

# **DAKAM's HUMANITIES STUDIES**

## **Fall 2020 Conference Proceedings**

**GENDER AND WOMEN'S STUDIES '20 / V. International Interdisciplinary Conference on  
Gender and Women's Studies**

**REFUGEES AND FORCED IMMIGRATION '20 / V. International Interdisciplinary  
Conference on Refugee and Forced Immigration Studies**

**LITERATURE STUDIES '20 / XI. International Conference on Literature**

**CUI '20 / VIII. International Contemporary Urban Issues Conference**

STUDIES IN HUMANITIES - Conference Proceedings

ISBN: 978-605-9207-92-8

DAKAM YAYINLARI

December 2020 İstanbul.

[www.dakam.org](http://www.dakam.org)

Firuzğa Mah. Boğazkesen Cad., No:76/8, 34425, Beyoğlu, İstanbul

Cover Design: D/GD (DAKAM Graphic Design)

Print: Metin Copy Plus, Mollafenari Mah., Türkocağı Cad. 3/1, Mahmutpaşa/İstanbul, Turkey

Conference Coordination: DAKAM (Eastern Mediterranean Academic Research Center)

## **CONTENTS**

*GENDER AND WOMEN'S STUDIES '20 / V. INTERNATIONAL INTERDISCIPLINARY CONFERENCE ON  
GENDER AND WOMEN'S STUDIES*

<b>GENDER EQUALITY: AN ANALYSIS OF THE PORTUGUESE REALITY ADRIANA GRADIM, ANDREIA ANJOS, DANIELA MORENCE .....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>THE CIRCULAR GAZE AND OBJECTIFICATION OF THE FEMALE BODY: VB35 AT SOLOMON R. GUGGENHEIM MUSEUM BEGÜM SENA ÖNAL.....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>FAMILY REPRESENTATIONS AND GENDER STEREOTYPES IN PRIMARY SCHOOL: A COMMUNICATION DESIGN POINT OF VIEW VALERIA BUCCHETTI, BENEDETTA VERROTTI DI PIANELLA .....</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>THE IMPOSED POST-TRAUMATIC STRESS DISORDER BY COMMUNITIES AND ITS IMPACT ON FEMALES: BEING WOMAN IN TURKEY AND IRAN CANSU ECEM KESGIN, SAMAN HASHEMIPOUR.....</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>NEW LANGUAGES TO GUARANTEE GENDER EQUALITY R. MARZULLO .....</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>INTRODUCING THE ON LINE MODULE GLOBAL SOCIOLOGY/SOCIOLOGY OF GENDER TO AMERICAN, AND BOSNIAN STUDENTS LEJLA MUŠIĆ .....</b>	<b>66</b>
<b>FEMALE SOCIOLOGY AS A SOURCE OF EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN IN ACADEMIA, SOCIOLOGY, AND SOCIETY LEJLA MUŠIĆ .....</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>REACTING TO FEMINISM IN SPAIN. OLD OR NEW MISOGYNISTIC DISCOURSES? MARIA MEDINA-VICENT .....</b>	<b>83</b>
<b>WOMEN'S SPORT PARTICIPATION IN THE UNITED ARAB EMIRES: A CASE STUDY NILOOFAR MARGARITE ROUHANI .....</b>	<b>85</b>
<b>BARRIERS TO SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY: EVIDENCE OF BLACK WOMEN IN THE LABOR MARKET IN BRAZIL THAÍS LIMA FRAGA.....</b>	<b>97</b>
<b>SEEKING SELF THERESA E. WILSHUSEN .....</b>	<b>107</b>
<b>PARENTAL SUPPORT IN GIRLS ACCESSING TO HIGHER SECONDARY EDUCATION IN MALAKAND, PAKISTAN SUNBAL KHAN, DR HUSSAIN ALI, DR. AHMED ALI.....</b>	<b>120</b>
<b>CHANGING FAMILIES: MOROCCAN FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS REDEFINING GENDER ROLES FATIMZAHRA RAFALI .....</b>	<b>121</b>

*REFUGEES AND FORCED IMMIGRATION '20 / V. INTERNATIONAL INTERDISCIPLINARY CONFERENCE ON REFUGEE AND FORCED IMMIGRATION STUDIES*

<b>ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL DISTANCE TOWARDS REFUGEES AND IMMIGRANTS AFTER THE “MIGRANT CRISIS”. DATA FROM BULGARIA</b>	
<b>LYUBA SPASOVA.....</b>	<b>13636</b>
<b>THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND BEHAVIOR - CASE STUDY OF ZAATARI CAMP IN JORDAN:PLACE ATTACHMENT, PLACE IDENTITY BETWEEN SYRIAN REFUGEES</b>	
<b>NOOR AL-TEKREETI, ESRA AKBALIK.....</b>	<b>14646</b>
<b>HOW DOES THE MIGRANT SMUGGLING SYSTEM WORK BETWEEN SYRIA AND TURKEY? THE SYRIAN REFUGEES CASE</b>	
<b>İNCI AKSU KARGIN.....</b>	<b>16868</b>
<b>ACCESS TO HEALTH CARE AMONG SYRIAN REFUGEES IN JORDAN: ACCESS BARRIERS AND ADAPTATION STRATEGIES</b>	
<b>IBRAHEEM ABU SIAM .....</b>	<b>16969</b>
<b>PARTICIPATION IN SPORTS, ARTS AND CULTURE ACTIVITIES TO IMPROVE THE WELL-BEING OF THE UNACCOMPANIED REFUGEE MINORS IN THE THE LAGKADIKIA CAMP</b>	
<b>JUSTIN BLANKENSTEIJN .....</b>	<b>17070</b>

*LITERATURE STUDIES '20 / XI. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON LITERATURE*

<b>TOURISM ELEMENTS IN AGATHA CHRISTIE’S NOVEL <i>THE MYSTERY OF THE BLUE TRAIN</i>: COMPARISON BETWEEN FICTION AND REALITY</b>	
<b>CLAUDIA MARIA ASTORINO.....</b>	<b>17272</b>
<b>A BAUMANIAN INTERPRETATION OF VIOLENCE AND MEANING IN SARAH KANE’S <i>BLASTED</i></b>	
<b>ESMA NUR ÇETİNKAYA KARADAĞ .....</b>	<b>18383</b>
<b>EXPRESSIONISTIC SYMBOLS IN ANNA SEGHERS’ NOVEL “DAS SIEBTE KREUZ”</b>	
<b>GÜLRÛ BAYRAKTAR .....</b>	<b>19292</b>
<b>PERSIAN DRAMA IN CONTEXT: THE NEW GENERATION OF IRANIAN PLAYWRIGHTS</b>	
<b>SAMAN HASHEMPOUR.....</b>	<b>19797</b>
<b>EXPLORING POSTMODERN LITERATURE: METAFICTION AND HYPERREALITY IN MCEWAN'S <i>ATONEMENT (2001)</i></b>	
<b>SARRA.A.BEDERINA .....</b>	<b>HATA! YER İŞARETİ TANIMLANMAMIŞ.203</b>

<b>NEIGHBOURHOOD STREET VENDING: THE FORGOTTEN INFORMAL ACTIVITY OF INDIAN CITIES-THE CASE OF A NEIGHBOURHOOD IN BANGALORE</b>	
<b>AMALA ANNA JACOB.....</b>	<b>22626</b>
<b>MODALITIES OF BEING IN A FOREIGN LAND: DYNAMICS OF INFORMALITY OF SYRIAN REFUGEES AND SOUTH-EAST ASIAN MIGRANT WORKERS IN SAHAB, JORDAN</b>	
<b>JANSET SHAWASH .....</b>	<b>23636</b>
<b>EXPLORING THE ROLE OF ENVIRONMENTAL PERCEPTION IN SHAPING HUMAN BEHAVIOR: A CASE STUDY OF MOORE SQUARE, AN URBAN PUBLIC PLACE IN DOWNTOWN RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA</b>	
<b>RAAGA BHANDARI.....</b>	<b>25353</b>
<b>THE CRISIS OF INFORMAL WELFARE IN GREECE</b>	
<b>THEODOROS KARYOTIS .....</b>	<b>27171</b>
<b>TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR HOUSING OF SOCIAL INTEREST: PROCESSES FOR THE QUALITY OF SELF-CONSTRUCTION IN THE CITY OF RECIFE, BRAZIL.</b>	
<b>YURI DA COSTA, CARMEN CAVALCANTI, ANDRÉA STORCH, MARIA HELENA BARROS.....</b>	<b>28282</b>

**GENDER AND WOMEN'S STUDIES '20 / V.  
INTERNATIONAL  
INTERDISCIPLINARY CONFERENCE ON  
GENDER AND WOMEN'S STUDIES**

# GENDER EQUALITY: AN ANALYSIS OF THE PORTUGUESE REALITY

**ADRIANA GRADIM, ANDREIA ANJOS, DANIELA MORENCE**

**Adriana Gradim**, Project Manager, World Needs, **Andreia Anjos** Team Leader, World Needs, **Daniela Morence**, Team Member, World Needs

## ABSTRACT

Over 100 years have passed since women got the right to vote in most countries. However, the predictions for the next 100 years are not optimistic. It is expected that if progress continues at the same pace, the road to a global financial gender equality will take 217 years (Atwood, Okolosie, Tonybee, Donald, & Bindel, 2018). In 2015, the United Nations (UN) defined a set of sustainable development goals so that all the countries could improve their citizens' lives and the planet by 2030. One of those goals, namely goal number 5, aims to achieve gender equality as a human right since gender equality is "vital for a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable world" (United Nations, 2015).

Equality between women and men is a fundamental value of the European Union (EU), enshrined throughout its history and treaties. Relating to Portugal, its contemporary society has been characterised by a concern with equal opportunities for women and men, expressed mainly in the most recent public policies implemented. However, there are gender inequalities that remain, particularly in employment and in the top and decision-making places, such as political elites. Therefore, this paper aims to analyse how Portugal is implementing norms to end gender inequalities.

To achieve its goal this study follows a qualitative approach. The work was based on articles and reports regarding gender equality in the world, the European Union and Portugal. For that purpose, a search was conducted using the keywords "gender equality" and "Portugal" using Google Scholar. Reports available in the EU's website regarding the analyses of gender equality and its policies in different countries were also considered. The same was done for Portugal.

To confirm the findings from the literature, relating to gender equality in Portugal, four interviews were carried out. The interviews include personalities and organisations that develop work regarding gender equality in the country. The interviews were carried out via online platforms, namely Google Meet, due to the actual situation related to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Although some numbers have been given to end the gender gap, from the results obtained it is difficult to predict how Portugal and the world will be in 100 years. Portugal is progressing in a positive direction while in many countries there was a recession. It is identified that Portugal is in line with the European Union average in some indicators. Although the new generations are taking more action to end gender inequalities, sometimes society tends to prioritise other topics concerning problems that seem of greater importance.

Over the years it is expected that more doubts about the gender equality rights will emerge instead of being solved. However, that should not be a barrier, but instead an opportunity to do better and to produce more research on the topic.

## **INTRODUCTION**

In 2015, the United Nations (UN) defined a set of sustainable development goals so that all the countries could improve their citizens' lives and the planet by 2030. One of those goals, namely goal number 5, aims to achieve gender equality as a human right since gender equality is "vital for a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable world" (United Nations, 2015).

Bearing in mind the UN sustainability goals and the persistence of gender inequality, to tackle this problem, the Strategy for Gender Equality 2020-2025 of the European Union (EU) defines the main actions to be carried out in the next 5 years. This strategy is committed to ensure that the gender perspective is integrated into all areas of EU intervention. The strategy was defined considering that, although the number of men with university degrees is lower than the number of women, these earn, on average, 16% less than men. Moreover, only 8% of the positions of executive president of large companies in the EU are held by women. Although the EU is at the forefront, with 14 out of 20 countries leading the way in gender equality issues, no member state has fully achieved gender equality and progress is very slow (European Commission, 2020).

The contemporary Portuguese society has been characterised by a concern with equal opportunities for women and men, expressed mainly in the most recent public policies implemented. However, there are gender inequalities that remain, particularly in employment and in the top and decision-making places, such as political elites (Guimarães, Lamy and Silva, 2019). Therefore, this paper aims to analyse how one of these countries is dealing with gender equality issues, namely Portugal.

This paper is then structured as follows. First, an introduction to the subject of the work is presented followed by its theoretical background that allows to define the research. After, the methodology is presented as well as the results and its discussion. Lastly, this paper presents its conclusions considering implications for research and practice, suggesting future research avenues in need for further exploitation.

## **THEORETICAL BACKGROUND**

Currently, gender equality is an important topic, not because it is trendy, but because it is imperative to end gender discrimination (Manes, 2020). Since the 18th century, the hope for a time when men and women can live in an equal society has permeated progressive and feminist movements (Schouten, 2019). Considering that gender equality is increasingly seen as an instrument of competitiveness it is important to question the direction of its progress (Casaca, 2015).

Although in 1918 some women got the right to vote, 100 years later, the Guardian newspaper published testimonies on predictions for the next 100 years and none of them were optimistic. Considering the Gender Gap Report of 2017, it is calculated that if progress continues at the same pace, the road to a global financial gender equality will take 217 years. Progress will also be slow in fields such as health, politics, and education (Atwood *et al.*, 2018).

The Gender Gap Report of 2020 confirms the previously mentioned and adds that "none of us will see gender parity in our lifetimes, and nor likely will many of our children". The gender gap even increased

during these past three years and it is expected that, now, it will take 257 years to close the gap (World Economic Forum, 2020). This inequality is also difficult to predict and calculate since “socioeconomic variables and length of democracy” are not sufficient for that. These parameters can help and are treated several times as indicators. However, they can be misleading from reality (Verge, 2013).

Beyond highlighting evidence that the place of men in society is opposed to that of women, gender equality still is a female issue. This happens since we still live in a society where male domination is visible on all different areas. However, gender equality concerns both men and women (Wall *et al.*, 2016). For the 2030 agenda from the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) declared that the asymmetries and inequalities between genders only created disadvantages for the economy. There was also clear that according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights nobody can be discriminated for any reason (de Aguiar, 2020).

## **GENDER EQUALITY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION**

Equality between women and men is a fundamental value of the European Union (EU), enshrined throughout its history and Treaties. Gender equality policies were introduced in 1957 for the first time in Europe. However, it was only in the 1990s that these policies began to focus more specifically on equality in the labour market, following the 3rd International Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985 (Casaca, 2015; Venegas, Villar-Aguilés and Santos, 2020).

Article 141 (formerly Article 119) of the Treaty of Rome, regarding the right to equal pay for equal work, is regarded as the main embryo. The Treaty on European Union (TEU), in force since December 1<sup>st</sup>, 2009, with the changes introduced by the Lisbon Treaty, reaffirms the principle of equality between men and women and inserts it among the values and objectives of the Union. For those who value equality between women and men and a more socially just society, the main advances in the field have been happening too slowly (Casaca, 2015).

To help to close the gender gap and reduce inequalities, the strategy of the EU for the next five years has the following objectives: to combat violence, to combat gender stereotypes, to close gender gaps in the labour market, to ensure equal participation in different sectors of the economy, to close the gender pay and pension gap and to ensure equitable ownership of decision-making positions in companies and society (European Commission, 2020). But equal opportunities do not necessarily mean equal results (Pinker, 2011).

Considering the European Index that analyses issues related to gender equalities in the countries of the union, since 2005, the EU is closest to gender equality in the domains of health and money. However, gender inequalities are most worrying in the domain of power. However, even though women in the EU invest more in their education and professional careers, their representation in business top leadership places is still very low (Pinker, 2011; Casaca, 2015). This seems to be contradictory since there are significant evidence that gender diversity on top leader places is important for corporate governance and overall organizational effectiveness (Halliday, Paustian-Underdahl and Fainshmidt, 2020). The more aware women are of the differences the greater will be the probabilities of accessing power (Evans, 2009).

## GENDER EQUALITY IN PORTUGAL

In Portugal and elsewhere in the world, the movement promoting gender equality has known advances and setbacks over the past century (Schouten, 2019). To contextualise the phenomenon there is the need to go back in time to before 1974, when Portugal was ruled by a dictator. For years (1926-1974) women were not seen as someone with an active role in society (Santos, 1995). After the revolution that ended the dictatorship, the inclusion of women in the labour market and the promotion of policies guided towards gender equality were of major importance to promote the model of a dual-earner couple (Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012).

Even though the Portuguese labour market is characterised by a high participation of women in full-time employment, there are persisting gender asymmetries. Men continue to occupy the dominant positions in the labour market whereas women are often relegated to more disqualified positions, namely in non-specialised occupations in the services sector (Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012). Nonetheless, the difference between the pay check between women and man in 2015 was 17.8 (Venegas, Villar-Aguilés and Santos, 2020). The gender equality index from EU in 2019 was considered 67.4%. The country with the higher score is Sweden with 8.6%, and the worst in the list is Greece with 51.2%. Portugal appeared with 59.9% in 2019, 7.5% lower than the general picture (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2019).

Another asymmetry visible between genders is inside the domestic sphere. The increase of women on the labour market mentioned before is not followed by the increase of men in domestic life (Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012). Nevertheless, when a couple is unemployed, the women are tied to domestic work 24/7. However, with men, the contribution only increases during the weekdays (Ribeiro, Coelho and Ferreira-valente, 2015).

Considering the academic context, having men in top positions in the labour market could lead to thinking that the biggest group of graduated people are among that population. But the reality in Portugal is different. Even though women represent most students at higher education institutions, data from 2017 has shown that the majority of university women suffered some type of harassment (Costa, 2020). Also, although women represent a significant part of the number of students, when entering positions of leadership (e.g. academic associations) the male leaders' percentage is far higher compared to women, approximately 66% against 34% in 2019 (Handayani and Widodo, 2019).

Inequalities also appear in other sectors such as the media where many times a woman is more associated with "female topics" and news with less importance or social topics. On the other hand, men are usually linked with relevant matters and political themes. The authority figures such as experts and specialists, presented are also most of the times men. Even in 2005, in themes like domestic violence, where the victims are more women than men, the voices more heard are from men (Figueiras, 2011).

This should not happen in the current and modern world we live in, and the term feminist lacks from a global understanding and widespread acceptance to ensure that gender equality is achieved. However, as a movement, feminism, the fight for equality between men and women, has never had a solid footing in Portugal (Schouten, 2019).

Proof is that according to the European Social Rights Committee, Portugal is one of the 14 countries that violates the right of the equality of salary and work opportunities between genders. That became public after a complaint presented in 2016 (Diário de Notícias, 2020).

A different consequence of the inequality between genders is the quality of life in the future. It is possible to say that women live longer than men. However, with less quality of life. Another discovery was that depression is one of the most common diseases in older women. Another phenomenon from

the inequality of gender is violence in the older generation. Where once again, the women are in the centre with higher percentages of suffering violence. From a study made, it is possible to say that from 10 older women around 60 years old, 4 already suffered violence or abuses. In the last 12 months, before the study (Perista and Perista, 2012). Moreover, in Portugal data shows that although there are significant improvements in the measures to balance home and work life for women (e.g. increased parental leave by the father), women are still the main care takers at their homes and child care is still a barrier to their professional carrier (Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012; Ribeiro, Coelho and Ferreira-valente, 2015)

Considering the current situation, the focus is mainly to reduce the gender gap and abuses against women, such as, the huge cases of domestic violence, human trafficking, and discrimination (Venegas, Villar-Aguilés and Santos, 2020). Gender gaps including lack of women in the workforce, especially in senior positions, are significant issues that pose substantial economic costs to countries (Yee and Kwing-Chin, 2020). Inequalities still exist and references to success are still mostly male. Although the theme of equality is debated for several years, the same is far from being resolved (Sítima, Santos and Leal, 2017).

So, the aim of this paper is to provide insight of how in Portugal gender equality measures are being developed and implemented over the years. The purpose of this investigation derives from the fact that despite there are more initiatives to address this alarming issue over the years, much remains to be done in 2020 (Yee and Kwing-Chin, 2020).

## **METHODOLOGY**

This study follows a qualitative approach. The work was based on articles and reports regarding gender equality in the world, the European Union and Portugal. For that purpose, a search was conducted using the keywords “gender equality” and “Portugal” using Google Scholar, SCOPUS and ISI Web of Knowledge.

Reports available in the EU’s website regarding the analyses of gender equality and its policies in different countries were also considered. The same was done for Portugal, considering the existence of an office for citizenship and gender equality. Moreover, considering what was found in the articles and mentioned in reports some written news were analysed.

To confirm the findings from the literature, relating to gender equality in Portugal, a set of interviews was carried out. The interviews included personalities that have developed work regarding gender equality in the country as well as organisations that develop projects in the area. To select the interviewees, a research was conducted regarding the work developed by each personality and organisation, to see if it was in line with this research. The selected interviewees were then contacted via email.

After the selection of the interviewees, a general script was developed and then adapted to each individual and organisation and its work. This script can be found in Appendix 1 and it allowed the researchers to compare findings regarding gender equality in Portugal as well as to identify projects, studies, and research avenues in need for further work. This holistic approach allows to incorporate the vision from different elements from our society (from academics to governmental organisations).

The interviews were carried out via online platforms (e.g. Google Meets and Zoom Meetings), due to the actual situation related to the COVID-19 pandemic (World Health Organisation, 2020). The scrips developed were used to guide the interviews, however, the semi-structured interview method was

chosen to allow the interviewees to include further information that was not in the scripts (Longhurst, 2016). One of the researchers took notes from the interviews and the results were then compared with what was found in the literature.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### *Sample Characteristics*

For this paper, four people were interviewed as shown in Table 1. These were kept anonymous as requested by the parties involved. For the interviews male and female parts were selected to help understand if gender equality is important for both sides. This variety of gender allows to understand how gender equality rights are seen in Portugal.

*Table 1 – Sample characteristics*

<b>INTERVIEWEE</b>	<b>WORK DEVELOPED</b>	<b>GENDER</b>
Interviewee 1	Books and articles published	Female
Interviewee 2	Worker at a national organisation for gender equality	Male
Interviewee 3	Social media influencer and activist	Female
Interviewee 4	Book writer	Female

One of the questions, in common, to all the interviews was “How do you look at new generations who speak more openly about the subject and seek to change the course of history, for example through social networks? Will this be essential, or will it take more “fighting” in the real world?”. The answers about this subject are similar throughout the interviews. Social media will not change the world, but it can help when used properly and in coordination with what happens in the offline world. However, its use needs to be careful and ensure the transmission of fact-based information since the knowledge flow can be the most non-violent weapon (Isaacson, 2016).

One of the interviewed said that because the social media works with algorithms, the page would only suggest subjects already seen or that are popular for the user. Although, it is good to give visibility to the subject and sometimes to help to spread the word this can be transformed into a bad place to learn new subjects. When someone does not search by certain subjects the probabilities that a certain subject matter will appear in their feed can be reduced. Therefore, when using social media platforms to promote gender equality there is the need to consider which platform to be used, how to use it, when to post and who is the target audience. Also, when posting it must be ensured that hate comments are not promoted but can help to start a debate between different mindsets.

Considering that 46 years have passed since the end of dictatorship in Portugal (Santos, 1995), another common question to all the interviewees was “46 years have passed since the Portuguese revolution of April 25<sup>th</sup>, 1974. How do you see the situation of gender equality in Portugal today comparing to those times?”. In those times women were totally dependent of men as stated by one interviewee and the inequality was part of the national law, as stated by two interviewees. Although all the interviewees

agree that progress has been made since then, inequality still exists in people's mindset and in different sectors of society. As mentioned by interviewee 4:

*"We are far from what we should be. Obviously, we managed earn enough rights and we managed to walk baby steps but there is a lot to do mainly on the issue of education and changing the mindsets."*

Another common matter in Portuguese society is related to passiveness demonstrated by its population when it comes to more delicate and political subject matters. Taking this into consideration, it was asked "Do you consider that they (Portuguese people) are still passive when it comes to taking actions to reduce or eliminate gender inequality?". Interviewee 4 believes that there is an "illiteracy" that is still prevalent as heritage from the dictatorship and that there is a widespread lack of trust in political institutions, also stating that "people believe they do not have a voice, because that's what they have been taught throughout generation after generation after generation". Interviewees 1 and 3 agreed that it is always given priority to economic matters. Interviewee 1 stated

*"In the political debate, in the social struggles, there is always bigger things that overlap and that, in the end, could actually be in the centre, could be what is deeper within a problem."*

Interviewee 3 also brought to light that there is a permanent belief that the situation "could always be worse", instead of considering that there is room for improvement. Namely with the pandemic of COVID-19 and the risk of a new crisis, people tend to focus on other aspects of society and gender equality loses importance on a daily basis (Reuters, 2020).

