some activists call for re-examining the most appropriate way of using their Israeli citizenship suggesting boycotting the elections as a tactic for dismantling the legitimacy of the Israeli democracy. Palestinian activists stress the political use by Israel of their participation in the election as a tool for proving to the world that Israel is democratic and treats all its citizens equally. They believe that their participation legitimates and reinforces Israeli colonization and occupation. In the shadow of the success of the BDS movement, and after 70 years of participating in the election game, activists emphasise the power of withdrawing their support for the political regime as citizens. Most of the activists pointed to the need of thinking ‘out of the box’ that was shaped according to the Israeli system. In this way, they challenged the traditional Palestinian political leadership who still use “conventional tools for change” ignoring the political context in Israel and the reality on the ground. The Vote battle targets at first the “institutionalised apartheid” of the Israeli system.

4.3 Identity Battle and Cultural Resistance

When surviving became a daily battle, resistance took different forms and actions. *Sumud* adopted many faces, particularly in hidden spaces where Palestinians felt free to speak. Aside from direct political activism, cultural activity presents the beginning of resurrecting from the ashes of destruction and providing the society with something no government or regime could easily either prevent or provide (Pappe, 2011, p.75). Poetry was a medium in which national identity survived the *Nakba* of 1948. What political activists and leaders could not or dared not express, poets wrote and sang loudly. Poetry and literature became oral political statements constructing political awareness and consciousness, when love, hate, death, birth and family could be intertwined with political issues of land confiscation and state oppression (Pappe, 2011, p. 76). Poetry festivals became very popular, using language as a weapon. However, the Israeli secret service was unable to decide if this action was a subversive act or a cultural event (Nakhleh & Zureik, 1980). Poets participated in popular meetings side by side with politicians, reading their poems to the masses. Cultural resistance has a significant place in the construction of the *Sumud* of Palestinian Identity. All the interviewees stressed these poems as a source of knowledge, raising their awareness of the Palestinian situation and oppression in different parts of the world and its function as a glow for constructing a common Palestinian identity for all the Palestinians in the world. Activists emphasized the link between the Israeli education system as a control mechanism that aims to create “Good\Obedient Arabs” in the Jewish state, and the role of cultural resistance in preserving their Palestinian identity challenging the Israeli hegemony separately from the institutions controlled by the state such as schools. Culture, in this case, became an underground space for resistance and constructing critical awareness not only among Palestinians in Israel but among Palestinians in general. Something that was emphasized by the Palestinian activists in Israel as a source of pride for this significant contribution to the Palestinian resistance in general was pointing out that when they are asked to explain their situation in Israel, particularly to other Arabs, they use the names of the famous poets as a signpost. Most of the activists stress that the identity battle is the most important battle against Israeli policies of “Israelization” and all the projects that target young Palestinians such as the “civil service project” that is run by the Israeli ministry of defence. These kinds of projects and the destruction of the national content considered as threatening to the concept of collective struggle. However, Palestinian activists in Israel point out the active debate on the issue of culture as a significant step for reshaping and challenging the Palestinian identity, particularly when it comes to the question of the desired nature of the Palestinian society and personal freedoms.

5. Towards the Construction of a Strategy of Resistance for Political Disobedience among Palestinians in Israel

These three battles have been the main struggles the Palestinians in Israel have been involved in since 1948, yet they all took place within the citizenship borders through participation in the elections and approaching official channels, hoping to reach as many people as possible on the other side. However, acting within the frame of

citizenship did not challenge Israeli power structure; instead it enhanced the power imbalance and created the illusion of being part of the Israeli political system. Due to the reality of daily and continuing confrontation, activists believe that Palestinians in Israel have gained significant experience in developing methods of resistance and protest in order to maintain an active presence of the Palestinian cause in the field of public discourse in Israel, opposing all the marginalization policies. However, these methods of resistance have not succeeded in creating genuine political change. Activists point to the lack of strategies of resistance as the main reason for not being able to cause change. Throughout the history of the Palestinians in Israel, there have been and still are many examples and models of resistance, yet there has been no significant change. For this reason Palestinians insist on constructing a strategy of resistance that would be able to take into consideration the elements that might be used to challenge the Israeli system. What Palestinian activists suggest is to “flip” the use of their citizenship by calling for breaking their subordination and adopting methods such as political disobedience. Targeting the nature of Israel and its democratic character was adopted as the main mission of the Palestinians in Israel. Israel markets itself as a Western state that promotes civilization and democracy against the “barbaric East”, and despite the occupation, Israel continues to be seen in this way by western leaders. It is vital to counteract this image locally and internationally. Locally, by trying to break the blockage within Israeli society; internationally by speaking to the world. The act of speaking can take many forms: political activism, cultural activism and speaking to influential groups. In other words, *Sumud* moves beyond the traditional understanding of “remaining”, and instead activists stress “active *sumud*”, whereby Palestinians in Israel take responsibility for and initiatives in constructing their resistance. In this way, activists call for political disobedience, supported by adopting a multidimensional strategy of resistance in order to dismantle the Israeli power structure.

Historically, Palestinians in Israel conducted their struggles by adopting non-violent resistance. I believe that the political circumstances, the massive failure of armed struggle and the powerless status of the Palestinians in Israel as a result of the *Nakba* and the military rule limitations have all greatly contributed to the choice of nonviolent resistance out of safety and pragmatic reasons, in order to meet the urgent need of remaining. Speaking with Palestinian activists reveals that this is not only a pragmatic motivation but also an ethical one. The struggle to build a “unity of the oppressed”, between Palestinians and powerless groups such as the Ethiopians and Oriental Jewish (originally from Arab and Muslim countries), to face of the Israeli power structures, and the struggle of not being similar to the “oppressor” were repeated throughout the interviews. During our conversations, activists stressed that Palestinians in Israel today are not the same as they were in 1948. They are more powerful, educated, knowing the language, familiar with the Israeli mentality and its system. They are more confident, know how to articulate themselves and are aware of their rights, particularly as citizens. Therefore, many activists have highlighted the power of their position and the hidden potential they possess in challenging and transforming the Israeli power structure, believing that in the long term it could help in changing the power balance and the whole treatment of the peace process.

The insistence on having a visual presence on the international scene and the refusal to be marginalized from political discourse and activism is very important for *Sumud* in its new understanding by Palestinian activists in Israel. In 1967, Israel occupied the West Bank including Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, and only then was Palestine again unified, under Israeli occupation. The military administration that was applied to the Palestinians in Israel was not dismantled. Instead it was applied to the Palestinians from the occupied territories, a term that was used to refer to the supposedly only occupied part of Palestine. As a result, the terminology and timeline of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict have changed in a way that considered the 1967 occupation as the starting point of the conflict. Due to this, the 48 Palestinians were pushed out of the political scene, an action that deeply harmed the understanding of the Palestinian- Israeli conflict. This deep misunderstanding of the conflict’s complexity, a combined with frustration and disappointment, were enough for Palestinians and Israelis to lose faith in what is called the peace process. Thus, opening the 1948 file is essential for creating a genuine reconciliation, instead of a temporary ceasefire. However, this action is not easily accomplished, mainly because it requires the dismantling of the Zionist power structure in Israel, which is not an easy mission, but at the same time, not impossible.

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POLITICAL SATIRE AND THE SIX DAY WAR: A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

ZAINAB MOHAMMED

ABSTRACT

Political cartoons are powerful symbols used to convey a message in just a few simple images. Danjoux (2012), states that political cartoons identify the most important issues at the time and document how people interpret those issues. The purpose of this thesis is to understand the symbolism used in political cartoons in Israel and Palestine during the period of the Six Day War. The Six Day War was chosen as it provides a data set that allows the study of two opposing countries with diverse political and cultural conditions. The design method used to conduct research on the study was comparative content analysis and semiology. As Berg (2009) describes, content analysis is a “passport to listening to the words of the text and understanding better the perspective(s) of the producer of these words,” or in the case of this study, images (p. 343). The political cartoons offer a chance for an investigation as to how the cartoons mediated public and government opinion of the opposing nations before, during, and after the war.

Keywords: Media Culture, Pop Culture, Political Cartoons, Political Satire, Semiology

INTERCULTURAL ENGAGEMENT: ONE WAY TO IDENTIFY CAUSES OF MISUNDERSTANDING

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Abstract

Universities across the world are adopting intercultural and international understanding and knowledge as one of their goals for the education of their students. International and intercultural understanding has become critical to a country's cultural, technological, economic, and political wellbeing. It has become essential for universities to educate their students to possess a certain level of global competence to understand the world they live in and how they fit into this world which is characterized by close and multi-faceted relationships. Therefore, this article is about how students can be taught, through an online collaboration, to identify areas of misunderstanding and dysfunction in cross-cultural interactions and explain them in terms of each other's cultural systems.

Keywords: misunderstanding, cross/intercultural, global understanding, engagement, online collaboration.

1- Introduction: Intercultural Misunderstanding

Misunderstanding occurs in all communication, even between people from the same cultural and linguistic background. In an act of communication the sender has a message he or she intends to convey, and s/he structures in a way, that best translates what s/he is thinking. In spite of all the efforts put to be as clear as possible, many things can interfere to prevent the intended message from being received correctly. Among these things cultural misinterpretations might be very frequent, though not apparent for many.

We all wear cultural lenses that are the source of most cultural misunderstandings. Most of us are unconscious of how these perceptions shape our reality and how they make us project our view of the world onto others ignoring the fact that people of other cultures also wear cultural lenses that provide them with a perspective that is just as valid as ours. This applies to any intercultural encounter even academic online collaborations where students from different parts of the world come in touch for specific periods of time. The question that arises, then, is: what do learners actually learn from online intercultural contact and how can such learning scenarios be best structured and implemented to increase intercultural understanding? One answer might be intercultural engagement through online collaborations, and one example of these collaborations might be Global Understanding course.

2- Global Understanding Course

In 2005, Tlemcen University from Algeria started an online collaboration with East Carolina University from USA, through a project called Global Understanding. The Global Understanding Course provides an arrangement for students to learn about other cultures without traveling. Currently there are 62 institutions participating in the Global Understanding Course. The partner institutions are diverse, worldwide and communicate through live video conferencing and Chat technology.

In this project, the technology is used to create a virtual space where internet is used to allow partner countries from Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas to have a direct personal experience through real-time videoconferencing, chat, and emails, i.e., synchronous and asynchronous communication. The link is guaranteed by at least 256K IP regular Internet connectivity, a videoconferencing camera, one internet connected computer with projector, one computer for backchannel communications and coordination, and 8 student computers co-located to classroom for in-class, real-time partner chat.

One of the main objectives of this project is that multiple cultures provide culturally diverse, direct international experience, where in each session students develop partners and friends in 3 diverse cultures. They meet 14 to 16 weeks per semester, more than 4 weeks per culture, and twice a week for 50 minutes each time. The students, usually 16 in number from each side, are divided into two groups of 8.

The emphasis of the course is students' interactions. Each faculty is asked to give a 20-25 minute lecture on its own culture and the rest of the time is spent with students interacting with each other. All students are numbered from 1-16. At the very first class students are given an online pre-course survey and a post-survey in the end of the session. For each link students on each side are divided into two groups. Group A (1-8) from each country will engage in video group discussion, and Group B (9-16) will be in individual chats with their partners. They, eventually, swap places for the next link, with video for Group B and chat for Group A. The topics for each discussion day are: family, college and education, cultural traditions, meaning of life, stereotypes and prejudices. If there are more than 5 links, the two teachers can decide which topic to add.

For each discussion day we start with a discussion of the newspaper headlines of the partner country, i.e., 5-7 minutes to acquaint our students with what is going on in the other country. The newspaper headlines, as well as all other readings are posted on the web under our resource section. In the first link, the teacher will prepare big name tags for all students with each student's number and the name they want to go by, and will come in front of the camera, hold the name tag under their chin and give a brief introduction of themselves where they have to give each one's name, age, major and hobbies. At the end of the section there will be a local link day where the teacher helps the students synthesize what has been learned about that country. The two partner students have to write a joint paper, due the week after the link is over.

As already mentioned, the main objective of this project is to boost sensitivity and self-consciousness through knowledge about other cultures, people, and nations. Through understanding others' behaviors and ways of thinking, learners will understand feelings and needs of their interactants, i.e., develop empathy. Finally, they will develop self-confidence by knowing what they want, their strengths and weaknesses, emotional stability, and will be able to express their own point of view in a transparent way with the aim to be understood and respected by staying flexible and tolerant whenever possible. For this reason, students are constantly introduced to countries cultural profiling based on standard models as mentioned in the following paragraphs.

3- Cultural Profiling

In today's world of globalization, the world is certainly becoming smaller. People of various cultures and who have a set of beliefs that defines the code of conduct and values for their respective cultures are, nowadays, able to communicate freely. Though cultural differences distinguish societies from one another, they find different ways to express thoughts, ideas which can cross cultures through different forms of media like the television, the newspapers and the Internet. Many people believe that due to the advancement in science and technology, cultural differences tend to disappear through time.

However, in spite of all the good will in the world, miscommunication is likely to happen, especially when there are significant cultural differences between communicators. One important contributor, among many, to the cultural difference is the history of a particular region or country. The events of the past shape the moods and opinions of people living in that specific country and which are certainly different from another country, i.e., we make different meanings of the world, our places in it, and our relationships with others. This cultural difference may lead, in most cases, to miscommunication that may lead, on its turn, to conflict, or aggravate a conflict that already exists.

Unfortunately, most of the variables of cultural differences are much more complex than what we might think of them. Each of them influences the course of communications, and can be responsible for conflict or the escalation of conflict when it leads to miscommunication or misinterpretation. For this reason, several different theories and models of cultural differences have been designed. These models are included in the following table:

Model	Year	Dimensions
Hall	1990	Space, Material Goods, Friendship, Time, Agreement
Hofstede	1991	Power Distance, Individualism, Masculinity, Uncertainty Avoidance, Long-Term Orientation
Lessem and Neubauer	1994	Pragmatism, Rationalism, Idealism, Humanism
Lewis	1992	Time
Trompenaars	1993	Universalism, Collectivism, Emotional, Specific, Status, Sequential, Inner-Directed

Table 1: Models for Cultural Differences

The first model is Hall's (1990). He introduced five dimensions or variables: 1)space towards which different cultures have different attitudes, 2)material goods that are used for power and status, 3)friendship which is one form of interpersonal relationships and which varies considerably across cultures, 4)time which is structured, sequential and linear (linear time cultures take time and deadlines very seriously, in a very rationalist sense), and 5)agreement which is expressed, along with disagreement, differently by different cultures.

Hofstede (1991), too, identified five national culture dimensions as follows: 1)power distance that is the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally, 2)individualism vs. collectivism that indicates the relative closeness of the relationship between team members, 3)masculinity that identifies the sexuality of roles in society and the degree to which a society allows overlap between the roles of men and women, 4)uncertainty avoidance that is the extent to which

the members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations, and 5) long-term orientation that is based on values of Confucianism showing to what degree do people value the future versus the past or present.

The third model is that of Lessem and Neubauer (1994). They analyzed European management systems and categorized the impact of national culture under the following four inter-related criteria: 1) pragmatism that is a dominant influence in the conceptualizing of management principles and practice, 2) rationalism that is identified as a theory, which regards reason than sense as the foundation of certainty is knowledge, 3) idealism/wholism that is a complex unity or system made up of parts in combination, and 4) humanism that pertains to the social life or collective relations of mankind.

Lewis (1992), on the other hand, differentiates monochronic cultures from polychronic ones. By a monochronic time system, he means that things are done one at a time and time is segmented into precise, small units. Under this system time is scheduled, arranged and managed. By a polychronic time system, he means a system where several things can be done at once, and a more fluid approach is taken to scheduling time, i.e., a system that is flexible and unconstrained by concerns with time.

The last model is that of Trompenaars (1993). He developed 7 parameters that are as follows: 1) universalism vs. particularism where the universalist approach is to say that what is good and right applies everywhere, while the particularist emphasizes the obligations of relationships, 2) collectivism vs. individualism which are similar to Hofstede's (1991) model, 3) neutral vs. emotional where some cultures are affective in that they show emotions while others are neutral, 4) specific vs. diffuse where in specific oriented cultures the manager separates the work relationships with subordinates from other dealings with them, 5) status which is while some cultures give status on the basis of achievement, others ascribe it on the basis of age, class, gender, education, etc., 6) sequential vs. synchronic where in sequential cultures time is treated as a sequence of events while in synchronic cultures a number of events are juggled at the same time, and 7) inner-directed vs. outer-directed where in the inner-directed cultures believe that they can and should control nature while outer-directed cultures go along with nature.

To summarize the main cultural differences that are already mentioned in the models discussed above, or that have been discussed in other numerous theories, surveys, and investigations that focus on specific countries, regions, and organizations, we may group them in 5 variables:

- 1) *high context vs. low context* where in a low context culture things are fully spelled out and are made explicit, and there is considerable dependence on what is actually said or written, whereas in a high context culture communicators assume a great deal of commonality of knowledge and views, so that less is spelled out explicitly and much more is implicit or communicated in indirect ways.
- 2) *monochronic vs. polychronic* where monochronic cultures like to do just one thing at a time and value a certain orderliness and sense of there being an appropriate time and place for everything, whereas polychronic cultures like to do multiple things at the same time.
- 3) *future vs. present vs. past orientation* where future-oriented societies have a great deal of optimism about the future and think they understand it and can shape it through their actions, whereas past-oriented societies are concerned with traditional values and ways of doing things and tend to be conservative in management and slow to change those things that are tied to the past. Present-oriented societies, on the other hand, see the past as passed and the future as uncertain and prefer short-term benefits.
- 4) *power distance* where the extent to which people accept differences in power and allow this to shape many aspects of life like: is the boss always right because he is the boss, or only when he gets it right?
- 5) *individualism vs. collectivism* where in individualist cultures, a person is all the more admirable if he/she is a "self-made man/woman" or "makes up his/her own mind" or shows initiative or works well independently. In Collectivist cultures, on the other hand, people are expected to identify with and work well in groups which protect them in exchange for loyalty and compliance.

These 5 variables have been used in the Global Understanding course with the intention of increasing students' acceptance of cultural differences. Cultural differences-based profiling can help students develop respect for any and all fellow global citizens, regardless of race, religion or creed and give rise to a universal sympathy beyond the barriers of one's culture or nationality and these are the key tenets of intercultural education. Not only this but, students and by profiling themselves, learn to think about political, spiritual, moral, social and cultural issues, and by learning to analyze information and its sources, and learning to take part in discussions and debates with civility they develop skills of enquiry and communication which are the key tenets of global education. How much students learn from this stays a big challenge, though assessment is taken care of during all the phases of the course.

4- Evaluation and Assessment

Students are being watched for the duration of the link, both in video or chat connections. They are provided help in case of need, either at the level of language or content. This allows the teacher to have a kind of formative evaluation, which will help him/her rethink the course content and consider any needed update. Each group is supposed to be different from the other groups, and this means that they present different strengths and different weaknesses, that the teacher will not notice until they embark in their interactions.

Summative evaluation, on the other hand, is guaranteed by two most important assignments. At the very first class students are given an online pre-course survey and a post-course survey at the end of the session with questions such as: *how stressful do you think it would be to live for one month in a foreign country that you have never visited? Rate how stressed you would feel on a scale from 0 (not at all stressed) to 10 (extremely stressed)*. By comparing both surveys, students attitudes towards different cultures, can be measured. Also, by the end of each session each two partner students have to write a joint paper, due the week after the link is over. The joint paper cannot be written, unless the partner students exchange many emails asking each other and checking each other's assumptions about the selected topic.

5- Conclusion

With this unprecedented development in technology space and time have been reduced to a mouse click to travel around the world, and talk to people from the different corners of the globe. This incredible and fascinating experience does leave the interactants, though, with risks of closing this window as quickly as they opened it the first time. This might be due to the lack, in each one of us, of acceptance of differences. From here, a need to a cultural training has been considered by new educational systems so as to prepare students for future intercultural encounters.

Global Understanding course, as introduced before, is not only an example of a cultural training but also an engaged learning where all student activities involve active cognitive processes such as creating, problem-solving, reasoning, decision-making, and evaluation. In addition, students are intrinsically motivated to learn due to the meaningful nature of the learning environment and activities. This cultural engagement is believed to help them increase their understanding and acceptance of their partners' differences and put aside their cultural lenses and all the negative judgments that come with, when they are in an act of cross/intercultural communication.

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CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF SAINT JEROME'S EPISTLES CONCERNING ANTIOCH, SYRIA AND CONSTANTINOPLE

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Abstract

Saint Jerome (c. 345-420) is best known among us for having translated the Bible into Latin from Hebrew, known as the Vulgate. This was his greatest work, his mission of life, which was carried out between 390 and 405, initiated by a request of Pope Damasus, who, like Jerome, considered the old Latin translations uncharacteristic and often inaccurate. The need for a new translation — based on *Hebraica veritas* — into Latin was justified by him in the Prefaces to the Gospels, in addition justified in several biblical commentaries (*Commentarii*), including numerous epistles, since he wrote a lot and in a much varied way, during more than 40 years. Our saint participated in crucial moments in the life of the Roman Empire, such as its dismemberment in West and East, as well as the siege of Rome and its invasion by Alaric in 410. At least in the first part of his long life Saint Jerome lived in large cities, often distant from one another, which makes him a notable traveler. We can naturally link these trips and his stays in the places of destination with various stages of his life and work.

Although we know that it is not the geographic place that projects the work of a genius, our aim is to remember, to emphasize and to analyze the connection of Antioch and Constantinople in his literary production, although this production has been consolidated in his later productions. Specifically, it is known that in these locals Saint Jerome began his Hebrew studies and deepened his Greek studies. Many subjects and experiences of Saint Jerome's life and work are related to Antioch and Constantinople: the practice of penance and protracted prayer, the ascetic life, the quiet and serious studies, as well as the access to libraries and the contact with wise people such as Evagrius, Apollinaris and Nazianzus, will lead him to his main work, the translation of the Bible (as well as its exegesis) and his work as a translator. We will consider these matters, while they are connected with his stays in these cities, based on the *Epistolae* I, II, III, IV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII (A + B), XXII and CXXV.

Keywords: Saint Jerome; Asceticism; Biblical exegesis; Late Antiquity; Latin language and culture; Translation studies.

1. Introduction

Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus was born at Stridon, a village of Dalmatia (present-day Slovenia), around 345 and 347 A.D. and died in 419 or 420 A.D. In his work *De Viris Illustribus* (c. 393), whose title was taken from Suetonius, Saint Jerome wrote brief biographies of famous Christian men and women—with the exception of the non-Christians Seneca, Flavius Josephus and Philo—and dedicated its last chapter (actually, note 135) to himself and his own bibliographical production to that moment. Here is an excerpt from his own description: *Hieronymus, patre Eusebio natus, oppido Stridonis, quod, a Gothis eversum, Dalmatiae quondam Pannoniaeque confinium fuit* "Jerome, son of Eusebius, from the city of Stridon, which had been destroyed by the Goths, and was then on the border of Dalmatia and Pannonia." (Hier. Vir. III. 135). In one of his letters, he says that his country, given the national rusticity, was located in the "womb of God" (*Ep. 7§5 In mea enim patria rusticitatis uernacula deus uenter est* (Labourt, 2002, p. 24)).

As it is recorded on the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* (Cain, 2006, p.500), on September 20th, 1295, Pope Boniface VIII conferred on St. Jerome the title of Doctor of the Church, alongside St. Gregory the Great, St. Ambrose and Saint Augustine.

During the Renaissance, St. Jerome was portrayed by various artists, such as Albrecht Dürer, Leonardo da Vinci, Bernardino Luini, Domenico Ghirlandaio, and others. The paintings of that time, the saint can be seen represented in two different ways: in one of these interpretations he appears as a scholar, a learned lover of books, sometimes as a cardinal (a post he never occupied in the Church) as well, working in a harmonious environment, accompanied by a meek lion, wearing beautiful clothes and expressing serenity, balance, concentration, peace and happiness. In the other representations, St. Jerome is a tormented, unbalanced and suffering person, expressing in his face sadness and bitterness. He wears rags, beats his chest with a stone, his appearance slim and horrible, like a sinner and unworthy of happiness, like someone who needs to punish himself to be elevated to God. As a result of his self-flagellation and the prolonged fasts, St. Jerome was constantly sick (Letter 3§1).

Indeed, what can be seen represented in the pictorial art reflects St. Jerome's life trajectory and extensive legacy

to humanity. One can say that St. Jerome was a man of contradictions: his intellectual side embodied prosperity, wealth, self-esteem and a firm position on the circumstances in which he lived, which demanded from him solid opinions in the representation of his interests and ideas. His intellectual side also reveals other personality traits that are not virtuous or positive to a Christian: he was a spiteful, biting critic, violent and unfair to his enemies (including former friends, such as Rufino). However, a Saint Jerome who thinks himself as inferior, weak and undecided—a victim of a state of mind of one who thinks himself far from Christ and of perfection—also existed. In these antagonistic ways of life, the ascetic, penitent and monastic way of life emphasizes and exalts poverty, humility and chastity. On the other hand, the intellectual work must show authority and security, especially when it comes to translate the Bible and its exegesis. This conflict was very well expressed by Williams (2006, pp. 1-5) and for whom St. Jerome not only had the audacity to fuse the erudite and monk identities but also came to represent intellectual activity at its highest level, as a form of askesis—that is, of spiritual training—which appropriately matches a cenobite or ascetic's way of life. St. Jerome, as an adept or seeker of such ascetic philosophy, sought to achieve excellence and spiritual harmony through the denial of all the pleasures of the flesh or of this world in general. That is why we see him criticizing in several of his letters the *modus vivendi* of several people and spared not even the priests and monks—who should serve as examples, but who excessively ate and drank, and behave in a morally inadequate way (cf. *Ep. 17*, which will be quoted below). Be that as it may, duality is innate to the human being, and even if some would want to demean St. Jerome's figure by judging him by its exaggerations, nothing can annihilate its importance, for "he is one of the cornerstones of our civilization", as said Larbaud (1946, p. 51).

The emergence of the cult of St. Jerome originated during the Renaissance, including its iconography (Rice, 1985). Below, we show an example of each pictorial representation style that relates to our Saint's two states of mind.

We purposely chose paintings by other artists, avoiding Dürer, who is the most cited:

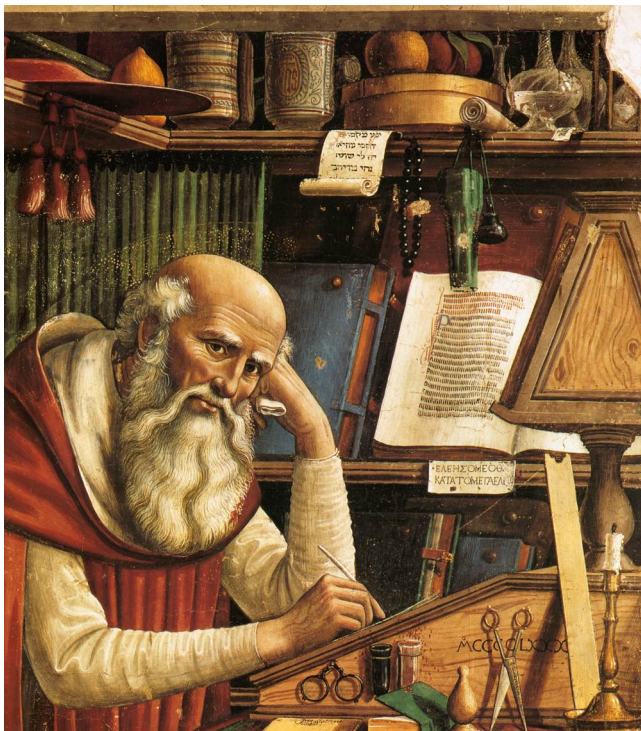


Figure 1: Saint Jerome by Domenico Ghirlandaio (1480).



Figure 2: Saint Jerome by Leonardo da Vinci (c. 1480).

St. Jerome's work can be studied in various aspects, given the variety and depth of his writings—whose subjects revolve around theological themes such as biblical exegesis, Gospel translation, commentaries on biblical characters, hagiographies, and themes of moral content and historical-cultural analysis of his time, especially in his letters. Indeed, many scholars regard St. Jerome's letters as his most important work, even standing out from other classical writers. Such is Cain's view (2009, p. 4), a specialist in St. Jerome's epistolography:

"Indeed, in the ancient Latin prose epistolographic tradition—broadly construed to include not only Christian letters-writers (e.g., Ambrose, Augustine, Paulinus, Sidonius) but also their non-Christian counterparts (e.g., Cicero, Seneca, Pliny, Symmachus)—St. Jerome is a luminary among luminaries."

We will try to show, by the very testimony of Saint Jerome, the experiences he lived during his stay in the East, including Antioch, the desert of Chalcis and Constantinople. What he lived in this early period of his career will lay the foundations for his future work, among them the most notable: the Bible translation, the *Vulgata*, and its exegesis.

Without a doubt, of all his literary production, built between 370 A.D. and 419 A.D., the most personal part is contained in his letters. St. Jerome says that the primary purpose of any correspondence is to stay present through the letter, to speak to those you love and to hear them. In the *Epistula ad Niceam (ad Nic. 8,1)*, he takes up Turpilii's statement, a comedian writer who claimed that correspondence provided the absent ones present: *Turpilii comicus tratans de uicissitudine litterarum: 'sola', inquit, 'res est, quae homines absentes praesentes faciat'*". Nevertheless, the letters' subjects surpass this fundamental purpose emphasized by Jerome, since they cover several subjects. Moreover, they do not aesthetically attach to the epistolary genre, since some letters can be considered as true treatises (ARNS, 1953, pp. 100-1). St. Jerome himself named a series of letters as *libri* ("books"), others as *libelli* ("little books"). Two of those which are considered *libri*—22 and 125—we will see in detail in this paper.

Generally speaking, the epistles address Church dogmas, biblical exegesis, spirituality, morality, funeral eulogies, and family matters. As for the recipients of the letters, there are many of them: Pope Damasus, Theophilus of Alexandria, St. Augustine (Augustine of Hippo), Senator Pammachius (the first Christian senator), some priests and monks (*Innocentius, Teodosius, Rufinus, Niceas*, among others) and ladies of the Roman aristocracy (*Eustochium*,

Paula, Marcella, among others). Most of his friends were in fact aristocratic women, who asked him for advice on how to lead a Christian life, as well as clarifications on Christianity and on the interpretation of the Bible.

Labourt (2002, p. XXXIV)—translator and commentator of the French edition by Les Belles Lettres—states that it was Roger Bacon, English Franciscan monk from the late 13th century, which made the word *Vulgata* prevail to designate the official version of the Bible. But it was only in the mid-16th century that the Council of Trent declared St. Jerome's *Vulgata* as the only authentic version of the Bible. In his time, the *Vulgata Editio* meant the Greek version of the Seventy (the *Septuaginta*), that is, the bible issue addressed to the people (*vulgus*), as opposed to the erudite version of Origen, the Hexapla.

During his stay in Antioch and Constantinople, St. Jerome dealt with the Aryan controversy, involving a theological debate on the Holy Trinity. Those who were called Aryans denied the divinity of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit. In two of the letters addressed in this paper—letters 15 and 16—to Pope Damasus, Jerome refers to this Eastern schism and complains about the polarization that took place in Antioch, which is found represented by four bishops: *Eusebius, Meletius, Paulinus* and *Vitalis* (*Ep.* 15§3). We will see some of these letters that were never answered by Pope Damasus.

There are also other works written by St. Jerome in his stay in the East: *Vita Sancti Pauli Monachi*, written in the desert of Chalchis in 376; *Liber contra Luciferianos*, written in Antioch in 379 A.D.; and his vast work of translation, *Chronicon* (*The Chronicle*), by Eusebius of Caesarea, held between 379 A.D. and 381 A.D. in Constantinople or Antioch. As for this last work, it is known that it was used as a history book throughout the Middle Ages (Maraval, 1998, p. 31-33). However, it will not be possible to account, in this paper, all the works written by St. Jerome in the East. This includes the letters he wrote there, therefore we selected only some of them.

2. Brief history of Jerome's trip to the East

After having finished his studies in Rome, Jerome goes to Gaul in order to broaden his knowledge and meet different people and cultures. At that time—that is, in the second half of the 4th century—*Trevorun* (Trier) and *Tolosana* (Toulouse) were the cities that offered the best cultural possibilities. There were numerous and rich libraries awaiting the arrival of readers and copyists. According to Moreno (1986, p. 25) in Toulouse there were thirty Academies of Grammar in operation. It was possible to find someone to exchange ideas everywhere, such was the number of students and teachers on site. Nevertheless, the city of Trier was the one that offered greater possibilities, that went beyond the cultural ones, because it was the usual emperor Valentinian's seat. Those who wanted to make a fortune went there. That was the city that St. Jerome chose, one of his greatest motivations being the fact that in this city the monastic life was encouraged by Anastasius, the bishop of Alexandria, who lived there while lasted the exile imposed on him by Constantine. Scholars and hagiographers (cf. bibliography) agree it was in Trier that St. Jerome decided by his monastic life. He was greatly influenced by the writings of St. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, who died in 366 A.D., whom St. Jerome had access to in Trier, even working as a copyist with some of the works of this bishop, as he himself reveals in a brief letter to his friend Florentine, written between 375 A.D. and 377 A.D. (*Epistula V, 2, Ad Florentinum*). In 370 A.D., accompanied by *Bonosius*, Jerome returned to Stridon, but remained shortly in his motherland. After living happily with his friends *Rufinus, Eusebius*, and *Chromius*, Jerome left Aquileia and set out to the East, in search of his obsessive idea of devoting himself to in-depth studies and to a more intense spiritual life. St. Jerome departs for the East following an inner call. According to F. Cavallera (1922), St. Jerome would have left to the East in 374 A.D. Pierre Maraval (1982) and Andrew Cain (2009), among other scholars, present evidence that his letters are written between 372 A.D. and 374 A.D.

Back to the reasons why Jerome travelled to the East, specifically to Antioch, there was the fact that the city had the conditions for creative leisure. It did not matter to Jerome that this city was the most important of the East and the seat of the governor, but rather that its population was composed of Syrians, Greeks, and Jews, which would help him improve and perfect his knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages. There was yet another important reason from the religious aspect: in Antioch, the apostles Peter, Barnabas, and Paul had preached. It was the place where the faithful to the Gospel had been called "Christians" for the first time. In fact, in his first stay at Antioch, Jerome seems to have abstained himself for a considerable time from the study of the classics and to have plunged deeply into that of the Bible, under the impulse of Apollinaris of Laodicea, then teacher in Antioch and not yet suspected of heresy, as it will occur.

Upon his arrival, Jerome was received by his friend Evagrius, an important personage, an intimate friend of the emperor Valentinian—from whom, a few years ago, he could receive aid in favor of Pope Damasus, whose election in 366 had provoked bloody agitations in Rome. In this opulent character's house, Jerome was very well treated and was able to enjoy a wonderful library. In his house, Jerome wrote the first text of his career, at the request of Father Innocent, *Epistola I*. It was also during this time, when Jerome stayed at Evagrius' house, that he wrote his first biblical commentary—which never reached us—choosing the shortest book from the Old Testament, that of the prophet Abdias: "First Commentary on Obadiah" (*Commentariorum in Abdiam Prophetam Liber Unus*). We know of its existence by Jerome himself, who, later in Bethlehem, while performing the exegesis of the minor prophets, mentioned that he wrote an exegetical abortion (Moreno, 1986, p.30). St. Jerome lived ups and downs during this stay in Antioch. On the one hand, it was a very profitable period, as he was able to take advantage of Evagrius' huge library, reading eagerly and beginning his studies of the Greek language. He rejoiced at the visit of Heliodorus and the news he had brought him from Rufinus, a mutual friend who was then passing through Egypt visiting monks, on his way to Jerusalem to realize his monastic inclination. He received, from a traveler from Aquileia, the news that his friend Bonosus was already living as a monk on an island. These news are referred to in the letters 3 and 4. His concerns are, on the other hand, his lack of courage to live as an ascetic in the desert (*Ep. 2*), his sense of inferiority over his friends Bonosio and Rufino (who were already living as monks), as well as the sadness suffered by the death of their close companions, Ibas and Innocent (*Ep. 3*). After St. Jerome had written said letter to Rufinus, he finally put into practice his purpose of living as a monk—expressed in letter 2 to his friend Theodosius and to the other anchorites of Cilicia. In letter 15, we know where Jerome will establish his residence: on the eastern border of Syria, south of Aleppo and south-west of Antioch, very close to the town of Chalcis. Before going into the desert, however, Jerome went to visit Maronia, a place east of Antioch, where his friend Evagrius had some properties. In that location, Jerome wrote the letters from 5 to 17, of which letters 15, 16 and 17 will be discussed here in more detail. In this tiny place, he had the opportunity to meet an old monk named Malco, whom he had heard about in his youth. Jerome did a sort of interview with this monk, asking him to describe what life in the desert was like. Later, in 390 A.D., Jerome will write a work that we may consider literary, a kind of novel about the stories he heard from this monk, under the title *Vita Malchi captivi monachi* ("Life of Malco, the Captive Monk").

After his returning to Antioch in 378 or 379, he was ordained priest by Paulinus, without ever exerting priesthood. He was consequently in better conditions to continue his studies and writings. It seems that he began the *Chronicon* translation in Antiochia, the great capital of the Eastern Diocese, and soon afterwards he went to Constantinople to pursue this writing. In this stay at Constantinople, where it seems he spent two years, he also wrote the letter 18 (A+B), to which we will address here in detail. He had also the opportunity to listen to the lessons of Gregory of Nazianzen, whose influence was very important for his works on biblical exegesis, including letter 18. When he left Constantinople, he went to Rome with the bishop Paulinus, in order to get more support for him for the synod of 382, held to end the schism of Antioch. But Jerome took a prominent place being the secretary of Pope Damasus I and the leading Roman Christians.

According to Cain (2009), the epistles of St. Jerome can be classified into two general categories: either they belong to the literary-philological type or the historical-biographical type. To the first category belong those letters that can be studied for their aesthetic properties, such as style, rhythm, tropes, as well as their epistolical traits and its intertextuality with the Bible and classical literature. In the second category are those of historical and biographical content, which reveal the religious and socio-cultural environment of Late Antiquity, as well as teaching about Western History. That is why historians use these letters as well as theologians and biographers of St. Jerome. Based on this double classification, which is quite general, the framing of letter types becomes somewhat imprecise, since their analysis possibilities fit practically into those of the general types. Cain, however, proposed a new *epistolographic* classification, with which we agree since it is very specific and sorts the letters according to the main goal sought by St. Jerome. Cain (2009, p 207-219), formulated "a new taxonomy" of Jerome's letters, with both English and Greek names, largely based on the ancient Greek theory about the epistolary genre: pseudo-Libanius (300-500 A.D.) and pseudo-Demetrius (100 B.C.-200 A.D.). Thus he proposes the following letter types: "apologetic" (ἀπολογητικός), "consulting" (ἀναθετικός), "recommending" (συστατικός), "consolatory" (παραμυθετικός), "reporting" (ἀπαγγελτικός), "congratulatory" (σιγχαρετικός), "suppliant" (αξιωματικός), "reproaching" (ὀνειδιστικός), "censuring" (ἐπιτιμητικός), "exhorting" (παραινετικός), "thankful" (εὐχαριστικός), "conciliatory" (θεραπευτικός), "mocking" (σκωπτικός), "praising" (ἐπαινετικός), "accounting" (αἰτιολογικός), "threatening" (ἀπειλητικός), "exegetical" (ἐξηγητικός).

The letters that we choose to take into account in this paper, whose motivation is expressed in the title, are *Epistolae I, II, III, IV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XXII* and *CXXV*. The only one not written in the East is letter *CXXV*, but in it St. Jerome describes his experiences in the desert. According to Cain's classification, these cards are classified as

follows: Letters 2 and 15 are "consulting", 3 is "reporting", 4 is "supplicatory", 16 is "reproaching", 17 is "apologetic", 18 "exegetical", 22 and 125 are "exhorting".

We will further see what are the letters' characteristics that allow them to be classified as such. All Latin quotations from Saint Jerome's letters come from the Les Belles Lettres editions, with the text established by Jérôme Labourt, while the translations into English were taken from Philip Schaff (except for letters 18A+B, which was made by us). Both books are listed in the bibliography.

3. Letters to be analyzed: I-IV, XV-XVII, XVIII, XXII, CXXV

In *De Viris Illustribus*, work from 393 A.D., St. Jerome dedicated the last chapter to himself and wrote more about himself than about any other personality there biographed. He listed in this personal chapter the works he had written so far. He listed seven letters by title (*Ad Heliodorum Exhortatoria* (Ep. 14), *De Seraphim* (Ep. 18A+B), *De Osanna* (Ep. 20), *De frugi et luxurioso filiis* (Ep. 21), *De tribus quaestiunculis legis veteris* (Ep. 36), *Ad Eustochium de virginitate servanda* (Ep. 22), *Consolatorium de morte filiae ad Paulam* (Ep. 39)), and still referred to two collections of letters: *Epistolarum ad diversos liber* and *Ad Marcellam epistolarum liber*. The first collection, addressed to several people, still raises controversies to this day about which letters would be part of this compilation. It is only known with certainty that the first letters of St. Jerome were written before 382, when he returned to Rome.

We have 123 letters that St. Jerome wrote between 374 and 419, although it is likely that he has written a larger amount. Some authors claim that there is a genuine letter from St. Jerome, surviving only in a Georgian translation (Cain, 2009, p. 207). Modern issues usually publish 154 letters as being from St. Jerome. However, they include the correspondence of some of his friends, such as those from Pope Damasus and St. Augustine.

As to the chronology of the letters, it is common sense that letter 1 is from the year 370 A.D. (and which, as we have seen, does not constitute the *Liber* and wasn't even quoted by Jerome in *De Viris Illustribus*), letters 2, 3 and 4 written in Antioch between 372 and 374 A.D., letters 5 to 17 written in Maronia between 375 and 377 A.D., and letters 18 (A+B), 22 and 125, respectively, in Constantinople (380 A.D.), Rome (384 A.D.) and Bethlehem (411 A.D.). Cain (2009, p. 15) delved into the research on the dating of the epistles and, having studied all the medieval manuscripts of St. Jerome's letters, he argues that *Epistula* I is not part of the first collection of letters, as well as letter 14. We cannot go into the details of his research, but the arguments he puts forward lead us to think that these two letters are not actually part of the *Liber*. According to Cain's research, *Liber* was constituted by epistles 2 to 13 and 15 to 17. Among these, epistles 2 to 4 and 15 to 17 integrate our study.

Letter 1 is considered his earliest writing, from around 370 A.D. It was addressed to Innocent (*Ad Innocentium*), a priest friend of his, very enthusiastic about asceticism. It is a work of rhetoric in which St. Jerome tells a miracle that had occurred not long ago in the city of Vercelle. A woman falsely accused of adultery by her husband is taken to trial along with her alleged accomplice. He, yielding to torture, pleads guilty, but is nevertheless executed. As for the woman, she keeps denying adultery and expresses her devotion to Jesus, saying that she refuses to lie, that she may die, but that she will not die as an adulteress, but as a Christian who believes in the afterlife. In short, the woman continued to be tortured. Having the torturers considered her dead, they abandoned her in a corner and so she got back to life. However, imperial justice still demanded her death, but Father Evagrius, a mutual friend of Innocent and Jerome, intervened and managed to spare her. Moreno (1986, p. 27) states that the letter 1 intended to compare the injustices suffered by women to the injustices that the Church was suffering. We, on the other hand, agree with Maraval's interpretation (1982, p. 17) which supposes that it is only a compliment to his friend Evagrio, who is welcoming him. Wright (1933), translator of the *Selected Letters of St. Jerome*, evaluates letter 1 as evidence that St. Jerome believed in miracles.