Interviewee 1 added that there are many traditional proverbs that reflect how gender inequality is engrained in society and how hard it is to dissipate those ideas. Interviewee 2 had a different approach to this question. He mentioned that Portuguese society is not homogenous and that some ideas and behaviours linked to gender discrimination are still prevalent in younger generations. However, as mentioned by Interviewee 1 we should avoid looking at Portuguese society as a whole.

Regarding data collected about gender inequality in the European Union (World Economic Forum, 2020), it was asked "The report on gender equality from 2020 concludes that it will take about 99.5 years to end this gender inequality. Do you think that in Portugal it can take even longer?". Interviewees 1 and 2 both believe that we are at the same pace as western countries. The latter believes there is a governmental effort and there is positive progress. Interviewee 3 corroborated what was found on research that while women have conquered a place on the workforce, the same cannot be said about men and domestic labour (Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012). On the other hand, interviewee 4 disagreed. She believes Portugal will take much longer to reach gender equality, enforcing that it is important to educate children, particularly young boys, and that it is important for women to unite:

*"Fortunately, we have reached a point where we have provided education to girls that has given them plenty of tools to reach several places that were unreachable before. But the truth is we are still forgetting an even more important factor that will transform those 100 or 400 years that there is left for Portugal to change mindsets, from those 400 into 150 years, which is boys."*

Still regarding predictions for the future, the following question was "One of the UN's goals for 2030 is to achieve gender equality in the world. However, in Portugal, there are still many inequalities in different areas, for example the academic world, in top leadership and even in domestic life itself. It is possible to predict how we will be in 2030?". The overall sentiment from the interviewees was that it is very hard to predict what is in store for the next few years. There was also a shared concern for the rise of the far-right in the country. Interviewee 3 added that there are many young women and men adopting sexist views. However, she also believes that there is the opposite movement:

*“What I’m aware is that we have a gender inequality problem and that problem is creating two spikes, a feminist spike and a conservative spike. And what will happen is that if one of them grows, so will the other one, for better or worse. What we must do is hold on. And if we keep holding on and continue to work, there is hope. There are more gender equality initiatives coming up and if we can educate young people about gender equality that is already very good. “*

It was also asked “Data from 2019 from the European Institute for Gender Equality shows that Portugal with 59.9% is below average in terms of achieving this equality. This linked to recent news that our country is one of the 14 that violates the right to equal pay, according to the European Social Rights Commission, does not favour our position. What is your opinion on the subject?” Interviewees 2 and 3 stated that there is a gender gap and although Portugal is not the only case in the European Union, interviewee 2 also pointed out that there is legislation regarding equal pay. Interviewee 4 believes that women are still accepting of the gender gap and accept it as normal.

An important matter is also the need to review paternity and maternity leaves. Although in Portugal is dominated as parental leave (Departamento de Prestações e Contribuições, 2020) it is still common for the mother to be the one who stays at home. This happens because while dividing the parental leave for the mother and the father, many fathers still do not have the right for the parental leave (Mariana, 2020).

Considering that in this study the aim was to include people from a different background as well as unique life stories, there were specific questions for each of them. These questions relate to their work areas regarding gender equality.

Interviewee 1 is a book writer and teacher in fashion in Portugal. So, the questions made focused on her books and opinions on the subject. In her book, which tackles gender equality over generations, she interviewed a group of women of different ages and different backgrounds. The goal was to study their life and point of views about society and a particular item of clothing from the past, the corset since this is a characteristic piece of clothing related to the female gender. One of the things that was mentioned by her was that from 23 women, only two claim that were satisfied with their bodies, namely the oldest and the youngest. She also said that an explanation for this may be that these two women are at a similar stage in their lives and they do not care about stereotypes and society. However, from other point of view, one of the comments that she also heard was that sometimes the look that women usually got on the streets can be very disturbing: *“It is not just a look to look. It is a look that invades or like an X-ray test.”*

Interviewee number 3 referred to something similar. The female body is a public subject. A topic that everyone thinks that has the right to judge and talk about. She stated:

*“I feel that the female body continues to be public.”*

This adds a huge pressure to women, since there is the feeling that there is always someone analysing the way they dress or talk in front of society.

Interviewee 2 works on a governmental organisation. Therefore, the questions focused on his opinion about the projects that the organisation has in place. One of the questions was about the reason behind the choices of studies and jobs by women. In his opinion and the studies carried out in the organisation show that although women have better grades, comparing to men, there are not many girls going to some fields of engineering such as electronical or mechanical. The lack of women in politics and activism also happens, given the fact that, when women get married, they need to balance their job with the house and the kids. The same does not happen with men, as the literature shows (Figueiras, 2011). The interviewee 2 said:

*"They take on themselves the house activities, besides the professional job, what doesn't allow to have then time to politics or activism."*

The information confirmed what was found in the literature that mentions that women still work more hours at home than men (Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012; Ribeiro, Coelho and Ferreira-valente, 2015).

Another subject discussed was the domestic violence against women that persists. He said:

*"There are a lot of girls that think that it is normal a guy beat them. And this type of mindsets is very difficult to change."*

Another idea that he mentioned was that:

*"Where there is someone fighting for feminism there is also always the opposite."*

Interviewee 4 also mentioned something related to this topic. She mentioned that about gender equality in the world, when a feminist gives one step forward the patriarchy pushes them 2 steps back. It is important to do not forget that the progress made can always disappear.

That was other subject discussed, the weight of the word feminism and what it represents. Interviewee number 4 talked about the word "feminism" and the strength of the word just by itself. She declared

*"... it's almost like an allergy to the word feminism and a big allergy to a person coming out as a feminist even if he/she is one."*

Interviewee number 3 also states that there are many people that are not feminists because they do not know the right meaning of the word. Therefore, it can be difficult to reduce the judgement that is associated with the word which means that those against feminism and that aim to harm the "fight" share information that the word is associated with the idea that women are superior to men. However, as stated by the Oxford Dictionary, feminism is "the belief and aim that women should have the same rights and opportunities as men; the struggle to achieve this aim" (Oxford Dictionary, 2020). However, many definitions can be identified depending on who is using the term and for what purpose (Heshmati, Rasheed Ali and Pitre, 2020). As well, many types of feminism can be identified worldwide (Banet-Weiser and Gill, 2019; Karmakar and Sarkar, 2020). This need to be considered when discussing the topic since the idea that feminism is whole and cannot be divided can harm its aim. As any belief, feminism can be divided into many types, which will lead to radical and more non-radical women and men that believe in different things while thinking about feminism.

With this idea of demystification of the word "feminism" emerges the importance of education. It was found that there is the need to educate younger generations before the formulation of stereotypes in their heads. Considering that school is a place where children learn about differences and stereotypes that came along with gender, interviewee 4 mentioned the importance to educate. The role of schools is very important, especially primary schools since there is a connection between gender and for example the teaching about professions and jobs. Interviewee 4 mentioned that her daughter at school had a work sheet were professions as doctors and police officer are associated with men and those professions associated with women are nurses and teachers.

This situation does not help to fight the inequality between gender, because as the interviewee said about children *"They notice and internalise, because that becomes the rule"*. Considering that children are the future and given what society and the school teach them from the beginning, the gender inequality becomes stronger and easier to understand. Also, there is the need to focus more on the education of young boys for gender equality. A very important path has been made regarding the empowerment of women in different sectors and there is still much to be done (Baptista, 2019).

However, education should start to focus on how to educate young boys so that they are also activists for gender equality and help to reduce the chance that they can turn into the next aggressor since gender inequality and violence against women can be seen as two sides of the same coin (UN Women, 2017).

To finish the interviews, it was questioned: “what do you think is necessary to do for people to be more involved in the fight for gender equality, as elements of a modern society?” Interviewees 1 and 4 had to say that there is a lot to be done, but also sometimes it is not necessary much to get people involved. The consensus was the importance of education and that more involvement from young people is needed. Interviewee 2 mentioned:

*“You, young people, have a very important role to get more involved, to fight, to pass along the message. Today there is a lot of information and accessible one. Many people are against it (gender equality) and speak without information. When confronted with current data, their perception changes. With data it can be easy to change mindsets. Many people are convinced that women rule more than men, but when you show them the statistics that is not the reality and people react “Oh, I had no idea”. Sometimes it’s easy to deconstruct beliefs of most people with some data.”*

## **CONCLUSION**

### **Practical and social implications**

In terms of practical implications for the research, this study presents the case of Portugal which can be replicated in other contexts to help compare countries in Europe as well as around the world. In the analysis of the Portuguese context it was possible to conclude that more research in this topic is needed. Second, it can be concluded that the use of social media to inform about different situations of the world, namely gender equality will rise. However, there is the need to combine social media platforms with other sources of fact-based information so that it can be more accurate and reach more people. Third, it was found that there is the need to reinforce gender equality in education programmes starting from a young age and targeting girls and boys. Although it appears to adults that children are unaware of this reality, they internalise behaviours and beliefs that will guide them through life. Fourth, even though Portugal introduced the change from a maternal leave to a parental leave most fathers are still not obligated to use their days which can lead to a regular maternal leave in some cases. There is the need to develop a law section that obligates men to take their parental leave, dividing the time between both parents. This can help to achieve a more equal balance between home and work life for women.

In terms of social implications, this study presents a more recent vision of how gender equality is being developed in Portugal. This allowed to conclude that more work is needed to achieve gender equality in all areas of our society. Especially with the pandemic (World Health Organization, 2020) and a possible economic crisis, people tend to be more worried with other issues of their life and forget about the need for gender equality. Also, this study concludes that the analysis of the word “feminism” can help or harm the fight for gender equality depending on the person that advocates to be a feminist and for what purpose. For the researchers of this study feminism aims to achieve gender equality and that means put women and men at the same level, with the same rights and responsibilities.

## Limitations and future research suggestion

Although this study presents new insights about gender equality in Portugal, it has limitations. First, the reduced number of interviews did not allow for the results to be generalised. Also, this study only included individuals with work developed in the area. Although the researchers of this study invited organisations to participate in it, only one responded and the participation was made as an element separated from the organisation. Further researchers should try to incorporate a wider range of people from different backgrounds. Lastly, the qualitative nature of the study can also be considered a limitation.

## REFERENCES

- Aboim, S. and Vasconcelos, P. (2012) *Study on the role of men in gender equality in Portugal*.
- de Aguiar, P. M. (2020) *Políticas Públicas para a Promoção da Igualdade de Género*. 59. Lisbon. doi: <https://doi.org/10.23906/wp59/2020>.
- Atwood, M. et al. (2018) *Will women be equal to men in 100 years? The panel verdict, The Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/feb/06/will-women-be-equal-men-hundred-years-gender-equality-panel> (Accessed: 7 August 2020).
- Banet-Weiser, S. and Gill, R. (2019) 'Postfeminism, popular feminism and neoliberal feminism? Sarah Banet-Weiser, Rosalind Gill and Catherine Rottenberg in conversation', *Feminist Theory*. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1464700119842555> (Accessed: 12 October 2020).
- Baptista, R. (2019) *A educação para a igualdade de género nas escolas como ferramenta para o combate da violência contra as mulheres. O que tem feito Portugal?* Available at: <https://www.direito.uminho.pt/pt/Sociedade/PublishingImages/Paginas/Atualidade-Juridica/A-educacao-para-a-igualdade-de-genero-nas-escolas.pdf> (Accessed: 12 October 2020).
- Casaca, S. F. (2015) 'A igualdade entre mulheres e homens e a tomada de decisão na esfera económica: o longo percurso do enquadramento político e dos instrumentos normativos', *Revista de Estudos Demográficos*, 56, pp. 5–23.
- Costa, F. (2020) 'Borderless A Study of Violence against Women in Universities: Brazil, Portugal, and the U.K.', *Journal of International Women 's Studies*, 21(2), pp. 169–177. Available at: <https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol21/iss2/14>.
- Departamento de Prestações e Contribuições (2020) *Guia Prático - Subsídio Parental*. Available at: [http://www.seg-social.pt/documents/10152/23362/3010\\_subsidio\\_parental/0bd0fafb-9e8d-4613-8bb4-e9bf3ac7e5f1](http://www.seg-social.pt/documents/10152/23362/3010_subsidio_parental/0bd0fafb-9e8d-4613-8bb4-e9bf3ac7e5f1) (Accessed: 12 October 2020).
- Diário de Notícias (2020) *Portugal entre os países incumpridores na igualdade salarial entre homens e mulheres - DN*. Available at: <https://www.dn.pt/pais/portugal-entre-os-paises-incumpridores-na-igualdade-salarial-entre-homens-e-mulheres-12365149.html> (Accessed: 12 August 2020).
- European Commission (2020) *Uma União da Igualdade: Estratégia para a Igualdade de Género 2020-2025*. Brussels. Available at: <https://eige.europa.eu/thesaurus/terms/1263> (Accessed: 7 August 2020).
- European Institute for Gender Equality (2019) *Gender Equality Index*. Available at: <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-equality-index/2019> (Accessed: 7 August 2020).

- Evans, G. (2009) *Play Like a Man, Win Like a Woman*. 1st Editio. Lisbon: Lua de papel.
- Figueiras, R. (2011) 'As mulheres comentadoras na imprensa de referência portuguesa', *Alceu*, 11(22), pp. 74–89.
- Guimarães, A. M., Lamy, S. and Silva, N. (2019) 'Visualização de História no feminino: o grande desafio da democracia portuguesa', *Revista da Escola Superior de Educação e Ciências Sociais*, pp. 1–8. Available at: <http://aprender.esep.pt/index.php/aprender/article/view/63/52> (Accessed: 7 August 2020).
- Halliday, C. S., Paustian-Underdahl, S. C. and Fainshmidt, S. (2020) 'Women on Boards of Directors : A Meta-Analytic Examination of the Roles of Organizational Leadership and National Context for Gender Equality', *Journal of Business and Psychology*. *Journal of Business and Psychology*.
- Handayani, T. and Widodo, W. (2019) 'Gender Gaps in Students Leadership at a University in Portugal', in *6th International Conference on Community Development*. Atlantis Press, pp. 2–5. doi: 10.2991/iccd-19.2019.151.
- Heshmati, S., Rasheed Ali, S. and Pitre, S. (2020) 'Transnational Feminism and the Policing of Muslim Women's Bodies: Implications for Therapy', *Women & Therapy*, 23 July. doi: 10.1080/02703149.2020.1775012.
- Isaacson, W. (2016) *The Innovators*. Lisbon: Porto Editora.
- Karmakar, G. and Sarkar, S. (2020) 'Feminism, Body, Sexuality and Time: A Conversation with Elizabeth Grosz', *Journal of Gender Studies*, 29 September. doi: 10.1080/09589236.2020.1826296.
- Longhurst, R. (2016) 'Semi-structured Interviews and Focus Group', in Clifford, N. et al. (eds) *Key Methods in Geography*. 3rd Editio. Sage Publications, pp. 103–115. doi: 10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004.
- Manes, A. (2020) *Ainda a igualdade de género , Esquerda*. Available at: <https://www.esquerda.net/opiniao/ainda-igualdade-de-genero/69136> (Accessed: 7 August 2020).
- Mariana (2020) *Licença parental em Portugal 2020: tudo sobre as alterações*. Available at: <https://factorialhr.pt/blog/licenca-parental-em-portugal-2020/> (Accessed: 12 October 2020).
- Oxford Dictionary (2020) *feminism noun*. Available at: <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/feminism?q=feminism> (Accessed: 12 October 2020).
- Perista, H. and Perista, P. (2012) *Género e envelhecimento: Planear o futuro começa agora*. 1st Editio. Edited by I. Elias and T. Alvarez. Lisbon: Cadernos Condição Feminina. Available at: <http://www.cig.gov.pt> (Accessed: 12 August 2020).
- Pinker, S. (2011) *O Paradoxo Sexual - Rapazes traquinas, raparigas dotadas e a verdadeira diferença entre os sexos*. 1st Editio. Edited by E. Pyrrait. Lisboa: Planeta Manuscrito.
- Reuters (2020) *Angry but determined: Portuguese workers protest for better wages amid pandemic - EU Reporter, Eureporter*. Available at: <https://www.eureporter.co/frontpage/2020/09/28/angry-but-determined-portuguese-workers-protest-for-better-wages-amid-pandemic/> (Accessed: 14 October 2020).

Ribeiro, R., Coelho, L. and Ferreira-valente, A. (2015) *Unemployment and gender equality within the family in portugal*. Coimbra.

Santos, M. I. R. de S. (1995) 'Women's Studies in Portugal'. Coimbra: Centro de Estudos Sociais de Coimbra, pp. 1–31.

Schouten, M. (2019) 'Undoing gender inequalities: insights from the Portuguese perspective', *Regional Development*, 1(2), pp. 85–98. doi: 10.9770/ird.2019.1.2(1)j.

Sítima, L., Santos, M. T. and Leal, M. T. (2017) *Mulheres Que Inspiram - Seis Fatores para o Sucesso*. 1st Editio. Lisboa: Prime Books.

UN Women (2017) *Speech: Two sides of the same coin: gender inequality and violence against women / UN Women – Headquarters*. Available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2017/10/speech-ed-phumzile-five-days-of-violence-prevention-conference> (Accessed: 12 October 2020).

United Nations (2015) *About the Sustainable Development Goals*. Available at: <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/> (Accessed: 7 August 2020).

Venegas, M., Villar-Aguilés, A. and Santos, S. A. (2020) 'Sex and gender equality policies in education in three southern European societies: The cases of Andalusia and Valencian Community (Spain) and Portugal', *Revista Espanola de Sociologia*, 29(1), pp. 137–151. doi: 10.22325/fes/res.2020.09.

Verge, T. (2013) 'Regulating Gender Equity in Political Office in Southern Europe: The cases of Greece, Portugal and Spain', *Representation*. Routledge, 49(4), pp. 439–452. doi: 10.1080/00344893.2013.850322.

Wall, K. et al. (2016) *Livro Branco: Homens e Igualdade De Género Em Portugal*. Available at: [http://cite.gov.pt/asstscite/images/papelhomens/Livro\\_Branco\\_Homens\\_Igualdade\\_G.pdf](http://cite.gov.pt/asstscite/images/papelhomens/Livro_Branco_Homens_Igualdade_G.pdf).

World Economic Forum (2020) *Global Gender Gap Report 2020*. Available at: <https://www.weforum.org/reports/gender-gap-2020-report-100-years-pay-equality> (Accessed: 7 August 2020).

World Health Organisation (2020) *Coronavirus (COVID-19) events as they happen, World Health Organisation*. Available at: <https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/events-as-they-happen> (Accessed: 17 April 2020).

World Health Organization (2020) *Timeline of WHO's response to COVID-19*. Available at: [https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/interactive-timeline?gclid=CjwKCAjww5r8BRB6EiwArcckCy-tEFbYBz7qls10fnMJbwk210nUU\\_qIPjfl-7h1Ea2atZxFLYgAfBoC7loQAVD\\_BwE#event-115](https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/interactive-timeline?gclid=CjwKCAjww5r8BRB6EiwArcckCy-tEFbYBz7qls10fnMJbwk210nUU_qIPjfl-7h1Ea2atZxFLYgAfBoC7loQAVD_BwE#event-115) (Accessed: 14 October 2020).

Yee, J. C. W. and Kwing-Chin, K. L. (2020) 'The Economic Cost of Gender Inequality: The Global Progress and Creating Change', *Economics*, 9(1), p. 17. doi: 10.11648/j.eco.20200901.13.

## **Appendix I – Interview script**

46 years have passed since the Portuguese revolution of April 25<sup>th</sup>, 1974. How do you see the situation of gender equality in Portugal today comparing to those times?

The report on gender equality from 2020 concludes that it will take about 99.5 years to end this gender inequality. Do you think that in Portugal it can take even longer?

Often, the Portuguese people are characterized by an ease in relation to certain themes of society. Do you consider that they are still passive when it comes to taking actions to reduce or eliminate gender inequality?

How do you look at new generations who speak more openly about the subject and seek to change the course of history, for example through social networks? Will this be essential, or will it take more “fighting” in the real world?

One of the UN's goals for 2030 is to achieve gender equality in the world. However, in Portugal, there are still many inequalities in different areas, for example the academic world, in top leadership and even in domestic life itself. It is possible to predict how we will be in 2030?

Data from 2019 from the European Institute for Gender Equality shows that Portugal with 59.9% is below average in terms of achieving this equality. This linked to recent news that our country is one of the 14 that violates the right to equal pay, according to the European Social Rights Commission, does not favor our position. What is your opinion on the subject?

Personal question related with the interviewee' work.

Personal question related with the interviewee' work.

Personal question related with the interviewee' work.

Personal question related with the interviewee' work.

To conclude, what do you think is necessary to do for people to be more involved in the fight for gender equality, as elements of a modern society?

# THE CIRCULAR GAZE AND OBJECTIFICATION OF THE FEMALE BODY: VB35 AT SOLOMON R. GUGGENHEIM MUSEUM

BEGÜM SENA ÖNAL

Yaşar University, Faculty of Architecture, Department of Interior Architecture and Environmental Design

## Abstract

The disputable issues encircling the representation of the female body in contemporary art are inextricably linked with the phenomenon of sexual objectification, which primarily represents the subject as an object of desire and plays a significant role in gender disparity and violence.

In 1998, Vanessa Beecroft exhibited one of her controversial *VB* performances entitled *VB35*, also known as *Show*, at Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York. The contemporary artist displayed high-heeled *doppelgänger*-looking female models under the domed rotunda of the museum, either in lingerie or nude, to her spectators juxtaposed around the cylindrical ramp of the building. Positioned in space and obsessively controlled, the body displayed as *tableaux-vivants* in the performance correlates with several requisite subjects of the contemporary debate, including sexual objectification and the concept of the gaze.

Based on Beecroft's allegedly feminist perspective and *VB35* performance, I discuss the artist's representation of the female body as an immobile object of desire adopting a Mulveyian framework. I support my argument by analyzing two art critics' articles on *VB35* to explore the museum's contribution to objectification with its spatial settings and the aura of consecration. Notwithstanding the initial idea of Beecroft's use of the female body to criticize consumer society and 'challenge the gaze of male' in her performances, I question the inevitable paradox and jeopardy of commodification when the female body is exposed to the eyes of the beholder as an image to be looked at, especially in sexualized outfits. Although it has been more than twenty years since the artist tabled her subjects to the appetite of viewers, a critical concern remains to-date: How is it possible to expostulate the consumption of the female body by doing the very same while opposing the issue?

**Keywords:** Vanessa Beecroft, feminist art, performance art, sexual objectification

## INTRODUCTION

The twentieth century had transformed the way many people lived with changes in ideology, politics, economy, society, culture, science, and art. This radical shift was embodied within art movements that came in sight as reflections of social, cultural, political, and economic unrest of society as well (Wilson, 2002). In this context, it was no doubt that twentieth-century art was all about changing perspectives. By the beginning of the century, a breakthrough also occurred in artists' consideration of the body as an artistic medium. As the German artist Oskar Schlemmer (1888-1943) indicated in 1918, the new artistic medium became "a much more direct one: the human body" (cited in Warr and Jones, 2000, p.12). Yet, the visible appearance of the interest concerning the body as an apparatus for artistic discourse perceptibly emerged following the end of World War II. Newly emerging art movements with the influence of postmodernist thought including Action Painting, Body Art, and Feminist Art gave an impulse to the art realm, emphasized the use of the body for various artistic objectives. From Jackson Pollock's (1912-1956) action brushes to Yves Klein's (1928-1962) living brushes, the human body took a central role in many artists' creative process even if the artistic style and meaning differed. Yet, consequently, it became inevitable for several works to cause critical debates regarding the use and representation of the female body for art production purposes. Positively, some exposition methods of the female body by several feminist artists were considered highly disturbing and transgressive, as they were traversing traditional and acceptable representations and norms of the body. On the negative side, while some male artists were blamed for representing masculine supremacy by using the female body as an object, several female artists were accused of exploiting the body of women under the guise of feminist art. Herein, this study expressly tackles the critical issue of the use and bodily objectification of women within the framework of feminist art through Vanessa Beecroft's *VB35* performance.