Jerome's first letters show his deepest anguish. Cain (2009) argues that these first letters are not naive or insignificant, as one might believe, just because they have never been given proper attention by specialists. According to him, Jerome self-promotes himself as an ascetic monk in these letters, humble, virtuous and full of wisdom, ready to be received by the patronage of high ladies of Roman society—which will happen when he returns to Rome in 382 A.D. from Constantinople. Pliny, the Young, also promoted himself, in the same way as Jerome, in the first decade of the second century. Pliny wrote several letters composing a corpus that, no doubt, he thought of leaving for posterity. After his death, Suetonius published his 247 letters in 10 books, which included the letters Pliny exchanged with the emperor Trajan and all the others that showed his various faces, from friend, husband, boss, statesman, etc. (Leach, 1990). Later, Saint Ambrose, between 395 and 397, will also follow in the footsteps of Pliny and, through his letters, will show all the influence that he received from friends, leaders of the Church and emperors to reinforce his political and religious authority and thus to promote himself.

Let us begin with the letter 3, 3rd paragraph, where Jerome describes the itinerary of his journey, stating that he found it after uncertain and errant pilgrimages (Labourt, 2002, p. 12).

Ep. 3§3: Tandem in incerto peregrinationis erranti, cum me Thracia, Pontus atque Bithynia totumque Galitiae uel Cappadociae iter et feruido Cilicum terra fregisset aestu, Syria mihi uelut fidissimus naufrago portus occurrit.

Ep. 3§3: "I wandered about, uncertain where to go. Thrace, Pontus, Bithynia, the whole of Galatia and Cappadocia, Cilicia also with its burning heat, one after another shattered my energies. At last Syria presented itself to me as a most secure harbor to a shipwrecked man".

In the letter 2 (*Ad Theodosium*), he confesses that he desires the ascetic life, but feels unable to attain it. He then asks Theodosius and his monks to obtain from God the blessing which will instill in him the certainty of renouncing the mundane things in order to live in the desert:

Ep. 2§2: Et quia paululum non tam desiui a uitiiis quam coepi uelle desinere, nunc me nouis diabolus retibus ligat, nunc noua impedimenta proponens maria undique circumdat et undique pontum, nunc in medio constitutus elemento nec regredi uolo nec progredi possum. Superest ut oratu uestro sancti Spiritus aura me prouerat et ad portum optati litoris prosequatur.

Ep. 2§2: "And because it is only a little while since I have begun not so much to abandon my vices as to desire to abandon them, the devil now ensnares me in new toils, he puts new stumbling-blocks in my path, he encompasses me on every side. The seas around, and all around the main. I find myself in mid-ocean, unwilling to retreat and unable to advance. It only remains that your prayers should win for me the gale of the Holy Spirit to waft me to the haven upon the desired shore".

In addition to the historical, cultural and religious study of St. Jerome's letters, we can also study them from a rhetorical point of view. St. Jerome skillfully used the resources of rhetoric to make his text beautiful, convincing, and persuasive. For this reason, he used metaphors and comparisons, merging Bible events and passages from works of classical literature with his own narrative (Virgil and Horace are often cited) in order to give more weight and depth to his statements and views (Lausberg, H., 1967). Cain (2009, p. 2) states that St. Jerome "championed an extreme form of ascetic Christianity embraced by a tiny minority, and even his partisans were put off at times by his theological and rhetorical".

As an example, see the following excerpt from letter 2, in which Jerome introduces himself as a sinner and compares himself to the good shepherd, the lost sheep, and the prodigal son, famous parables of the New Testament:

Ep.2§2: Ego ita sum quasi a cuncto grege morbida aberrans ouis. Quod nisi me bonus pastor ad sua stabula umeris inpositum reportarit, labarunt gressus et in ipso conamine uestigia concident adsurgentis. Ego sum ille prodigus filius qui omni quam mihi pater crediderat portione profusa, necdum me ad genitoris genua submisi, necdum coepi prioris a me luxuriae blandimenta depellere.

Ep.2§2: "For my part, I am like a sick sheep astray from the flock. Unless the good Shepherd shall place me on his shoulders and carry me back to the fold, my steps will totter, and in the very effort of rising I shall find my feet give way. I am the prodigal son who although I have squandered all the portion entrusted to me by my father, have not yet bowed the knee in submission to him; not yet have I commenced to put away from me the allurements of my former excesses".

The letter 2 opens with enthusiasm, as Jerome expresses his deepest desire to be part of the community of Cenobites led by Theodosius, to whom the letter is dedicated:

Ep. 2§1: Quam, quam vellem nunc uest interest conuentui et admirandum consortium, licet isti oculi non mereantur aspicere tota cum exultatione complecti!

Ep. 2§1: "How I am long to be a member of your company, and with uplifting of all my powers to embrace your admirable community! Though, indeed, these poor eyes are not worthy to look upon."

Jerome paints a picture of himself as a humble being who will contemplate the desert as an ascetic, as a true follower of Christ, for the desert is metaphorically a city more lovely than any other.

Ep. 2§1: Spectarem desertum, omni amoeniorem ciuitem.

Ep. 2§1: "Oh! that I could behold the desert, lovelier to me than any city!"

This environment will be able to transform him, for it is populated with saints (initially Christians were called saints), and the desert is a true paradise on earth:

Ep. 2§1: [...] uiderem desolata ab accolis loca quasi ad quoddam paradisi instar sanctorum coetibus obsideri

Ep. 2§1: "Oh! That I could see those lonely spots made into a paradise by the saints that throng them!"

In the following passage (*Ep.2§2*), Jerome uses other metaphors, reminiscences of Virgil, when he says that he is surrounded by seas, that he can neither advance nor retreat (*Aeneid*, V, 9). Thus, with the help of his friends' prayers, he has the courage to move on and achieve his goals:

Ep. 2§2: Superest ut oratu uestro sancti Spiritus aura prouehat et adumum optati litoris prosequatur.

The letter 15, as well as letter 2, is of the consulting type. Cain (2009, p. 210), based on Malherbe (1988), both pseudo-Libanius, define a letter of the "consulting" type as "in which we communicate our own opinion to one of our friends and request his advice on the matter". In *Ep. 2*, to Theodosius, Jerome asks this ascetic monk that he intervene with God, with prayers, so that Jerome may have the courage to face the desert and thus realize his mystic-religious ideal. In letter 15, addressed to Pope Damasus, who nevertheless never answered Jerome, our saint questions the Pope about whom he should associate with at Antioch, referring to the schism of the East, a subject which is also part of letter 17. Let us take look at paragraphs 1 and 5 of the letter 15:

Ep. 15§1: Quoniam uestuto oriens inter se populorum furore conlisis indiscissam Domini tunicam et desuper textam minutatim per frustra discerpit et Christi uineam exterminant uulpes ut, inter lacus contritos qui aquam non habent, difficile ubi fons signatus et hortus ille conclusus sit possit intellegi, ideo mihi cathedram Petri et fidem apostolico ore laudatam censui consulendam, inde nunc meae animae postulans cibum unde olim Christi uestimenta suscepi.

Ep. 15§1: "Since the East, shattered as it is by the long-standing feuds, subsisting between its peoples, is bit by bit tearing into shreds the seamless vest of the Lord, "woven from the top throughout," since the foxes are destroying the vineyard of Christ, and since among the broken cisterns that hold no water it is hard to discover "the sealed fountain" and "the garden inclosed," I think it my duty to consult the chair of Peter, and to turn to a church whose faith has been praised by Paul. I appeal for spiritual food to the church whence I have received the garb of Christ".

Ep. 15§5: Quam ob rem obtestor beatitudinem tuam per crucifixum, mundi salutem, per homousiam trinitatem, ut mihi epistulis tuis siue tacendarum siue dicendarum hypostaseon detur auctoritas. Et ne forte obscuritas in quo dego loci fallat baiulos litterarum, ad Euagrium presbyterum quem optime nosti dignare scripta transmittere. Simul etiam cui apud Antiochiam debeam communicare significes, quia Campenses, cum Tarsensibus hereticis copulantur, nihil aliud ambiunt quam ut auctoritate communionis uestrae fulti tres hypostases cum antiquo sensu praedicent.

Ep. 15§5: "I implore your blessedness, therefore, by the crucified Saviour of the world, and by the consubstantial trinity, to authorize me by letter either to use or to refuse this formula of three hypostases. And lest the obscurity of my present abode may baffle the bearers of your letter, I pray you to address it to Evagrius, the presbyter, with whom you are well acquainted. I beg you also to signify with whom I am to communicate at Antioch. Not, I hope, with the Campenses; for they—with their allies the heretics of Tarsus—only desire communion with you to preach with greater authority their traditional doctrine of three hypostases".

The Christian spirituality of the desert began with Anastasis, the first hermit of Egypt, around 355 A.D., which became an example of ascetic life. One of the foundations of the monastic ideal is the abandonment of pride, because it allows the connection with the ideals of Christ, and humility is the basis of everything. Jerome expresses this ascetic ideal that is part of the value system of the fourth century Christendom, both in a rhetorical and practical way, exemplifying what it does to itself to live as a perfect ascetic monk. He considers himself a

sinner and employs corporal punishment, practices contempt to his appearance, and so on. The symbols of penance and monastic idealism are expressed in several letters from this period in which he lived in the East, among which *Ep. 17* stands out:

Ep. 17: *Pudet dicere: de cauernis cellularum damnamus orbem, si in sacco et cinere uolutati de episcopis sententiam ferimus. Quid facit sub tunica paenitentis regius animus? Catena, sordes et comae non sunt diadematis signa, sed fletus.*

Ep. 17: "I blush to say it, but from the caves which serve us for cells we monks of the desert condemn the world. Rolling in sack-cloth and ashes, we pass sentence on bishops. What use is the robe of a penitent if it covers the pride of a king? Chains, squalor, and long hair are by right tokens of sorrow, and not ensigns of royalty".

In letter 3, 3rd paragraph, he humbly says that, as if all the suffering caused by the illnesses he contracted was not sufficient (including eye diseases, which will little by little jeopardize his vision and prevent him from writing, as referred to in the letters 18 and 21), he lost his friend Innocent, part of his own soul, now only Evagrius remaining alive:

Ep. 3, 3: Ubi ego quicquid morborum esse poterat expertus (...) Inocentium enim, partem animae meae, repentinus febrim ardor abstraxit. Nunc uno et toto mihi lumine Euagrio nostro fruor, cui ego semper infirmus quidam ad laborem cumulus accessi.

"Here, after undergoing every possible kind of sickness (...) for Innocent, the half of my soul, was taken away from me by a sudden attack of fever. The one eye which I now enjoy, and which is all in all to me, is our Evagrius, upon whom I with my constant infirmities have come as an additional burden".

Letter 4 is addressed to Florentine, a wealthy Christian who lived in Jerusalem and was always in touch with Rufinus. Jerome asks him to send letter 3 to Rufinus, who is traveling to Egypt and, with great humility, implores him not to consider him as having the same virtues as Rufinus.

Ep. 4: *In illo conspicies expressa sanctitatis insignia; ego cinis et uilissimi pars luti et iam fauilla, dum uegetor, satis habeo si splendorem morem eius inbecillitas oculorum meorum ferre sustineat.*

"You must not, however, judge of me by the virtues that you find in him. For in him you will see the clearest tokens of holiness, whilst I am but dust and vile dirt, and even now, while still living, nothing but ashes. It is enough for me if my weak eyes can bear the brightness of his excellence".

According to Malherbe (1986, p. 71) and Cain (2009, p. 209) the letters characterized as "reporting" simply seek to give news. Normally they refer themselves to friends in common to the letter's author and addressee. This is what we saw in letter 3: Jerome receives news of Rufino from a friend in common to both of them, and at the same time he gives him news about Bonósio, also friends in common. On the other hand, the 4th letter, according to Malherbe (1986, p.69) and Cain (2009, 213), is of the "supplicatory" type, which, as its name says, is a letter of appeal. In fact, it is a letter requesting a favor. Both letters share the same picture that St. Jerome makes of himself: a man full of defects, insignificant, extremely humble. These are the essential virtues required by the system of values of the ascetic communities of the eastern desert.

After this first period in Antioch, Jerome stays in Maronia, near the desert around Calcis from 375 to 377. He intends to contact in first hand the hard life of the desert came to fruition and renders his eremitic experience in several letters. In this desolate wasteland he suffers geographic displacement but also cultural and linguistic displacement as no Latin was spoken there. Desert in fact represents a frightening concept for people used to live in urban places. Paulus Orosius, the fourth century monastic historian from Braga (north of Portugal), for instance, tells as that "its sterile topsoil, its serpents, made it uninhabitable for all but the monks who were brave enough to colonize it" (Cain, 2009, p. 23). And even Jerome, years later when he was in Rome and reflects about his desert experience, said that he was the companion of scorpions and wild beasts (*scorpionum socius et ferarum*, Ep. 22,7). As Andrew Cain states, he made these calculated statements "to convey the impression that he [...] was blessed with a special grace, courtesy of his having regained paradise lost, that enabled him to live peacefully among the desert's feral menagerie" (Cain, 2009, p. 24).

From his eremitic experience, Jerome left us thirteen letters (Ep. 5-17). According to Cain (2006, p. 502), chronological analysis of St. Jerome's work shows that his first sixteen letters (Epp. 2-17) have been studied to this day by literati and specialists as primary sources for the understanding of the first stage of the monastic and literary career of our saint. Their study was also carried out for they revealed Jerome's state of mind as a young man. However, Cain notes that eight of these letters (Epp. 6-9, 11-13, 16) share Jerome's sense of abandonment and frustration with his friends who did not respond to his letters or did not respond quite briefly. Therefore, these letters gave rise to books that analyzed psychologically St. Jerome's behavior, as in the work of Kelly (1975). According to Cain, however, these eight letters to which we refer have in common the purpose of censoring and disapproving the behavior of their friends—leaving aside the particularities of each one, all being able to be classified, according to pseudo-Libanius (c. IV-VI centuries A.D.), as belonging to the "reproaching" genre (Cain, 2006, p.504). We quote the essential feature of this genre of letters, based on pseudo-Libanius, from Cain (2009, p. 213):

"You have received many favors from us, and I am exceedingly amazed that you remember none of them . . . This is characteristic of a person with an ungrateful disposition. For the ungrateful forget noble men, and in addition ill-treat their benefactors as though they were enemies."

In Antiquity, it was essential that the correspondents, in any relationship maintained through exchanges of letters, should follow the protocol of responding to the letters so that the relationship balance was maintained. Otherwise, if there was no response to a letter, the pact of friendship was threatened and, from this, a series of negative assumptions passed through the mind of those who felt wronged, renegade, abandoned.

Among the letters characterized by Cain as "reproaching", the present paper includes letter 16, addressed to Damasus. Letter 15, also sent to Damasus, but classified as "consulting", was similarly written in Antioch, and refers to the troubled period in which Jerome lived the so-called "schism of the East". Jerome asked in these two letters the Pope's position on this schism and asked whom he should join. It refers, moreover, in letter 16, to the savagery of the people of Syria (*barbaro Syriae limite teneor*). Neither of these two letters was answered by Damasus.

We agree with Cain's (2006, 2009) proposition that letter 16 should be considered as "reproaching", since this letter is small, composed of two paragraphs, in which only two lines are dedicated to a request addressed to the Pope (*ut mihi litteris tuis apud quem in Syria debeam communicare significies*). Everything that comes before is indeed a reprimand to the pope, in which, through rhetorical resources, Jerome recalls portions of the Bible, whose purpose is to show that God, Christ, and the apostles did not disdain those who apparently bothered them, and yet it is necessary to be careful, for the position you occupy in the world can be reversed: those below can be on top and vice versa. In Jerome's own words:

Ep. 16§1: *Quorsum ista tam longo repetita prooemio? Uidelicet ut paruum magnus aspicias, ut diues pastor morbidam non contemnas ouem. Christus paradisum de cruce latronem tulit et ne quis aliquando sera, conuersionem putaret fecit homicidii poena martyrium. [...] Paulus ex persecutore fit praedicator. [...]*

“To what end, you ask, these far-fetched references? To this end, I make answer; that you in your greatness should look upon me in my littleness; that you, the rich shepherd, should not despise me, the ailing sheep. Christ Himself brought the robber from the cross to paradise, and, to show that repentance is never too late, He turned a murderer’s death into a martyrdom.[...] From a persecutor Paul becomes a preacher”.

The last letter written in the desert was *Epistula 17*, when there was still tension between the two branches that divided the Church. It was addressed to Marcus, priest leader of the cenobite community affiliated with Jerome’s Christians ideals. The letter reflects the Oriental monastic ideal of live as Jerome sustained that he earns his daily bread honestly. According to Cain (2009, p.209), the letter 17 fits in the apologetic type as defined by pseudo-Demetrius, the "apologetic type is that which adduces, with proof, arguments which contradict charges that are being made".

Apologetic letters usually begin with a list of charges brought against the writer followed by his rebuttal. In his fourteen extant letters of this kind, Jerome defends his moral, theological, and scholarly integrity against challenges from critics. Jerome argues:

Ep. 17§2: Nihil alicui praeripui, nihil otiosus accipio. Manu cotidie et proprio sudore quaerimus cibum, scientes ab apostolo scriptum esse: "qui autem non operatur, nec manducet.

Ep. 17§2: "I have robbed no man of anything; neither have I taken what I have not earned. With my own hand daily and in the sweat of my brow I labor for my food, knowing that it is written by the apostle: "If any will not work, neither shall he eat."

The letter also reaffirms Jerome’s steady allegiance to Nicene orthodoxy. He complains quite sharp of the hard treatment meted out to him by a group of monks because his refusal to take part in the great theological dispute then raging in Syria and begs permission to remain where he is until the return of spring, when he will retire from the inhospitable desert:

Ep. 17§3: Cotidie exposcor fidem, quase sine fidem renatus sim. Confiteor ut uolunt: non placet. Subscribo: non credunt. Unum tantum placet ut hinc recedam. Iam iam cedo. Abruperunt a me partem animae meae, carissimos fratres. Ecce discedere cupiunt, immo discedunt melius esse dicentes inter feras habitare quam cum talibus Christianis; ego ipse, nisi me et corporis inbecillitas et hiemis retineret asperitas, modo fugerem. Verumtamen, dum uernum tempus adueniat, obsecro ut paucis mihi mensibus heremi concedatur hospitium; aut si et hoc tardum uidetur, abscedo.

Ep. 17§3: "Every day I am asked for my confession of faith; as though when I was regenerated in baptism I had made none. I accept their formulas, but they are still dissatisfied. I sign my name to them, but they still refuse to believe me. One thing only will content them, that I should leave the country. I am on the point of departure. They have already torn away from me my dear brothers, who are a part of my very life. They are, as you see, anxious to depart—nay, they are actually departing; it is preferable, they say, to live among wild beasts rather than with Christians such as these. I myself, too, would be at this moment a fugitive were I not ithheld by physical infirmity and by the severity of the winter. I ask to be allowed the shelter of the desert for a few months till spring returns; or if this seems too long a delay, I am ready to depart now".

According to Cain (2009, p.33) *Epp. 15-16*, in conjunction with *Ep. 17*, reaffirm Jerome’s unwavering loyalty to Nicene orthodoxy. This allegiance conduct to the principles of Nicaea would have earned him the sympathy of the more conservative theological circles at Rome. In addition, by including the two Damasian letters, many years latter (393) in the *Liber* maybe he has hoped to impress Roman readers with his ties with the reigning pope. In fact

we agree with Cain (2009, p. 38) when he says that Jerome probably suspected that his monastic desert training "would certify him in the eyes of ascetic Christians in Rome as a veteran of spiritual warfare" and that the Syriac experience will enhance his ascetical capacities and highlight his spiritual authority in front of his disciples, especially the circle to which women like Marcela Paula and others belonged.

We know that Jerome wants to be in accordance with coeval monastic stereotypes. This is the reason why his testimonies of his day to day life in the desert are like this. In fact we know that he do not stay in a cave and he did not live in complete solitude either, according to Cain (2009, pp. 40-41).

After his stay in the desert, when already in Rome, in the spring of 384, Jerome reminds in a letter (*Ep. 22*), really a treatise, to Eustochium (Paula's daughter) his past experiences. The most quoted passage of the letter that describes this experience is at (*Ep. 22.7*):

Ep. 22§7: "How often, when I was living in the desert, in the vast solitude which gives to hermits a savage dwelling-place, parched by a burning sun, how often did I fancy myself among the pleasures of Rome! I used to sit alone because I was filled with bitterness. Sackcloth disfigured my unshapely limbs and my skin from long neglect had become as black as an Ethiopian's. (...) Now, although in my fear of hell I had consigned myself to this prison, where I had no companions but scorpions and wild beasts (...)"

O quotiens in heremo constitutus et in illa vasta solitudine, quae exusta solis ardoribus, horridum monachis praestat habitaculum, putavi me Romanis interesse deliciis! Sedebam solus, quia amaritudine repletus eram. Horrebant sacco membra deformis, squalida cutis situm Aethiopicae carnis adduxerat. [...] Ille igitur ego, qui ob gehennae metum tali me carcere ipse damnaveram, scorpionum tantum socius et ferarum [...].

The following 7th paragraph aims to alert Eustochium to the fact that, even chastising the body, he would suffer temptations.

Letter 22 is one of St. Jerome best known letters because it is in it that the famous dream is narrated (22§30), in which God appears to him and accuses him of being a Ciceronian and not a Christian. In this dream, he refers to the whipping and torture suffered by him in a court and claims that when he awoke he still felt the sores. The letter tackles, however, many issues. It is in fact a treatise on virginity addressed to Paula's daughter, Eustochium. There, he advises her to be vigilant, careful with her instincts, sobriety, reading, prayer and contemplation. All these orientations are long developed and supported in Biblical quotations, in the beautiful and inimitable style of St. Jerome's. But the letter is more than a treatise on virginity, which is expressed in its own title (this was one of the seven letters whose title Jerome quoted in *De Viris Illustribus*). Letter 22 is a pictorial description of the desert, which largely inspired Renaissance artists. It is a portrait of the desert through his ascetic experience, with all its torments: loneliness, burning sun, dirt, poverty, food and drink (which he says he should not talk about), rags, constant diseases, the whipping in his own body, and his own torturous thoughts. In this letter we can see the two faces of St. Jerome: that of a man who felt guilty for reading pagan literature and for considering himself a sinner and a little Christian, and the intellectual Jerome who still asked to send him more books. We know that all the intellectual activity of St. Jerome began at that time, when he was in the East, in the region which now includes Turkey and Syria. The ascetic practices, fastings, meditations and waking nights used for reading and writing were fundamental to the later conquests of St. Jerome.

Unlike the hard ascetic life experienced by our saint in the desert, described in letter 22, in letter 125, paragraph 12, he recalls many years later, in Bethlehem, in 411 A.D., his efforts to learn Hebrew, whose lessons began during this period in which he lived in Antioch. He says he often gave up learning this difficult language, but then resumed his study. In the same paragraph, he once again recalls the solitude of the desert and the rigorous fasts. Concerning the Hebrew language, we know that its knowledge was essential for his later works, because otherwise there could have been no translation of the Bible and its exegesis. Let's look at the paragraph in question:

Ep. 125§12: *Dum essem iuuenis, et solitudinis me deserta uallarent, incentiua uitiorum ardoremque naturae ferre non poteram; quae cum crebris ieiuniis frangerem, mens tamen cogitationibus aestuabat. Ad quam edomandam, cuidam fratri, qui ex Hebraeis crediderat, me in disciplinam dedi, ut post Quintiliani acumina, Ciceronisque fluuios, grauitatemque Frontonis, et lenitatem Plinii, alphabetum discerem, stridentia anhelantiaque uerba meditarer. Quid ibi laboris insumpserim, quid sustinuerim difficultatis, quotiens desperauerim, quotiensque cessauerim, et contentione discendi rursus inceperim, testis est conscientia, tam mea qui passus sum, quam eorum qui mecum duxere uitam. Et gratias ago Domino, quod de amaro semine litterarum, dulces fructus capio.*

Ep. 125§12: "In my youth when the desert walled me in with its solitude I was still unable to endure the promptings of sin and the natural heat of my blood; and, although I tried by frequent fasts to break the force of both, my mind still surged with [evil] thoughts. To subdue its turbulence I betook myself to a brother who before his conversion had been a Jew and asked him to teach me Hebrew. Thus, after having familiarized myself with the pointedness of Quintilian, the fluency of Cicero, the seriousness of Fronto and the gentleness of Pliny, I began to learn my letters anew and to study to pronounce words both harsh and guttural. What labor I spent upon this task, what difficulties I went through, how often I despaired, how often I gave over and then in my eagerness to learn commenced again, can be attested both by myself the subject of this misery and by

those who then lived with me. But I thank the Lord that from this seed of learning sown in bitterness I now cull sweet fruits".

These last two letters (*Ep.* 22 and *Ep.* 125) as well as the one we will see below (*Ep.* 18) are classified as "exhorting".

According to Malherbe (1988, p. 69) and Cain (2009, p. 214), exhorting letters are those, as the name says, that exhort, that is, encourage someone to adopt a lifestyle or, on the contrary, encourage someone to avoid certain behaviors. Jerome wrote 21 letters that fall into this theme which encourages the recipient to adopt or avoid specific behavior or lifestyle. In many of these letters, he urges correspondents to engage in a life of self-renunciation. In some cases, the exhortation takes the form of invitations to friends and acquaintances to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land and specifically to Bethlehem.

We selected excerpts from *Ep.* 22 in which Jerome narrates to Eustoquium his experiences in the desert with all his torments and provocations. However, the letter is an exhortation for Eustoquium to keep his virginity, and, more extensively, as Cain (2009, p. 101) asserts, it is an open letter of instruction to all virgin Christians of the aristocracy. He also takes advantage of the letter to criticize clerics, false pious women and unhappy marriages. As it turns out, at the same time Jerome encourages Estoquium to follow one path and avoid another.

Letter 125, from 411 A.D., is addressed to the monk Rustic and is a manifesto as well, a small work (*Ep.* 125§17 in praesenti opusculo) to encourage the monastic life. The paragraph quoted above was intended to show Jerome's recollections of the ascetic life he experienced in Antioch. But this memory is intertwined in the context of Jerome's counsel to the young monk. In 125§9, for example, he encourages him to live in a holy community and to avoid asceticism. In 125§15, he suggests that he should not instruct himself, but follow a master: *nulla ars absque magistro discitur*. It is undoubtedly a kind of letter of encouragement, of exhorting.

During the years 383 and 384, St. Jerome and Pope Damasus established a dialogue on the Scriptures through six letters: two from Damasus to Jerome, *Ep.* 19 and *Ep.* 5, and four from Jerome to Damasus: *Ep.* 20, *Ep.* 36, *Ep.* 21 and *Ep.* 18 A+B. Letters 20 and 36 respond specifically to Damasus's 19 and 35. On the first letter, the Pope asks for explanations on the meaning of the Hebrew word *hosanna* and, on the second, on the content of five passages of Genesis. Letters 18A and B, 20 and 36 are considered the foundations of the *Hebraica Veritas*, hermeneutical methodology employed by St. Jerome that privileges the Hebrew text as a source to be considered for interpretation of the Old Testament. As a whole, these six letters are part of the exegetic type.

The term "exegesis" comes from the Greek *exēgēsis* (ἐξηγήσεις), from the verb *exēgēomai* (ἐξηγέομαι) "to lead", "to guide". "Exegesis" therefore means "exposition of historical facts", "interpretation", "commentary", "interpretation of a dream" and also "translation".

In our opinion, perhaps the most important letter of all that has been presented here is the one we are going to address now: 18 (A+B). It represents the beginning of the work of a Bible translator and exegete. It also highlights the advances made in the study of Hebrew and in biblical knowledge, which are fundamental to the translation of the Bible, which he will develop between 390 and 405. This translation, which was his greatest work, his life's mission, began with a request from the Pope Damasus himself, who, like Jerome, regarded the old Latin translations as not literary and often inaccurate. The invitation came from Damasus's observation about St. Jerome's wisdom and erudition, through a series of exegetical letters in which the saint answers the Pope's questions about various passages or topics in the Bible, dated 383 and 384 A.D.

The letter 18, traditionally divided into A and B, was dedicated to Pope Damasus in 383, although it was written at Constantinople in 380 or 381.

In part 18A§3, Jerome explains at length the vision described in the sixth chapter of Isaiah, and builds upon its vision a mystical meaning. He says that some of his predecessors interpreted the vision being the Lord sitting upon a throne: God the Father and suppose the *seraphim* to represent the Son and the Holy Spirit. He said that he does not agree with them, for John expressly had tell us that it was Christ and not the Father whom the prophet saw.

18A§3: *Quorum ego auctoritati, quamvis sint eruditissimi, non adsentio, multo si quidem melius est uera rustice quam diserte falsa proferre, maxime cum Iohannes euangelista in hac eadem uisione non Deum Patrem, sed Christum scribat esse conspectum.*

"Translators (or interpreters) undoubtedly most erudite, but to whose authority I do not hold myself, for it is better to tell rustically the truth, than to speak eloquently falsehoods. And the main reason is that John the Evangelist in this same vision writes not to have been seen the Father, but Christ".

Scholars interpret that our saint refers to Origen when he says that his predecessors write wrong things with a beautiful style. It is known that Jerome was inspired greatly by Origen, from whom he followed at least three

teachings, according to Vessey (2004, p. 321): the strongly ascetic conception of Bible study as part of the Christian life regime, a biblical philology centered in the text according to the demanding tradition of the Hellenistic grammarian critics and a hermeneutic ethics that establishes an emphasis in the spiritual meanings obtained by allegorical exegesis. While the exegesis of the Greek text, especially spiritual, was inspired by Origen. We can not fail to mention the influence of Apollinaris of Laodicea, exegete and theologian, from whom he followed the method to interpret the Bible in a sober manner, respecting the literal and historical meaning of the text before seeking a spiritual meaning. Donatus, his old grammarian teacher, in turn, influenced him to comment the works verse by verse.

In 18A§6 Jerome continues the interpretation of the word *seraphim* from its basis in the Hebrew language where the word *seraphim* means either "glow" or "beginning of speech", and the two *seraphim* thus stand for the Old and New Testament's mystical meaning. Jerome then speaks of the unity of the sacred books. He affirms that whatever we read in the Old Testament we find also in the Gospel; and what we read in the Gospel is deduced from the Old Testament. So, there is no discord between them, no disagreement because in both Testaments the Trinity is preached.

The letter is remarkable in so many ways. Not only because he shows all his knowledge about the Bible and three languages in question – Hebrew, Greek and Latin –, but also because with his letter he has begun his long journey through *Hebraica Veritas* who will lead him to his most important book, namely the *Vulgata*.

There would be many topics to develop concerning this letter because it is rich in its exegesis, because of its allegorical interpretations and also, inversely, by the rigorous translation of Isaiah's chapter, comparing it to the previous Latin translations and to the translation of the Seventy (*Septuaginta*). However, Jerome always defends his personal translation, unrelated to those that preceded him. This is one of the most admirable characteristics of our saint, that is, intellectual independence, as well as the particularly daring character to express his opinions, no matter who it was, even if it was the Pope he was addressing to.

Finally, letter 18 (A+B) would deserve a detailed exposition of his translation technique. With responsibility and prudence, in these exegetical letters, among which 18 (A+B) is the first, one can see his work as a translator and reviewer, comparing the biblical texts in Latin, Greek and Hebrew to, later, defend the *Hebraica Veritas*, which will be done expressly after he composed the *Questiones hebraicae in Genesim*, between 391 and 392 A.D. In the next section, we will summarize everything we seek to develop in this article and draw some conclusions.

4. Final Thoughts

Valéry Larbaud (1946, p. 26) in his book of essays on translation—*Sous l'invocation de Saint Jérôme*—devotes the first forty pages to the exhibition of St. Jerome's role not only as a translator but also as a brilliant writer. The genius of St. Jerome is not simply an *avant-garde* translator, but a forerunner of the literary and medieval writers. In fact, in recent decades we have witnessed more and more scholars developing works on the spiritual and intellectual wealth of St. Jerome. The amount of research that examines the various aspects of St. Jerome's life and intellectual production—which is presented, for example, only in the bibliography of the authors quoted in our references—is impressive.

St. Jerome was a pioneer in his time. He has left us an enormous legacy, his intellectual production being of almost half a century. Among his inheritance, as we have already mentioned, the translation of the Bible is undoubtedly the most remarkable. However, the bases for this translation and for its exegesis were launched in that initial period when St. Jerome departed for the so-called East or Orient. These letters were not only the basis for his biblical formation and the legacy he left us—making him the patron of translators, librarians and encyclopedists—but also his pioneering issues of interpretation and translation, from long before modern translation theories, that is, almost two thousand years ago.

We addressed the letters that show for themselves the experiences of St. Jerome in the first decade of his long career as a religious and intellectual: the difficulties to get to Antioch, the sadness for the loss of friends, the hardness of his life as an ascetic, problems that affected him, the division of the Church in the East, among other aspects. In these letters were interwoven the two faces of Jerome: that of the ascetic monk, humble and suffering, who sought consolation and perfection in Christ and the monastic ideal; and another, that of a learned and sophisticated intellectual. As for Jerome's personality, we personally believe that he has always been particularly genuine, for even in moments of weakness he was profound and sincere. This is one of the most striking features of his conduct. When he met someone or joined some principle he incorporated them into his personality, defending his views with vehemence, without fear, without restrictions. No doubt this behavior brought him some enmity and made him abandon old friends, such as Rufino, his lifelong companion. On the other hand, it also provided the friendship and favoring of influential people, such as Pope Damasus and the high ladies of Roman society. Evidently, the fruits he reaped from his engagement with influential people were due to his own intellectual qualities as a great Bible connoisseur and scholar. His life experience and the deepening of his studies

in Antioch, the desert of Syria and Constantinople, although briefly reported in the letters we have selected, will provide him the facilitation of his life projects. From his arrival in Rome, starting from Constantinople, many other achievements flow to St. Jerome, not only intellectuals, but also culminating in the construction of the monastery in Bethlehem, sponsored by Paula, where he will live the last thirty-four years of his life. St. Jerome was a tireless traveler and these experiences can be followed in his other letters.

We may now address some words and draw some conclusions on the framework of letters proposed by Cain's taxonomy (2009). We agree with Cain's taxonomy and try to justify it by reading the letters. However, Jerome's writing pattern is of a high aesthetic quality, in which there is much intertextuality with the Bible and classical Greek-Roman literature. And it is in the middle of this well-written composition, interspersed with extratextual references, metaphors and other figures of language that one must extract the main purpose of the letter, which is not always so obvious or at least can not be regarded as so pure. The fact that St. Jerome's letters can be classified into several types, according to the ancient theorists of the epistolographic genre, shows that Jerome himself had this knowledge. In fact, we know that he mentions Cicero and Horacio as his masters—also great connoisseurs of the genre—and consciously employs the steps of classical rhetoric, which should instruct (*docere*), delight (*delectare*) and persuade (*persuadere*) its readers. St. Jerome was a master of persuasion, earning him the task of spiritual counselor and life counselor from the high ladies of Roman society. However, in our view, the letters we are dealing with here can not be regarded as having been expressly produced so that he could construct an image of a saint, a perfect Christian, or an unequaled scholar and intellectual among the society of that time. St. Jerome was, in fact, all these people in one. To this day, it is difficult to find someone who can be compared as equivalent to him.

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BOUILLABAISSE OR TAGINE?: MARSEILLES' PALATE GOES GLOBAL

LOBNA BEN SALEM

ABSTRACT

Eating a French meal implies much more than filling a physical need. It partakes of a logic and order considered to be typically French. It implicates the eater in a set of intersecting experiences – culinary, local, national, intercultural, symbolic – that are at times quite conflictual. Provençal food is all the more symbolic of French identity because of its geographical proximity to the Mediterranean Sea. Indeed, if the introduction to a culture usually first occurs through its cuisine, the increasing complexity of contemporary Provençal culture testifies to its rapidly changing food tradition.

In *Garlic, Mint and Sweet Basil, Essays on Marseilles, Mediterranean Cuisine, and Noir Fiction* (2013), Jean-Claude Izzo examines how the decentralizing tendencies of the post-postmodern age have finally begun to nudge the rather insular Provençal cuisine toward many foreign influences, inaugurating a global culinary fusion, at the heart of the Mediterranean city Marseilles.

Izzo sees the topic of French food crossed by several axes: historical, cultural, gastronomic and affective. This paper offers a reading of *Garlic, Mint and Sweet Basil* in relation to these intersecting axes that shape the French culinary tradition of Izzo's hometown Marseilles.

Keywords: Globalisation, transculturalism, cuisine, Marseille, Provence

SOCIAL AESTHETICS: OLD AND NEW MAKINGS IN CHILE'S STREET ART

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Abstract

This article problematizes the resonance of divisions such as professional/amateur or art/craft in the context of contemporary street art in Chile, a set of practices that provides an interesting window to explore issues of self-organization and new models of making in a country that is usually hailed as one of the most successful economies in the region. It uses the recent 'blinking out' of the Mapocho river's bank (that for decades has been a favoured canvas for street artists), which aimed to provide a neutral background for a light art project carried out by established artists—the *Museo Arteluz*—, as the space to articulate this discussion.

It focuses in the recent 'wave' of street artists rather than in the groups that operated during the dictatorship of General Pinochet (1973-1989). These newer groups and individuals such as Bomber West, Charqui Punk, Dana Pink, and Ritalin Crew promote their work directly as art in social media; their commitment to politics is evident in their allusions to issues such as the conflict with the *Mapuches* (Chile's indigenous population) but they are not linked to any political party; while being informed by Latin American references and imaginary, they also draw on European influences and North American (especially West Coast) art and music.

The article explores three main topics to illuminate their modes of production and values. First, whereas the old 'brigades' had a very strategic organization in order to favour speed of creation, contemporary groups have created new roles such as managing their on-line presence through Flickr, funding, networking, etc. Second, it situates these practices in relation to the Chilean art scene of established commercial galleries and public institutions, which, in spite of a perceived process of internationalization, continues to be fairly unfunded and lacks curatorial rigor. Lastly, it argues that this street art has articulated a critique of the loss of traditional ways of making and provided an alternative to the dominant modernizing discourse of Chilean mainstream media and politics, while maintaining an elusive space.

In December 2010 the Mapocho river, which crosses the city of Santiago (Chile's capital) and for decades has been a favoured canvas for street artists given that it is dry for a significant part of the year, was 'blacked out' of its art, bringing about memories of a previous erasure in 1973, the first year of Pinochet's dictatorship; during that time the erasure inaugurated a new era of political repression and its corresponding clean, controlled and sober aesthetic. This second time around the blacking out was aimed to provide a neutral background for a light art project carried out by established artists—the *Museo Arteluz* [Light Art Museum]—, commissioned by the Santiago commune and sponsored by the millionaires Chilectra, Endesa and Enersis electricity companies. The project's original idea was to illuminate one kilometre of the Mapocho for four hours, seven nights a week, for 6 months, a significant expenditure of electricity, at around the same time in which power supplies in Chile had become an urgent ecological issue, given Endesa's plans to significantly alter the Chilean Patagonia by building hydroelectric dams on its rivers, plans that provoked the widely supported *Patagonia Chilena ¡Sin Represas!* (Chilean Patagonia: Without Dams!) campaign. Since then the project has had different incarnations and the riverbank has become a semi-permanent space for the exhibition of light-based art.

The so called 'graffiticide' (Mutate Britain, 2011) of 2010 erased the iconic work from 2009 *Pobreza Material, Riqueza Espiritual* [Material Poverty, Spiritual Wealth] by the duo Aislap, and several pieces by artists such as Saile, Piguan and Grin, amongst others. Some voices—such as that of Pablo Aravena, director of the film *Next: A Primer on Urban Painting* (2005) or Sebastian Cuevas (2011)—raised criticisms of the erasure but no real debate about it ever happened. At a certain point the street artists were offered to paint something in black and white so that it would not interfere with the *Museo Arteluz*, described by Catalina Rojas, the main artist featured in the project, as '*muralismo de luz*' [muralism of light] but the option was disregarded.

Given that impermanence and ephemerality are key dimensions usually attributed to street art (Schacter 2008), the sense of discomfort provoked by the blacking out of the river is worth exploring, particularly when the works were replaced by a form of art that is not supposed to stay either: Catalina Rojas' muralism is a temporally display, intrinsically light in its immateriality, a projected, shiny surface without the visible material depth of the multiple layers of paint sedimented since the 1970s, when the Mapocho river started to be a precious site for street artists in Santiago alongside its historical and documented importance as both a public space (Castillo Fernández, 2014) and a shelter for street children and criminals, masterly exposed in the classic 1960s novel *El Río* (Gomez Morel,

1997) and in more recent studies about the different waves of informal housing that have grown organically on its banks (Muñoz Zuñiga, 2006). This erasure and 'start from scratch' approach of the museum organisers also mirrors the vertiginous changes that Chile has experienced also since the 1970s, when the country adopted a virtually unregulated free market economy to replace its old state-centred policies, a change that not only reorganised the country's public health and education systems but also dramatically altered the material infrastructure and the urban fabric of its main cities, which have seen buildings and houses rapidly being demolished to favour high rise construction, shopping malls and contemporary architecture.

By exploring the dynamics between the material and the intangible in the context of professional versus non professional art, this article discusses how the position of street artists in Chile speaks of wider tensions and contradictions between old and new ways of making in the country. Based on content analysis of the artworks and on artists' statements, it follows Adam Arvidsson's understanding of "ethical" economies (2006, 2008) to propose that a new measure of value is needed to address these practices.

Street Art in Chile

The publication of Rod Palmer's visual book *Chile Street Art* (2008) drew some attention to the extremely prolific street art scene in the country, later described by Herve Chandès –director of the Cartier Foundation in Paris, which hosted the exhibition *Born in the Streets: Graffiti* in 2009—as one of two most important graffiti capitals in the world, the other being Sao Paulo (for the purposes of this paper I am going to use the term 'street art' because it embraces all forms of art produced by street artists in Chile, which includes paintings, posters, stickers, murals, stencils and graffiti). Palmer is an art historian, writer, photographer and critic, and also a street art aficionado, and that is palpable in his visual celebration of Chilean street art through a visually striking book primarily aimed at documenting and recording a scene previously unknown to European audiences. He regards the scene as an egalitarian space to affirm political and personal freedoms: "...without ever taking ever taking itself too seriously, and careless that its filthier jobs might offend, Chilean street art creates an exhilarating sur-reality 'within the reach of all'" (Palmer 2008, 18).

Chile Street Art is arguably the most well known out of a constellation of books devoted to different forms of contemporary street art, mural paintings, political posters and other manifestations of urban graphic work in Chile, most of them edited by the publisher Ocho Libros, based in Santiago. Examples of editorial projects by Ocho Libros include Eduardo Castillo Espinoza's *Puño y Letra: Movimiento Social y Comunicación Gráfica en Chile* (2006), which takes a historical approach to discuss political graphic communication more broadly; Mario Osses and Mauricio Vicio's *Un Grito en la Pared: Psicodelia, Compromiso Político y Exilio en el Cartel Chileno* (2009), devoted to the production of propaganda posters in Chile between the years 1967 and 1988 in relation to social, political and cultural changes in the country; and Patricio Rodríguez Plaza's *Pintura Callejera Chilena: Manufactura Estética y Provocación Teórica* (2011), about muralism in Chile from 1963 to the contemporary scene. There is also *Santiago Stencil* by Edwin Campos and Alan Meller (2007), edited by a different publisher and centred on the capital only. Beyond the celebratory and positive tone of most of these publications, I would like to draw attention to another aspect of this prolific art scene, by placing it in relation to other forms of art production in Chile, exploring the tensions and contradictions of their respective positions and opening it to the exploration of issues of self-organization and new models of making in a country that is usually hailed as one the most successful economy in the region.