In the first chapter, the analysis briefly discusses Yves Klein's one of the *Anthropométrie* works realized in 1960 and Marina Abramovic's *Rhythm 0* performance realized in 1974; to highlight the distinction between two periods, perspectives, and artistic productions while the second chapter specifically revolves around Beecroft's *VB35* performance, realized at Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in 1998. The motivation for developing such a methodology is primarily to examine the use of the female body through two different artists' stances and emphasize ideological discrepancy. Thus, the first chapter's analysis serves as an apparatus to form a base and insight to the reader on in which context the study will be criticizing the *VB35* performance in the following chapter. The second chapter centers around Vanessa Beecroft's career and the *VB* series in general to unfurl the controversial aspects of the artist's supposedly feminist ideology to the reader. The third and last chapter hones in on the Mulveyian concept of poser/gazer to scrutinize Beecroft's act of choosing Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum for her *VB35* performance as well as remark the impact of the spatial setting of the museum on the bodily objectification of female models throughout the performance.

Thus, the study formulates a critical analysis regarding the use of the female body in the artistic framework and expose in which circumstances the performance art prompts the jeopardy of the objectification of the female body while also considering the impact of the spatial setting. In conclusion, the analysis reveals how Vanessa Beecroft's artistic stance stands in limbo between objectifying and liberating the female body.

### 1. THE USE OF FEMALE BODY AS A MEDIUM OF ART

Throughout the ages, the female body has influenced artists. The bodily figure of the female took place in drawings, paintings; and was represented through sculptures to tell a story or expose female beauty

and sexuality. In parallel, the female body began to involve in the creation process of artworks with the emergence of new art movements and viewpoints by the end of WWII.

Yves Klein (1928-1962), who was among the pioneers of Body Art, often included the human body in his works throughout the mid-twentieth century. He had managed to attract the art world's attention with nude female paintings he made with his patented International Klein Blue by using live models through the creation process. Performing one of his well-known works in an art gallery on March 9, 1960, the artist organized an event consisting of three nude female models, an orchestra, and an audience. In the show, while twenty musicians were playing the Monotonous Symphony, Klein painted three nude models from their knees to their breasts and then asked them to print their bodies painted on the paper as if they were paintbrushes (Şenel, 2015). Klein had ultimate control over his subjects by instructing the movements of nude female models; restricted the female body not only as an object for the male gaze, but also used as tools for reflecting, expressing, and imposing patriarchal values. Following his performance in 1960, Klein diversified his work by following the same logic and continued to produce his congener performances. Sometimes, he pressed models onto the surface without painting, in different movements, then painted the surface with spray paint, creating negative figures (Yılmaz, 2006). With these anthropometric works of Klein, the human body, especially the female, has entered the work of art as a semiotic trace. Yet, the controversy of the artist's *Anthropométrie* works arose from the transformation of the female body into an art material within the context of masculine expression (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Yves Klein, "Anthropometries of the Blue Period", 1960 (URL-1)

Although by incorporating the human body into the act of creating art to give the performativity of the body an unprecedented privilege within its discourse, Klein's work and his objectifying use of women's bodies were at odds with much of the feminist art which came after it. Following female artists would have objected to this use of women's bodies as mere tools, rather than as active participants. Yet, many of the women who participated in anthropometries at the time said they felt as if they were co-creators of the work and described the process as being 'entertaining'.

The late 1960s and early 1970s were the periods when the feminist movement gained momentum in the United States and Europe. As Warr and Jones state (2000):

“During the 1960s artists increasingly sought to break down the boundaries between art and life to make a connection between art and society. Art became more and more directly related to the social, economic, and historical environment. The artist’s body was used as the primary signifying material of the artist’s gesture, making the body a site on which ideas could be enacted. Everyday acts and gestures were appropriated as art and art object began to dematerialize as the object of artistic production became less important. The rethinking of bodily actions through their artistic enactment opened up an alternative reconstruction of thought offering, for example, a commentary on race, class, and gender (p.201)”.

In parallel, women artists began to come to the front in the art world, which led them to produce works of art that addressed and criticized the relationship between gender and society; including sexes’ equality, women’s position in domestic and public spheres, and the conventional standards of beauty and sexuality through artworks produced. Although there was no single medium that brought feminist artists together, they often intersected several art movements such as Body Art, Conceptual Art, Performance Art in their works that convey messages about women’s experiences.

The term Performance Art, coined in the early 1960s, held a key position as a means that put the artist to the center of the artwork, and also served as a tool for women artists to regain control over their bodies and question issues of gender. The use of the body, at this point, became a critical agent for female artists to interpret aspects of identification, including gender and sexuality, as part of feminist criticism. Prominent female artists of the era, to give an example, Marina Abramović and Gina Pane presented themselves to the spectator and often challenged them by conveying an interrogating statement through their bodies. Thus, they became able to reclaim the female body and depict it through a variety of lenses. Kathy O’Dell (1998) suggests that the participatory nature of touching is tactile and active, challenging gendered systems of gazing at the female body, and in this context Abramović’s performances invoke the sense of touch. According to Forte (1988):

“As a deconstructive strategy, women’s performance art is a discourse of the objectified other, within a context which foregrounds the conventions and expectations of modernism. This deconstruction hinges on the awareness that ‘woman’, as object, as a culturally constructed category, is actually the basis of the Western system of representation. Woman constitutes the position of object, a position of other in relation to a socially-dominant male subject; it is that ‘otherness’ which makes representation possible (the personification of male desire)” (p.218).

Performances of art consist of four fundamental components: time, place, body, and the artist’s presence; and the interaction between the artist and the viewer. The events are typically realized in art galleries or museums, or any place on the street, in any form of setting or space. Usually, the female artists used their own bodies while performing, as it had the impact of being face-to-face with the viewer, which made performances impossible to disregard. Thus, they had an opportunity to center the body as an actor, medium, performance, and canvas at the same time.

To set an example, Marina Abramović’s (b. 1946) *Rhythm 0* realized in 1974 was a performance that contained a social message, yet, it has become iconic not for the performance’s topic, but its horrifying results. Abramović presented herself to the audience as an experimental object for her work, thus made the audience’s movements a part of the performance. She stood passive for six hours in front of a table with seventy-two objects on it. While some materials such as candy, honey, or rose had the connotation

of pleasure, others, for example, several knives, scissors, a whip, and also a gun, pointed to the possibility of torture. Abramović told the audience that they could do whatever they liked to her throughout the performance. Thus, the progress of *Rhythm 0* was in the hands of the audience. Six hours passed with their abuse of this power; the artist was kissed, moved in space, fed, soaked with water, stripped, and cut off (Figure 2). Yet, she kept her word, presented herself as an empty canvas, and quietly endured the best and worst reactions of the audience. When the performance was over, she had calmly come out of his trance-like state and walked straight to the crowd, that caused the dispersal of the audience.

As Fischer-Lichte (2008) puts in, Abramović created a situation in which the audience was in between the norms and rules of art and daily life, and also the artistic and moral constructs throughout her performances. *Rhythm 0*, in this regard, was one of the emotional works that tested Abramović's (poser) faith, concentration, and perseverance while revealing the audience's (gazer) hidden vengeful nature.



Figure 2. Marina Abramović, "Rhythm 0", 1974 (URL-2)

The works of Klein and Abramović, as it seems, have apparent ideological differences in the use of the female body for the production of art. In Klein's *Anthropométrie* performance, the female body becomes nothing more than a passive painting brush. Although all of the work consists of the female body and its movements made during the performance, the models receive no recognition as the owners of the work. Therefore, the female body functions only as an object in Klein's work. In Abramović's *Rhythm 0*, the performance and the artist's body become a whole. The naked body of the artist manifests a message to the spectator without hesitating to suffer for it. In this context, the work calls into question the meaning of the message, rather than the nakedness of Abramović's body.

## 2. VANESSA BEECROFT AND VB PERFORMANCES

Born in 1969, the Anglo-Italian Vanessa Beecroft is a performance-based contemporary artist currently living and working in Los Angeles. The artist comes to the fore with her gynocentric performance-art

pieces that display bodies of professional female models as nude *tableaux-vivants* to the spectator. Defining her works as autobiographical, Beecroft typically composes works that focus on the body, often the naked female body, which usually consists of standing models in several phalanx forms in a gallery space setting (Larocca, 2016). Her personal experience with an eating disorder drives most of Beecroft's work, and she frequently discusses questions of body image and sexuality in contemporary culture. Fully choreographed performance works by Beecroft investigate what defines the ideal body and the role of meaning in evaluating the dynamic relationship between the spectator and the performer.

Starting in 1993 with *VB1*, Vanessa Beecroft began to create her sequential *VB* performances. For her first amateur show, the artist dressed girls whom she found on the street with her thrift shop clothes, positioned all in a gallery space, and instructed them to talk and laugh between themselves and to the spectator throughout the performance. By the end of the performance, some of the girls acted in ways that scared some of the viewers. For her next show *VB2*, realized in 1994, Beecroft decided to instruct girls not to speak; thus, she would obtain a more visual effect, similar to a portrait. She found three girls, put them in red wigs that resonate with her hair color, plus red shoes. This performance jump-started Vanessa's high-speed career eventually as soon as it appeared on the cover of the art magazine entitled *Purple Prose* (Wallace, 2002).

Following performances gradually evolved in terms of models' physical appearance when Beecroft became well-liked in the art world and with the increasing financial support, she had the possibility to dress her models with high-end designer brands such as Gucci, Tom Ford, or Manolo Blahnik rather than using cheapjack wigs or her shabby wardrobe clothes (Kontova, 2016). Apart from the disputability of Beecroft's use of someone else's body as her autobiographical representation, the restrictive instructions given to the models during performances remain open to the discussion concerning the use of the female body as an object within the contrary of feminist ideology.

When Beecroft's *VB35* performance took place in 1998 at Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, the performance was complimented by some art critics, yet, several critics had spoken about the lack of meaning of her work. The thin and white semi or fully naked models were positioned in the central atrium of the museum and responding to the spectators' gaze with their gaze (Figure 3).



Figure 3. Vanessa Beecroft, "VB35 (Show)", 1998 (URL-3)

At this point, I will continue my words with two critics who experienced the *VB35* performance on site in 1998. The co-chief art critic of The New York Times, Roberta Smith (1998), who had visited *VB35 (Show)* back in time, indited the performance on the newspaper as follows:

“*Show* featured 20 tall, gorgeous women, mostly professional models of a certain hauteur, standing in the museum’s rotunda in a loosely circular configuration and facing the same direction. Fifteen wore elegant red rhinestone bikinis and matching four-inch spike heels; the others just wore the spikes. This wardrobe was designed by Tom Ford of Gucci; the makeup by Pat McGrath included light body-makeup and powdered hair that contributed to the walking-mannequin effect. The women stared into space, aloof, and indifferent. Occasionally they stretched, crouched, or walked slowly around. The invited audience of about 500, also standing, did much the same, and was often just as stylishly, if more thoroughly, attired. So little was happening that when one model strolled slowly among her colleagues, as through an orchard, it counted as drama”.

On the other hand, the artist, critic, and curator Daryl Chin (1998) who had visited *VB35 (Show)* as well had not found the performance as gorgeous and stylish as Smith:

“*Show* was a weird amalgam: part fashion show, part strip show, part art show. But in all cases, the meanings had been reduced. A fashion show has a purpose: it is an exhibition of commercial goods for the season. A strip show has a purpose: it is an entertainment which has an explicit sexual component. Nudes in an art show have a purpose: the presentation of the beauty of the human body in a context which is supposed to exalt the viewer. Vanessa Beecroft, in her postmodern cool, would have none of this. [...] She has emptied out the meanings in her presentations, so that the human bodies on display become empty vessels” (p.24).

While Chin blames Vanessa Beecroft for stripping the personality and meaning of the models, Newman (2018) looks at the issue through rose-colored glasses:

“Chin’s discussion of models as empty shells ignores the idea that the girls are actually people too. Two to four hour long events involve a fair amount of preparation for the models, including grooming, makeup and pre-performance photography. Before and during the performances, the models spend a large amount of time together and, reportedly, quickly form a kinship. [...] The relationships among the models helped the women brave the painful performance” (p.72).

At this stage, it is precisely this issue that is problematic. Why did models have to endure hours of pain? As Newman (2018) states in her book, Beecroft sets certain rules before the performance:

“Do not talk, do not interact with the others, do not whisper, do not laugh, do not move theatrically, do not move too quickly, do not move too slowly, be simple, be natural, be detached, be classic, be unapproachable, be tall, be strong, do not be sexy, do not be rigid, do not be casual, assume the state

of mind you prefer (calm strong, neutral, indifferent, proud, polite, superior), behave as if you were dressed, behave as if no one were in the room, you are like an image” (p.71).

If these supposedly ‘autobiographical’ performances have the intention of opposing the male gaze of a naked woman, why did the female body suffer for this rebellion, and why did Beecroft use extremely thin female models instead of herself? And why a museum space had chosen for the performance?

### **3. The Relationship Between the Poser and Gazer in a Museum Setting**

According to Macdonald (2006), since modernism, the museum has taken on a wide variety of shapes. Architecture played a subservient and supposedly neutral role in modernist aesthetics. Museums were transformed into spaces that exhibit works of art in a much less ornate and contextual manner than before, aiming to improve the pure exploration of art.

Accepted as one of the modernist museum spaces in several respects, through the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, the architect Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959) mediated the iconic centerpiece of museum architecture, the domed rotunda, into dynamic shape. He reproduced the space of the museum as a sculpture and covered the sky-lit central atrium by a spiral ramp along which Solomon R. Guggenheim’s collection has been exhibited in shallow bays. Although the interior of the museum remained modernist white, the visitor’s path along the curvilinear ramp was linear and ceremonial (Perez, 2010). In this context, the architectural features of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum provided a unique setting for the display of art, as well as allowed a spatial experience that was distinct from anywhere else.

Beecroft’s choice of realizing *VB35* performance at the central atrium of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum was not a coincidence. Therefore, the creation and positioning of models in space should be regarded to be of the prime importance in the work. With *VB35*, certain minimalist principles were in action as the interior architectural space of the New York Guggenheim was appropriate as an immersive, pristine space that referred to the white cube as a framing mechanism (Figure 4). Models were installed ‘objects’ connected to each other and their positioning in the space created an analogous aura of a Minimalist sculpture (Roll, 2014). According to Summers (2007), in *VB35* the voyeuristic position that the audience stood on contributed to turning female models’ bodies -positioned in the central atrium with a formal choreography- into something in-between the object and image. Smith (1998) stated in the New York Times at the time that “despite its mixed signals, Show’s beauty could not be denied. The performers seemed to match the pale beige walls of the museum’s soaring spiral, like 20 Venuses in a conch shell by Botticelli. They were resolute and self-contained, comfortable with their nakedness.” At this point, the complexity of the museum setting derives from its representational aspects as well as from conventional subjects, including space and display to more contemporary challenges such as experimental exhibition forms.



Figure 4. Vanessa Beecroft, “VB35 (Show)”, 1998 (URL-4)

The physical coexistence of the artist and audience enables and creates performance. For performance to take place, performers and spectators must interact in a specific space over a while, and “through their physical presence, perception, and response, the spectators become co-actors that generate the performance by participating in the play. The rules that govern the performance correspond to the rules of a game, negotiated by all participants – actors and spectators alike; they are followed and broken by all in equal measure” (Fischer-Lichte, 2008, p.32). While talking about the actors and spectators, I will continue the discussion by mentioning Mulvey. In her influential article entitled *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema*, British feminist theorist Laura Mulvey (1989) states that:

“In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its phantasy onto the female figure which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role, women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote to-be-looked-at-ness” (p.62).

Although Mulvey examines the “to-be-looked-at-ness” of women from the male gaze in the context of cinema, it is possible to discuss the same subject as through feminine (poser) and masculine (gazer) stances in *VB35*. In one of her interviews, Beecroft explains her ideal on the power as follows: “There are various different types of power. The power I’m interested in is the power to influence opinion and culture, at the cost of bringing about revolution” (cited in Kontova, 2016). Beecroft states that she wants to make an impact on ideas and opinions at the cost of revolution with her statement. *VB* performances intend a revolt against the society, that is to say, the audience, through the motionless and passive naked models. But wouldn’t this result in the sexual objectification of the female body?

## CONCLUSION

When a woman shows up on the stage, her body mostly speaks for itself. The body becomes the center of the gaze, the object of the desire (Striff, 1997). Feminist performance artists, on the other hand, try to disrupt normative societal roles appointed to the female body. Since the 1960s, performances were constructed as experiments that aimed to criticize and look for answers. Nowadays, performance art is no longer a mystery of the encounter between performer/s and viewer/s, yet, it provides an opportunity to explore the particular meaning, statement, interaction. Performance defines an act of

creation: the realization process itself involves all the participants and therefore produces performance to its esoteric significance.

As the research reveals, Beecroft's *VB35* remains critical due to the lack of meaning and interaction, although more than twenty years have passed since the performance realized. The method of using the female body by Beecroft is more similar to Klein's living brushes than the political stance we perceive at Abramović. Although the artist argues that the power she is interested in is the power to influence ideas and culture at the cost of revolutionizing, positioning the nude models in the museum space and presenting them as an object to the viewer places the statement of 'revolution' in a dilemma and, contributes to the objectification of the female body.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study is an outcome of a research proposal that was submitted as a term paper within the scope of the course entitled Contemporary Theories in Architecture, given under the Architecture Ph.D. Program at Yaşar University. I would like to express my very great appreciation to the coordinator of the course Prof. (Ph.D.) Gülsüm Baydar for her valuable and constructive suggestions during the planning and development of this research work.

## REFERENCES

- Chin, D., 1998. Models of fashion. *PAJ: Journal of Performance and Art*, 20(3), pp.22-25.
- Fischer-Lichte, E., 2008. *The transformative power of performance: A new aesthetics*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Kontova, H., 2016. Vanessa Beecroft. *Flash Art*, [online] 29 November, Available at: <<https://flash-art.com/article/vanessa-beecroft/>> [Accessed 16 October 2020].
- Larocca, A., 2016. Why the internet loves Vanessa Beecroft?. [online] 14 September, Available at: <<https://eyes-towards-the-dove.com/2016/09/why-the-internet-loves-vanessa-beecroft/>> [Accessed 16 October 2020].
- Macdonald, S., 2006. *A companion to museum studies*. Chicester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Mulvey, L., 1989. *Visual pleasure and narrative cinema: visual and other pleasures*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Newman, E. L., 2018. *Female body image in contemporary art: Dieting, eating disorders, self-harm, and fatness*. New York: Routledge.
- O'Dell, K., 1998. *Contract with the skin: Masochism, performance art, and the 1970s*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Perez, A., 2010. AD Classics: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum / Frank Lloyd Wright. ArchDaily, [online] 18 May, <<https://www.archdaily.com/60392/ad-classics-solomon-r-guggenheim-museum-frank-lloyd-wright>> [Accessed 16 October 2020].
- Roll, M. R., 2014. *Performing the image: the tableaux of Vanessa Beecroft*. MA. Electronic Thesis. Kent State University. Available at: <<https://etd.ohiolink.edu/>> [Accessed 16 October 2020].

Smith, R., 1998. Critic's Notebook; Standing and staring, yet aiming for empowerment. *New York Times*, [online] 6 May. Available at: <<https://www.nytimes.com/1998/05/06/arts/critic-s-notebook-standing-and-staring-yet-aiming-for-empowerment.html>> [Accessed 16 October 2020].

Striff, E., 1997. Bodies of evidence: Feminist performance art. *Critical Survey*, 9(1), pp.1-18.

Summers, F., 2000. Beecroft, Vanessa. Oxford Art Online, [online] <[www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000096699](http://www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000096699)> [Accessed 16 Oct. 2020].

Şenel, E., 2015. Performing arts and the body as means of expression of the artist. *Idil*, 4(16), pp.161-182.

Wallace, S., 2002. The life and art of Vanessa Beecroft. [online] Available at: <<http://www.people.vcu.edu/~djbromle/modern-art/02/Life-and-Art-of-Vanessa-Beecroft/index.htm>> [Accessed 16 Oct. 2020].

Warr, T. and Jones, A., 2000. *The artist's body*. London: Phaidon.

Wilson, E. O., 2002. *The future of life*. New York : Alfred A. Knopf.

Yilmaz, M., 2006. *Modernizmden postmodernizme sanat [Art from modernism to postmodernism]*. Ankara: Ütopya Yayınevi.

URL-1: Wilp, C., 1960. Presentation of the "Anthropométries de l'Époque Bleue" at the Galerie Internationale d'Art Contemporain, image, viewed 17 October 2020, <<http://www.yvesklein.com/en/photographies/view/463/yves-klein-s-performance-anthropometries-of-the-blue-period/>>.

URL-2: Kinney, A., 2017. She stood motionless for 6 hours and let people use her body for whatever they wanted, image, viewed 17 October 2020, <<https://www.trueactivist.com/she-stood-motionless-for-6-hours-and-let-people-use-her-body-for-whatever-they-wanted/>>.

URL-3: Anonymous, 1998. Untitled (VB35), image, viewed 17 October 2020, <<https://www.artsy.net/artwork/vanessa-beecroft-untitled-vb35>>.

URL-4: Anonymous, 1998. Untitled (VB35), image, viewed 17 October 2020, <<https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/vanessa-beecroft-n-1969-untitled-performance-5319194-details.aspx>>.

# FAMILY REPRESENTATIONS AND GENDER STEREOTYPES IN PRIMARY SCHOOL: A COMMUNICATION DESIGN POINT OF VIEW

VALERIA BUCCHETTI, BENEDETTA VERROTTI DI PIANELLA

**Valeria Bucchetti**, full professor, Department of Design, Politecnico di Milano, **Benedetta Verrotti di Pianella**, Research Fellow, Department of Design, Politecnico di Milano

## ABSTRACT

Placed in the areas of Communication Design and Gender studies, with a focus on elementary school kids and visual pluralism, this paper investigates the role that visual representation have in the development and education of children taking under examination images featured in the school books most commonly used in Italian public schools. As it emerges from the ONU Agenda 2030, two crucial points for a sustainable future are “*eliminate gender disparities in education*” (4.5) and “*end all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere*” (5.1). This contribution wants to reflect on long term influences that a teaching system based on commonplaces regarding gender can have on the growth of a person.

Families are the primary socialization agency, the first environment in which boys and girls discover themselves and others and begin to develop their personal identity. There are different types of families that differ in composition, ethnicity, sexual orientation, culture and parental ties; the familiar forms are plural and multiform. The school, the second socialization agency with which one usually comes into contact, proposes a familiar imaginary that does not seem to reflect this multiplicity that is instead present in today's society (Adichie, C., *The danger of a single story*. Ted Global, 2009). The visual imagery shared by the school system has a primary role in a kid's personal growth and primary school textbooks exert a strong influence on the development of critical thinking skills in the period of childhood (Biemmi, *Educazione sessista: stereotipi di genere nei libri delle elementari*. Rosenberg & Sellier, Torino, 2017).

This abstract shows the results of a research that examines illustrations and photographic images from a communication design point of view. The observation, whose coordinates have been defined through an empirical exploration, consists in a qualitative and quantitative analysis with a focus on visual pluralism and stereotypic recurrences paying special attention to gender roles, gender stereotypes and standardizations.

The recurring visual codes in the representations under analysis were brought to light in order to understand how the school communicates families and their plural nature. A fixed and not very dynamic family imaginary emerges, full of stereotypes and repetitions that standardize a unique type of family, ignoring or criticizing the other possible ones. The models proposed by the images of the textbooks take for granted only one possible vision of reality in contrast with the directives of the Italian Ministry of Education on the theme of inclusive education. It therefore appears necessary to find new additional and parallel paths that can support a multi-gaze that gives us the opportunity to look at

things from multiple points of view, taking into account the complexity of reality (Gianini Belotti, E., *Sessismo nei libri per bambini*. Ed. dalla parte delle bambine, Milano, 1978). The use of specific visual codes brings with it meanings that act on people, their thoughts, roles and behaviors, for this reason, the communication design discipline is called to reflect on the impact of images and act to build a more inclusive imagery for kids to grow.

## INTRODUCTION – COMMUNICATION DESIGN AND PLURAL REPRESENTATIONS

This paper faces the issues of gender stereotypes and gender roles in children's scholastic experience starting from a communication design point of view, proposing a dissenting point of view compared to today's scenario. Placing the main focus on visual pluralism and diverse representations, this contribution partakes in the conversation on how fixed models and recurrent stereotypes can affect the perception of reality starting from an early age. It starts acknowledging the responsibility of the communication designers role, them being the creators of stereotypical images and so ones of the possible game-changers in this unbending scenario, they can self-correct and look at their own design process to avoid falling back into a default design mode (Robichaud, 2018).

The stories that surround our daily life appear, to an attentive eye, as the repetition of the exact same story, in different ways and through different artifacts; this then becomes the basis for creating other narratives that follow its key characteristics. This tale is an act of violence that transforms and exploits emotions, thus depriving the intellectual and symbolic means to create new stories, new ideas and new images (Salmon, 2008). In this vicious circle of representations the necessary role of the stereotype is recognized, it is in itself a functional tool, it is useful in order to decode a very complex reality which, as such, requires a division into meaning groups. Although the idea of designing artifacts without stereotypes is impossible, one must be aware of their semantic rigidity, they are in fact extremely difficult to modify (Zingale, 2012) and for this reason, they require critical and reasoned management. Therefore, new additional and parallel paths that can support a multi-gaze can offer an opportunity to look at things from multiple points of view, taking into account the complexity of reality.

Approaching and decoding diversity are not simple tasks and they raise constant challenges from multi-disciplinary points of view. In this discourse, visual culture appears to have a strong power of change and a channel through which open a dialogue. The discipline of communication design is called upon to reflect on the expressive registers, the rhetorical models, the tools of directorial construction and staging used (Baule and Bucchetti, 2012). Referring to the media culture within which communication design acts, we can take for granted the impossibility of creating a representation that is completely free of stereotypes: *"when it comes to stereotypes, models, classification of the existing, in this area of communication we, therefore, speak of an absolute necessity"* (Pallotta, 2012: 123). In the same way, it is impossible to always make everyone feel represented, it is not a question of representing everyone, but of normalizing diversity and not taking anything for granted and of *"breaking the stereotype to make the image dynamic and no longer immobile which encloses it"* (Zingale, 2012: 113). If we stopped representing the average person but diversified the individual attributes of the subjects represented (Robichaud, 2018) and the recipients who benefit from the projected communication, we would already reach plural results unrelated to the usual stereotypes. De Lucchi states in an article entitled *Diversity* in *Domus Magazine*: *"It is the diversity that produces diversity, and there is no alternative to diversity, if not uniformity and a process of continuous reduction that, little by little, would lead to the most sterile void"* (De Lucchi, 2018: 35).

Not wanting to give all the responsibility to the sensibility of the designers, one could refer to the possibility

of innovation that the term diversity brings with it, continuing to re-propose the same stereotypes, artifact after artifact and designer after designer, is equivalent to not growing anymore. Not only is today's reality ignored but any possibility of progress for the future is blocked by reiterating stereotyped and harmful contents (Salmon, 2008). It is precisely the diversified society to which the communication project is aimed that needs this leap towards a plural and constantly growing design, as De Lucchi affirms again: *"the drive towards differentiation becomes an extraordinary engine of development wanted by the user, the one who defines with greater authority the true value of things and objects, that is, ourselves"* (De Lucchi, 2018: 35).

## **THE PARADIGM OF NORMALITY: FROM FAMILY TO FAMILIES**

Society presents itself as a formation of individuals in constant transformation, it is modeled by responding to differentiated and shared logic and with them also family units and the idea of the family is constantly changing. Throughout history, the family assumes various characteristics, assumes and loses tasks and functions, expands and shrinks, is stable or less stable (Campanini, 2004). Biological and symbolic links are articulated in always different ways, giving life to new plots and concatenations of individuals without canceling or replacing what was there before. Here, therefore, the changing character of the family is taken into consideration, recognizing in it a socio-cultural artifact that as such participates in all respects in the historical and political changes of the society in which it is inserted (Campanini, 2004). It is also noted that families in Italy, and in the whole all World, are today experiencing a lively moment of visibility and that this is a reason for controversy. *"Stereotypes and prejudices, whether positive or negative, are precisely what can stubbornly prevent us from seeing the face of the other, to tune in to his messages, to approach gradually and respectfully"* (Contini, 2012: 136).

Taking into observation the Italian demographic (2017, ISTAT and EUROSTAT) appears clear how the institution of the family in Italy has undergone in the last ten years what Contini defines as real and their own *"anthropological revolutions"*, there have been many and evident transformations in family structures both as regards the morphological-structural characteristics and as regards the relational plan (Contini, 2012). The family bond has gone from being a formal necessity deriving from the expectations of the extended family, where the marriage was considered a sort of compulsory and necessary stage, to a subjective bond deriving from one's own choices based more on personal life projects and emotional and expressive reasons (Campanini, 2004). In this regard, there is a strong contradiction between the perceived situation and the statistic one, while the cultural models remain unchanged, in practice, there are strong changes in the morphological organization of Italian society (Gigli, 2017).

We have seen how each family is part of a socio-cultural community and it is the set of different families that create society as a whole. We are faced with a population made up of different people who, as such, form different families, they are not exceptions or deviant forms compared to the traditional family, but they are only different forms from each other and each of them should be given equal dignity. It can therefore be affirmed that today it is opportune not to speak of the family anymore, but of families, *"assuming a pluralist perspective which has its point of reference in the multiplicity of family specificities"* (Campanini, 2004: 18). The traditional family is often considered a natural ideal, the only correct family form and the starting point determining what is or is not definable as a family (Contini, 2012). for an objective vision of today's socio-cultural situation, but also from the relational and affective dimension, we do not stop therefore at descent and biological ties. The family is in the ability to take care of the other, in supporting and respecting each other, in the ability to support the other in his life path, in educating and defending. The need, therefore, emerges to adopt new terminologies

that represent the multiplicity of family groups, without necessarily having a defined number of structural possibilities but opening up to their transformative nature (Struening, 1999), passing from the singular term family to the plural and inclusive term families. It is important to underline that this change in terminology and thought, does not lead to any kind of annulment or threat against the “traditional family” but it is an extension that provides new dignity to the different kind of families, without taking away from anyone (Campanini, 2004).

From a gender studies point of view, the fixity of the families’ situation is to research not only in the structure but also in the roles: the figure of the woman as mother, housewife and caretaker and the figure of the father as a worker, playmate and aloof. The first way to lighten this gender differentiation of female and male roles could be to accept the presence of different situations as real and give them equal respect (Biemmi, 2017), for this reason, a working mother should be considered equal in her role as a stay-at-home mother, so a stay-at-home father as a worker one. Looking at this subject matter from a visual communication point of view, we can observe the reiteration of fixed images that led to the creation of a shared visual and symbolic imaginary in which the ideal family corresponds to the nuclear heterosexual family made up of a mother, a father and two children. Media contents are influenced by the society and influencers of the society in which they are broadcasted, it can take different forms over time but they remain present and active in the production of meanings. Strongly stereotyped representations are having a strong impact on the perception of the family not taking into account social changes and demographics.

## **TEXTBOOKS AND STEREOTYPES**

One of the first training and education environments with which one comes into contact during childhood is school, to be considered also the main socialization agency and the starting point for acquiring critical thinking and the ability to analyze codes and messages (Biemmi, 2017). In this context, power, identity and knowledge intersect, giving life to ways of thinking, ideologies and lifestyles. The school is also the fulcrum of the first intergenerational relationships in two very different but connected ways: children enter into direct relationship with adults not belonging to the family sphere, such as teachers, principals and school collaborators and they are part of a system managed and influenced by adults. Education and the school system can be considered hot topics in today's socio-political debates. As Biemmi points out (2017: 10), *“the school has once again become the ideological construction field of the nation and boys and girls are the subjects - the bodies - on which power struggles and affirmations of the rights of others are structurally played out, in their name but without their voice”*. The class environment can be seen as a real ensemble of diversities where different types of specificity and fragility find their space. Over the years, various self-regulation codes have been published on issues inherent to the approach to diversity, among these, we mention: the Polite Code (1999), on equal opportunities in textbooks, the Provisions for the prevention of bullying and cyberbullying (2017), the Salamanca Declaration (1994), on special educational needs and other various reports of the European Council on issues such as ethnic diversity, sexual orientation and gender. Nevertheless, the responsibility for applying the rules proposed in these and other provisions remain at the discretion of the schools and teachers. A very complex picture emerges, which puts in dialogue different pedagogical, cultural and social sensitivities in dealing with the delicate issue of enhancing differences in the school environment, as reported in the Polite Code (1999). The set of protected freedoms clearly does not admit rules that specifically manage neither the adoption of textbooks nor the choice of teaching methodologies.

The role of the book is very strong as an *“agent of cultural transmission of the values to which we all respond”* (Gianini Belotti, 1978: 8) and even more *“the textbooks, especially those of primary school,*

*have a decisive influence in the formation of the identities of the subjects: their images and their contents can be fixed in the minds of children with the force of irrefutable models”* (Biemmi, 2017: 40). The book of text is an authority that over time assumes a binding and constricting role in the formation of thought, it is not an instrument open to criticism or interpretation, but rather a sort of collector of absolute truths. Here we want to bring to light how boys and girls are educated about gender even in an unconscious way by receiving external stimuli. Learning through the use of images is important and supports learning as a whole compared to a method based solely on verbal forms, the illustrations convey concepts, help to memorize and make it easier to understand. The visual representations, when placed side by side with the written text, should not be considered as a mere accompaniment as they produce meanings and act actively on the learning process. It is important to remember that we are talking about illustration in the school context on the textbook which is perceived as an expression of reality and manual of concreteness and truth (Biemmi, 2017), for this reason, the image is processed as representative of the truth. If in fact it can be said that the text leaves more and more space for images in textbooks, there is also the need for teaching that takes into account images as critical content and accompany pupils in their discovery and analysis. The image in the textbook can be seen as an imaginative proposal that the child can read in his own way, so the importance of a visual literacy-oriented approach emerges that accompanies a dialogic and interpretative reading of the image (Campagnaro 2011).

Representation plays an extremely important role in educational media (Biemmi, 2017), the more I will be used to seeing something in my daily environment, even without having the opportunity to meet it in person, the more this will enter my experience and the less hostile I will be if and when I come in contact with it. The school, as it is known, has the role of a socialization and experimentation agency (Abbatecola and Stagi, 2017) and therefore a potential place of welcome, inclusion, knowledge and friendship. Girls and boys build their individuality also thanks to academic training they receive at school, despite being in the childhood period, are not to be considered neutral subjects, and like their teachers, in fact, they carry with them connoted ideas and knowledge, never impersonal and objective (Biemmi, 2017). Primary school students should therefore not be viewed as a clean slate but rather as subjects in growth and transformation who actively participate in the development of themselves by making external stimuli their own (Belotti, 2010). Even the contents with which they come into contact at school, the culture that is transmitted to them today, can be considered flawed from the start, in what starts from a male, Caucasian, neurotypical and heterosexual imprint that tends *“to exalt man and relegate to margins women”* (Biemmi, 2017: 13).

## **GENDER STEREOTYPES IN ITALIAN TEXTBOOKS**

Reviewing literature published in Italy regarding sexism and school textbooks it emerges how gender stereotypes seem to be fixed in time. In 1973 Gianni Gallino observe how characters were mainly male, especially when it comes to protagonists, in fact only 10% of the analyzed texts had a female character as the protagonist, how the woman is always seen in the position of care of the home e the family, while men were portrayed with commitments and responsibilities outside the family, the man was a hero, he was competitive and working to become the best version of himself (Gianni Gallino, 1973). Thirteen years later Pace publishes a research about characters and gender roles highlighting the fixity problem and the oversimplification of the personalities of women characters in the stories. From her observation it emerges how the number of male children characters was 44% higher than female children and 30% higher for adults; it was not only the number that appeared to be the problem but also how the role of these characters in the narrative: 86% of boys were placed in external context against 14% of girls which were usually static and occupied in quiet activities that do not involve physical movement. The adult man emerged as an idol, a dedicated worker and a nice father, while the woman

was a grandmother, a wife and a fairy (Pace, 1986). In 2010 Biemmi conducts the most updated and broadest research ever carried out in Italy. This is the only action in which the images of the books, and not just the texts, were taken into consideration, even if only briefly, the author goes to analyze the anthological passages in the reading volumes and also the images that accompany them. The male characters remain the majority, even if the percentages are close, are 59% for men and boys and 37% for women and girls. Biemmi brings to light several issues, among these we find both the presence of well-defined and identifying parental roles, for which the woman is a mother or grandmother or carries out occupations that deal with care such as nurses or teachers and fathers are absent but extremely overrated figures. It then emerges that women and men have different evaluation scales, for the female gender it is a scale of beauty while for the male one of strength and skill, this leads to having extremely boys adventurous and vain and affected little girls. Two issues that were absent in the two previous publications also come to light, the female gender does not exist in past eras, all historical passages or linked to past events do not see female characters present, male roles are more static than female ones, girls come close to masculine ideals but the reverse does not happen (Biemmi, 2010).

Looking at these observations, one of the themes that emerge most is the importance of family roles, while families are changed over the years, the narratives have not changed. The family image with which children come into contact would seem to be only one, where stereotypes play an extremely influential role in gender perception (Adichie, 2009). The reiterated stereotypes all seem to be related to family roles: mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers and grandmothers and grandfathers. Moreover, Family appears to be a recurring topic for female characters, the main focus of their aspirations and responsibilities, having a family as the dream of every little girl (Biemmi, 2017 and Gianini Belotti, 1973). Being a woman equals being a mother, these two characteristics usually exist together, and if not, it is told like a negative trait. Stories from textbooks tell the story of the heterosexual white family where the woman is only a mother and she will have to depend on a man for house, money and protection (Gianini Belotti, 1973). The dad is therefore an ambitious person who works all over the day and comes home in the evening, despite his active role, he is passive in family dynamics. Grandparents and grandmothers instead reincarnate the same stereotypes, with a little more wisdom, but bringing back the image of the housewife woman, good at cooking that takes care of the grandchildren while the grandfather has a past full of adventures and now lives on his sofa. Genders are depicted as opposites, creating completely static and stereotyped characters (Bucchetti, 2012), any kind of contamination between the roles is highlighted as an exception to the rule and must have an explanation.

The image of the family and the concepts linked to it are very important during childhood. First of all, family is the thing a child knows better than any other because it is the one with which he spent the most time in his life. The family is the first nucleus of socialization, it is the baggage that a child has and brings with them the first day of elementary school (Belotti, 2010), it is also a reason for debate and comparison between peers, it is the environment where everyone has had experiences that they can share on a common theme. But what if illustrations, texts, images, videos lead to confrontation always with the same family? It disappears the idea of equal comparison and it strengthens the right and wrong dichotomy. Families are part of a person's identity, is where they start building themselves, and recognize themselves among others, is culture and origin (Contini, 2012). The considerations made until now focus on the verbal narrative part, none of them in fact it goes deep into visual representations, used mostly as control elements. Since the textbook represents a tool that exposes boys and girls to a repetition of visual and verbal inputs that mirror social stereotypes, it is believed to be useful to investigate it from a Communication design point of view to highlight the visual aspects that support and reiterate stereotypes about families and gender roles.

## **AN INVESTIGATION OF VISUAL STEREOTYPES: TOOLS AND METHODS**

Starting from the theoretical knowledge and the previous researches resumed in the last paragraphs, it was decided to carry out an observation taking images and visual elements as the focus of analysis.

The research was divided into five phases, (a) the definition of the analysis sample, (b) an initial exploration in order to define the point of view of the observation, (c) the construction of an analysis grid, (d) the filing of the observed cases and finally (e) the critical re-reading of the data.

### **4(a) Definition of the analysis sample**

Given the vastness of textbooks in primary school, to begin the investigation it was needed to find a specific

research environment. First years of school are essential for the development of critical thinking: not only pupils between six and eight years of age assimilate the contents transmitted to them, but they learn to learn, they become familiar with the textbook and learn how to move into an educational organized environment made up of rules and tools. The first years of primary school represent also the first step into sociality, as one enters in contact with a new social space composed of different people wherewith collaborate. Considering then that kindergarten is not mandatory in Italy, elementary school is the first moment in which it is necessary to shared space with others for a long number of hours whether you like it or not. Taking into consideration what has been said until now, it was decided to observe the Italian national indications from MIUR (The Ministry of Education, University and Research), which sets the first learning objectives of the educational path at the end of the third grade to understand what the specific objectives are set for socialization, knowledge of self and active citizenship.

*“It is the particular task of this school cycle to lay the foundations for the exercise of active citizenship, strengthening and expanding the learning promoted in kindergarten. Citizenship education is promoted through meaningful experiences that make it possible to learn the concrete taking care of oneself, others and the environment and that foster forms of cooperation and solidarity. This phase of the training process is the favorable ground for the development of a conscious adherence to shared values and cooperative and collaborative attitudes that constitute the condition to practice civil coexistence [...] It is through the word and the dialogue between interlocutors that mutually respect each other, in fact, who build shared meanings and work to heal differences, to acquire new points of view, to negotiate and give a positive sense to differences as well as to prevent and regulate conflicts.”*  
(Translation from Indicazioni Nazionali, Miur)

For the reasons cited above, taking as a starting point the objectives given by MIUR and following the timing given to achieve the first national formative objectives, it was decided to analyze the textbooks of the first three years of elementary school, in order to observe how the pupils are introduced in a path that leads them to reach the aforementioned goals understand if family pluralities are taken into consideration. On the basis of these assumptions, a sample analysis was carried out on the most widespread publishing houses in Italy as far as concerns primary school textbooks, looking at two types of books: Subsidiaries and English books. The final research pool on which the observation was carried out is made up of 13 books belonging to 8 different publishing houses.

#### 4(b) Preliminary exploration

In order to define the focus of the research and identify the best methodologies to be applied for the construction of analysis sheets, a first analysis was carried out exploratory action: the research diary. You have chosen to carry out this first exploration through a diary, as it is an immediate tool for data collection and has a low level of structuring, allowing a free and spontaneous observation. Through the use of the diary one also has the possibility to note down information about the moment, without method barriers or organization, but keeping track to be then reused and reworked. This tool is in fact used in different disciplines to carry out action research. In cultural anthropology, for example, there is a strong use of the Field diary, the first pass of anthropological observation in which the researcher notes his or her own impressions and useful moments for research but unstructured that do not necessarily fall into the following categories defined and systematized. Talking about the importance of the instrument in the field of anthropology, Malinowski defines its role by stating that it serves to collect the minimum facts, the ephemeral, instinctive, nameless facts that the

ethnographic practice struggles to grasp and measure and also escapes the common observation of the social actor (Malinowski in Sorbero, 2009).

The idea of starting this path of observation by means of a research diary therefore takes its cue from ethnographic studies. The tool has been reworked for use in the field of communication design for the analysis of editorial artifacts. The exploratory experiment was carried out on the book *Nuvola de La Spiga Edizioni* for the second grade and took place in four phases:

Overall observation: the book of text has been browsed through in its entirety to check for images of families and have a first idea of the content structure.

Identification of useful pages: all pages have been identified in which appeared, in written or visual form, a family or the indicated characters for their family role. Of these contents have been photocopied in black and white.

Analysis: for each piece or exercise the contents have been highlighted concerning families and noted stereotypes and anti-stereotypes with comments writings or graphic signs.

Definition of the research focus and survey setting: after having read the research diary complete, it has been used as a cue to steer the research in a direction more useful and coherent with respect to the theme and the nature of the contents.

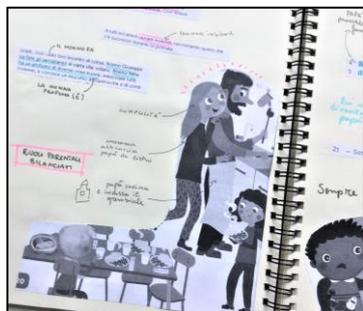


Figure 2. Field diary - detail

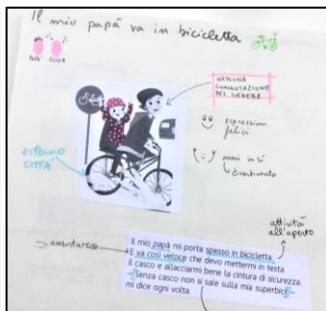


Figure 3. Field diary - detail

From this initial exploration emerge interesting results useful to set the textbook observation. First what emerges is the importance of investigating parental roles compared to gender stereotypes; in fact, often each character of the family comes associates certain related behaviors the role it plays within the family nucleus. Another element interesting is the composition of these nuclei, which seem to remain fixed or which see the main representation parental in the figure of the mother or in the traditional family, formed by mother, father, daughter and son. Therefore, it is necessary to check how they how families are composed and how this influences the characterization of parental roles. Finally, some visual characteristics common to each character: to each familiar role would in fact seem to be associated with certain types of clothing, places and

objects. It is therefore interesting to verify which are the visual elements that identify a certain role or a certain character, and in what way these are elements that support gender stereotypes. These observations lead to

the definition of the research focus which is therefore based on these four key points: - Family nucleus composition - Parental roles - Visual characteristics - Gender stereotypes. The aim is to investigate family representations in order to observe how visual elements create and support gender stereotypes in family roles and whether there is an openness to plural representations in family roles. roles and in the composition of the families.

#### **4(c,d) Construction of an analysis grid**

To define the search parameters and the organization of the analysis sheets, the method was partly take up by *Educazione Sessista* by Irene Biemmi, from all the research and more specifically from her qualitative analysis. As Biemmi states in the introduction to qualitative analysis, *"in order to be able to state that males and females are represented in a "fair" and "equal" way in a school text [...] it is necessary to verify real equality in the way the two genders are represented"* (Biemmi, 2017: 139). Biemmi divides sexist stereotypes into two clusters: stereotypes related to the attribution of psychological characteristics and behavioral differentiated according to gender and relative stereotypes the rigid division of roles in the socio-professional and family sphere (Biemmi, 2017). These two types of stereotyping turn out to be very useful to apply in the field of family roles and their link with gender stereotypes, and have therefore been taken as a basis for the analysis. In fact, it was decided to carry out a mainly qualitative analysis, focusing on the modalities with which the representations act and what emerges from them.

Another useful text in the construction of the analysis was *Grammatica Della Fantasia* by Gianni Rodari, because is particularly interesting the way in which the boys to break down the pieces, the words and the characters. Specifically to the *analisi della befana* or fantastic analysis: it is a method to decompose fairy tale characters prime factors. The analysis starts from the question *"what makes this hag a hag? witch? One answer could be the broom, sack and broken shoes"* (Rodari, 2013: 99-101). In this area, however, the decomposition of the elements shifts from text to images. It has been decided therefore to observe the images and understand which features are connected or character identifiers, a role or the whole family group. Yes, a new question is therefore built: What visual elements make this a family a family? And so on for all the familiar roles. What makes this daddy a dad and this grandmother a grandmother? Even if the analysis is set for its large part in a qualitative way, one is decided to add some essential data to verify the compositional plurality of the families represented, so as to add few quantitative data, but essential to identify the composition of households. It is important to also highlight that, unlike Biemmi and Rodari, the observation of this thesis takes place by focusing on visual representations. The subject of the research is therefore illustrations and photographs representing

families or characters identified as components of family (e.g. Uncle Alex). However, the text is not ignored, but used as an element of control; therefore, its coherence or inconsistency with the illustration, but no analysis will be carried out specifications on the verbal component.

After the definition of the theoretical investigation tools above, we have moved on to the structuring of a grid of analysis consistent with the research question and suitable for the material under observation, in the form of record cards (Figure 4).

Title - The name of the piece or exercise from which the image is taken or, in the case of if there is no title, the words Untitled exercise.