In Chile, as in the rest of the Western world, the boundaries between legal and illegal street artwork are increasingly blurred, a division that, as Merrill argues (2015), has never been clearly cut anyway. Graffiti and street art more generally now sit comfortably alongside other forms of artistic production in mainstream spaces and could be equally affected by commercial issues, market trends, sponsorship deals and others. For instance, the largest street art festival in Europe is organised annually in Bristol (coincidentally, the home town of Banksy, the street artist whose work is most highly regarded by the art market), with income generated by a mixture of sales, private sponsorship and public funds; in 2008 the Tate Modern in London commissioned six street artists from different countries to use its iconic river side façade for an exhibition; in recent years, the large gallery space maintained by CCU in Chile, a multinational beverages company which also collects Chilean contemporary art, hosted the urban art show *Cinco trazos, experiencias de arte urbano*; the touring festival *Kosmopolite Art Tour* was held precisely in Santiago in 2016.

According to Anna Waclawek (2011), this 'mainstreamization' and commercialization goes back to the 1970s and 1980s in New York, where art galleries attempted to de-criminalise street artworks by signalling them as 'art', a joint effort of artists themselves, dealers and gallerists; the creation of the North American organization United Graffiti Artists (UGA) in 1972 is part of this process. The usual comments about street artists 'selling out' for these ventures are clearly put forward by Maryose Fison (2015) in her recent CNN article 'Graffiti artists the new ad men: why business is booming for muralists' about the growing trend towards the commercialization of

underground culture in Santiago, with street artists getting commissions by restaurants, hostels and shops, and money from government funds. Yet, as I have argued elsewhere in relation to other forms of amateur or non-professional art (Vodanovic 2013), there is still a separation between these practices and ‘regular’ or mainstream art, even if this distinction is only a figure of thought or a rhetoric tool. Critiques such as Fison’s –and also Palmer’s celebration of street art—precisely indicate that the work of self-taught artists or people working in the margins of legality is still expected to provide a form of resistance to mainstream practices and to be associated with a tactile, poetic dimension of the everyday.

Indeed, Stephen Knott (2015) has argued that amateur practices and spaces do not constitute a refuge of capitalism, yet, being complex and ambiguous, could challenge or subvert some of its structures: *“It is a space for critical thinking and allows forms of practice that are freer than most forms of labour work or organisation, yet at the same time does not constitute a blatant threat to the interests of capital”* (Knott, 2015: 46). Given that in Knott’s argument amateurism is a permeable category within capitalist production, it can relate to other spaces of capitalism (work spaces, for instance, or domestic life), an approach that suits the thinking about Chilean street art work in relation to the professional scene.

The assumed ephemerality of street art and its opposite (the presumed permanence of mainstream art) is another important dimension of the literature about it that resonates with the tensions between permanence and impermanence of the art in the river, and with the fact that both of them draw from similar images of natural landscapes and aboriginal communities, somehow alluding to an idea of the ‘timeless’ vernacular in the country. It would be simplistic to suggest that street artworks should be immediately considered as having cultural importance in terms of heritage and preserved as such, a suggestion already contested by Merrill (2015), who argues that any attempt to integrate graffiti and street art into heritage frameworks would undermine their authenticity. In a similar vein, recent research by Catherine Burdick and Fanny Canessa Vicencio (2015) about political graffiti on heritage sites, which coincidentally uses a Chilean example –the graffiti at the Iglesia de San Francisco in Santiago, a national monument from the colonial period which is already indexed on the tentative list of UNESCO heritage sites—has started to question a notion of graffiti as *“contaminating”* heritage, yet their writing is specific to the particular issues raised when executing this kind of works at places officially designated as heritage. Additionally, the bulk of their research focuses on responses from churchgoers, passers by and tourists, the audience of the work and their (mostly negative) feelings towards it. Whereas my focus here resides on the organization of artists themselves and their values rather than on the public responses to their work, I share the authors’ interest on the current scholarship about material and intangible heritage to address some key issues of Chilean contemporary street art.

From Brigadas to Crews

Most artists featured in Palmer’s book belong to the generation of young people in Chile who started to be more vocal about the flaws and exclusions of the country’s widely praised political, social and economic model, and to demand changes broader than those only slowly brought about by the transition to democracy, a process that started in 1989 with the end of the dictatorship of General Pinochet. This recent ‘wave’ of street artists is fairly different to those groups that operated during the dictatorship like *Ramona Parra* (BRP), even though artists in the group acknowledge their influence and some of the older ones had their first ‘painting’ experiences with them which suggests a certain continuity or lineage. Pussyz Soul Food (PSF), for instance, recalls growing up in her parent’s exile home in Europe surrounded by reproductions of murals by BRP. *Ramona Parra* was a *brigada* linked to the Chilean Communist Party that has exerted great influence on the contemporary scene yet had a different agenda. As Ana Longoni (1999, 26) discusses, BRP created an elaborate, ephemeral visual language, which was *“collective, urban, anonymous and ephemeral, carried out quickly and furtively, and without any pretension toward longevity, produced (initially) by militants, non-artists, and conceived not as art but as a tool of propaganda and political agitation”*. Conversely, newer groups and individuals such as Bomber West, Charqui Punk, Dana Pink, Elodio, Inti, Piguan, Pussyz Soul Food and Ritalin Crew, are less interested in furtiveness and promote their work directly as art; their commitment to politics is evident in their allusions to current issues such as the conflict with the *Mapuches* (Chile’s indigenous population) but they are not linked to any political party; while being informed by Latin American references and imaginary, they also draw on European influences (Picasso, Barcelona street art, Gilbert and George...) and North American (especially West Coast) art and music.

Street art in Chile has been encouraged since the early 1960s, a time of rapid change in Chilean society during which the foundations of the socialist government of president Salvador Allende (1970-1973) were laid out; in material terms, the new political project stimulated a visual equivalent on the very fabric of the city, aligning a new society with a new person and a new visual landscape (Trumper 2016). Even Roberto Matta, the well known Chilean surrealist, did some sporadic work with the *brigadas*, which *“claimed the urban landscape as a central pillar of political participation and communication, a democratic space where citizens across class, race and gender*

became politicized, participatory citizens engaging left- and right- wing party media and messages...” (Trumper 2005: 145). With the military coup in 1973 a new process of “reconstrucción cultural” or cultural reconstruction arrived: as Luis Errázuriz and Gonzalo Quijada Leiva describe, the dictatorship also started a cultural purge based on a “disinfection” of “unwanted elements” such as books –which were burned during raids to houses, universities and different organisations—, leaflets, street art and, more generally, the cultural fabric that had resulted from the country’s recent socialist past, to be replaced by a new military imaginary (2012, 14). This so called “operación limpieza” [‘purging operation’] aimed at “disinfecting” the aesthetic of the recent Marxist past and promoting a military dimension in the material culture of the everyday (Errázuriz and Quijada Leiva 2012, 127).

The brigades –forced to become clandestine during the dictatorship—eventually became structured in three main ones: *Brigada Ramona Parra* (linked to the Chilean communist party), and *Brigadas Elmo Catalán* and *Inti Peredo* (linked to the socialist one). Because of their furtive state, they worked within a very strategic organization in order to favour speed of creation, based on *trazadores*, who outlined the letters and images (the most difficult role, and the one that all aspire to eventually do); *fondeadores* who painted the background; *rellenadores* who filled in the image; *fileteadores* who add contours; and *retocadores* who retouch it (Kunzle 1978: 362-63).

Contemporary street art groups have replaced the *brigada* as the central unit for the more contemporary ‘crew’, described, in words of Charquipunk, as “*la familia que tiene tu mismo humor y entiende tus ideas*” [‘the family who has your same sense of humour and share your ideas’]. Charquipunk, quoted in Palmer, mentions that the contemporary scene is essentially collective, yet also very strongly differentiates from the previous collectivism of *Ramona Parra*, which used to have an elected leader and a very clear plans before their actions. The contemporary groups have maintained some of these divisions between drawers, fillers and the rest, yet also created new roles such as managing their on-line presence through Flickr and other forms of social media, funding, networking, etc. A number of them were also involved in a shop and on-line retail space, *La Otra Vida* [The Other Life] and generally show great entrepreneurial skills by maintaining a network of relations both domestically and internationally (most notoriously with the Brazilian street art scene), accepting commissions, seeking permission to paint certain walls (while also being committed to non-authorized work) and sometimes showcasing their work in mainstream galleries spaces. The scale of this entrepreneurial spirit is well exemplified by the mural painted [Santiago's](#) central railway station, a project of Mutay Crew that involved a group of 300 artists to paint a wall almost one kilometer long, overcoming a number of bureaucratic hurdles and bringing both their local authority and private funders to the project (Lindsayt 2010).

These contemporary units seem to have a much more diffused sense of membership and commonality than previous ones, with members switching between different groups and painting together or separate depending on the project. Their own individual identity is also a permanent source of ambiguity: their names, for instance, often point towards radically different directions (Charquipunk, for example, brings together the word *charqui*, dried horse meat usually chewed up in Northern Chilean towns, with the subcultures of big metropolises; the Robot de Madera is a male artist who uses a female name meaning ‘a wooden robot’, which in itself is also an unfeasible creation). There is certainly an element of postmodern pastiche in this eclecticism, yet also a more profound ambiguity and a refusal to adopt a more defined identity, a key difference between them and the previous brigades. Whereas Ramona Parra, for instance, would always put a black *filete* [fillet] to finish their works, contemporary artists switch between media and styles according to materials available, if they are working on a commission or if it is an illegal or an authorized piece. Another favoured gesture is the doubled meaning of many of these crews names, either in English, Spanish or both: CWP (Children with Problems/Chile Wild Productions); DVE (De la Vieja Escuela, ‘Old School’, which at times also becomes Deskiziada Vida Escritora, a name that does not make much sense but alludes to something like a mad written life, a crazy yet fully experienced and narrated existence). The anonymity of some artists such as Juana Perez –who adopted a name usually regarded in Chile as the most common possible, almost a form of no name—somehow contradicts their efforts at tagging their work, establishing certain territories. A similar ambiguity also exists in the work itself and in their somehow contradictory messages: messages such as “Apaguen los televisores para encender tu vida” (‘turn off the TV to turn on your life’) are combined with a celebration of cartoons and characters from Nickelodeon.

Making and Makers

Statements of Chilean street artists suggest that ephemerality agrees with their art, and that their main gesture is the act of ‘making’ rather than the permanence of their work, despite the recent problematizations of this in Chile and abroad, either through the capitalizations of Banksy and other successful artists, or through projects such as the Museo a Cielo Abierto [Open Air Museum] in the San Miguel borough of Santiago, which assumes a certain permanence (at least relative) of the murals. This commitment to ephemerality may appear at odds with the desire to preserve the art of the river, yet rather than preserving the untouched work itself the desire seems to be to maintain both the physical space to produce it and the ways of making that inform these artists’ practice.

It seems useful to discuss this experiential form of preservation by looking at the work that Laurajane Smith (2006) has done about intangible heritage (which I have used before to explore issues of identity and informal heritage), placed amongst the growing interdisciplinary body of writing that challenge traditional frameworks in heritage studies and bring notions of dissonance, intangibility and others to the discussion. Her work and that of Akagawa and Smith (2009) seem to be particularly pertinent because of their focus on heritage as a process rather than as a physical object or building, which avoids, as Harvey (2001) would put it, the consideration of heritage as “*a given*”. Smith postulates that heritage is a “*cultural and social process, which engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present*” (2006, 2). Without negating or devaluing the material form of heritage artefacts, the author’s key premise is that all heritage is intangible, in other words, that these artefacts are meaningful because of the cultural processes and activities that take place around them (she uses the example of Stonehenge: without the meanings attributed to the site, and the cultural practices that take place in and celebrate it, it could be simply described as a group of rocks arranged in a particular disposition). Additionally, heritage institutions do not simply ‘find’ a site that merits to be protected and conserved; “*...heritage is heritage because it is subjected to the management and preservation/conservation process, not simply because it ‘is’*” (Smith 2006, 3). This is a “*constitutive cultural process that identifies those things and places that can be given meaning and value as ‘heritage’, reflecting contemporary cultural and social values, debates and aspirations*” (Smith 2006, 3). As a result, heritage cannot be just defined as grand, monumental and aesthetically pleasant sites and buildings that would be ‘pass on’ to the future but rather as a “*set of values and meanings*” constructed and regulated by cultural practices (Smith 2006, 11).

Smith also identifies a tension between this intangibility of heritage and the actual and physical things called ‘heritage’, a tension that, nonetheless, she considers as the central aspect of heritage (2006, 74). The physicality of heritage may suggest a sense of changeless values and meanings, yet these are constantly renegotiated in the creation of a “*place*” –the positioning of “*ourselves as a nation, community or individual*” (Smith 2006, 75) and the negotiation of our community identity. To that extent, “*heritage is about a sense of place*”, which explain why heritage studies are increasingly favoured the term “*place*” instead of the notion of “*site*” (which is inherited from archaeology); place is a more fluid concept and more directly linked to the construction of identity and a sense of belonging (Smith 2006, 75-76).

It is important to note that Smith’s argument distances itself from UNESCO’s definition of intangible heritage, another essential framework for discussions within heritage studies since the 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, which looks after the “*means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage*” (UNESCO 2003, 2). Intangible heritage includes, for instance, oral traditions and expressions (including language), rituals and festivals, traditional craftsmanship and other forms of cultural and social practice. The difference is that, according to Smith, all heritage is intangible (not just a portion of it) and therefore intangible heritage is not the ‘other’ of mainstream heritage, which in the case of UNESCO would be the 1972 *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* concerning monuments, groups of buildings and sites, because all heritage is defined as such by a number of cultural and social values that are intangible; if anything, the discussions generated by the 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* have made more apparent that the values that frame an artefact or practice as ‘heritage’ are not universal and therefore that the “*idea of intangible heritage forces a recognition of the inherent dissonant nature of heritage because of the immediacy of its production and consumption*” (Akagawa and Smith 2009, 5). This understanding of heritage as cultural practice resonates with, for instance, the work of Harvey, who argues that heritage should not be identified with a noun but rather with “*a process, or a verb, related to human action and agency*” (2001, 327), emphasising that heritage has to do with practices of making and therefore that is constantly produced and consumed. Similarly, Smith and Waterton (2009, 292) suggest that heritage should not be determined by its materiality or non-materiality, “*but rather by what is done with it*”. Indeed, the intangible is not less real or material than the tangible (Smith and Waterton 2009, 292).

This “*process*” quality of heritage appears to give an appropriate frame to street art practices in the river because it allows for negotiations in the ways of knowing and seeing a place (like the Mapocho river or other) that are not necessarily homogenous or consensual and therefore might be challenged by subaltern groups attempting to redefine imposed values and identities (Smith 2006, 4). Even if this process permits loss (as Merrill proposes) and rethinks preservation, the blanking out of the river banks still assaults the layers of street art practices that create that space, not as a strictly defined object but as a practice.

Pro-Ams and Semi-Pros

The fact that the Chilean artists crews are self-organised and not primarily driven by monetary aims (despite the fact that some of their work is commissioned and paid for) signal that their practices could be acknowledged as a form of coproduction, an understanding of cultural production as being primarily a social phenomenon. Even though marketing and branding have established coproduction as a fundamental principle of contemporary economies –which, in practical terms, indicates how consumers are increasingly involved (consciously or not) in the production of values for brands, designs strategies and product development, amongst others—authors such as Adam Arvidsson (2008), whose work is framed precisely in those contexts, have explored how social production is also a principle present in other areas such as fan culture and social entrepreneurship, and even in some realms completely removed from new media and technologies, such as community-based agriculture (326). Indeed, the author's argument is that people have always coproduced the social value of goods, a process that was only "discovered" and started to be used by marketing and brand management in the post war years (Arvidsson 2006, 2008). What interests Arvidsson is that these practices have established their own system of values, which the author terms as "*ethical economy*": an economy where "*socially recognized self-expression is the main motivation and community contribution is the main measure of value*" (Arvidsson 2008, 327).

Contemporary street artists in Chile appear to place great importance to the construction of new forms of social relations, which is expressed, for instance, both in their constant coupling and re-couplings with other members, and in their engagement with the local communities in which they practice their art. Arvidsson also addresses the crucial element of the immaterial aspects of their production discussed earlier: in his account, social production "*consists in the self-organized systems of (mostly immaterial) production...*" (Arvidsson 2008: 326), with communities driven by a "*socially recognized self-realization*" (Arvidsson 2008, 333). This points towards a particular combination of values that might be considered paradoxical: players of the ethical economy are both oriented towards community sharing and, at the same time, to the quest of self interest (Arvidsson 2008, 333). Linux is one of the examples used by the author to illustrate this point about values: coders give their time and programming skills to Linux for free because they want to feel closer to that communities and to the values of free source embodied by the organisation while, at the same time, they seek their own realisation as individuals. Therefore the values of their practice reside in the creation of the software but also in the intangible reward gained while doing so.

While most Chilean street artists would describe their position as post-political, their work expresses an obvious commitment to denounce social issues in a open way, significantly more directly than in the established scene of art galleries and museums in Chile, which has been described as cerebral, analytic and mostly conceptual, sometimes at the expense of the visual aspect of the works (Mosquera 2006, 32). This established scene, which today flirts closely with the aesthetics of consumption and advertisement, and the high production values of glossy magazines and design practices, favours a form of oblique critique often characterized by a "*descalce*" [bad fit] and disjuncture (Mosquera 2006) between what they are showing and the supposedly implicit and overt meanings of their work. Conversely, the street art scene is unequivocal in its solidarity with the struggles of the indigenous communities in the country, which exist in extreme poverty and exclusion as an almost forgotten residue of a pre Spanish past. Some, like Ritalin Crew (active in the southern city of Talcahuano) prefer to denounce the loss of rights for fishermen and farmers, old ways of being and making rapidly replaced by the individualism of Chile's extreme version of the neo-liberal model. Inti's work, for instance, refers to the marginalised indigenous communities of the North of the country, emphasising their connection to domestic farming and their agonising status; other pieces by him show albinos with crutches and other props suggesting their ill state. Orate works with the Patagonia landscape, a territory in dispute because of the recent damn constructions; Cekiz, older and arguably the most influential of the scene, speaks of his condition of Latin American migrant in New York and the longings of this.

These themes would appear in a much more indirect way in the formal art scene in Chile, which, despite its efforts of success and a perceived process of internationalization, continues to be fairly unfunded, and lacks curatorial rigor (Berríos and Machuca 2006). Indeed, the most emblematic street art project, the mentioned Museo a Cielo Abierto or Open Air Museum in San Miguel, is widely regarded in Trip Advisor and similar platforms as the most important art gallery in the country, and a number of tour providers organise visits to the site; this project was driven by the own inhabitants of these blocs and funded by FONDART, exactly the same state funding scheme that is virtually the only source of income for most of the professional artists in the country and that even pays for some of the costs of private galleries (FONDART money has been awarded, for instance, to the London based gallery Cecilia Brunson Projects, to the fund the cost booths in international fairs, catalogues, promotional materials, etcetera, when exhibiting Chilean artists). This points to a certain overlap between both scenes, even though they usually ignore one another and live completely parallel existences, with arguably the only exception being the clash, indirect or no, in the Mapocho river.

It could be argued then the apparent gap between the non professional street art scene in the river bank and the artists identified with the more established scene is indeed misleading: as two consecutive studies commissioned by the Chilean Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y de las Artes (2004, 2012) argue, most of the artists who are active in this formal scene work in “*semi-professional*” conditions, with very little remuneration and in a situation of “*plural employment*”, earning, on average, less than the country’s minimum wage (conversely, according to the CNN article mentioned above, Alan Zarate’s commercial street art generates him a salary of about 750.000 Chilean pesos, that is, about three times the country’s minimum wage). A more recent document, *Política de Fomento de las Artes Visuales 2010-2015* (Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y de las Artes 2016), reiterates the relevance of the term “*semi-professional*” in the Chilean context; it also defines the ‘visual artist’ as someone who either earns a living or attempts to do so by producing art (as opposed to those “*vocacionales*” [vocational] or “*aficionados*”), while continuing to acknowledge that this is virtually not possible in the country (Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y de las Artes 2016, 10). It argues that one of the reasons for this is a general lack of social and economic value attributed to the production of art, mostly associated with leisure and free time (Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y de las Artes 2016, 10). It also notes that universities continue to be a significant source of employment for artists, who work as teachers for different institutions; conversely, most of street artists do not work in higher education given that they do not have academic degrees.

This choice of the term “*semi-professional*” in the studies by the Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y de las Artes resonates with other contemporary couplings of professionals and non professionals or amateurs (like the established term “*Pro-Am*”) yet also provides its flip side: in this case, the limitations of the professional dimension of the practice of established Chilean artists is emphasized by the reports as a precarious condition, not far from the productive urgency of the “*thriving on adversity*” that so many times has been used to frame artistic practices in Latin America (Dezeuze 2006; Brett 1989,1990) yet lacking the fecund possibilities implicit in that thriving and pointing towards the struggles of living off multiple jobs and having little or no time to actually produce art. Conversely, many of the positive characteristics of “*Pro-Ams*” (Leadbeater and Miller 2004) such as the commitment and love for what they do despite not being labelled as professionals in their fields, their high level of expertise acquired and their entrepreneurial spirit, amongst others, would be fit to describe the values and modes of production of street artists, which might provide another form of *descalce* or bad fit, in this case about the place they occupy. According to Leadbeater and Miller,

“...[Pro-Ams] have a strong sense of vocation; they use recognised public standards to assess performance and formally validate skills; they form self-regulating communities, which provide people with a sense of community and belonging; they produce non-commodity products and services; they are well versed in a body of knowledge and skill, which carries with it a sense of tradition and identity” (Leadbeater and Miller 2004, 22).

Previous observations in this article have spoken about street artists’ sense of identity (however diffused it might be) and their engagement with their respective communities, both inside the crew itself and with regards to the larger community, as in the example of the open-air museum in San Miguel. Equally relevant is the fact that the acquisition of cultural capital through their shared community practice is what seems to assert the value of their art, which reinforces the social production aspects of their practice: “*[Pro-Ams] enjoy immersion in a body of knowledge held by a community. But it’s not just one way. They also like passing it on, being part of a flow of knowledge through a community*” (Leadbeater and Miller 2004, 40). This not only relates to the production and transmission of their knowledge in their own crews or inside the street art scene itself: it is also palpable in their very direct critique of the loss of traditional ways of making in the country, particularly in areas traditionally associated with communal labour, through their visual and verbal references to the abuse of pesticides in the agricultural sector, the industrialization of farming and the arrival of subway services to non capital cities, too expensive to be used by local people.