Type of image - The technique of image production. For example, photographs, digital and mixed illustrations.

Description - A brief explanation of what you see in the image and/or of useful information to insert it in a wider context. This happens for example when an illustrated family reappears several times in the book.

Colours - Main colours present in the image.

Text/audio consistency - Acronyms that identify consistency or inconsistency of the text. The acronym T/C: is defined as coherent when image and text tell the same story with a similar tone of voice and the same characters. With the acronym T/I: it is defined incoherent when image and text have inconsistencies in the plot, tone of voice or characters present. The acronym T/N identifies the non-presence of a text or the presence of a purely descriptive text.

Stereotype/anti-stereotype - A phrase that identifies, in case there is one, the stereotype or anti-stereotype present in the image. There are no predefined phrases, it can vary freely; its purpose is to bring out points of reflection and not to catalog images.

Environment – Where the scene took place. Differentiating between outside, inside and abstract environments.

Characters – Typology of the represented characters. They can be defined as human, fantasy creatures and anthropomorphic animals.

Composition – All the characters that appear in the image and compose the family unit.

Narrative role - The role is defined as primary when the concept of family is at the basis of the narrative, it is defined as secondary in all cases where a family is present but it does not represent the focus of the narrative. For example, the role of the family in a family tree exercise is considered primary and in the fairy tale of Little Red Riding Hood, it is considered secondary.

Characterizing aspects - Information on the type of family, the number of parental figures, ethnicities and sexual orientation of parents/guardians.

Visual elements - Objects, facial expressions, body positions and clothing that are used to identify the whole family or specific family roles.

Final comment - A free comment that describes more specifically the symbolism present in the image. In this section, there can be different types of information with the common aim to highlight valuable aspects.

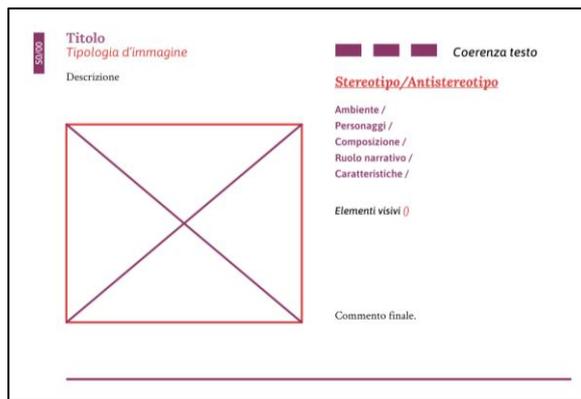


Figure 4 – Record card structure

Figure 5 – Record card example

Overall, the record cards are organized into three sections, one for each grade; within each section, the cards are divided by book. Every book has its own information sheet introductory cover and basic indications: title, year, house publisher, authors and graphic designers. They are then there are two items, one for accessibility, where reference is made to the platform digital to be used for the fruition of the book, and one for adherence projects in to which they are reported, when present, the social or integration projects to which the book adheres.

#### 4(a) Critical re-reading of data

The qualitative and quantitative data emerging from the research bring to light the visual and symbolic codes that identify and characterize familiar roles and gender stereotypes. As a premise, it is observed that there is a general lack of attention in the choice and use of images, one is often faced with stock photos and illustrations with little attention to social issues in general. Probably following the adhesion of the Polite code, it can be observed that the number of male and female figures represented is similar, the gap is no longer numerical but more symbolic. More specifically, as far as the representations of family units are concerned, it can be seen that family is for the woman and this shows how to different genders are assigned different stereotyped characteristics that can be seen in all aspects of the representations under analysis: from clothing to the gestures, from colours to activities.

From the number of images analyzed, it is evident how the family theme can be considered a major theme in the textbooks, it can be observed that, with the exception of only one English book, all the books show between 10 and 30 family representations, not counting all those families that are repeated several times inside the book. Half of the books analyzed in fact use the method of the guiding

family, there are characters who, with their family, guide kids into the learning experience for the whole textbook. This type of reiterate representation of the same characters in different scenes and environments allows understanding better the characters from a different point of view in their more or less complex personality. In this reiterate representations it is seen how the use of low-quality images has an impact on the content transmitted to the readers, illustrations are usually used more than once on different pages so the characters are seen doing the same activities, having the same expressions and attitudes along with the whole book. This use of the images itself implies a repetition of stereotyped figures, supporting and strengthening all kinds of stereotypes and among them gender ones.

In the images taken for analysis, the so-called traditional family model is repeated in 90% of the cases (Figure 6), reference is made to a white heterosexual family. No cases were found showing an LGBTQ+ family and only in the 2% of cases we see multi-ethnic households. Concerning the composition and the role of the characters presented, appear to be problematic also the presumed presence of mono-parental families, what can look like the representation fo a single parent, usually is not. It is infact taken for granted that the mother is taking care of the children and the house waiting for the husband to come back home. This is not explicit in itself, but emerges from the way the figure of the mother is described and the activities that are associated with her. Reading, as a control element, the texts placed alongside the images in analysis it is noted that often, even if only through a small hint, the other parental figure, missing in the image, it is nominated as if a reassurance is needed to give sense to the narrative.



Figure 6. Selection of images representing the most common family composition in the books analysed

Within this stereotypical image of the family in its composition we can find gender stereotypes linked to the family role of the character, it is therefore possible to reconstruct typical figures based on repeated stereotypes. A specific analysis by family role is therefore reported here, taking into consideration the six main roles identified through the observation made: mum, dad, daughter, son, grandmother and grandfather.

The figure of the mother proves to be the most widespread of all, appearing in the 80% of the images taken for analysis, and in 40% of cases as the only parental figure present. The woman identifies with the mother's role, this is and always will be the its main role. The mother is, in the most cases,

represented in a domestic environment, in the kitchen or in bedroom and is much less thick outdoors, when it is outdoors it is still occupying either the house or of children. The gestures that are made more frequently by mothers are about care and affection, you can see it cooking, serving at table, accompanying or take their children back to school or take them to the park. Interesting, in this regard, the moment outside the school, it's a scene which is often repeated in almost all the books and they are always and only mothers, there are not illustrations or photographs in which you can see a male figure to take back the children at school. The mother is also the symbol of love, it is the only character to appear in abstract scenes surrounded by hearts and flowers to represent themes like love or loving each other. Observing the images under analysis we then tried to synthesize the visual elements that specifically make it clear that that person identifies himself as the mother. The mother is an extremely stereotypical character, as far as her clothing is concerned, we can observe that the most used accessories are earrings, collars and lace sleeves, kitchen apron, little dresses, handbags and heeled shoes. I more frequented places, on the other hand, are linked to the house, as mentioned above, and the gestures are those of care. The mother results easily identifiable as it is she who passes the broom or serves the dinner, if she were sitting at the table she would become, almost automatically, a guest. In none of the analysed images, the mother is in a situation of idleness or rest, is always taking care of a few things or keeping an eye on the child.

The figure of the father appears to be a bit forgotten, the fathers are numerically at the opposite extreme to the mothers, he appears in 45% of the family images under analysis and is the only parental figure in only 10% of them. The father in fact has some tasks, but none of them would seem to being in the family, the dad is a worker by nature. Despite he in the family seems to do nothing, everyone consider him a hero because when there's nice, bubbly, jokes and play. Starting from the assumption that the meal is used symbolically as a family moment, it is useful to note the gestures of the father and mother at comparison: Daddy often finds himself in the same position as the children, sitting at wait to be served while, as we saw in the previous paragraph, the mum serves at the table. Interesting is underline how, in the few cases where the father is at the cooker or set the table the table, the mother remains in feet to do something useful. The idea would seem to be that of the father helps out but doesn't have household related responsibilities. He is the hero of the house, always doing the right thing and he is never criticized because he is far from home ad it is done with the mother figure when she has to work. Looking at the images under analysis you are then tried to synthesize the elements visual that specifically make it clear that that person identifies himself as Dad. Daddy is strongly stereotyped, often has a moustache or beard, and in the 85% of cases wear a shirt also if he is not at work. There are two positions and the gestures that the father makes: sitting down, on the sofa, on the armchair, on the chair or on a means of transport and play; dynamic positions involving often male children. With regard to objects related to the figure of the father, we find the work bag, tools and work uniforms and means of transport like the car or the bicycle. Interesting also turns out to be his relationship with technology, daddy is in fact tied to also to technological objects, which are they for work or entertainment, look the TV and send emails. They are almost never present symbols or expressions that refer to affection or love but there are many images that daddy sees very smiling and dynamic.



Figure 7. Selection of images representing mothers and fathers

The images representing brothers and sister are usually placed in direct comparison with each other within the family environment. The first thing you notice when looking at family images is the chromatic difference, children are associated with the colour blue and girls with the colour pink, this chromatic differentiation amplifies when families are not composed of human characters but of anthropomorphic animals where pink clearly identifies the girl while blue clearly identifies the child. This chromatic identification is stronger for girls than for boys who can wear or have accessories even in colours such as green or orange. Interesting is the age most frequently chosen to represent siblings, often the brother is the older one and the sister the younger one. This has a strong symbolic weight and generates evident differences in behaviour linked to both gender and age, the male gender children are given more responsibility than their daughters. It is also interesting to note how girls emulate their mothers' behaviour, help set and clear the table, learn how to cook and take care of dolls and stuffed animals, children on the other hand are less involved in family life and are usually disruptive. For example, they do mischief by dropping their mother or grandmother, or run around disturbing their father who reads the newspaper, and so on. It is clear that girls are often in more static and sedentary positions while children are represented dynamically. Note the bond with the parents, towards the mother they are both very affectionate, just as the mother is with them, while towards the father the girls are affectionate and the children are playful and playful. The girls are often the protagonists of illustrations that talk about the superdad and look at him dreamily as if he were a great hero. Although the representations, as has emerged until now, are strongly stereotyped, it is recognized that compared to mothers, fathers, grandparents and grandmothers, boys and girls are more often the protagonists of antistereotypical representations. , for example there are several images where girls and boys play sports together and are represented in the same way, as sometimes there are girls interested in science and children emotional. The problems arising from these contronarrations are two, these are usually represented as something special that needs to be explained and is therefore not normal. The girls are more easily inserted in these representations antistereotypical, recurs more often a sporty little girl from a child hugging a soft toy. This always leads to building an idea more positive than those features that identify themselves as male and always more negative than the feminine ones continuing, even if in a different way, to promote a culture that puts the man in the middle and the woman on the side.



Figure 8. Selection of images representing brothers and sisters

A last brief observation concerns the figures of grandparents. It can therefore be argued that grandparents and grandmothers reflect the gender stereotypes linked to father and mother figures, but it is useful to point out that often, in the images where they appear, they are not in active positions. In most cases, in fact, grandparents and grandmothers are represented in family portraits or family trees for which their role is not active. Visually characterised with grey hair and glasses, grandparents are not much of a figure per se present, appear in about 20% of the familiar images. Interesting is to see like the one observed for the parents is extremely amplified for grandparents. The grandmothers are in fact the queens of the kitchen, they are almost always behind the cooker with their aprons to prepare delicious food for the grandchildren, grandparents on the contrary are men serious but wise, they tell stories and yes make bearers of an interesting past.

## CONCLUSIONS – ARISING ISSUES

The analysis of the data collected during this research brings to light a problematic situation which manifests itself in the images present in the textbooks and which strongly influences the strengthening of gender stereotypes and propose a fixed imagery to boys and girls.

Taking into account the results of the research carried out on textbooks emerges a wide space of intervention in the context of the inclusive representation related to elementary school. It can be said that boys and girls, through the textbook, come very often into contact with fixed and stereotyped familiar representations without receiving the critical tools to analyze them and the context in which they are located. The school therefore appears to be a useful place to intervene in this regard, not only because the textbook is clearly linked to the school experience, but also because from the school, as from the books, one expects to have the right informations and to learn what is real (Biemmi, 2017).

There are several possible interventions of interest in the discipline of communication design, but it is necessary to take into account their feasibility, the limits of intervention and different capabilities. Here we report the three possibilities that have been identified, of which we will briefly analyze limits and insights:

(1) a complete re-design of the textbook, rethinking its visual contents eliminating harmful and stereotypical images and redesigning the visual narration in its entirety, allowing an inclusive and open to diversity school experience. This appears to be the most immediate action, in fact, starting from a book already on the market, one could imagine an initial experimental action in which the graphic and illustrative structure of a volume is redesigned from scratch. Starting from this one-off experimentation, it could be brought to the attention of authors and publishers and start an active path of anti-stereotypical translation of already existing content. (2) Until this translation takes place, in practice, the communication designer should act as a mediator, supporting educators and students in the use of existing editorial materials. In this regard, they can imagine an intervention from educational point of view, raising awareness and proposing moments of study in the field of gender and visual representation to teachers, and equip the classes with tools for critical analysis of the book and its images. This would allow a more conscious and less harmful use of the textbook in the form in which we see it today. (3) It can be seen, however, that there is a more general problem on a national scale in the field of visual culture. In fact, the strongest and most resolute imaginable step would be to involve experts from different disciplines, designers, illustrators, pedagogues, educators and the whole complex system that takes charge of visual culture in order to go towards a sort of “visual culture revolution” in order to produce and share a diverse and inclusive imagery and provide society all the tools to read them critically and consciously. We are aware that this path is difficult, complex and, in some way, utopian, but in this context it seems necessary to highlight the problem, at least on a national scale, of the lack of a generalized visual education and the need for its introduction in society as a whole.

## REFERENCES

- Adichie, C.N., (2009). *The danger of a single story*. Ted Global, <https://bit.ly/2COBavg>. Accessed: 28 October 2020.
- Abbatecola, E., Stagi, L., (2017). *Pink is the new black: stereotipi di genere nella scuola dell'infanzia*. Rosenberg & Sellier, Torino.
- Anichini, A., (2015). *Riscritture digitali e libri di testo*. Form@re - Open Journal per la formazione in rete, Vol 15, Firenze.
- Baule, G., Bucchetti, V., (2012). *Anticorpi comunicativi: progettare per la comunicazione di genere*. FrancoAngeli, Milano.
- Barton, L., Armstrong, F., (2007). *Policy, Experience and Change: Cross-Cultural Reflections on Inclusive Education*. Springer Science + Business Media B.V, Dordrecht.
- Biemmi, I., (2017). *Educazione sessista: stereotipi di genere nei libri delle elementari*. Rosenberg & Sellier, Torino.
- Biemmi, I., Satta, C., (2017). *Infanzia, educazione e genere. La costruzione delle culture di genere tra contesti scolastici, extrascolastici e familiari*. AG About Gender. Rivista internazionale di studi di genere, n° 6.
- Campanini, A., (2004). *Famiglia o famiglie nel terzo millennio*. Alternativas. Cuadernos de trabajo social, 17–33.

- Campagnaro, M., (2016). *The Function of Play in Bruno Munari's Children's Books. A Historical Overview*. Ricerche di Pedagogia e Didattica. Journal of Theories and Research in Education, n°11. (2011). *Libri e albi illustrati. Analisi, strumenti e prospettive per una pedagogia dell'immaginazione*. Università degli studi di Padova, Padova.
- Contini, M., (2012). *Molte infanzie molte famiglie: interpretare i contesti in pedagogia*. Carocci, Roma.
- De Lucchi, M., (2018). *Diversity*. Domus, n° 1030, December.
- Gigli, A., (2017). *Maestra, ma Sara ha due mamme? Le famiglie omogenitoriali nella scuola e nei servizi educativi*. Guerini scientifica, Milano.
- Gianini Belotti, E., (1978). *Sessismo nei libri per bambini*. Ed. dalla parte delle bambine, Milano. (1973). *Dalla parte delle bambine. L'influenza dei condizionamenti sociali nella formazione del ruolo femminile nei primi anni di vita*. Feltrinelli, Milano.
- Gooden, A.M., Gooden, M.A., (2001). *Gender Representation in Notable Children's Picture Books: 1995–1999*. Sex Roles n°45, 89–101. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1013064418674>
- Hamelin Associazione Culturale, (2015). *Ad occhi aperti: leggere l'albo illustrato*. Donzelli, Roma.
- Pace, R., (1986). *Immagini maschili e femminili nei testi per le elementari*, Presidenza del Consiglio dei ministri, Direzione generale della informazioni, della editoria e della proprietà letteraria, artistica e scientifica.
- Robichaud, M., (2018). *You can't just draw purple people and call it diversity* in Medium.com. <https://bit.ly/2Hfx8hb>. Accessed: 28 October 2020.
- Rodari, G., (2013). *Grammatica della fantasia: introduzione all'arte di inventare storie*. Einaudi ragazzi, S. Dorligo della Valle (TS).
- Salmon, C., (2008). *Storytelling: la fabbrica delle storie*. Fazi, Roma.
- Struening, K., (1999). *Familial purposes: an argument against the promotion of family uniformity*. Policy Studies Journal, n° 27, 477–493.
- Zingale, S., (2012). *"Immobili visioni. Domande intorno alla persistenza dello stereotipo"* in: Baule, G., Bucchetti, V., *Anticorpi comunicativi: progettare per la comunicazione di genere*. FrancoAngeli, Milano.

# THE IMPOSED POST-TRAUMATIC STRESS DISORDER BY COMMUNITIES AND ITS IMPACT ON FEMALES: BEING WOMAN IN TURKEY AND IRAN

CANSU ECEM KESGIN, SAMAN HASHEMIPOUR

Cansu Ecem Kesgin, Istanbul Rumeli University, Saman Hashemipour, Associate Professor, Istanbul Yeni Yüzyıl University

## ABSTRACT

In this study, the physical and psychological violence stemming from the patriarchal system—the common ground for both the women governed by Turkey’s secular hierarchy and women governed by Iran’s Islamic Sharia system—is discussed. The gender roles of women, the struggle of women for survival in patriarchal societies under Sharia, women’s mental conditions, the violence women have been subjected to, issues such as the normalization of violence, and female rights are also emphasized. Due to the policy of equality between genders in societies, violation and the advocacy of male domination in the realm of femicide should be studied. In both communities, Turkey and Iran, women are restricted from developing their capacities. While their freedom is restricted, they are obliged to live with eventuating psychology. The patriarchal system causes all kinds of violence, abuse, discrimination against women, and restrictions on their right to live independently. Violence, which is one of humanity’s biggest problems, is partitioned within itself while the outcome is always the same. This study is focused on women living in Turkey and Iran when addressing physical and psychological violence they have been subjected to for years, and society’s ideological dilemmas are also investigated. The mobbings and post-traumatic stress disorders that women are subjected to and molded to society are discussed by following the DSM-5 diagnostic criteria manually. This study emphasizes female perception as semi-individual after restrictions imposed on personal freedom by the moral police in Iran and by the public in Turkey. Discussing women’s place and the neglected psychology of women in society, attention was also drawn to the normalization of the traumas they experienced—by regarding the facts they experienced throughout their lives. By defining all types of violence against women, the stages of violence, society’s attitude towards violence, and the perpetrators’ profiles, women suffered pressure is psychologically examined. The cause of mental illnesses in women who are suffering from violence is exposing their experienced violence. Depending on the situation in which women are in, the issues of normalization are declared precisely. Psychological violence—as abrasive and damaging as physical violence—which deals with two different cultures is studied in this article.

**Keywords:** *Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, Psychological Violence, Physical Violence, Women’s Rights, Gender*

## **INTRODUCTION**

To fulfill patriarchal expectations, women are subjected to all kinds of abuse that are normalized by the target society. In patriarchal societies, women are segregated, and the masculine community prevents women from defending their rights, where they are subjected to various psychological, physical, sexual, and economic abuses. The mental health of women seriously affects the extent of suffered abuse. Normalities that are accepted as a result of cultural differences cause gender discrimination. Although equality of gender is announced before the laws, women's rights are sometimes taken away decisively. Women who plan to be intervened in their career are subjected to a great mobbing by the patriarchal society in all forms of sexual orientation to their physical appearance, education rights, and income. Depending on the abuses they have suffered, their mental health is affected.

## **WOMEN AND ABUSE**

The word abuse is defined as exploitation in the dictionary, and the development of this destructive and corrosive act over gender is called gender abuse. All of the emotional, mental, physical, and economic actions that take place against the woman's consent may exploit, prevent, or restrict the woman. These are considered as a type of abuse—since the masculine is seen as superior in the patriarchal society—and women concede to it at any stage of their lives. Women's objectification or being inferior—compared to men—are among the instances of normalization of gender discrimination and abuse. Females become a victim of sex discrimination in the patriarchal society, where emotional abuse, as an invisible type of abuse, is not noticed by society. Emotional abuse caused by a woman's emotional support and disregard for her needs—such as being belittled, punished, leaving alone, threatened and rejected—is often considered as usual. Emotional abuse is not accepted as physical abuse when society ignores it or accepts it as a norm.

Emotional abuse, which includes verbal and psychological abuse, may cause a lack of self-confidence, depression, social anxiety, and traumas for the exposed individuals. It may take time for people who have been subjected to emotional abuse to realize it; since they are faced with a feeling of humiliation, and they may hesitate to share it with people in their immediate vicinity. The situation of women who have been subjected to economic abuse is not considered differently. Their duty is restricted; they are prevented from promoting, or their husbands, fathers, or friends confiscate their income. Gender discrimination in the form of unequal work distribution is observed in many workplaces. According to Özyaydınlık (2014), gender-based labor division differentiates women and men and affects their access to social resources unequally. Sometimes personal expenses are impeded, and society's perspective on economic abuse can be rooted in idioms such as "try to do a man's job." Economic abuse that is often encountered is a significant attack on personal rights, and it is a type of domestic violence while the man who works and cares for her family expects his wife to serve him at home.

According to Parlaktuna (2010), gender-based occupational discrimination, which is directly related to the development of countries' economic, social and cultural structures, is a reflection of the problems stemming from the country's inadequate economic and socio-cultural structure. Economic and emotional abuse that causes stereotype helplessness causes emotional inadequacy. Discrimination can occur in every country with significant differences in jobs and privacy of males and females. Job segregation, according to countries, can be evaluated as women's or men's jobs. Situations such as stress, anxiety, depression, and inadequacy can be visited in people who are exposed to abuse. After the Islamic Revolution of the Republic of Iran in 1979, women's legal rights were abandoned. According to Aşık (2006), the abolition of post-revolution coeducation and the necessity of a headscarf has led to

different gender inequality concepts in textbooks. Thereby, duty division in the family and public spheres has been made in the realm of gender discrimination. (p. 151)

In Iran, women's freedom to travel abroad is in line with the permission given by the father or the spouse. Women—whose freedom of expression is abolished—do not have the right to get divorced. In inheritance shares, they can receive half the property of a man. Besides, when they witness a situation, the testimony of two women under the Islamic rules of Iran—governed by Sharia—is equated with a man's testimony. A woman is seen as half a man before the law. A woman whose right to divorce has been taken can continue or be terminated at the man's request. In Iran, where the pressure to dress according to Islamic conditions continues, women are also prohibited from watching football matches. Women who want to be united to make their voices heard are stopped by moral police, subjected to violence, or taken to court.<sup>1</sup> In 2019, when Seher Hedayari, who opposed the ban, wore a man's outfit and entered a soccer match, she was caught and detained. After she was released conditionally, she set herself on fire in front of the Tehran revolutionary court, but could not be saved.

In his study, Kahraman (2014) explained that women who are tied up because of Iran's peculiar conditions are crushed under the weight of structures settled based on gender inequality, which is exposed to them. (Hero, 2014, p. 113) Although the Republic of Turkey is a country governed by civil laws, however, because it is a patriarchal society, abuse against women and domestic violence cannot be prevented. According to Karanisoğlu & Oskay (1995), women worldwide, due to their gender, are systematically subjected to inhumane procedures such as violence, sexual harassment, and domestic rape. Every day we encounter abuse and women murders in the news, media, and the press that now became an open wound of Turkish society. Patriarchal society tries to make people adopt the sayings such as "spare the rod and spoil the child," "do not take a stick from the back of the woman, and the body of the woman," and women who have been subjected to sexual abuse cannot share their close circles, as they are ashamed of the abuse they have been subjected to.

Incest relationships—such as child brides—are currently the subject of many TV series and movies, while this sexual abuse is equal to rape. Women's rights defenders advocate this rape as a massacre and violent crime rather than sexual abuse (Russell, 1984). Sexual abuse includes all kinds of sexual assault that occurs without the person's consent, such as touching, forced sexual partnerships, taking obscene photos, blackmailing, performing sexually explicit conversations, performing unwanted acts during sexual intercourse, having unprotected sexual intercourse, forcing abortion/preventing abortion, materials or sex toys that may damage the genitals. Women who have been subjected to sexual abuse also experience many physical and psychological illnesses; women who have sexual intercourse before marriage are not preferred to get married in Turkey. When women who have been sexually abused before marriage are forced due to the social pressure on virginity, they cannot share the situation with anyone, while most of the sexual abuse is committed by men who are close to abused women.

By staying silent, abuse will be continued. Societies that patriarchal society defines virginity as a symbol of honor cannot react to the abuse they are exposed to women. According to Yüksel (1996), all women who have experienced rape—regardless of whether they are married or single or had/did not have a sexual experience—should be treated within the system of the same values. Married women are also not considered as the victim of sexual abuse by their husbands. In her interview to *Hürriyet* newspaper with expatriate Ayşe Tükrükçü, who is known as the owner of a hug life restaurant, Ayşe Arman (2015) says the story of Tükrükçü has made a significant impact on society. Ayşe Tükrükçü, who was raped by her uncle at the age of 9, stated that she was subjected to sexual abuse and physical abuse and that

---

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/mavi-kiz-kendini-yakti-41327384>

she was taken from her family at the age of 11 and given to an orphanage due to the cover-up of domestic sexual abuse. After her marriage, Ayşe Tükrükü, who was sold to a brothel by her husband, stated that she had sex with 70 people a day. (Arman, 2015)

In Iran, sex traffick is allowed in accordance with Islamic rules of Sharia. They make a short-term religious marriage through the Muta wedding, which takes place daily, hourly, or weekly, and carry out the sex trade following Islamic rules. The muta wedding, which is also performed for a certain fee, is an accepted marriage type in Iran. According to the *Ibtikar* newspaper's news, the Muta wedding, which has recently received as a significant reaction, is considered legal in Iran<sup>2</sup>. Domestic sexual abuse is often hidden or ignored. It is known that women who have been subjected to psychological, economic, and sexual abuse are also exposed to physical abuse. Physical abuse is a type of abuse that includes the physical force and is carried out with the aim of physical injury. Hitting, slapping, punching, trying to choke, throwing any object, using hurtful objects, and torturing are also contained. In 2014, in Isfahan, Iran, at different times, four women were attacked, causing the women to be physically injured because they did not dress according to Islamic values<sup>3</sup>. The use of acidic substances, which males frequently perpetrate as a punishment method, damages the physical integrity of the individual, or causes death. The frequent acid substance used in Iran is also repeated in Turkey. Physical violence can result in death, which is a crime against humanity. A great majority of people react to physical abuse while at the same time, hesitating to intervene. The university student who decided to stop the physical abuse caused his death. During the brawl, he attempted to intervene in a criminal's act named who used violence against Özgür Duran. Later, 20-year-old Kadir Şeker (2020) was arrested for 'deliberate killing<sup>4</sup>.'

Even if people want to intervene in abusing events, but society's fear of harming or being harmed prevents them from reacting. In the Islamic Republic of Iran, people refrain from reacting to the events taking place due to the fear of moral police. The horror of the punishments in Iran prevents people from making their voices. People are also prevented from defending their rights in connection with severe punishments such as whip, stoning, amputation, and retaliation. The methods of the applied punishments are divided into men and women; in the stone to death punishment, which is a form of the death penalty based on the stoning of adulterers, and it differs in its application to men and women. When men are only buried up to their waist, women must be buried deeper<sup>5</sup>. In the penal system used for killing, the person is stoned to death by his family and others in a way that will be subjected to torture. While men buried up to their waist have a higher chance of escaping, women cannot escape from this punishing method. This punishment system—where the fleeing person is believed to be justified—is inhuman. Women who are sentenced to stoning are murdered in front of people. An Iranian human rights defender and writer, Golrokh Ebrahimi Iraee's article on stoning, was sentenced to prison for "anti-system propaganda" and "denigrating the sacred values of Islam," and it was stated that she would be executed<sup>6</sup>.

---

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/iranda-cep-telefonundan-muta-nikahi-40144033>

<sup>3</sup> [https://www.bbc.com/turkce/multimedya/2014/10/141020\\_iran\\_asitli\\_saldiri](https://www.bbc.com/turkce/multimedya/2014/10/141020_iran_asitli_saldiri)

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-turkiye-51427492>

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.cnnturk.com/2010/dunya/07/02/iranda.yine.taslanarak.oldurulecek.bir.kadin/582063.0/index.htm>  
|

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/dunya/son-dakika-iranda-recm-hakkinda-yazan-yazara-hapis-cezasi-1432936/>

## MENTAL ILLNESSES AFTER ABUSE

It is common for people exposed to abuse to have physical and mental illnesses. The fact that abuse is an abrasive and destructive act causes trauma in the imposed person. It is known that traumas that vary from person to person, and other mental illnesses are also seen in people who experienced it. One measure of abuse is as follows: even if the person is not directly exposed to abuse, they may experience trauma as a result of the acts they witness. According to Özgen & Aydın (1999), individuals' genetic characteristics, physical structure, psychological background and motivation for that situation, and coping mechanisms with specific stressors are different. Therefore, the prevalence of Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) varies. (p.34)

Trauma's background is as old as humanity's history. It was first defined by including physical traumas. In the following years, the first research on the psychological effects of trauma was carried out on patients with hysteria by the French Neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot (Veith, 1977, p.9). Post-traumatic stress can occur depending on the types of stress disorder and abuse, natural disasters, sudden death or injuries, accidents, or childhood. It is accompanied by an unexpected fear, sadness, or despair. Psychological reactions to negative experiences are a subject that many researchers have included in their research. (Van der Kolk, et al.; 1996, Fischer & Riedesser, 1999; Maercker, 2005) Post-traumatic stress disorder may vary from person to person, and the same traumatic effects may not be expected to influence every person equally. Studies have also mentioned the psychological reactions that occur due to life-threatening events. (Spurrell & McFarlane, 1995; Van der Kolk et al., 1996; O'Brian, 1998)

It is possible to relate to other mental illnesses with post-traumatic stress disorder. According to Sungur (1999), social support is an essential factor that determines whether acute PTSD becomes chronic or not. As the chronicity of the trauma may vary from person to person, the social support they receive is also essential. People with post-traumatic stress disorder develop chronic post-traumatic stress disorder when they are not supported, and the traumas experienced by those who attempt suicide are more significant than other people. (Blaauw et al., 2002; Goldney et al., 2000; Roy, 2001; Statham et al., 1998) People can constantly feel and react to the same event, and dissociative returns are seen in 8-13% of traumatized individuals as re-experiencing the traumatic event without any unconsciousness (Burstein, 1985). Breslau et al. (1997) also hypothesized that 80-100% of people had experienced a traumatic event, at least once in their life, since they started to survive. (Breslau et al., 1997)

They may experience sleep disturbances, loss or increase in appetite, palpitations, nausea/vomiting, panic attacks, anxiety, stress, or they may attempt to not want to remember the incident and cover it up. Beers et al. (1999) was defined it as a disorder that involves recalling after a traumatic event. It evokes emotions such as intense fear and helplessness, thus, avoiding stimuli related to trauma. The longer the treatment initiation process is delayed, the longer the person's recovery process will be completed. People need to get psychiatric and psychological support. One of the main reasons for late initiation of treatment may be the fear of hearing the event or continuing the action causing the trauma. Apart from this, it may be due to financial insufficiency or the belief that there is no treatment. One of the most common mental illnesses after trauma is anxiety. It occurs with symptoms such as boredom, excitement, stress, bad feelings, hand, foot tremors, and excessive sweating. According to Türkçapar (2004), anxiety disorders include; panic attack, agoraphobia, panic disorder without agoraphobia, agoraphobia with panic disorder, agoraphobia without panic disorder, specific phobia, social phobia, obsessive-compulsive disorder, post-traumatic stress disorder, acute stress disorder, a generalized anxiety disorder that is defined as anxiety disorder due to the general medical condition and anxiety disorders.

Depression can often be realized through post-traumatic stress disorders, such as depressed mood, pessimism, suicidal thoughts, lack of pleasure, lack of self-confidence, appetite, and sleep disorders. Karamustafaloğlu & Yumrukçal (2011) defined depression as unhappiness and a kind of the usual reactions people give to adverse developments. Women subjected to violence, as are not talking about domestic abuse and sexual abuse, hardly expressed or could not tell about their experiences. The abuse remains hidden and causes the trauma to continue. (Avin, 2002) Eskin et al. (2006) commented that the nature of suicide-related attitudes might prevent some suicide cases within the dominant cultural understanding. The fact that Fatma Sariaslan, who could not withstand the physical violence by her husband—although she had a protection order in 2016—committed suicide, is an example of the suicidal attempts of an abused woman. Psychiatric disorders are one of the most important causes of suicides, and it is known that social, psychological, and economic factors play a significant role in suicide attempts. (Eskin, et al., 2006)

### **WOMEN'S SOLIDARITY**

Turkish society is exposed to stop the abuse and murder of women, and there was founded many associations and platforms. One of the best known of them, Mor Çatı, settled in Istanbul in 1987 and supported by 2500 women who were saying, "We do not want the paradise where the beating broke out," "There is no rightful beating." In 1990, Mor Çatı Women's Asylum Foundation was established, and they formed a telephone network where women could receive legal support from the institute. Also, KADAV, the women's solidarity foundation, was officially established in 2001 and provides consultancy support upon the applications of women subjected to violence. Social anxiety disorders in DSM-IV, which is the diagnostic and numerical handbook of mental disorders. It was defined as a feeling of constant fear and anxiety with realizing a society or action that may be ashamed, and it will turn into a panic attack due to this reaction. (DSM-IV, 1994)

In Iran, women who are opposed to the obligation to cover their heads after the Islamic revolution of 1979 established The White Wednesdays after the protests and movements to support Iran's female rights were blocked and prohibited by the revolutionary guards. Also, My Stealthy Freedom, launched by journalist Masih Alinejad on social media, shares women's photos and videos on social media with #WhiteWednesdays hashtag to state women's reactions on the defense of freedom. The women participating in the movement are activists who called to wear white covers every Wednesday. In The White Wednesdays movement, women shake the head coverings imposed on them every Wednesday by wearing their scarves on a stick. In this movement, which is supported by many in Iran, women wear white headscarves, while men who want to support women wear white bracelets. Recently, men who are against violence and abuse also support women in these protests. The men participating in the protests share the projects prepared for women's voices on social media to support Iranian women.

Since there is a restriction on social media use in Iran, the public may not be aware of the vast majority of the actions taken to communicate or make their voices heard on social media. Access to the world's most frequently used websites, such as Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter is banned. While the Islamic regime imposes severe sanctions on internet use, it also restricts people's ability to express their freedom of thought and exerts psychological pressure. While the society is prevented from expressing itself, criticizing the system and communicating with the world in line with all restrictions is necessary. The fact that Twitter, which politicians actively use, is prohibited to the public is significant discrimination. The power given to moral police has become one of the biggest fears of women living in Iran. In a report published in 2018, a woman sitting in the park was beaten to death by the moral police for allegedly violating the laws applicable to the headscarf. The incident in which the opponents are described as a "small problem" on social media is a significant crime against humanity. (AA., 2018)

It is possible to experience constant fear, anxiety, panic attacks, and social anxiety disorders with the oppression that women living in Iran are exposed to.

A university student in Turkey, Ceren Özdemir, was brutally murdered in front of her house's door in 2019. Afterward, many women living in Turkey, while walking down the street, said they were uneasy due to brutal behaviors in society<sup>7</sup>. The feeling of being chased, which is one of the symptoms of some mental illnesses, has traumatized the society in connection with the events experienced. The feeling of being followed, which is one of the symptoms of mental illnesses, has traumatized the society in connection with the events experienced. In Turkey, when the van driver brutally raped and killed a psychology student Özgecan Aslan, Nihat Dogan, the artist wrote via social media, "You wear miniskirts, you undress; so, you cannot shout loudly to perverts that corrupt the harassed secular system." Not only he defended the patriarchal system, but he considered women as sexual objects<sup>8</sup>. It was a shameful attempt by an artist to normalize the rape of women due to their appearance. After Özgecan Aslan's death, the Women's Solidarity Center (ÖKDM) was established by İzmir Buca Municipality in memory of Özgecan, where they provide psychological and legal services for women<sup>9</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

This study deals with all kinds of abuse that women are subjected to in Middle Eastern countries, which are governed by a patriarchal system, and the traumas they experience. Women who make up half of society—subjected to abuse and mental illnesses—should be revealed together. The abuses women are subjected to—both within and outside the family—are similar to other women who continue their lives with learned helplessness. By accepting its existence, it was concluded that a considerable number of men had supported women's struggles to support women. It is a crime against humanity that the patriarchal system wants to enslave women and take away women's existing legal and vital rights. The patriarchal system is one of the main reasons for the victimization of women.

This article aims to deal with the experiences of women who were killed and subjected to all kinds of violence, support women's victimization, realize the psychological effects of abuse, and share the voice of women exposed to abuse. The suffered abuse by women at home, on the street, in public vehicles, and in workplaces caused post-traumatic stress disorder and, consequently, anxiety, depression, social anxiety, panic attack, and obsessive-compulsive disorders. The trauma experienced is among the normals of the patriarchal society, causes a delay in the initiation of therapy and makes it chronic. It increases the number of people who are exposed to abuse and attempted suicide or have suicidal thoughts; however, this situation is different for individuals who receive social support from their immediate vicinity. Keeping silent to abuse is somehow participating in the process. It is an issue that will embarrass not the exposed person who suffers the upcoming of the experienced trauma, but also the abuser.

---

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2019/gundem/genc-balerin-evinin-onunde-bicaklandi-yasan-savasi-veriyor-5487930/>

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.citationmachine.net/bibliographies/5939d161-35e3-4377-9c46-64954ad574e4>

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/392916/ozgecan-aslan-kadin-danisma-merkezi-bucali-kadinlara-destek-sagliyor>

## REFERENCES

- AA. (2016, July 13). İran'da cep telefonundan' muta nikahı'. Retrieved October 10, 2020, from <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/iranda-cep-telefonundan-muta-nikahi-40144033>
- American Psychiatric Association (1994). *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: Versison IV (DSM-IV)*, Washington D.C., American Psychiatric Association.
- Ahlak polisinden başörtü dayağı!: Gazete Vatan. (2018, April 21). Retrieved October 01, 2020, from <http://www.gazetevatan.com/ahlak-polisinden-basortu-dayagi--1160196-dunya/>
- Avina, C. & O'Donohue, W. (2002). Sexual harassment and PTSD: Is Sexual Harassment Diagnosable Trauma?, *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 15*, pp. 69-75.
- Arman, A. (May 24, 2015). Ayşe Tükrükçü'nün akıllara durgunluk veren hikâyesi, *Hürriyet*, Retrieved October 01, 2020, from <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ayse-arman/ayse-tukrukcu-nun-akillara-durgunluk-veren-hik-yesi-29088792>
- Aşık, M. O. (2006). 1851 Yılından Günümüze İran Eğitim Sisteminin Beklenmeyen Sonuçları, *Sosyoloji Dergisi, 16*, pp. 137-158.
- Blaauw, E., Arensman, E. , Kraaij, V, et al. (2002). Traumatic life events and suicide risk among jail inmates: the influence of types of events, time period and significant others. *J Trauma Stress, 15*, pp. 9-16.
- Beers, M. H. & Berkow, R. (1999). *The Merck Manual of Diagnosis and Therapy; 17. edition*, West Point: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 1503-99
- Burstein, A. (1985). Posttravmatik flashbacks, dream disturbances and mental imagery. *J Clin Psychiatry, 46*, pp.374-378
- Breslau, N. , Davis, G. C., Andreski, P. et al. (1997). Sex differences in post-traumatic stress disorder. *Arch Gen Psychiatry; 54(11)*, pp. 1044-1048.
- Eskin, M., Akoğlu, A., & Uygur, B. (2006). Ayaktan Tedavi Edilen Psikiyatri Hastalarında Travmatik Yaşam Olayları ve Sorun Çözme Becerileri: İntihar Davranışıyla İlişkisi, *Turkish Journal of Psychiatry*, pp. 266-275.
- Fischer, G. & Riedesser, P. (1999). *Lehrbuch der Psychotraumatologie*. München. Reinhardt.
- Genç balerin Ceren Özdemir evinin önünde bıçaklandı! Yaşam savaşını kaybetti. (2019, December 04). Retrieved October 10, 2020, from <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2019/gundem/genc-balerin-evinin-onunde-bicaklandi-yasan-savasi-veriyor-5487930/>
- Başbakanlık Kadın Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü, (2000a), Kadın İstihdamı İçin Yeni Perspektifler ve Kadın İşgücüne Muhtemel Talep, (Proje Yürütücüsü: Doç.Dr. Şemsa ÖZAR), Nisan 2000, Ankara: Cem.
- Goldney, R.D., Wilson, D., Dal Grande, E. et al. (2000). Suicidal ideation in a random community sample: attributable risk due to depression and psychosocial and traumatic events. *Aust NZJ Psychiatry, 34*, pp. 98-106.

Internet Haber. (2016, April 08). Yediği dayağa dayanamadı intihar etti. Retrieved October 04, 2020, from <https://www.internethaber.com/yedigi-dayaga-dayanamadi-intihar-etti-1582890h.htm>

İran'da yine taşlanarak öldürülecek bir kadın. (2010, July 02). Retrieved October 04, 2020, from <https://www.cnnturk.com/2010/dunya/07/02/iranda.yine.taslanarak.oldurulecek.bir.kadin/582063.0/index.html>

İran'da 4 kadına kezzaplı saldırı. (2014, September 21). Retrieved September 28, 2020, from [https://www.bbc.com/turkce/multimedya/2014/10/141020\\_iran\\_asitli\\_saldiri](https://www.bbc.com/turkce/multimedya/2014/10/141020_iran_asitli_saldiri)

İran'da recm hakkında yazan yazara hapis cezası. (2016, October 07). Retrieved October 04, 2020, from <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2016/dunya/son-dakika-iranda-recm-hakkinda-yazan-yazara-hapis-cevasi-1432936/>

Özgecan'ın babasından Nihat Doğan'a çok sert sözler. (2018, April 03). Retrieved October 04, 2020, from <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/hayatim/magazin-haberleri/ozgecanin-babasindan-nihat-dogana-cok-sert-sozler/>

Kadınlarla Dayanışma Vakfı (KADAV). (n.d.). Retrieved September 29, 2020, from <http://www.sigınaksizbirdunya.org/tr/biz-kimiz/kurultay-bilesenleri/37-kadınlarla-dayanisma-vakfi-kadav>

Karamustafaloğlu, O., & Yumrukçal, H. (2011). Depresyon ve anksiyete bozuklukları. *Şişli Etfal Hastanesi Tıp Bülteni*, 45, pp. 65-74.

Kahraman, L. (2014). İranlı Kadınların Toplumsal ve Siyasal Profili. *Sosyoloji Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 17(2), pp. 72-120.

Karanisoğlu, H. & Oskay, Ü. (1995) Kadına uygulanan şiddet (Hırpalanmış kadın). *Hemşirelik Bülteni. Florance Nightingale HYO Dergisi*. 9(37), pp. 93-97.

Özgen, F., & Aydın, H. (1999). Travma Sonrası Stres Bozukluğu. *Klinik Psikiyatri*, pp. 34-41.

Maercker A (Ed) (2005) *Therapie der posttraumatischen Belastungsstörungen*, 2nd ed. Berlin. Springer, pp. 3-51.

O'Brian, L.S. (Ed) (1998). *Traumatic events and mental health*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Öykümüz. (2013, March 27). Retrieved September 28, 2020, from <https://morcati.org.tr/tr/oykumuz/>

ÖKDM Bucalı kadınlara psikolojik ve hukuki destek veriyor. (2019, December 11). Retrieved October 04, 2020, from <https://ekmekvegul.net/gundem/okdm-bucali-kadınlara-psikolojik-ve-hukuki-destek-veriyor>

Özaydınlık, Y. D. (2015). Toplumsal Cinsiyet Temelinde Türkiye'de Kadın ve Eğitim. *Sosyal Politika Çalışmaları Dergisi*, 33, pp. 93-112. doi:10.21560/spcd.03093

Parlaktuna, İ. (2010). Türkiye'de Cinsiyete Dayalı Mesleki Ayrımcılığın Analizi. *Türkiye'de Cinsiyete Dayalı Mesleki Ayrımcılığın Analizi*, pp. 1217-1230.

Russell, D. (1984). *Sexual Exploitation: Rape, Child Sexual Abuse, and Workplace Harassment*, Washington, D.C., US Dept of Health and Human Services, pp. 245-62.

Roy, A. (2001). Childhood trauma and suicidal behavior in male cocaine dependent patients. *Suicide Life Threat Behav*, 31, pp. 194-196.

Statham, D. J., Heath, A. C., Madden, P. A., et al. (1998). Suicidal behaviour: An epidemiological and genetic study. *Psychol Med*, 28, pp. 839-855.

Spurrell, M. T., Mc Farlanen, A. C. (1995). Life-events and psychiatric symptoms in a general psychiatry clinic. The role of intrusion and avoidance. *Br J Med Psychol*, 68, pp. 333-340.

Sungur, M. Z. (1999). Ýkincil Travma ve Sosyal Destek. Retrieved September 30, 2020, from [https://www.journalagent.com/kpd/pdfs/KPD\\_2\\_2\\_105\\_108.pdf](https://www.journalagent.com/kpd/pdfs/KPD_2_2_105_108.pdf).

Sevgilisini döven erkeđi engellemek isterken öldüren Kadir Şeker'e destek için Twitter'da kampanya. (2020, February 08). Retrieved September 28, 2020, from <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-turkiye-51427492>

Tipi, Y., & Tipi, G. (2019, November 09). 'Mavi Kız' kendini yaktı. Retrieved September 28, 2020, from <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/mavi-kiz-kendini-yakti-41327384>

Türkçapar, H. (2004). Anksiyete Bozukluđu ve Depresyonun Tanısal ilişkileri. *Klinik Psikiyatri*, 12-16.

Van der Kolk B. A., Mc Farlane, A. C., Weisaeth, L. (Ed) (1996). *Traumatic Stress*. New York: Guilford.

Veith, I. (1977). Four Thousand Years of Hysteria, In Horowitz MJ, ed: *Hysterical Personality*, New York, Aronson, pp. 7-93.

Van der Kolk, B. A., Mc Farlane, A. C., Weisaeth, L. (Ed) (1996). *Traumatic Stress*. New York, Guilford.

Yüksel, Ş. (1996). *Tecavüz: iktidar amaçlı cinsel saldırıganlık: Evdeki Terör*. Yön Matb., Mor Çatı Yayınları, İstanbul. pp. 113-116.

# NEW LANGUAGES TO GUARANTEE GENDER EQUALITY

**R. MARZULLO**

Researcher in General and Social Pedagogy, Mediterranean University of Reggio Calabria.

## **ABSTRACT**

Mediterranea University of Reggio Calabria has for some time been engaged in actions to combat discrimination, with particular reference to gender discrimination.

An important testimony of the commitment to promoting the culture of overcoming stereotypes and prejudices related to gender is the issue of the document entitled "Indications for a use of language that respects differences", approved with Rector's Decree no. 352 dated 21/12/2018 and drawn up with the contribution of the Single Guarantee Committee for equal opportunities, as part of Horizon 2020 research and innovation program "Gender equality in Engineering through Communication and Commitment".

The project intends to promote a use of the Italian language that respects all differences, in particular that of gender in the various areas of the daily life of the academic community (events, administrative texts, communications).

At the same time, together with the careful use of language, it urges the use of balanced and representative images of all the different components that combine to form a free, open and inclusive academic community.

## INTRODUCTION

Universities are the place of choice for the dissemination of knowledge, which makes them real reference models for society.