Given these tensions between old and new ways of making in the country, it is perhaps not surprising that the so called street art capital of Chile is Valparaíso, a port that played a key geopolitical role during the XIX century and later decayed almost to the state of total ruin, a city abandoned by wealth and capitalism which now struggles between its recently declared UNESCO World Heritage Status (granted in 2003), the flood of tourists and visitors that this recognition has generated, and its on-going processes of exclusion, decay and ruination, which perpetuate the port’s historical tension between “*fama y olvido*” [fame and oblivion] (Ilabaca 2014). As street artist (or painter, as he much rather call himself) Basko-Vazko –the only one of the Chilean scene included in the Cartier foundation exhibition—describes in a video interview by MOCAtv (2013), Valparaíso used to be the perfect site to go to “*saquear*” or ‘loot’ (meaning here scrape and paint) and that even now, when there is “*más orden*” [‘more order] and an “*espíritu anti-graffiti*” [‘anti-graffiti spirit’], you could still knock on a door and the people are open to the possibility of having their outside walls painted.

To some extent then, this art street scene has provided an alternative to the modernising discourses of the Chilean success story, which might be more evident in Valparaíso than nowhere else in the country, even though the exact territory of their intervention is elusive (despite the evident tags of their gestures) and its relationship with the established art scene in the country remains unclear and fairly fluid. They do not necessarily maintain a direct oppositional relationship to the professionals (or the semi-professionals in this case), a position often taken by amateurs, and neither they could be easily framed in the narratives of the *"hobbyist"*, *"dilettante"* or *"pleasure-seeker," "leisure-class"*, and therefore confirm that the amateur has never had a single and steady identity, as argued by Anna Lee (2007). These non-professional artists might not be invested in institutional systems of knowledge production and policy construction, but the challenges that their practice poses should be framed in forms of art production that accepts dissonance, contradiction and the demands of the heterogeneous, speaking of the limitations in the roles of both the street artist and the established ones.

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MEDIA DIAGNOSIS: A NEWS AGGREGATOR'S COVERAGE REGARDING HILLARY CLINTON'S HEALTH DURING THE 2016 U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN

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Abstract

This paper will explore how the online news aggregator *Drudge Report* presented stories about Hillary Clinton's health by repeatedly referencing a "cough". While the website linked to a story highlighting coughing by Clinton at one point in 2007, and to a video on a blog again in 2008, there was little mainstream news coverage until *Drudge Report* increasingly ran headlines about the subject. Clinton's health became something highlighted regularly in linked sites and in original content posted on *Drudge Report*.

Without arguing the accuracy of the coverage, nor the veracity of subsequent coverage about Clinton's or any other candidate's health, this paper will examine the timing and frequency of such stories. This is a unique study of how a news aggregator eventually set the agenda for other online, print and broadcast media and will be an exploration of how *Drudge Report* specifically emphasized a particular health angle for its millions of readers. This paper will also detail how the response of other online, print and broadcast outlets, whether complicit or contradictory may have demonstrated cultivation theory, which has been typically researched in respect to film and television entertainment.

Studying this specific time frame for this specific story will potentially shed new light on how popular online news organizations can set the conversation and coverage for other media.

Introduction

In the most recent U.S. Presidential campaign, the subject of the top two candidates' health received quite a bit of attention online and in traditional television and print media. According to a Google News search of news coverage during the campaign, much of the commentary on Republican candidate Donald Trump's health centered on his age, family medical history and a note purported to be directly from his doctor. However, Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton faced criticism and concern in the media about her health for many months prior to a recorded and much publicized incident where, as she left a ceremony commemorating the 15th anniversary of the September 11 terrorist attack, she appeared to faint while she was being helped to a waiting vehicle. Initially, her campaign said she was overheated. Later, she said after the incident she was visited by a doctor who diagnosed her with pneumonia.

But that incident was not the first time Clinton faced questions about her health, more specifically about "coughing", or generally sounding unhealthy. This paper will investigate mentions of Clinton's cough in coverage presented by the news aggregator The Drudge Report, specifically from the early months of 2016, when the headlines about Clinton's coughing appeared more frequently on *Drudge Report*.

In studying the *Drudge Report*, there have been many references to the website in presentations and papers, but only four academic works whose primary focus was to examine *The Drudge Report* or Matt Drudge as one of their primary inquiries. Two of those dealt with the early appearance of the *The Drudge Report* as a major news source in the late 1990s, specifically becoming well-known for providing new information and a hub to find other coverage during the Monica Lewinsky scandal involving President Bill Clinton. Only two other papers discuss *Drudge Report* in a more current context. Kalev Leetaru wrote *New Media vs. Old Media: A Portrait of the Drudge Report 2002-2008* (2009). Political scientist Kevin Wallsten composed an article examining *Drudge Report's* influence on political media coverage that was considered but never published.

Materials and Methods

While there are many sources for news and information online, one popular type of source that is often revisited multiple times by readers and has received significant investigative inquiry by scholars are news aggregators. While researching changes to traditional media, D.S. Park wrote, “News aggregators gather stories from content originators and repackage it for a reader” (2010). *Drudge Report* acts as a news aggregator but also as a new content creator for some of the stories presented on its website. Recent research on online news reading habits shows that news aggregators still exert influence in the new content sphere, saying, “aggregators remain the most popular way to find news” (2011).

Wallsten’s paper, while apparently never being published in an academic peer-reviewed journal, contains the most recent and thorough examination of the literature - both academic and popular - on the *Drudge Report*, Matt Drudge and claims regarding *Drudge Report’s* perceived political agenda. Wallsten wrote about *Drudge Report* and its creator Matt Drudge, “The conventional wisdom among media consultants, campaign directors and political journalists is that *Drudge Report* drives the agenda of the mainstream news media” (2010). In his explanation on why *Drudge Report* is worth examining, Wallsten quoted a book by Halperin and Harris – *The Way to Win*: “Matt Drudge rules our world. With the exception of the Associated Press, there is no outlet other than *The Drudge Report* whose dispatches instantly command the attention and energies of the most established newspapers and television newscasts” (2006).

Certainly, there are new news aggregators and popular sources for news and information that have taken a place in the online news and information culture today, but since the appetite for such websites has grown there is no doubt *Drudge Report* continues to exert influence (Olmstead, Mitchell, & Rosenstiel, 2011).

Drudge Report is one of the most popular news aggregators. As recently as the summer of 2016, Mediaite.com, an industry multimedia publication focusing on political media, announced, “DrudgeReport.com topped the list of U.S. media publishers for June 2016, coming in at #3 in terms of total page views.” That month, the simply designed news aggregator was only surpassed by the websites of MSN and Disney (Resman, 2016).

Drudge Report’s content is accessed by millions of viewers in the U.S. and tens of millions globally each month. We used data from a commercial company that offers some data free online, called Quantcast “...provides free cross-platform audience measurement...” (2017). See figures 1.1 and 1.2 for screenshots of Quantcast’s measurement of *Drudge Report* views. This data is updated regularly and a link to Quantcast.com appears on *Drudge Report’s* main page.



Figure 1.1 – screenshot of Quantcast’s 30 Day Total of unique visits for *The Drudge Report* as shown on February 23, 2017.

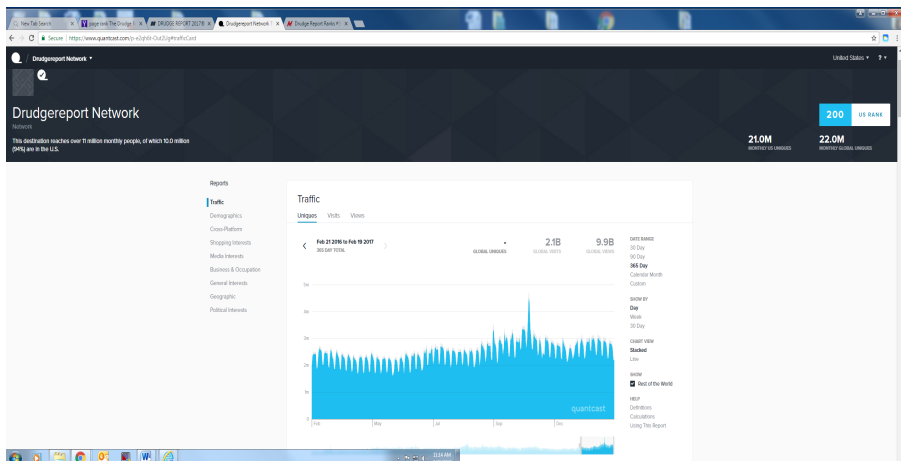


Figure 1.2 – Screenshot of Quantcast’s 365 day total traffic for *Drudge Report* as shown on February 23, 2017.

Several online website and content tracking tools exist and are in development, but many of those contain large gaps of information and don’t account for the appearance of similar stories with multiple headlines, which is typically how they appear on popular news aggregators such as *Drudge Report* (2017). For this research, DrudgeReportArchives.com, the content search tool on *Drudge Report’s* site was used to identify stories with the word “cough” or “Clinton cough” or “Clinton Coughing”. See figure 2.1 below.

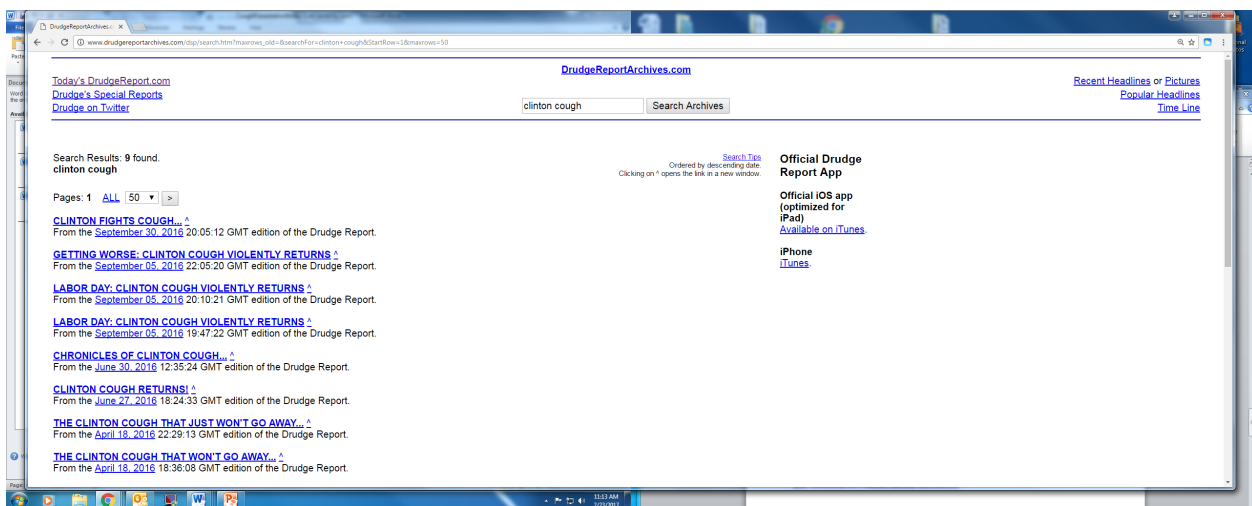


Figure 2.1 – Screenshot of first 8 entries for search query “Clinton cough” on DrudgeReportArchives.com as accessed on February 23, 2017.

After removing other health and medical coverage, such as a Whooping Cough outbreak, some turns of phrase regarding “coughing up” other information and examining the dates stories appeared, a clear pattern emerged for the time between the first regular mention of a cough and September 10, 2016.

Results

After removing other health and medical stories, such as a Whooping Cough outbreak, some turns of phrase regarding “coughing up” other information and examining the dates stories appeared, a clear pattern emerged for the time between the first regular mention of a cough and September 10, 2016. A list of the headlines, or links, as they appeared on *Drudge Report*, along with the dates they appeared is listed below in figure 3.1.

Date Published/Linked	Headline on <i>Drudge Report</i>	Time *
9/10/2016	Hillary Ducks Behind Pillar to Cough	
9/8/2016	COUGH FLASH POINT	

9/7/2016	Hillary admits upping med 'load' to combat coughing fits...	
9/7/2016	Admits upping med 'load' to combat coughing fits...	
9/6/2016	Complete timeline of 2016 coughing fits...	
9/6/2016	THE 4 MINUTE COUGH	
9/5/2016	GETTING WORSE: CLINTON COUGH VIOLENTLY RETURNS	
9/5/2016	LABOR DAY: CLINTON COUGH VIOLENTLY RETURNS	20:10:21
9/5/2016	LABOR DAY: CLINTON COUGH VIOLENTLY RETURNS	19:47:22
7/19/2016	VIDEO: Her coughing fit returns...	
6/30/2016	CHRONICLES OF CLINTON COUGH	
6/27/2016	CLINTON COUGH RETURNS!	
6/4/2016	VIDEO: Hillary coughing fit returns...	
4/26/2016	COUGH, COUGH...	
4/26/2016	COUGH, COUGH	
4/25/2016	Hillary Cough Attack Returns...	
4/24/2016	Cough Attack Returns...	
4/21/2016	PAGLIA: ENOUGH OF THE HILLARY CULT! 'And what about that persistent cough?'	
4/18/2016	More Coughing...	
4/18/2016	THE CLINTON COUGH THAT WON'T GO AWAY...	
3/14/2016	NEW COUGHING FIT FOR HILLARY, CROWD CHEERS...	
3/13/2016	VIDEO: NEW COUGHING FIT FOR HILLARY, CROWD CHEERS...	
3/7/2016	CLINTON COUGH RETURNS AT DEBATE...	
2/23/2016	MONTAGE: Hillary Can't Stop Coughing...	
2/18/2016	HILLARY DRAMA: PRISIM GLASSES BACK ON AFTER COUGHING SEIZURE	
2/18/2016	HILLARY HEALTH DRAMA: PRISIM GLASSES BACK ON DAY AFTER COUGHING SEIZURE	
2/16/2016	DRAMA: ANOTHER Hillary Coughing Fit -- At Speech Discussing 'Privilege'	
2/16/2016	DRAMA: ANOTHER Coughing Fit -- At Speech Discussing 'Privilege'...	
2/16/2016	DRAMA: ANOTHER Coughing Fit During Speech Discussing 'Privilege'...	
1/25/2016	HILLARY CHOKES: ANOTHER COUGHING FIT!	18:17:10
1/25/2016	HILLARY CHOKES: ANOTHER COUGHING FIT!	18:16:09
10/23/2015	HILLARY HEALTH WARNING: THE COUGHING FIT...	
10/23/2015	HILLARY HEALTH WARNING: COUGHING FIT...	
2/5/2008	VIDEO: HILLARY ELECTION DAY HEALTH SCARE: Coughing Fits Cut Short Election Day Media Interviews	17:44:07
2/5/2008	VIDEO: HILLARY ELECTION DAY HEALTH SCARE: Coughing Fits Cut Short Election Day Media Interviews...Developing...Taping had to be halted last Sunday on ABC 'THIS WEEK' when Clinton coughing fit alarmed producers, Concerned Host George Stephanopoulos told the senator to get some 'tea and lemon'...	17:30:00
2/5/2008	VIDEO: HILLARY ELECTION DAY HEALTH SCARE: Coughing Fits Cut Short Election Day Media Interviews...Developing...	17:19:55
5/20/2007	HILLARY COUGHING, WHEEZING AT COMMENCEMENT	
5/20/2007	WAS PLAGUED WITH DRY THORAT, WHEEZING AND A COUGHING FIT	
5/20/2007	VIDEO: HILLARY COUGHING, WHEEZING AT COMMENCEMENT...	
	<i>* Stories posted more than once within the same hour</i>	

Figure 2.1 – List of all headlines for stories involving Hillary Clinton and coughing until September 10, 2016.

The last story listed in Figure 2.1 is from September 10, 2016 - one day before the apparent fainting incident that led to worldwide media speculation about Clinton's health.

Stories about Clinton appearing to “cough” or clear her throat began on the site on May 20, 2007. Lloyd Grove from the online *The Daily Beast*, in his later examination of conservative media coverage and speculation about Clinton’s health noted that this took place during a commencement speech, “...when the former first lady was a New York senator launching her first presidential campaign” (2016).

At that time, as noted by Callum Borchers in another report about conservative media’s many characterizations of coughing by Clinton, Borchers quoted a New York Times writer that observed a radio program alter that year in which Matt Drudge, Drudge Report’s creator, didn’t appear to think it was a major concern: “Drudge expressed genuine concern for her. “Hillary, dear, take care of yourself. We need you. I need you personally...She was professional. She kept going. She finished the speech.” Later, after a caller criticized that view and wished Clinton would “drop dead”, Drudge is quoted to have replied, “I need Hillary Clinton. You don’t get it. I need to be a part of her world. That’s my bank. Like Leo DiCaprio has the environment and Al Gore has the environment and Jimmy Carter has anti-Americanism...I have Hillary.” (Weiss, 2007).

Coverage appeared again in 2008 when an apparent coughing spell reportedly paused or stopped media day interviews.

In October of 2015, after 10 hours of testimony at a Benghazi hearing, “Clinton had a serious coughing fit the prevented her momentarily from being able to speak.” (Halper, 2015). *The Weekly Standard* article went on to say that while she was given the opportunity to take a break, Clinton “...popped a cough drop in and kept on going.”

Then starting in January 2016, stories about the possibility of Clinton coughing, a “persistent” cough or the appearance that she may have been coughing ran almost monthly until the fainting incident on September 11, 2016. In some cases, stories were updated more than once a day, sometimes with new details, sometimes only the title was changed.

In June, 2016 at least two media outlets published stories about what had primarily been coverage on Clinton’s purported coughing by conservative media outlets, including *Drudge Report* after Drudge posted a link to video of a campaign rally where Clinton stopped to cough and then continued to speak.

Both Grove and David Weigel of *The Washington Post* concluded that continuing coverage of Clinton’s coughing was designed to show that Clinton was old and frail. Grove quoted post saying, “It’s a desire to portray her as lame and feeble...” *Salon* writer Katie Levingston suggested such coverage was designed to weaken a candidate so that a conservative candidate would appear more favorably. She wrote, “...the coughs are juicy but still it’s a cheap shot for Trump to use a ticklish throat to call into question Clinton’s health and stamina on the campaign trail.

Discussion

Communication scholars regularly endeavor to examine campaign rhetoric in a current or a previous presidential campaign. And often, that examination shows how rhetoric is presented in the media. As recent research has shown, with consumers getting their information from diverse forms of media with varying and possibly narrowing agendas, and new content available every minute, it is becoming more difficult to track a story’s evolution and then to begin to understand how that coverage may inform not only selection of other media, but cultural opinions and selection of candidates (Chung, Nam & Stefanone, 2012). Recent research into how Americans get their information has emphasized that online news, specifically news aggregators like *The Drudge Report* can be a valuable tool in analyzing the online information gathering habits of individual news consumers and how increased sharing of information from some websites eventually affects more mainstream, and even more viewed traditional media sites.

This examination into the pattern of coverage used to direct public opinion, combined with the repetitive nature of aggregate online news sites, blogs and a converging traditional media (Chung, Nam & Stefanone, 2012) that rely more heavily on online content is worthy of further exploration, as are themes of age, gender and health perceptions involved in media rhetoric and ultimately how that impacts voters decisions.

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INDEPENDENT GAME DEVELOPMENT: PRICE OF FREEDOM

BARIŞ PARLAN

Abstract

Within the video game development aspect, video games that developed with highest budget and promotion informally classified as AAA game. Developments that rejecting financial support from any publisher to keep up freedom against mainstream companies named as *Independent video game* even though its definition is open to interpretations. This article proposes a field study of production and distribution of the digital video game industry to see whether independent video game development is an independent alternative to mainstream production.

Research within companies and their products segmented on production tools, distribution systems, and manufactured hardware's that used by independent developers of digital video games gives us an insight of power relations within the industry. Digital video game developers, *free* video game development engines, leading digital distribution systems, developer based investigation of most played video game, and considering biggest acquisitions of the industry provides us a clear view of political economy. Statistical evidence and common ground of reviews used to form sample.

Companies claim that they are providing free production tools such as video game engines and digital distribution systems to support independent digital video game development. This article identifies power relations within the industry to underline corporations support of independent development is an exploitation of them as a risk-free research & development service. This free support becomes well-planned sub-part of capitalist structure that established by very same corporations.

While this research includes technology, law and regulation, and occupational careers facets within introduction and literature review, it highly focuses on industry structure, organization structure and market within research part in order to draw clear outlines of production.

Keywords: political economy, digital video game, independent, game industry, AAA

1. Introduction

Possession of electronic households is in rise since it perceived within definition of modernization. With the increasing amount of availability of electronic devices such as mobile phones, tablets, computers, and gaming consoles, digital video game grown up to become an industry which reaches to every segment of society. As in every medium that has reached to segments of society becomes an area to be conquered and controlled by the corporations, digital video game industry is a new territory that systems of production is getting formed by them.

The developer, publisher, distributor, and retailer were four key actors that held by corporations for a time, but meaning and structure of them are shifting with the speed of technological advances.

Developers segmented into two group, where one is professional developers who develops AAA titles with highest budgets & promotions, and holds professional agreements with publishers, retailers, and distributors. Second segment is independent developers, which develops video games without the financial support from publisher in general. Definition of the independent game term is still an ongoing discussion within literature with other terms such as AAA, mainstream, video game, etc. Maria & Pawel proposes three separate types of independency in their article: (a) Financial independence that constituted by the developer & investor relation, (b) Creative independence that constituted by the developer & intended audience relation, and (c) Publishing independency that constituted by the developer & publisher relation (2016). Even though there are different combinations of independent products and developers within industry, all of those combinations fall under categories proposed above.

1.1. Significance of Topic

In search of "*what innovation is in the realm of games*", Kati Alha defines five major aspects to outline a guide whether a game is innovative or not: (a) Being familiarly new rather than completely new (game compared to existing games). (b) Overall quality of the game, which well enough in more than one area (game as such). (c) Influences of cultural, economic, political events and timing within the environment (context). (d) Not necessarily on sales, but widely distributed (reception). (e) Attract follower developments and affect them (influence) (Alha, 2012, p. 3).

Game development is costly in terms of time and money like movie industry, sometimes bigger than that nowadays. Trying new ideas and being creative without knowing its success probability directs developers to produce AAA games, repetitions of sale-proven titles within the industry without any risk. Publishers and distributors profit-based concerns direct them to support AAA games too. In summary of this process, innovation becomes expensive factor and it is the foundation of the independent development.

Success in only one major aspect from list above do not define a game as innovative. Within that research, “*the game that is ultimately remembered as bringing something new to the industry is usually not the first of a kind*” (Alha, 2012, p. 4) statement becomes a key point that defines the problem of nowadays industry. In the procedure mainstream development that employed before rise of independent development, innovative ideas from not-so-successful games collected and developed by corporations as an AAA game and presented to market within the consideration of all five major aspects Kati Alha listed. Especially that kind of product is not accidental, it presented to the market with a plan where all key actors settle beforehand and it is a result of a serious work.

However, key actors and the procedure within digital video game industry is changing, and this research is aiming to understand how power structures take their place within this changing model.

1.2. Literature Review

When James Gee was analyzing video game industry in 2008, he stated that digital games are new form of popular cultures, and he warned that no one should mistake their present state for their potential in the context of a diverse array of new technologies, designers, players, and learning and playing situations (Gee, 2008, p. 198). We are experiencing that future where its potential shows a resistance against capitalist structures in terms of power relations. Major resistance sourced in the desire of innovation that developers wished to perform but corporations never permit. It is very unfortunate that independent products were an abundant resource of approved ideas for professional developers. In his guest column, Dan Scherlis focuses into the cloning issue that corporate publishers practice: “*they copy innovative games while changing artwork, text, and titles just enough to avoid infringing copyright law.*” (Scherlis, 2012)

New era of free production tools and digital distribution provides advantage to independents to develop innovative ideas. In 2010, independent game development company named *Wolfire Games* offered six independent games within a bundle which price would determine by purchaser, percentage of the amount would go to charities. Within purchaser determined price system, there was a slider for the purchaser to decide the percentage of the amount they wish to send developer, charity etc. Within the first week, this offering raised more than a million dollar for developers and *Humble Bundle* became an independent distribution platform where every month they bundle different independent games and kept support for charities (Anon., 2016). This offering was challenging the economic understanding of the game industry; on the other hand, that event represented major signals for the whole industry to switch from physical distribution to digital distribution. This is a brief explanation of how AAA developers began to provide digital distribution systems.

While Christiansen explains the history of independent game development as a movement and resistance to dominant mainstream discourse, he mentions that perhaps the greatest contributions to the independent developer community have been from developers who have created entire game engines and then released them as open source projects (Christiansen, 2013, p. 128). Game development was already required intense knowledge of programming, but developing a game engine was required much higher time and knowledge than that. This *open sourced game engine* idea boosted independent developer’s production and became another way of profit for AAA developers where they began to open licensing features for game engines that they develop and use for their own games.

Acquisitions of small companies by corporations and merge activities are another result of those changes. Martin & Deuze were able to see the rise of independent development in part as the result of an increasing global economy, fueled by the rise and availability of free and easy-to-use development and distribution technologies, and they argue this as alienation between producer, product, and consumer from traditional Marxist viewpoint (Chase Bowen Martin, Mark Deuze, 2009, p. 292). Market’s global structure is getting more company concentrated while they create corporate synergy, which means alternative ways of economic and technologic profit for corporations with merging and acquisition (Hardy, 2014, p. 90). Those corporate actions cost billions of dollars where only ideas and copyrights traded. It is important to remember that all major console manufacturers set the sale price of devices lower than production cost and accept an economic loss in expectancy of profit within long run via game sales of future (Nichols, 2013, p. 27). Corporations acquisition considered within such long-term expectations, even its cost is higher than profit in short term.

1.3. Research Objectives

Acceptance and usage of those mentioned tools and systems could be observed as fast adaptation to changes within key actors. Independent game development rooted by an idea that is against mainstream corporation. This is why it is important to remember the discourse and keep questioning the political economy of production and distribution tools to be able to identify power relations.

This research investigates these questions:

1. Are free game engines free to independent developers?
2. Is there any company concentration within key actors of digital distribution services?
3. What is the concentration of independent development and acquisitions in the market?

As a result of this research, we will have a detailed understanding about answers to all three questions, and this will provide us the possibility to anticipate the future of game development.

2. Methodology

A mixed method of qualitative and quantitative approaches used together in order to develop sufficient answers for research questions. Production tool and distribution system owners do not share their data or statistics in transparency. Laws and regulations that do not force those companies to be transparent is another aspect of the issue, which is worth mentioning at this point. Their available & accessible data, consultant reports, and market research used together in order to develop consistency. Researchers' long-term participant observation of 15 years was another essential source of information in this research. Journal articles, online blogs, and web publications included to these observations since most of their writers are observers and participants of the topic too.

Scratchware Manifesto is a manifesto that was published in 2000 by video game industry workers who accuse corporate machines with suppressing creative vision and repressing innovation in order to minimize risks and increase profit. (Anonymous, 2000). Due to the sensitivity of the topic and protection from the sanction of capital structures, workers preferred to publish that manifesto anonymously. Their argument is a very close example to critical theorist Theodor Adorno's Culture Industry framework.

"The cultural producer, or the artist, had no real agency and that the industries produced massively homogenized goods in order to integrate people into the capitalist way of life, therefore contributing to its reproduction." (Ommen, 2016, p. 4)

When we consider AAA titles that were developed and published by professional corporations, we should be able to observe homogenized and reproduced goods within the industry. Since an artist's agency is considered as *not real* within the framework, the corporation remains as a cultural producer in essence. Richard & Anand's research on the production of culture perspective focuses on how the symbolic elements of culture are shaped by the system, within which they are created, distributed, evaluated, taught, and preserved (Richard A. Peterson, N. Anand, 2004, p. 311). Their six facets of production are technology, law and regulation, industry structure, organization structure, occupational careers, and market. This research includes technology, law and regulation, and occupational careers facets within introduction and literature review. In the other hand, this research highly focuses on industry structure, organization structure and market within research part in order to draw clear outlines of production.

In game engines and digital distribution systems, there are hundreds of alternatives available that any developer can choose. In order to select major ones within all for keeping research sample manageable, columnists of video game development magazines, blog writers from industry, product and system reviewers, and statistical data collected together to form an ordered list within a best-evidence approach. This approach is used to prevent cherry picking for sample.

At this point, it is important to understand that participants of industry constantly wrote blogs and online publications, which are now enlightening remains of a digital history.

2.1. Sample of Game Engines

Statistically, *indiedb.com* and *moddb.com* provides a minor difference within their *All Time Popular Engine* list even though *moddb.com's* game engine database has 150 additional game engines in its list where it totally lists 660 game engines (Anon., 2017) (Anon., 2017).

Mark Wilcox from *DeveloperEconomics.com* publishes four major game engines for independent developers based on their survey done within their twitter audience (Wilcox, 2014), Craig Chapple from *Develop-Online.net* publishes observations (Chapple, 2014), Rita Turkowski from *GameSpark* provides analysis and comparison of major game engines (Turkowski, 2016).

Best-evidence approach used for synthesizing from a representative sampling of web articles and statistical data and determined to consider *Unity3D*, *Unreal Engine*, *CryEngine*, *GameMaker: Studio*, *Source*, and *Construct2* game engines since they are most widely reviewed/suggested in game development area.

2.2. Digital Distribution Systems

Due to research that based on *compete.com's* unique visitors at April 2010, *Steam* was leading distribution service with 52% score. Nevertheless, 6 year is even enough for paradigmatic change within the technological speed and there is no solid proof/statistic based data available to understand demographics of digital distribution.

With *Entertainment Retailers Association's* research and statistical results, we are able to see that digital format sales are increased 17.1% where physical format sales are decreased -2.2% which means 2015 is the first year in history that digital share of entertainment was higher than physical share (Butler, 2016).

Steam, Origin, UPlay, GOG.com, Battle.net, Green Man Gaming, and GamersGate appears to be most common digital distribution platforms. I conclude to focus on these seven platforms by averaging common mentions of Michael Klappenbach from *Lifewire* (Klappenbach, 2016), Henry Winchester from *TechRadar* (Winchester, 2012), Christian Bonilla from *MakeUseOf* (Bonilla, 2016), and Shamus Young from *The Escapist* (Young, 2015).

2.3. Market Concentration

In order to investigate and understand the popularity of independent ideas within market and concentration of acquisitions, analyses divided into two different part. The first part is based on *Steam*, which is the largest and most used digital distribution system that developed by *Valve Corporation*. *Steam's* live and accessible statistical data is the reason for this decision. Most actively playing game data, which shows highest live active player numbers of top 100 games. Highest 10 games taken consideration and their development backgrounds investigated in order to see if there is a pattern. The second part includes analysis of recent data about biggest video game acquisitions, which data cited from Wikipedia since I personally contributed to gathering information for that page personally (Fares Ketbi, Baris Parlan, 2016).

2.4. Limitations

Statistical research reports about the digital video game industry and consultant reports prices are relatively high (above 2.000\$) since they are produced for assisting technology companies with their future planning. There are no law or regulation policy, which enforces companies to be transparent about their statistical information. Therefore, this research was limited to available public information of consultant reports and statistical data.

Microsoft (Xbox), Nintendo (Wii), and Sony (PlayStation) are major corporations that manufacture hardware within game console industry. Additionally, they all function as a developer, publisher, and distributor of digital video game industry. They are major global corporations of industry and excluded from this research as production tool and distribution service owners since they all have their own development, publishing, and distribution tools, which focuses on their own hardware platforms.

3. Finding and Discussion

3.1. Findings of Means of Production

In this part of research, economical limitations and royalty basis of six major game engines cited from their End User License Agreements to provide information about real prices of products.

- a) Unreal Engine by Epic Games: *"You agree to pay Epic a royalty equal to 5% of all worldwide gross revenue actually attributable to each Product"* (Anon., 2017)
- b) Unity3d: *"If your company currently makes more than \$100k in annual gross revenues or has raised funds in excess of \$100k, you are not permitted to use Unity Personal as defined in our EULA Agreement."* (Anon., 2016)
- c) CryEngine by CryTech: *"The basic version of the CryTech Services can be used indefinitely and without restrictions."* (Anon., 2017)
- d) Construct2 by Scirra: *"The individual is permitted to make up to \$5,000 USD lifetime revenue (or equivalent in other currencies/payments/benefits) from their creations."* (Anon., 2017)
- e) Source Engine by Valve: *"Source engine is completely free if developers will distribute their games free. In order to earn profit from Source Engine, the developer should pay \$25.000 licensing fee."* (Anon., 2017)
- f) GameMaker: Studio announced to discontinue due to the release of newer version *GameMaker Studio 2*. It does not provide a free version option anymore.

3.2. Findings of Digital Distribution Systems

In this part of research, owners of digital distribution systems identified to see whether they develop or publish digital video games in addition to distribute other video games. In addition to that, information about those companies' game engines listed if any exist. It is important to mention that there is no claim, branding, or advertisement about free distribution. Six of those digital distribution systems charge various amount of share from distributions, where one of them do not distribute independent developments.

- a) Steam: owned by *Valve Corporation* (game developer and publisher), developer of Source Game Engine. Source2 Engine is under development and announced that Source2 will be available for free to content developers.

- b) Origin: developed and owned by Electronic Arts (game developer and publisher), developer of two proprietary game engines that not on sale or open to the public: Ignite and Frostbite.
- c) UPlay: owned by Ubisoft Entertainment (game developer and publisher), developer of the proprietary game engine: Anvil.
- d) GOG.com: owned by CD Projekt (game developer and publisher), developer of the proprietary game engine: REDengine.
- e) Battle.net: owned by Activision-Blizzard (game developer and publisher), developer of proprietary game engines. Used Unity3d (free game engine) for "Hearthstone" game.
- f) Green Man Gaming: Worldwide serving online video game retailer. Additionally provides game publishing service and have no game development function.
- g) GamersGate: Worldwide serving online video game retailer. Even though developed by Paradox Interactive (game developer and publisher), they divide distribution service as a separate company to make it more "independent" and equal for all other developing and publishing partners.

3.3. Findings of Company Concentration over Steam

Table 1 is showing concurrent active player of each game on Steam. The number of active user changes during day/night shifts and games may switch positions between each other but main importance of graph remains solid when we group those games as AAA and Independent products. Respective numbered paragraphs are explanations about development background of each title in this list in order.

CURRENT PLAYERS	PEAK TODAY	GAME
424,809	901,129	Dota 2
381,215	661,144	Counter-Strike: Global Offensive
60,281	111,545	Grand Theft Auto V
58,199	74,413	ARK: Survival Evolved
55,162	73,690	Team Fortress 2
53,142	70,446	Football Manager 2017
48,707	63,941	Rocket League
45,385	59,780	Rust
43,935	63,107	Garry's Mod
43,797	49,557	Sid Meier's Civilization V

Table 1 - Steam's live active player stats of 2017 Jan 09.

1. Original DotA was a game modification done by players at their homes over another AAA production *Warcraft III* by Blizzard Entertainment. DotA's intellectual property rights acquired by Valve Corporation in 2009 to develop a sequel for it named DotA 2.
2. Counter-Strike is another game modification done by players, over an AAA production *Half-life* by Valve Corporation in 1999. Games intellectual property rights acquired by Valve Corporation and they produce 7 official Counter-Strike games. *Counter-Strike: Global Offensive* is one of them.
3. *Rockstar Games* developed first *Grand Theft Auto* (GTA) in 1997, and within 20 years, 15 different / sequel GTA games developed for various platforms.
4. *ARK: Survival Evolved* was a game developed by *Studio Wildcard* in co-operation with *Instinct Games*, *Efecto Studios*, and *Virtual Basement*. *ARK* was company's first game and developed with *Unreal Engine*.
5. *Team Fortress* was a game modification done by players in 1996. *Valve Corporation* developed and published *Team Fortress Classic* version in 1999 and *Team Fortress 2* in 2007.
6. *Football Manager* firstly developed in 2005 by *Sports Interactive* and published by *Sega*. From that, date game repeatedly developed 12 times every single year, excluding some other platform versions.
7. *Psyonix*, an independent video game development company that uses *Unreal Engine* technology, develops *Rocket League*. They provide support to big game development titles independently.
8. *Facepunch* is an independent video game development company who employees only 20 people and developed both *Garry's Mod* and *Rust*, 8th and 9th most played games in the *Steam* list.
9. *Civilization* is a game firstly developed in 1991 by *Sid Meier* while his co-founded company *MicroProse*. After that company's acquisition, *Meier* formed a new company named *Fraxis* and kept developing *Civilization* as series with many other games. From 1991 until today, 13 different *Civilization* game developed, 6 of them was sequels.

1	DotA 2	Mod - Acquired to AAA - 2 Sequels
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2	Counter Strike: G.O.	Mod - Acquired to AAA - 7 Sequels
3	Grand Theft Auto V	AAA - 15 Sequels
4	ARK: Survival Evolved	Co-Developed - Unreal Engine
5	Team Fortress 2	Mod - Acquired to AAA - 2 Sequels
6	Football Manager 2017	AAA - 12 Sequels
7	Rocket League	Independent - Unreal Engine
8	Garry's Mod	Independent - Source Engine
9	Rust	Independent - Unity Engine
10	Civilization V	AAA - 13 Sequels

Table 2 - 10 Most Actively Played Steam Games & Production Info

3.4. Findings of Company Acquisitions

It is important to notice that acquisitions between developers, publishers, and distributors topped \$25 billion from beginning of 2016 until July 2016 up to *Digi-Capital's* research reports (Anon., 2016). Here is the list of most expensive video game acquisitions of all times:

- *Supercell*, the developer of *Clash of Clans* game was a development studio with 180 workers. Relatively small, where its major competitor was King Digital with 1,400 workers. Chinese company *Tencent Holdings*, which has minor stakes in *Epic Games* (Owner of Unreal Engine) and major stakes in much other game and technology industry, acquired Supercell in 2016 for \$8.6 billion.
- *King Digital*, the developer of *Candy Crush* game acquired by *Activision-Blizzard* in 2016 for \$5.9 billion.
- *Mojang*, the developer of *Minecraft* was a self-made independent studio. *Microsoft* acquires *Mojang* for \$2.5 billion in 2014, and three founders of Mojang left the company.
- *Oculus* was an independent company established two months prior to *Kickstarter* campaign in the promise to develop virtual reality headset. The successful project raised \$2.5 million. *Facebook* acquired Oculus for \$2 billion in 2014.

We can observe that three out of four companies are independent, especially within the definition that established in the beginning of research.

3.5. Discussions

In terms of game engines as production tools, all companies except *CryEngine* announce and promotes their game engine as free to support independent developments, but they force royalty within specific circumstances. Those circumstances mostly related with income of the project, which enforces the developer to share a percentage of the profit with game engine producer if they earn more than specified amount of income. Calling a product free within written rules is a branding technique of product, which announced with intention to democratize game development. This information should be accounted by the independent developer and future bindings should considered before development (Amber Rowland, Chris Clarke, 2011). It is important to note down that this model became popular within many other game engine providers, and actually, they should be marked down as a new dominant power within the industry.

Within seven digital distribution services, *Green Man Gaming* is the only retailer that have no development or publishing interest, and *GamersGate* has no development but publishing service. Six major digital distribution systems (Steam, Origin, UPlay, GOG.com, Battle.net, GamersGate) developed by game publishers to distribute their own games, and five of them (Steam, Origin, UPlay, GOG.com, GamersGate) opened their systems to other publishers as distribution service in return of profit share by percentage. It is important to understand that those service owners are already mainstream game development and publishing companies. This profit share based agreement means opportunity for independent developers since they use a free distribution service in return. Physical distributions disadvantages make it obsolete against digital distribution, and this process makes digital distribution systems another new dominant power in an industry that takes share from the profit of independent developers.

In analyze of *Steam's* Current Active Player data by its titles, we observe that three games are completely independent production, one co-developed which makes four games out of ten using game engines that contained by this research. Remaining three games are AAA productions of professional developers that do not prefer to innovate new things to avoid risks. That decision leads them 13 sequels per game on average. If we include all acquired games by professional developers to calculation, we end up 9 sequels game per title on average.

The last step of this process within game industry is to acquire the suitable independent company and make it an asset of global corporation in order to maintain profit in future. Especially last two acquisitions are virtual reality technology related examples, which means hundreds of independent developers preparing projects about it, and corporations are clearly harvesting successful ones by providing them means of production.

4. Conclusion and Further Suggestions

4.1. Conclusion

This research was giving analysis of corporations within digital video game industry. Free game engine idea as branding technique and comfort of digital distribution systems simply directing independent developers to try innovative ideas within their initiatives. Independent developers should consider real offering underlying this system because providing production tools such as game engines for development is a new way of free research & development solution for corporations. This very same situation is valid for distribution too. Those are supportive developments from corporations to the independent developer to innovate new ideas and experiment them on market. Corporations will take share from projects; even project can acquired depending on its success rate. At this perspective, independent development becomes exploited risk-free research & development service for corporations. When we consider corporation concentration within the industry, mainstream dominant structures keeping pace with new technology to establish their control.

Very similar progress can observe in the movie industry, music industry, and book industry. Within technological advancement that affects means of production and distribution systems, corporations put themselves in a place where makes them able to share from a profit of developers.

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TRANSLATING OR REWRITING?

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Abstract

Translation brings cultures closer and enhances communication. In fact, its role should be that of an encounter with the Other(s), to get to know them, to understand their behavior, to discover their norms, to enjoy their culture and to get rid of the stereotypes and the prejudices that the reader has in mind. However, translation can sometimes be instrumental in shaping people's attitudes towards foreign cultures stigmatizing certain races and nationalities and forming new cultural identities by relying on cultural norms and resources that differ from those existing in the source /domestic culture. The fact that some translations are carried out under different constraints and that translators are posed between two different linguistic backgrounds and several cultural traditions can lead to a reconstruction and reshaping of images of the source culture in a way that would fit the target text culture but would probably have fundamental effects on the target readers' vision of the world the source text belongs to. According to S. Faiq, " translators usually tried to follow the original text as closely as possible, they often added bits of information from their own knowledge or deleted bits of information that did not confirm with their belief system" (2007,56) . So, although we admit that the process of translation involves deconstructing the source text and reconstructing a new one and sometimes the process becomes an arena for conflictive choices, we cannot impose on a target text aspects or segments of the source text identity. This new text abides to new codes, new rules and may be might serve new interest of certain social groups.

"All languages are not born equal. But they all possess an equal right to have their dignity respected and their identity preserved" (Amine Maalouf: 2000,11). Therefore, target readers should discover through translation, the identity of source language readers, know their roots, their pride. A target text should preserve the unique identity of the source text and its peculiarities as much as possible in order to allow the text to cross borders and promote understanding and intercultural contact.

My paper will be based on a comparative study of the Moroccan writer Mohamed Choukri's novel *AlKhobzalhafi الحافي الخبز* and its translation *For Bread Alone* by Paul Bowles. In my discussion, I will show how knowledge is produced in one culture and how it is interpreted in another and how texts can be manipulated and subverted through translation for different reasons and agendas.