For this reason, it is necessary to be aware of the fact that the responsibility for the training of the younger generations at the head of the universities must involve not only the aspects strictly connected to the specific disciplines of the various courses of study, but also those, equally important, of the transmission of values fundamental principles such as equality, which is the essential cultural postulate for the prevention and contrast to all forms of discrimination.

Starting from these assumptions and being aware of its important educational role, the Mediterranean University of Reggio Calabria has for some time been engaged in actions to combat discrimination, with particular reference to that of gender.

An important testimony to the commitment to promoting the culture of overcoming stereotypes and prejudices related to gender is the issue of the document entitled "Indications for a use of language that respects differences", approved with Rector's Decree no. 352 of 21/12/2018 and drawn up with the contribution of the Single Guarantee Committee for equal opportunities, as part of Horizon 2020, project research and innovation programme "Gender equality in Engineering through Communication and Commitment".

The project intends to promote the use of the Italian language that respects all differences, in particular that of gender in the various areas of the daily life of the academic community (events, administrative texts, communications)

At the same time, together with the careful use of language, it urges the use of balanced and representative images of all the different components that combine to form a free, open and inclusive academic community.

The Mediterranean University of Reggio Calabria, attentive to this issue, has thus also adopted the European indications contained in the EU Directive / 54/2006 and in the guidelines "Gender neutrality in the language used in the European Parliament, 2008", in which it is recommended to "avoid the use of terms which, insofar as they imply the superiority of one sex over the other, may have a connotation of partiality, discrimination or *deminutio capitis*".

Through the actions undertaken, the University of Reggio has shown that it is aware of the importance of communication, perfectly knowing that language, consciously or unconsciously, can produce and convey stereotypes and gender prejudices. In fact, it is undisputed that communication in all its forms (audiovisual, iconic, verbal, gestural) can help to consolidate or exacerbate asymmetries already present in society, just as much as it can concretely contribute to modify and contrast distorted cultural models that have consolidated over time.

The line of contrast to gender discrimination chosen by the Mediterranean University is also consistent with what is indicated in the "Directive on measures to implement equality and equal opportunities between men and women in public administrations" of May 23, 2007, where, in order to "enhance differences Public administrations" are assigned the "proactive and propulsive task for the promotion and concrete implementation of the principle of equal opportunities", which requires the use of non-discriminatory language "in all working documents, (reports , circulars, decrees, regulations, etc.).

It is in fact preferable to speak of "teaching staff", or "student component", or "university community", instead of dividing these human groups into two different categories distinguished by gender.

The *Accademia della Crusca* itself, the main point of reference in the field of Italian linguistics and philology, invites the adoption of representations declined in the feminine and masculine, to correct the androcentric tradition that often subordinates the feminine or leads it back to an allegedly neutral masculine.

The invitation of the Academy, in particular, is to decline roles and professions to give equal representation to men and women, where both are present, and to adapt the syntax to the need to avoid both presumed universal masculine forms and heavy communication and repetitive.

An appropriate use of language would also make it possible to make the presence of women more visible and - consequently - allow us to recognize their contribution and work within the academic community.

A further important effect deriving from the use of an appropriate language would be to convey to external users the image of an open and balanced academic environment, capable of welcoming everyone; thus, stimulating the enrollment of girls even in technical disciplines where the female component is generally less present.

## **SOCIAL CATEGORIZATION AND PREJUDICE**

The path traced is of fundamental importance in promoting gender culture and breaking down prejudices, because, as Albert Einstein said, "it is easier to break an atom than a prejudice". It lurks in the culture of human groups in a subtle and persistent way, so much so that social psychology has warned us of the dangers associated with the processes of social categorization, which are present in every culture and constantly and markedly influence the relationships between people. Prejudice arises and develops from social categorization, which leads to judging an individual usually negatively only on the basis of his belonging to a social group, thus recalling the stereotypes that had been associated with that group.

Lippmann<sup>1</sup>, already in 1922, hypothesized that this type of discriminatory behavior had to do with a distortion of thought, with its rigidity, coming to coin a very well-known and used term: stereotype. The term derives from the Greek words *stereos* (rigid) and *typos* (image), therefore "rigid image". It is no coincidence that the term was borrowed from the technical typographic language: this served to enhance the fact that the stereotype indicates a hard and rigid imprint, difficult to eliminate.

Lippmann had well grasped this element of rigidity of the representations of others, fixed and impenetrable to reasoning, underlining that they reach the social group of reference already pre-constituted by the context in which one moves and, for this reason alone, considered absolutely true, used to label the others, thereby distorting reality.

Lewin<sup>2</sup> later, in 1948, argued that what exists as reality for a person is determined to a great extent by what is socially accepted as such. In the process of creation, the objective reality "out there" matters little, and the society in which one lives does matter. It follows that the assessments that people make of their physical and social environment are not real in themselves, but are real only because they have been socially constructed. The problem is that people do not know this, and they mistake their social

---

<sup>1</sup> Lippmann, W., (1922). *Public opinion*, New York, Harcourt Brace.

<sup>2</sup> Lewin, K. (1948). *Resolving Social Conflicts, Selected Papers on Group Dynamics (1935-1946)*. New York: Harper.

constructions for "objective reality", and therefore do not consider the existence of alternative social constructions to their own, which becomes "true and real" by definition, possible.

These processes begin very early in children, they are developmental elements probably crucial for survival, and seem to be pervasive in the perception of their environment - and therefore conditioning with respect to social behavior - starting from the first months of life. The phenomenon is not attributable to personality traits but rather to cultural and social variables, as there is a strong link between the beliefs of the parents and the values of the children.

At five months, the baby can distinguish a male from a female face, and at eight months they can match the male or female voice to the appropriate face. At three years of age, the ability to categorize the ethnicity and sex of others already exists: this is a basic cognitive faculty, and is the premise of the phenomena of favoritism and discrimination. At the age of five, children have an understanding of their own sexual identity, they know who is in-group (ie included in the group considered socially prevalent) and who is outgroup (i.e. who belongs to the socially minority group)<sup>3</sup>.

The peak of intra-group favoritism appears around the age of six and is probably linked to the transition from the preoperative stage to the concrete operative stage, in which the recognition of different points of view and more complex social realities begins.

Already at the age of seven, the little ones demonstrate that they have understood the priorities of their group and use this knowledge for the social exclusion of other children, as Abrams, Rutland, Pelletier, and Ferrell<sup>4</sup> observe.

## **UNCONSCIOUS BIAS**

The consequences of the categorization processes manifest themselves not only towards the members of the outgroup, but also towards the members of the ingroup: since a subject is accepted by virtue of the proximity to the prototypes considered typical of that group, the simplest trend is generally used towards those who possess to a lesser extent such prototypical characteristics is to be placed on the margins of the group itself, also through unconscious mechanisms: the so-called unconscious bias.

Stereotypes, therefore, are not limited only to constituting forms of representation that reside in the mind, but they also serve to transmit cultural content and knowledge that can be shared, to do this you need a particular mediation, the linguistic one.

Let's think about how widespread a language is in the contemporary world that becomes a tool for conveying a different education in feelings, in relation to the gender to which it belongs.

The rigid division between paternal and maternal roles and the modalities of expression / repression of feelings indicate to the sons and daughters which feelings they are allowed and which others are forbidden in the manifestation of their sexual identity.

---

<sup>3</sup> Aboud, F. E. (2003). The formation of in-group favoritism and out-group prejudice in young children: Are they distinct attitudes? *Developmental Psychology*, 39(1), 48–60.

<sup>4</sup> Abrams, D., Rutland, A., Pelletier, J., & Ferrell J. (2009). Group nous and social exclusion: The role of theory of social mind, multiple classification skill and social experience of peer relations within groups. *Child Development*, 80, 224-243.

In the stereotype of male identity, no affective education is generally envisaged (the still prevailing model is that of hardness, rationality, strength) and, in doing so, in the childhood of males, prejudices can be created deriving from a lack of emotional development due to an excess in repression.

In females, on the contrary, there is an excessive sentimentality, that is dangerous and misleading because it can lead to the trivialization of feelings, or to the predominance of protective and servile manifestations, even to the detriment of one's own autonomy.

Faced with a selective, unjustified use of sentimental education (just think of how widespread the belief is that girls can cry and boys can't) it must be reiterated that all human beings have feelings and everyone has the right to find way of expressing them in their own language.

This is why universities are called upon to promote a change of pace in the direction of promoting a culture free from old legacies according to which belonging to the gender even comes to condition the ability to freely express one's emotions.

Despite the apparent breakthroughs in the culture of gender equality, it still happens that if a girl beats she is a "tomboy" and if a boy cries she is a "sissy". If a male child plays football it is "normal", if he studies ballet he has sexual identity problems.

These stereotypes are the result of an education based on a concept of gender difference that still suffers the repercussions of the predominance of the male model over the female one and which produces dangerous forms of disorientation that can reach paroxysm, resulting in phenomena - unfortunately more and more widespread - bullying, homophobic prejudice and femicide.

Understanding changes in the relationships between the sexes, eliminating judgments and prejudices that are affected by old patterns silently trampled by one generation to another through an education in gender belonging - which not only is not in line with the times, but which produces dangerous forms of emotional compression - breaking stereotypes, educating the new generations to mutual respect for opinions and behaviors different from their own is the educational goal to which every educational agency, first of all the university, is called upon to create the basis for construction of a social fabric where women truly have equal power and possibilities. This is possible also and above all through the disclosure of the unconscious bias, that is, of those prejudices that language constructs day after day and that generate unconscious discriminatory processes based on gender.

Cognitive bias, in psychology, indicates a judgment or a prejudice (unconscious bias), not necessarily corresponding to the evidence, developed on the basis of the interpretation of the information in possession, even if not logically or semantically connected to each other, which therefore leads to an error of assessment or lack of objectivity of judgment<sup>5</sup>.

When knowing the reality, forming an opinion about the people around us, or making decisions we resort to unconscious bias, that is to pre-existing concepts. These are part of the normal functioning of the mechanisms of social cognition, therefore they cannot be eliminated. They are often based on distorted and sometimes logic-less information and lead to a lack of objectivity in making a judgment.

Unconscious gender stereotypes and prejudices are often conveyed by a discriminatory gender education, which still suggests rigid and uneven gender roles. The role of the media or advertising is fundamental, which even today, too often, convey an image of a woman mainly relegated to caring for the home and children, promote the purchase of games for children other than those intended for girls

---

<sup>5</sup> Dovidio, J. F. (2001). On the nature of contemporary prejudice: The third wave. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57, 829-849.

and in so doing they enormously contribute to the formation of unconscious biases responsible for the inequality of power also in the possibilities of professional life.

### **UNCONSCIOUS BIAS AND EVALUATION OF SCIENTIFIC PROFILE IN RECRUITING**

The unconscious bias create a sort of distorting mirror that conditions both the recruiter in selecting, for example, a woman for a role usually and / or stereotypically held by a man, and the woman, who risks reducing his aspirations and his professional growth, unconsciously adhering to gender bias.

This phenomenon would explain the gap between two statistical evidences: women have better academic results, but the most prestigious roles in the workplace are mostly held by men and this also happens in the academic field.

Gender unconscious biases are, therefore, an integral part of those cognitive processes that each of us activates to relate to the world, formulate judgments and make choices <sup>6</sup>. Being part of normal mental functioning, they cannot be eliminated. However, the path to awareness is possible.

One of the tools capable of proving existence and of revealing our unconscious bias is the Implicit Association Test, which demonstrates the divergences between conscious and unaware evaluations.

The IAT measures the strength of associations between concepts (e.g., people of color, gay people, women) and ratings (e.g. good, bad) or stereotypes (e.g., athletic, sensitive, subordinate). The IAT test therefore highlights our unconscious stereotypes, such as that shown by most men and women, for example, who associate "science" with "man"<sup>7</sup>.

We can expect that this bias will contribute in the evaluation of a scientific profile, during the recruiting phase, in making the preference fall unconsciously on a man, rather than on a woman<sup>8</sup>.

Not being aware of how strong the influence of cultural prejudices and stereotypes is in interpersonal relationships and in careers, it appears essential to encourage activities that are useful for recognizing the preconceptions that sediment at an unconscious level, so as to be able to gradually unhinge them.

The unconscious bias of the recruiter can have a considerable impact, so much so as to significantly reduce the number of chances for a woman to pass a selection, with the same skills compared to a male candidate. Sometimes even the way in which a job advertisement is formulated and the language used can discourage the application of women, thus also reducing the possibility of access to the interview.

However, it is possible to encourage policies that are attentive to unconscious gender discrimination and to the use of a language that respects equality and gender differences.

Reducing the influence of unconscious bias is possible, for example, by providing a standardization of the interview, using a list of questions proposed in the same order, to ensure that everyone has the same opportunity to present their qualifications, regardless of gender.

---

<sup>6</sup> Dovidio J. F., Hewstone M., Glick P., & Esses V. M. 2010. *The SAGE Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

<sup>7</sup> Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D., & Schwartz, J. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The Implicit Association Test. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 1464-1480

<sup>8</sup> Hogan, R., Hogan, J., Roberts, B. W. (1996). *Personality Measurement and Employment Decisions: Questions and Answers*. *American Psychologist*, 51(5): 469-477

Furthermore, the use of the blind recruitment methodology is growing, to control the variable of unconscious bias. In blind recruitment, some information relating to gender, age or ethnicity is omitted during the selection of candidates, so that these do not act as a barrier filter, activating unconscious biases, and favoring an assessment based on the real skills of the candidates.

The national university panorama still reveals the existence of an inverted pyramid that highlights the perpetuation of substantial differences between men and women in an area relevant to the growth of knowledge and national human capital. Gender stereotypes, although sometimes present in a more veiled way than in the past, remain insidious threats that limit people's expectations and right aspirations for fulfillment and enhancement. Equality and well-being are constitutive elements of the heritage of an academic community, elements to be protected and disseminated.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

The actions undertaken so far by the Mediterranean University have the ambitious goal of removing these disparities and promoting virtuous behavior, with a view to raising awareness in the academic community about existing inequalities.

The initiatives launched represent the first step towards the construction of a real strategy aimed at promoting the achievement of equality between men and women, addressing the top bodies, the technical-administrative staff, teachers and researchers, as well as the student population.

These are the precursors to create an environment fostering the reconciliation of time between work-study-family, the promotion of the bio-psychosocial well-being of the student population, the adoption of a gender-friendly administrative language and the removal of barriers that prevent men and women to have equal access to the courses of learning, research and governance of the University. Following gender mainstreaming in the formulation of the University development strategy requires both a structural and cultural redefinition of the university institution, affecting the identification of priorities, the criteria for allocating resources and the consequent policies.

This is the sign of the ability of our University to interpret the contemporary world with sensitivity and insight, in order to promote a concrete improvement in the quality of life of the Mediterranean women and men, thus favoring the equitable realization of all the staff and all the student population.

# INTRODUCING THE ON LINE MODULE GLOBAL SOCIOLOGY/SOCIOLOGY OF GENDER TO AMERICAN, AND BOSNIAN STUDENTS

LEJLA MUŠIĆ

Associate Prof., University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Political Sciences Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

## ABSTRACT

Sociology professors Diana Papademas(SUNY College, Old Westbury), and Lejla Mušić(Sarajevo University, Faculty of Political Sciences), as a global network partners, had developed COIL partnership international module Global Sociology/Sociology of Gender, for Sociology students, studying at Departments of Sociology, at SUNY College Old Westbury(New York), and Faculty of Political Sciences Sarajevo(Bosnia). This international cooperation was initiated by UN Commission member, and Suny professor Diana Papademas. As an UN Commission member, and member of International Committee for Sociologists for Women in Society Association, Associate prof Diana Papademas, professor of Visual and Media Sociology, supported the non-discriminative, and scientific media representation of Bosnian and Herzegovinian state of Human rights, through the editing the famous Volume on Human Rights, and Media, involving the contribution on *Recognition of Genocide in Bosnia:Frameworks of Interpretation in U.S. newspapers*( Papademas, 2011). Prof Papademas's, further more, as an expert, implemented an idea of Video representation of Marjane Satrapi 's documentary *Persepolis* involvement, for Sarajevo University, Faculty of Political Sciences, Sociology students, inside the on line coil ruminated module, and classes from year 2019, which is the same for the all American students, at the first year of sociology studies. This on line communication transcends the limits of traditional educational system, offering multiple perspectives for developing the international cooperations, in between Bosnia, and America.

**Keywords:** COIL, COIL Academy, global network partnerships, Visual/Media Sociology, Zoom meeting, *Persepolis*

Prof. Diana Papademas, associate professor of Sociology, at Suny Old Westbury college, is host menthoreess for Lejla Mušić, Fulbright visiting scholar in residence, at the Suny Old Westbury College. Prof. Papademas and Mušić had met during the ASA New York meeting, in 2013, and after that started the on line collaboration project COIL, in between Sarajevo and New York University. They finished COIL Academy, as a global partnership project in 2018, and as a certificated COIL partner professors, started global project of on line lectures, and realized joint syllabuses. Currently, they disseminate the results of joint collaboration at New York ASA conference (August, 2029), and Istanbul Dakam Conference (December, 2019). Lejla Mušić had had presentation on Fulbright visiting scholar enrichment seminar on *Combating Addiction*, held on 14th-16th December in Lexington, Kentucky, inside the panel on international collaborations.

In order to understand the meaning of COIL partnership project, it is necessary to present the definition through the presentation, given by State University New York Centre for COIL partnerships. State University New York, College at Old Westbury, developed the COIL Academy, offered by SUNY COIL Centre. The project idea explanation, was further more elaborated inside the SUNY COIL Centre program: "Since 2009, the SUNY COIL Center has partnered with a subset of SUNY campuses, to assist them in embedding globally networked learning into courses, and their broader internationalization plans. The Academy for COIL Course Development, supports partnered teachers, through the process of designing a new COIL course/module. The Academy is a course development program, for SUNY teachers, who already have a partner, and plan to implement a course in the following semester. Following an in-person workshop, participants engage in an 8-week online program, that will guide them, in the development of their course, through tasks, and activities, that allow them to experience, what it means to collaborate online. By the end of the program, partners will have developed a syllabus, for their course including student learning outcomes, tasks, tools, and a calendar. They have also had the opportunity to experience, how the students in such, and online collaborative course might feel, as they go through the process, as learners themselves. Following the Academy, teachers then have time to continue working, to finalize details, before their COIL course begins. The Academy is designed using a 'learning-by-doing' approach, where by through the very process of completing tasks, participants will be engaging, in the sorts of activities, that students in COIL courses undertake. Participants will communicate, with one another, and the facilitators, using both asynchronous, and synchronous tools, that they may, then choose to implement in their COIL course. The COIL Academy is only open to partnerships, that include a SUNY professor, and a Global Partner Network professor. "(COIL SUNY, 2020)

The distances in between the locations of the Faculties, could be only constricted, and downsized, by the ZOOM on line video meeting, and conferencing. Zoom "provides the first Unified Meeting Experience platform, that bring HD video conferencing, mobility, and web meetings together, as a free cloud service (National Intelligence University, 2020).

**"The Faculty of Political Science in Sarajevo or FPN is one of the 24. faculties of University of Sarajevo. The faculty was formed in 1961. as former "High School of Political Science in Sarajevo" and it is located in urban area of Sarajevo (between Drvenija Bridge and Čobanija Bridge).<sup>[1]</sup> Faculty actively participates in the Bologna Process in Bosnia and Herzegovina, publishes scholarly papers, review articles, research notes and book reviews covering major areas of political sciences, sociology, security studies, social work, and media studies. Sarajevo Social Science Review has been published by the Faculty of Political Sciences Sarajevo (formerly *Godišnjak Fakulteta političkih nauka - Annual Papers of Faculty of Political Sciences*). There is also FPN student newspapers called *SPONA* (Faculty of Political Sciences, 2019)).** SHORT VIDEO available at <https://www.youtube.com › watch> University of Sarajevo.

“The University of Sarajevo (Bosnian: Univerzitet u Sarajevu) is the first university in Bosnia and Herzegovina, originally established in 1543 by Ottoman Turks, with the modern university being re-established in 1943. Today, having 23 faculties and 3 associates members, and with 40,000 enrolled students, it ranks among the largest universities in the world in terms of enrollment. Since the university opened its doors, 160,000 students received bachelor's degrees, 4,100 received master's degrees and 2,473 doctorate degrees in 44 different fields.(The EU-SEE Project, 2020).

### **The Offices for International Cooperations SUNY Old Westbury vs. UNSA Faculty of Political Sciences Sarajevo**

Broadening the scopes of the international cooperation, through the COIL program, is incontrovertible for both of the University. Even though there are advanced programs of the international cooperations, there was no on line e-learning, or ZOOM meetings in between this two Universities, before. Through this cooperation, the gender dimension of migration, and discussions on UN documents, are skilled with the UN expert, such as prof.Diana Papademas.

### **What are the main tasks of the office for the International cooperation of FPN Sarajevo?**

“The Office for International Cooperation is responsible for coordinating the Faculty of Political Sciences Sarajevo (FPN) efforts in international academic co-operation and providing administrative support to FPN research activities and projects. The Office assists FPN faculty, staff and students in seeking and securing partnerships, and support for their academic mobility, cooperation, and research. The Office closely cooperates with **The International Relations Office of the University of Sarajevo**, that coordinates activities and develops international relations with partner universities, and other teaching, and research institutions, and cooperation networks in Europe, and the world. (Faculty of Political Sciences Sarajevo, 2019), while as “The main tasks of the International cooperation office at Suny Old Westbury, involve VIP enrollment services, and the Office of International Enrollment Services is dedicated to promoting global citizenship among both its international and domestic students. Each international student receives guidance and support from our international office staff from the time the student submits an application until the time he or she leaves the Old Westbury community. The Office plans cultural and social events to enrich students’ experiences of the United States and works collaboratively with various offices to ensure that each student is successful in his or her academic and professional endeavors. This office coordinates many different activities with other student clubs and organizations on campus to make sure that our international students are learning as much outside the classroom as inside it. “(“Suny College at Old Westbury, 2020).

As a member of the University of Sarajevo, the Faculty of Political Sciences is a partner in many mobility programs, including ERASMUS MUNDUS, CEEPUS, and additional bilateral agreements.”(Faculty of Political Sciences, 2019) International enrollment office at Suny Old Westbury, organizes “field trips to NYC, Philadelphia or Washington DC “ and “advisors routinely meet with all international students to remain informed about how each is adjusting to the American culture. Students can speak with an OIES Advisor to find the appropriate resources available at the College if they need additional assistance with studying in English or learning how to adjust their study habits.(Suny College at Old Westbury, 2020)

### **Importance of Marjane Satrapi documentary *Persepolis*, screening for UNSA FPN students**

Autobiographical novel Marjane Satrapi, is globally illustrious book, on migration, gender, and female adolescence. The documentary is screened for students, at American Universities. The introducing of *Persepolis* for Bosnian students, offers multiple perspectives, on making scientific advancement in teaching materials, and resources, as well as implementing the new methods, inside the principles of Visual sociology, such as watching the documentary inside Global classroom, using Zoom video conferencing for the on line meeting, and forming international student pairs(SUNY vs.UNSA), for the discussions, and written assignments. One of the Yale professors comments on rational for the involving the *Persepolis*, inside the curriculum, for her students:” The reading of this book will encourage critical discussion of religion, gender issues, politics, and culture in the classroom. During the unit, the students will become aware of Middle Eastern culture and modern politics, which most of them know little to nothing about. Most of my students know a lot about American and Hispanic culture; however, there is a deficit of knowledge when it comes to cultures outside of their own. Moreover, most everything the students know about the Middle East comes from a westernized perspective. The content of this unit seems a very appropriate way for my students to widen their cultural lens and global understanding. Students find this text relatable, even though most of them are learning about Middle Eastern culture for the first time. Students find the story relatable because they are struggling to figure out the world, just as Marjane, the main character, does. Students find this text engaging, not only because of the interesting storyline and the relatable main character, but also because of the medium the story is told through. Because the story is written as a graphic novel, the students must engage visually, a skill that comes naturally to them because of the visual world in which they have grown up. I've never explicitly focused on visual literacy in the classroom. Teaching a graphic novel, such as *Persepolis*, will help develop this skill and encourage discussion”(Yale Teachers Initiative, 2020). Module Global Sociology/Sociology of gender, was established, with extraordinary success in year 2019th, which resulted in joint project of New York-Sarajevo sociology students, watching and discussing about *Persepolis*, alive and through the advanced models of on line communications. Promoting the global idea of gender, nation, race, and class, understanding, as a members of Sociologists for Women in Society, professors Papademas and Mušić, had used UN Documents such as CEDAW, Istanbul convention, Universal declaration on human rights, and Convention on rights of child, as a framework of practicing the global human rights. Students from Sarajevo, and New York University, had given their insights into the project, and offered their joint perspective on watching the documentary inside the class: “In the second semester of the course "Sociology of gender" taught by Professors Papademas, and Mušić, my colleagues and I were assigned the task of establishing communication with colleagues from the University of New York. At one of the first lectures, we had the opportunity to watch a movie about the girl, Marjana Satrapi. The theme of our communication with colleagues from New York was precisely *Persepolis* Marjane Satrapi. This film deals with women in Iran in 1980”. I liked this task very much, because I like to meet other people and build friendships. I think that everyone should have the same or similar experience and simply meet people around the world. *Sociology student from Sarajevo University*(Papademas, Mušić, 2019).