Introduction

Language has the power to convey a set of beliefs, ideas and concepts in a given environment. It is considered as « *a systemic and consistent body of representations that reflect specific social practices from particular points of view* » (Faiq, 2007:10). Therefore, translation, a language operation par excellence, cannot be a straightforward process of transferring words unproblematically from one language to another but a complex activity that takes place in a broad socio-cultural context. According to Vermeer (1986:33)

Translation is not the transcoding of words or sentences from one language to another, but a complex form of action, whereby someone provides information on a text (source language material) in a new situation and under changed functional, cultural and linguistic conditions, preserving formal aspects as closely as possible. (in Bassnet & Lefevere (1990 :82)

In this context, translation is a cross-cultural transfer that involves understanding, interpreting, adaptation, and manipulation conditioned by sociological, ideological and literary facts. The translator has to mold the source text, filter certain concepts, attitudes and values convert them in a target text that is largely dominated by the needs and demands of the receiving culture. According to Bassnett, Umberto Eco (2011) argues that translators must know the cultural nuances that text might not exhibit explicitly, « *what translation does is to focus attention on difference, to find ways of avoiding homogenisation while at the same time ensuring that difference does not cause misunderstanding* » (in Bassnet, 2011 :xiii)

On the other hand, cultures have differences which may be disastrous during encounters in translation. It is very important for target readers to be aware of the linguistic and cultural dissimilarities existing between both languages in order to render the cross-cultural contact a positive one, to ease tension and help bridge the gap between these cultures. For Grosman, «*The readers' ignorance of the specific socio- cultural context of foreign literary texts and of their textual repertoire usually leads to misperception and assimilation of the different and unknown instead of an enriching awareness of the unfamiliar and incomprehensible* » (in Teaching Translation and Interpreting2, 1994 : 56)

We have to agree, then, that during the act of translation many conscious and unconscious decisions take place. The translator may resort to different strategies and methods like adaptation, manipulation, mediation, domestication and exoticising in order to make sure the text survives to the process of deconstructing and reconstructing, « *a process during which a metamorphosis occurs. A piece of writing that exists in one language is transformed into something else. The original readers disappear and are replaced by a new set of readers, dwelling in another place and in another time* » (Bassnett, 2011 : 45-46). In other words, translation becomes a process that gives birth to a new text for a new readership in a new spatial and timal environment.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to argue how translation becomes a rewriting and how the foreign text gains a new identity. Through a comparative discussion of Mohamed Choukri's¹ *Alkhoz Alhafi* الحخبز الحافي_ and its translation *For Bread Alone* by Paul Bowles², I will attempt to answer some intriguing questions : to what extent was the act of translating an act of rewriting ? Did the translator adopt a style of his own? To what extent is creativity permissible? What is lost when a text crosses language and culture barriers?

I- Translation between representation and manipulation

Today, the world has become « *a new international space where great numbers of people have come to live in a state of in-betweenness, endlessly negotiating between the familiar and the unfamiliar, the known and the unknown* » (Bhabba, 1994 in Bassnett, 2014 :1). Hence, the greater need for tools allowing cross-cultural contact and awareness. Translation is a medium for establishing channels of communication among people across different cultures. It is, in fact, an encounter with the Other(s) to get to know them, to discover their norms and enjoy their culture. In other words, different people's identities interact and develop thanks to their familiarization with translated works about culture, literature, art, society and religion.

However, Translation can play a tremendously important role in shaping cultures and reinforcing the stereotypes already existing in the target culture about source culture. For example, Galland's translation of *Alf lila wlila* ألف ليلة و ليلة, *The Arabian Nights* has misleadingly created a wrong image of the Arab world and Eastern civilization in general. In fact, in his translation, Galland tries to focus principally on the sensual and the sexual ' primitiveness' of the Eastern people. Therefore, the general image the Westerners have on the East is mainly exotic, sensual and different. In fact, the translation process becomes an act involving manipulation and appropriation, an act which will manipulate the target readers' view of the source culture and its people by imposing on it certain words, or even concepts. Within translation, two cultures different and remote in space and time will clash and try to force the audience to assimilate the discourse and value system of one another. According to Faiq « *when cultures cross and mingle through translation, [their] pasts come face to face and struggle for power and influence becomes inevitable* » (2004:2)

Within translation, a transformation occurs whereby the translator takes the position of a negotiator; a decision-maker who is going to choose what best fits the target text and the expectations of the audience. But the question asked here is: can this transformation be an innocent act? Carol Coates (1996) clearly asserts that « *literature is not innocent. Neither is translation* » (in Faiq, 2007 :vii) . We know that words do not occur in a vaccum. They might embody assumptions, presuppositions and conventions that reflect «... *the way a given*

culture constructs and partitions reality » (Hatim and Mason, 1994 :67). A foreign text can, therefore, reflect issues on identity and difference, and can display an ensemble of representations, images, poetics and values representing a culture and the people of that culture. Transporting this text to a different milieu and trying to make it relevant can be a difficult, non-innocent and manipulative act.

In Bowles' translation of Choukri's *Alkhobz Alhafi*, we noticed that there were particularly difficult images or concepts to tell in English and Bowles chose different strategies to compensate for this loss. On this, Bassnett asserts:

Not only are languages not the same, but the ways in which languages are used are never the same, so the task of the translator is indeed a highly complex one, for it requires negotiation of difference that is both linguistic and cultural. (2014:9)

For example, in chapter one, Choukri writes in *Alkhobz Alhafi* (2010 :5)

أبكي موت خالي و الأطفال من حولي. يبكي بعضهم معي. لم أعد أبكي فقط عندما يضربني أحد أو حين أفقد شيئاً

Bowles translates this as: ' I know this is not the same kind of crying as when I hurt myself or when a plaything is snatched away' (1993 : 9) while the literal translation is ' I don't cry only when someone beats me or when I lose something ' (My own translation). Here we are wondering whether the translator's choice was conscious or unconscious. Bowles is an American writer whose culture considers beating children unacceptable and even illegal. In the second sentence, Choukri did not mention a plaything but Bowles predicted that what kids should normally have is toys but dismissed the fact that Choukri grew up in a very poor family and in the Rif region of Nador, north Morocco, which was hit by war and famine in the 50s. In addition, Bowles uses the passive ' is snatched away' focusing on the action without mentioning the doer whereas Choukri clearly states ' أفقد شيئاً / I lose something'

Another example is when Choukri describes his father cursing everyone and even God, he says in Arabic ' يسب العالم دائما و يجذف على الله أحيانا ثم يستغفره ' (2010 :8) . However, in his translation, Bowles misses the part when the father asks for God's forgiveness after cursing Him. He writes « *He abuses everyone with his words, sometimes even Allah* » (1993 : 11). It is very significant for Muslims to ask for Allah's forgiveness, it is part of their inherent practices whether they sin or curse or not because they know He is going to forgive them. Muslims often quote many Surahs from the Quran affirming that. Consider this verse:

سورة 39- 53 قل يا عبادي الذين أسرفوا على أنفسهم لا تقنطوا من رحمة الله ان الله يغفر الذنوب جميعا انه هو الغفور الرحيم (الزمر)

"O my Servants who have transgressed against their souls! Despair not of the Mercy of Allah: for Allah forgives all sins: for He is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful" (Surah Az-Zumar 39-53. Yusuf Ali, The Quoranic Arabic Corpus Website).

It is important, though, to mention that Choukri had to reduce the source text written in standard Arabic into Moroccan Arabic, darija. Then both writer and translator used « *Spanish and French for ascertaining certain shades of meaning* » (Paul Bowles 1973 in *For Bread Alone*,1993 :5). So, did the missing parts fell accidentally in this movement among three languages or was it a deliberate choice made by Bowles ? Nobody can predict what goes on in the translator's mind and what conditions his choices although some critics believe that Bowles consciously chose not to translate literally the part where Choukri describes his father killing his brother in order not to shock the target reader. Even at the end of the novel, Bowles omits the sentence referring to this murder while Choukri significantly opens and closes the novel with the violence of his father whom he never forgave. To illustrate, Bowles says ' my little brother never had a chance to sin. All he did was to live his illness' (1993 :169) In arabic, Choukri writes : (2010 :233) ' انه لم يذنب. لم يعيش سوى مرضه ثم قتله أبي' :

' He di not sin. All he did was live his illness to be killed by my father' (My own translation) In this context, Bassnet states:

Stories are always changed in their retelling, just as translations always change the original text upon which they are based. There can never be sameness in translation, for a text moves across languages,

so as it is decoded and recoded, dis-remembered and re-remembered, reshaped and remade into a new original to be read anew. (2014 :165)

For many years, translation scholars have underlined the fact that « *translation, by necessity, involves manipulation and subversion of linguistic and cultural traditions* » (Faiq, 2005:57). So, when manipulation intervenes as the sole choice left for the translator especially when Source Text (ST) and Target Text (TT) display unresolvable dissimilarities at linguistic, semantic and cultural levels, it can be justified and innocent. However, if manipulation entails distortion, maneuvering and changing the origin it can lead to disastrous misunderstanding and efface some of the foreign text's peculiarities because « *source texts become situated into ways of representation (chains of signs) ingrained in the shared experience and institutional norms of the translating community or communities (self, selves, us)* » (Faiq, 2007 :11). When translating, each decision the translator makes can take him/her near to or far from an encounter with the Other. After the translator's choices, translation should become a dynamic communication, a creative dialogue and a lively exchange between the Self (translating culture) and the Other (translated text).

Venuti confirms that « *translation wields enormous power in constructing representations of foreign cultures* » (1998 :67). In other words, when translators shape their translation in a way that would not read as translation by adopting the images, the aesthetics and even sometimes the ideology of target language, they negate the otherness reflected in the foreign text and therefore the latter loses its identity. For example, in *For Bread Alone* Bowles dropped out the Amazigh words used by Choukri in the original work. Therefore, he negated the readers the chance to know that the Arab world is a melting pot of nations, languages, dialects, social and religious practices; and ideologies. Second, Choukri's choice to incorporate Tarifit (the Amazigh language spoken in the Rif region, North Morocco) is not without its reason. It is done with the aim of endowing the text with the desired authenticity and singularity. Third, the use of Tarifit symbolizes the writer's attachment to his mother and his unconditional love and support for her against the violent patriarchal behavior of the father who was aware of this special and close relationship between mother and son, and

hated both for that . Choukri writes ' *كالكما يحاول أن يدافع عن الآخر، لا تباليان أبدا بما أقوله* '

(2010:95) translated as « *She spoils you the whole time. You plot together against me. You defend each other. You never listen to what I tell you* » (1993:67)

On the other hand, later in the novel Bowles makes reference to Choukri speaking and understanding

Tarifit or Riffian, as he used it:

« *...and spoke to me in Riffian. What's that ?* » (Ibid :12)

« *I leapt into the air, crying out in Riffian : Ay mainou ! Ay mainou !* » (Ibid :14)

So, even if « *Translating naturally involves the transporting (carrying over) of languages and their associated cultures to and recuperated by specific target reading constituencies. These constituencies have at their disposal established systems of representation, with norms and conventions for the production and consumption of meanings vis-à-vis people, objects and events* » (Faiq, 2007:1), it has largely been discussed that

translation includes manipulation, appropriation and untrust. On this, Maria Tymoczko and Edwin Gentzler (2002 : xxi) clearly proclaim that :

Translation is not simply an act of faithful reproduction but, rather, a deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, structuration and fabrication- and even, in some cases of falsification, refusal of information, counterfeiting and the creation of secret codes » (in Bassnett, 2011 :45)

In brief, what is said in one language can never be reproduced in the same form. There can always be individual, societal or ideological factors that dominate the translation process and the choices of the translator. As Faiq admits « *translators usually tried to follow the original text as closely as possible, they often added bits of information from their own knowledge or deleted bits of information that did not confirm with their belief system* » (2007 :56).

II- The Translator: a negotiator, a traitor or a creative rewriter?

In recent years, many writers and theorists like Bassnett, André Lefevere, Venuti, Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Umberto Eco, Gayatri Spivak, to name but a few have shifted to considering the translator as a re-reader, creator and a rewriter. According to Octavio Paz, translation is a 'creative art'. It is a multi-layered activity that involves reading, understanding, decoding, recoding, reshaping and rewriting in order to ensure the survival of the text in a different form, in a different language and for a different culture. Bassnett argues that:

...the translation process should be viewed as nothing less than the creation of a new original for a different readership. Translators cannot avoid reshaping texts for new readers, so it is more accurate to see that reshaping process as something vital and creative in its own right. (Ibid : 177)

On many occasions in Bowles' translation *For Bread Alone*, adjustments, fillings and losses were made by the translator in order to accommodate for ideas, concepts that do not exist in the target language(TL) or that might be inappropriate or shocking to the TL audience. However, the decisions he made in his translation were not consistent. He sometimes opted for omissions, other times for additions or simply transliterations. For example, in chapter three, he did not translate a discussion between Choukri and his friend but replaced it with one sentence « *One day my friend Tafersiti and I decided to go to visit a brothel* ». Let us quote what Choukri says in Arabic:

التقيت صديقي التفرسي. كان حزينا. قال: عمي مات. مسكين. قتل نفسه وزوجته وأولاده الثلاثة. كيف حدث و لماذا؟ قضا أيا ما بدون أكل. لم يرد ' (Choukri ,2010 :41-42) هو وزوجته أن يطلبوا من أحد الجيران شيئا من القوت. بنيا بابا من الداخل، بابا آخر من الحجر و الطين و ماتوا

' I met my friend Tafersiti. He was sad. He said:
My uncle died.
Poor, I said.

He killed himself, his wife and their three children.
How did that happen and why? I asked him
They starved for a few days. They did not want to ask for any food from the neighbors. They built a door with rocks and mud from inside the house, stayed there and died, he answered.

May Allah bless them, I said' (My own translation)

I admit that this passage is, emotionally speaking, strong and shocking but it functions within the continuity of the novel as reflecting the author's life filled with horror, brutality, violence, oppression, cruelty and his struggle for survival. It can be argued that Bowles made adjustments that would suit the ideology of the translating culture so he omitted the dialogue on purpose in order to avoid shocking the receiving culture.

Another example is in chapter six which starts in Arabic as follows 'صالحني الجيران مع أبي (2010 : 83-85)

Bowles similarly writes in chapter six ' it was the neighbors who forced a truce between my father and me...' (

صرت أفكر: إذا كان من تمنيت له ' (1993 :63) but skips four pages to move directly to chapter seven in the Arabic text ' أن يموت قبل الأوان فهو أبي (Choukri ,2010 :91) and included the sentence « *I was thinking : If there's anybody in the world I wish would die before his hour comes, it's my father*» (1993 :64) within a paragraph in chapter six in the English text. In fact, the pages omitted are a clear picture of the decadence of Choukri's life: drugs, women, violence, love, prostitution, pedophilia...etc. No one can exactly tell if this was a deliberate act and no one knows the motives behind Bowles decision in translation, or if was it an unconscious act. In this context, Venuti states:

The violence of translation resides in its very purpose and activity: the reconstruction of the foreign text in accordance with values, beliefs and presentations that pre-exist it in the target language, always configured in hierarchies of dominance and marginality, always determining the production, circulation, and reception of texts. (1992 :209)

On other occasions, Bowles felt the need to add words, expressions or sentences to really put the reader in the context. For instance, in chapter two, he writes a sentence that does not exist in ST:

*« In order to feel even drunker I began to sing
Ya tetouan ma ahlak, tol omri maninsak, tol hayatia ahouak » (1993 :32)*

We can clearly notice that the second part of the sentence is a transliteration of an old Moroccan song which means « *Oh Tetouan, how beautiful you are, I will never forget you, I will always love you* » (My own translation). This is not actually the first time Bowles uses transliteration without even attempting to give a near equivalent or an explanation so that readers can understand the functionality of the poetics used. Consider the following proverb used in Arabic ' الداخل الى وهران زربان (مستعجل) و الخارج منها هربان (هارب) ' (Choukri,2010:70) which is replaced in *For Bread Alone* by « *Ed dakhel en Ouehran zerbanne, Ou el kharej enha harbanne*' (1993:54). It can be transferred into English as « *One who enters Ouahran³ does it quickly, one who leaves it actually flees it* » (My own translation). On the other hand, Bowles decides to translate Choukri's excerpt from Oum keltoum's⁴ song ' انب أغار من الكؤوس فجنبي كأس المدامة أن تقبل فاك ' (2010 :143) rendered as follows « *I'm jealous of the lucky glass that touches your lips, And I would stop it from reaching them.* »(1993 :103).

On the other hand, we sometimes wonder whether Bowles was really able to understand and conceive some parts of the story as they were told in the original text. In *Alkhobz Alhafi*, Choukri made reference to Leila *albouwala*, the latter being the Moroccan nickname for someone who wets the bed. He wrote ' كنت ' (2010 : 169) while in *For Bread Alone*, if readers come across a sentence like « *I was sitting with Leila Bouwala in her room* » (1993 :125), they would think that it is the full name of a person. May be if Bowles had transliterated the word, the readers would have known that it is a foreign word and would not have been confused or misled. Ambai (2009:67) states: «...stories hide elements and emotions in a way that they reveal things in a totally different manner than what the translator can conceive » (in Bassnet, 2014 : 68)

In 1813, Sheilmarcher while discussing translation methods, he stated « *there are only two. Either the translator leaves the author in peace as much as possible and moves the reader towards him, or he leaves the reader in peace as much as possible, and moves the author towards him* » (Lefevere , 1977 :74 in Venuti ,2008 : 15). In fact, Venuti also drew attention to this ' foreignizing' strategy that would enrich a language by keeping

the signs of difference of the original. We can say that Bowles has somehow manipulated English in his re-writing by adopting Venuti's Foreignization and managed to keep some foreign references in order to always remind the readers they are reading an *Other* foreign text. Indeed, Bowles has brought a larger audience in contact with some aspects of the Moroccan culture by using a substantial number of words in darija and referring to them in the glossary. For instance, qahwaji, taifor, kif, sebsi... (See glossary in *For Bread Alone*, 1993 :7) while there are a few words in the text, however, that were kept in Arabic but not mentioned in the glossary, like *Agi/come B'slemeh/goodbye, Allah irehmou/God bless him*. May be Bowles borrowed the original words in order « to allow » the original text to come through in translation, to make the mysterious native, the exotic and the unfamiliar visible in his text. In Bassnett's Translation, Benjamin states that:

It is the task of the translator to release in his own language, that pure language which is under the spell of another, to liberate the language imprisoned in a work in his recreation of that work. For the sake of pure language, he breaks through in his re-creation of that work. (2014 :13)

On the other hand, some critics wonder if the decision of Bowles to keep some words in Spanish (maricon, cargadores, alpargatas) was to give his text a colonial dimension. In fact, most people in north of Morocco code switch between Moroccan Arabic and Spanish or Tarifit and Spanish because this part was colonized by the Spanish colonizer. Bowles' translation, therefore, has become a form of rewriting that emerged as a result of a process of negotiation, interpretation, elimination, reformulation and addition. On this Venuti notes that:

...translation is the forcible replacement of the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text with a text that is intelligible to the translating-language reader. These differences can never be entirely removed, but they necessarily undergo a reduction and exclusion of possibilities- and an exorbitant gain of other possibilities specific to the translating language. (2008 :14)

Bassnet and lefeverre (1990) also clearly state « what the development of translation studies shows is that translation, like all (re)writings is never innocent. There is always a context in which the translation takes place, always a history from which a text emerges and into which a text is transposed »(11). From this quotation, we can say that Bowles' translation *For Bread Alone* is actually a rewriting that emerged as a result of a process of negotiation, interpretation, elimination and addition. In his rewriting, Bowles managed to keep the 'native' present by maintaining some of the foreign words but at the same time omitted what he thought would be unnecessary, irrelevant or inappropriate for his readers.

Bassnett argues that translation has recently been referred to as « ... a migrant or nomadic space between cultures, where continuities and identities are reformulated, made and unmade » (2014 :54-55). This statement clearly justifies Bowles' adjustments in translating Choukri's *Alkhobz Alhafi*. He created a new text with a new identity that would travel to different and distant cultures« because difference is at the heart of translation, the task of translator is to negotiate the highly-charged in-between space that, according to Bhabha 'carries the burden of the meaning of culture' » (Bhabha, 1994 :38 in Bassnett, 2014 :55)

Gayatri Spivak also focuses on the fact that the translator is forced by language, text and context to make his choices and decisions. She justifies her use of 'her' when translating a short story was determined by her own ideology and her environment. (Bassnett, 2014). Spivak also challenges the translation which effaces signs of the original. So, despite the fact that no one knows the conditions under which Bowles carried his translation and to what extent he intervened in the choices he made guided by many reasons (linguistic, cultural, ideological...etc), he managed to give Choukri's text a new life.

Conclusion

Translating from Arabic has generally remained a prisoner of the same discursive, ideological framework of the exotic, the unfamiliar, the alien and the other. However, in translating Choukri's *Alkhobz Alhafi*, Bowles managed to find a compromise between giving the text a new form, keeping the text's identity as a foreign text and, at the same time, modifying the parts he judged as irrelevant, shocking or

misleading. Ward Jove (1991 :91) confirms that « *the translation process implies untold selections, omissions, enlargements, that have as much to do with the translating culture, its needs and projections as they have with the writing that is being translated* » (in Bassnett, 2014 :62)

No one can deny that Bowles' translation can be criticized for its inaccuracy and flaws but it can also be praised for its beauty that has captured the hearts of millions of foreign readers who could not have access to the Arabic version. If we take into consideration that, « *Translation is movement, across time and space...* » (Ibid : 173), we can confirm that Bowles' *For Bread Alone* is a new text that has taken a new form to fit the context of a new receiving culture. Bassnett states that « *a good translation will read like the original, will surprise, move or entertain us, perhaps in different ways from the original, perhaps in similar ways, but will always be a rewriting of something written somewhere else in another culture and in another time* » (2011 :43)

Notes:

1-Mohamed Choukri was a Moroccan author and novelist who is best known for his internationally acclaimed autobiography *For Bread Alone (al-Khubz al-Hafi)*, which was described by the American playwright Tennessee Williams as "A true document of human desperation, shattering in its impact".

2-Paul Bowles was an American expatriate composer, author, and translator. He became associated with Tangier, Morocco, where he settled in 1947 and lived for 52 years to the end of his life. He translated Choukri's *AlKhubz Alhafi* and other Moroccan short stories.

3-Ouahran : a city on the Mediterranean coast of Algeria and close to the Eastern Moroccan borders.

4-Oum Kalhtoum was an Egyptian singer, musician and actress. Forty years after her death, she is still considered as the greatest singer in the Arab World.

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