Prof. Diana Papademas got her Phd in Sociology, in 1979. She is UN commission member for Women Human rights, and associate prof of Sociology at Suny Old Westbury University, as well as the International Committee member, within Sociologists for Women in society. American Sociological Association had published her book on Visual Sociology, discipline still not present inside the study of Sociology, at most of the Universities.

Prof.Mušić had finished BA studies in Philosophy and Sociology, at Faculty of Philosophy Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and graduated in Comparative Aesthetics in the Thought of Ananda K.

Coomaraswamy (2005), after which Mušić applies for MA program in Gender studies, and gets the scholarship from WUS Austria, and Norwegian Embassy. In 2008 prof. Mušić held MA in Social Sciences, in subfield: Gender studies, with thesis *Gender based violence in Bosnian and Herzegovinian family in post transition period*(2008), involving the case study on domestic abuse in Sarajevo canton. In order to finish case study Lejla Mušić did internship inside the domestic violence survivor group. Phd thesis in field of environment, gender, and sociology, on theme *Ecological aspects of contemporary socio-ecological theories* was defended in 2012. Inside the Phd thesis the theoretical frame of Female founders in sociology theme, was used as a focal point of further interstices with ecology, and contemporary sociology. At Sarajevo University prof. Mušić went through the regular procedure for enrollment at a Department of Sociology, Faculty of Political Sciences Sarajevo, University of Sarajevo, first as a assistant(2008), senior assistant(2009) afterwards, followed by assistant professor(2013), and recently as associate professor(2017).

During the 2014th International Peace Research association in Istanbul, prof Lejla Mušić met distinguished prof. Lorna Young Wright, from Caribbean University, and In 2015th was invited to Saint Thomas Virgin Island University, for a symposium on "Stories and Conversation": Peace, Conflict, and Resolution, in 29.02.2015., and was awarded with Star performer award, from Saint Thomas, Virgin Island University. In 2014th together with female scholars, and activists from different fields, she edited book *Female scientists position in Sociology, Techniques, and Chemistry*, including the scientific contribution by emeritus prof. Mary Jo Deegan(Nebraska Lincoln University), and distinguished prof. Azra Jaganjac( Sarajevo University). Female professors, and activists involved inside the different disciplines, had conducted different researches showing the hidden scientific results of females, offering different recommendations for further recoveries, and restorations of female sociologists authorships, inside the disciplines. This work involved the contribution of MA students inside the sociology, in depicting the biographies of famous female authors. Professionally, prof Mušić become interested in the recovery of Female founders in Sociology, and Hidden works of Female authors in History of Sociological thought, and become a member of professional organizations such as Sociologists for Women in Society(from 2014), American Sociological Association(from 2013), International Sociological Association(from 2014), International Peace Research Association(from 2014), Atiner(from 2015). Bosnian and Herzegovinian departments of sociology, due to the migration caused by Balkan wars, were either abandoned or were male stream dominated. Significant effort is continuously done in involving the new curriculum such as prof. Papademas/Mušić Sociology/Sociology of Gender course, to increase, and emphasize the importance of female professors, inside the Sociology. Prof. Papademas gain her PHD in 1979, and published a book on Visual Sociology, and using film/video in Sociology courses, within the prestigious ASA organization. As a UN and SWS international Commissions member, she advises female scholars, and Fulbrighter such as prof. Lejla Mušić, from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo University, without obstacles to gender, nation, age. As a lecturer of Global Sociology, and Sociology of culture, prof. Papademas involves the comments of Younger Fulbright visiting scholars, such as prof. Mušić, offering uncommonly present exceptional, and significantly wider understanding of Bosnian and Herzegovinian culture, society, and educational system, handing in the facts about Bosnia and Herzegovina to her students, and videos with scenes from Bosnian war. Prof. Papademas supported the non-discriminative media representation of Bosnian and Herzegovinian state of Human rights, through the editing the famous Volume on Human Rights, and Media, involving the contribution on Recognition of Genocide in Bosnia: Frameworks of Interpretation in U.S. newspapers( Papademas, 2011). Prof Papademas's expert idea of Video representation of Persepolis involvement, for Sarajevo University, Faculty of Political Sciences, Sociology students, is implemented in classes from year 2019, which is the same for the all American students, at first year of sociology studies. Prof. Mušić is a member of Board for Sociology, within the Bosnian Academy of Sciences in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Inside the Board, there are four female members. Department of Sociology, at Faculty of Political Sciences employs five female

professors with Phd in sociology, Law faculty one professor with Phd in sociology. Faculty of Philosophy consist of only one female assistant, recently. This position is influenced by war, timely retirement, or natural death. There is still no any academic, emeritus, or full time female professor, in field. Full time professors, that were female retired, migrated due to the Balkan wars, or died.

Before commenting Persepolis for Prof. Papademas's student alive at Suny Old Westbury University, Prof Mušić was guest lecturer at Centre for Interdisciplinary After graduate Studies(Sarajevo), Law Faculty(Sarajevo), Sarajevo Open Centre(Feminist school Zarana Papić), and SOROS( Youth Leadership Academy, Reading Forums). For TPO foundation lead by Stanford, Harvard visiting professor Zilka Siljak-Spahic, prof. Mušić organized book launch inside the 16 days of activism against violence over the women campaign.

Prof Lejla Mušić activities were supported by the Sociologists for Women in Society, International Sociological Association, International Peace Research Association, Atiner, Forum Bosnae, and in 2019 by Fulbright Visiting Scholar program. Prof. Mušić is a member of Board for Sociology, within the Bosnian Academy of Sciences in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

## CONCLUSIONS

International cooperation in between the Bosnia, and America, Sarajevo and New York University, as envisioned inside the syllabus of Sociology of Gender/Global Sociology, is established, since 2018, and it offers a new multidisciplinary, intradisciplinary, interdisciplinary perspective, that can reassure, and incite the opening of different joint programs, and on line teaching possibilities in future. Goal of this cooperation was to present the possibilities, and opportunities that Bosnian educational system, can, and must incorporate, and install. SUNY Old Westbury, COIL centre, with prof.Papademas grounded the COIL partnership professorial project, that had accomplished *on line partnership module*, at Faculty of Political Sciences Sarajevo. Prof.Papademas, and prof. Mušić, had partaken, and conferred, at Sociologists for Women in Society New York meeting in 2019th, and at Dakam Istanbul conference, that batten in their joint work being published inside the DAKAM Istanbul Institute *Gender and Women's studies In Social Sciences and Art* Conference book. Their joint work is communicated inside the SUNY Old Westbury, Campus bulletin, "The Current". Offices of International cooperation, at Sarajevo University, and Suny Old Westbury college, inextricably with Sociologists for Women in Society, Dakam Istanbul, Fulbright Visiting scholar program invest in the process of dissemination of the joint project of the international cooperation, established by professor partners, knowledgeable through the COIL Academy.

## REFERENCES

Papademas, D., & Mušić, L.2019. *Gendering Global Sociology/Globalizing gender. Gender and Women's Studies 19 Conference Proceeding*, Istanbul:DAKAM, pp.73-81.

Papademas, D.2011. *Human Rights, and Media*, Volume 6(Studies in Communication), Bingley : Emerald Publishing group,.

SUNY OLD WESTBURY COLLEGE.(2020, JANUARY)."[HTTPS://WWW.OLDWESTBURY.EDU/ADMISSIONS/INTERNATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL-ENROLLMENT-SERVICES](https://www.oldwestbury.edu/admissions/international/international-enrollment-services).

National Intelligence University-The Centre of Academic Life for the Intelligence Community.(2020, January).( <https://www.ni.edu>).

Yale National Initiative (2020, January)  
([https://teachers.yale.edu/curriculum/viewer/initiative\\_13.01.10\\_u](https://teachers.yale.edu/curriculum/viewer/initiative_13.01.10_u)).

Faculty of Political Sciences Sarajevo (2019, November)(<https://fpn.unsa.ba/b/international-cooperation/page> ).

The Join EU-SEE Project (2020, January) ("http://www.joineusee.eu/content.aspx?AID=37).

COIL Center Suny (2019, December), State University New York Collaborative Online International Learning Centre([coil.suny.edu](http://coil.suny.edu))

University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Political Sciences Sarajevo (December, 2020)  
(<https://www.unsa.ba/en/org-jedinica/faculty-political-sciences>

# FEMALE SOCIOLOGY AS A SOURCE OF EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN IN ACADEMIA, SOCIOLOGY, AND SOCIETY

LEJLA MUŠIĆ

Associate Prof., Department of Sociology, Faculty of Political Sciences Sarajevo Bosnia and Herzegovina

## ABSTRACT

Even though there are many influent female sociologists they are not well introduced in literature and academic journals because of double standards in recognition of academic works of women. Jessie Bernard (Wharton, 2012, pp. 5) strives for the female enlightenment, questioning the sociology as male stream, and therefore focused only to male experiences, in famous statement: „Can sociology become science of society rather than science of male society?“ (Wharton, 2012, pp.5). Dorothy Smith wrote her famous work *Sociology for women* as antecedents of later formed discipline of sociology of gender. She was lecturer at University of Oregon, where in the academic staff of 44 persons she was the only woman: „The chilly climate for women“ (Ritzer, 1997, pp. 308-309), is the way in which Dorothy Smith explains her experience in teaching Gender studies in early seventies. Radical feminism, with its notion of violence over the women in public and private sphere, demands the identification of these spheres, in order for women to be involved in academic life with overcoming the negative stereotypes regarding the roles of women and man. Key terms: sister founders in sociology, radical feminism, sociology of gender, *femina sociologica*, *femina academica*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Deegan (1990) states: "Even though there are more than 52 women considered to be founders of sociology, they are still not recognized in sociology". Mary Jo Deegan wrote referral in early 1980-ties *Early Women Sociologists and the American Sociological Society: The Patterns of Exclusion and Participation*, *The American Sociologist*, 1981, Vol.16, February: 14-24, investigates the early women sociologists' position in sociology and in ASA organization. Questions that were raised by Deegan (1981) were following: "1. How and why did this men keep women out of the organization (ASA). 2. Which women participated in spite of these obstacles? 3. Were there efforts to open the organization for female participation? 4. What happened if these efforts were made?" Rather to remove obstacles of gender based marginalization, female sociologists decided to form the coin term sister's founders in sociology as opposition to founding fathers in sociology, emphasizing the importance of sisterhood in discipline rather than motherhood in disciplines, therefore also marking the places of exclusion of women in sociology. Sister's founders in sociology are as a coin term formed by Mary Jo Deegan, in order to explain, de marginalization of female stream sociological theory. Even though there are more than 52 women considered being founders of sociology, they are still not recognized in sociology, Aristotle's distinction between male/female. Shipley represents the key moment to ideological foundation of the women exclusion from academia and public life, because theirs identification with natural and irrational. Small Albion advocates the doctrine of separate spheres believing that men and women are different distinctly, "separate but equal", comparing this difference to difference in between two musical instruments , having the same relation to the notes in scale, but could not be replaced or supply place in their own separate series ( 1981, pp. 15). Even though as the chair of Department, he employed women at University, it as only in separate themes: "household administration, sanitary science, social settlements and statistics" (Deegan, 1981).

## 2. SEXISM AGAINST FEMALE SOCIOLOGISTS

Small was Chair of the first Sociology Department, American Sociological Association and *American Journal of Sociology*, he influence the policy of acting towards female sociologists. ASA "then was men's club"; women could come to be participant if they were called by male presidents and organizers. Female network in sociology, four presidents invited female sociologists to speak: Ward, Small, Ross, and Thomas. Even though Ward believed in separate spheres doctrine, he also believed that "women were dominant first and men were a variation of her. (1981, pp.16). Ward supported work of Charlotte Perkins Gilman and supported the inclusion of women

Charlotte Perkins Gilman, as a respectful female sociologists and economist was even three times involved as discussant next to first women included in first ASA meeting was Mrs J. Oldenwalrd-Unger. Small invited Jane Addams to speak as major speaker at the ASA conferences, in years 1911, 1912, 1913. "The other speakers were Lucy Salmon from Vassar college (1913) and Emily Greene Balch, Wellesley College, 1914" (Deegan, 1981, pp.16). But in some years, none of women was included, because they did not get more important roles in meetings. Ross invites Jane Addams to speak on War and Militarism in their sociological aspects, in 1915, but Emily Green Balch<sup>1</sup> came instead of her, and meeting becomes controversial meeting. Addams and Balch were against war and supported pacifism, and also were both Nobel Prize Winners. Jane Addams won the award in 1931 and Emily Green Balch in 1946. The men of Chicago School did not want to discuss her papers, and Ross found two women, after calling fifteen male sociologists: Lillian Wald (Head residents of Henry Settlement, NYC) and Anna Garlin Spencer (Meadville Theological Seminar, Ohio). Even though these women were sociologists,

---

<sup>1</sup> *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens, on immigration*

they could not work inside the sociology, only inside the social work network. No women had highest offices during the first year of ASA until 1931, even though 8 women were involved. Deegan(1981) . Even though there are many influent female sociologists they are not well introduced in literature and academic journals because of double standards in recognition of academic works of women. Jessie Bernard strives for the female enlightenment questioning the sociology as male stream and therefore focused only to male experiences, in famous statement:

„Can sociology become science of society rather than science of male society?“ (Wharton, 2012).

### 3. “SISTER FOUNDERS VS. FOUNDING FATHERS “

The significant study, bio-bibliographical source book on *Women founders in sociology* (Deegan, 1990) gives information on 53 women founders in sociology. Even +66 are mentioned for further investigations (to be investigated), in the appendix of this work. These women are rarely mentioned in *male stream* sociology. Only pro feminist masculine authors mention works of women in sociology. Only three female sociologists are mentioned by Pitter Scot(Available from <https://www.scribd.com/document/68384897/Fifty-Key-Sociologists>(accessed [Accessed 23 April 2010], in his study mentions only several female sociologists inside the 50 key sociologists. In comparison to Mary Jo Deegan's work, that in total mention even 118 female sociologists, his work is male stream and even discriminating. There are different forms of violence over the women, but this form of exclusion is academic femicide in sociology. These women rarely are mentioned in male stream sociology. Other academic works have several names involved. Pro feminist sociologists such as Giddens or Ritzer, and authors involved within sexuality studies such as Altman, Weeks, Rubin, and masculinities studies Connell, Stoltenberg, mention even more. Examples of famous sociologist are: Jane Addams –founder in sociology, Annie Marion Maclean first female to master in sociology at Chicago University and earn a PhD in sociology (could not work at university , she conducted written correspondence with thousands of students) (Deegan 1990). There are also female sociologists, that had written but that were hidden in sociological annals such as(1990, pp. 18-19): „ Jessie Bernard, Ruth Shonle Cavan, Frances Donovan, Helen Hughes, Dorothy Thomas, Fay Karpf, Mabel Eliot, Ellen Black, Vivien Palmers“. The leading person and one of the pioneers in the field was Jane Adams, America Noble Prize winner, PhD in sociology, and establisher of Hull House Homes and developer of technique of mapping. „Hull House was intellectual commune and salon“ ( Deegan 1990) and it involved some of the „brilliant female sociologists who lived and worked there such as Edith Abbot, Emily Green Balch, Sophonisba Breckinridge, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Florence Kelly, Frances Kellor, Julia Lathorp, Mary McDowell, and Annie Marion MacLean“. “Many female sociologists were removed from their sociological positions, states Deegan (1990): Emily Green Balch in 1919, and Anna Garlin Spencer in 1920“. Founding fathers were against involvement of female sociologists at Universities. The only one mentioned usually as female founder in sociology, Harriet Martineau, translated Comte's work into English. Happy housewife myth as stereotype from early fifties till now, was questioned by the results of several empirical studies that involve the quality life of housewife's vs. life of working women and males. Women that do not work are more stressed and even influence the health problem, and depression, as well as young employed man. Discrimination against women in sociology involves: male stream sociological approaches, there is no female sociology, female history or Female sociology. The most eminent early female sociologists, Jane Addams, sociological pragmatist and American Nobel Prize winner, who had established Hull house for investigation of immigrants' behavior, had introduced technique of mapping for doctoral thesis. This female sociologist had influenced all of the men of Chicago school and Dewey, Mead and American pragmatists. Some of the authors, such as Mary Jo Deegan believes that there was female Chicago school first because the Hull House, an Intellectual center of Chicago was formed three years before Department of Sociology was founded, and therefore

Mary Jo Deegan forms hypothesis that Jane Addams was leading female sociologist who was marginalized by male colleagues, and female Chicago school is formed before male school. Her book *Jane Addams and the Men of Chicago* school is considered as book of century by International Sociological Association/ISA/. Emily Green Balch, as a first female officer, was hired to read papers at Wellesley College, in 1889, as a Chair and Professor, but fired from position in 1919, because of pacifism, and later on worked for United Nations. The famous active sociologists were Julia Lathorp (Executive Committee of ASA in 1917) and Grace Abbott (Close associate of Jane Addams worked at Chicago University), Susan Kingsbury and Lucille Eaves<sup>2</sup> were Research directors Women's Educational and Industrial Union. Female sociologists' network was very important network for the women sociologist, and organization of participation of female sociologists at the meetings in the first period of formation, of American Sociological Association. The representatives of this network were: Dummer, Lathorp, Balch, Abbott, with Addams as patron: "they represent sociological worldview that has been neglected, and their contribution and recognition to sociology being denied"(Deegan 1981). Family section was a first section that was founded by ETHEL S. DUMMER founder, with the panel entitled "DELINQUENT GIRL"; out of seven panelist, three of them were women in this section. Answer to the exclusion questions by Deegan are that Women were employed by women only, they were second class citizens in academia, Small believed they belong to separate sphere, included women were part of female network, extreme sexism influenced exclusion, and institutional pattern of ostracism was difficult to destroy (Deegan 1981). But, if it is to the investigation conducted by Mary Jo Deegan, and group of authors, there is history of Women in sociology and Eras of Women in sociology:

"founding sister " professional definition era"-1840-1890

"golden era" -1890-1920

founding sisters in the dark era of patriarchal ascendancy (1920-1965)

the contemporary era: the battle for women's equal opportunity in sociology (1965-1990)"

(Deegan, 1990).

In Contemporary era, 1969- sociologists for women in society was established, and first women was elected president of ASA(1948) , and second one in 1973, afterwards Supreme Court (1989) struggles for permanent place for women professionals in sociology. Founding sisters had changed the relations toward the female sociologists, and sociologists for women in sociology publish books and journals and helps affirmation of female sociology. Contemporary American society involves presidency of women, over the ASA (AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION). Female sociologists were not invisible they were simply written out of the sociological history, even though they were famous public figures and public professional sociologists. Lengermann and Brantley(1998) stated that disappearance of women founders in sociology, is connected with the discrimination in regards to race, class, gender, in order for academy to become place of affirmation of only white male sociologists who order for women „to disappear“ in „the retelling“ of sociological history. In order to understand ecofeminism in sociology, it is necessary to involve theoretical knowledge of two famous female sociologists, rarely mentioned in sociological textbooks, such as contemporaries Charlotte P. Gilman (1860-1935) and Caroline Bartlett Crane (1858-1935).

---

<sup>2</sup> Eaves thought sociology at Stanford and Nebraska University, only women in coeducational system left because she was not paid.

#### 4. ECOFEMINIST PRAGMATISM OF FEMALE FOUNDERS IN SOCIOLOGY AS SOURCE OF WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN ACADEMIA AND SOCIETY

##### 4.1. Charlotte P. Gilman and an Ecofeminist Pragmatism Perspective

*Herland and with her in our Ourland* is Gilman's saga written in order to give explanations inside the intersection of ecofeminism and feminist pragmatism. Deegan and Podeschi (2001) state that Charlotte Perkins Gilman was „forerunner and perhaps a foundation for contemporary ecofeminism“. The theory of these professional female sociologists is important for distinguishing of eco-feminist pragmatism, eco-pragmatism, and environmental pragmatism. Important and significant idea, emphasized by Deegan and Podeschi(2001) are found in statement by Joanna Macy, that eco feminism represent “a radical change from a millennia-long amnesia as to who we really are”. The eco feminism is historically developed and based on texts of feminist pragmatist who were mainly female professional sociologists. This writings are rarely mentioned in traditional sociological textbooks, and involve writings and documents from historical period in between 1890-1930-ties. Gilman's saga *Herland and with her in our Ourland*, is “a powerful exploration of gender relations which also includes commentaries on nature and the human relation to nature” (Deegan and Podeschi 2001). Society that is consisted only of women, with balanced approach in between women and environment is Herland. Ellador, is the main protagonist of this tale, and she travels, in part entitled *With her in our Ourland*. Unlike, the life in Herland, in this travel Ellador experiences the destruction and waste in patriarchal organized society where females are dominated and controlled over by male. „Patriarchy is central to understanding the domination of women, races, and nature due to the patriarchal drive to conquer, master, manipulate, oppress and exploit what is feared and seen as less powerful“( Deegan and Podeschi 2001). Feminist pragmatism is developed as opposition and international alternative thought for patriarchal perspective, and it is based on women centered culture and values. This theory is mainly developed in sociological Mecca, Chicago’s department of Sociology, University of Chicago and Hull House project in period between 1890-1918. Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and Marion Talbot, are main female pragmatist and supported and developed this ideas. Nobel Prize winners, Emily Greene Balch and Jane Addams, strongly advocated equality in between males and females, believing that democracy and education are strong force of changes in society. Many female sociologists supported this ideas which resulted in “thousands of books and articles” (Deegan and Podeschi 2001). Ecofeminism is also defined as „a major intellectual enterprise about women, the self, and community”

(Deegan and Podeschi 2001). The most important idea of feminist pragmatism was also investigation of matriarchal societies, focusing towards the Great Mother and female representation of goddesses.



Figure 1. Mother Earth/Pacha mama (Available on line at <http://www.artsbymia.com/art-gallery/goddess-and-warrior-series/accesses> (1.3.2016))

Gilman's difference in comparison to other feminist pragmatist, who had been exclusively white and elite, is that her theory was based on Darwinist reformist theories, based on biological female distinctions in culture, reproduction, nurture, etc. Saga written by Gilman is not only pro-feminist and matriarchal but also pacifistic and anti-militaristic. Ecofeminism and eco-feminist pragmatism are sharing the eco-feminist equation ideas, and therefore are used as synonyms inside the eco-feminist pragmatist sociological theories of female professionals in sociology. „*Herland* is a social and environmental utopia, at least reminiscent of the pre patriarchal societies eco feminist scholars discuss (Podeschi and Deegan in Mušić (2016)). As *Herland* in feminist utopia, the *Ourland* is patriarchal society that is destructive and without ecological consciousness. The male pair for Ellador is named Van. Ellador has notions on environmental disastrous spirits in *Ourland* commenting that “In *Ourland* we have robbed, neglected, and wasted the soil, and that overpopulation is destroying the land in places...The environment in the United States specifically, Ellador remarks, neglect, waste, awful, glaring waste. It makes me sick. It makes me want to cry. As for water, neglect and waste again, and hideous, suicidal defilement”( Ibid in Mušić (2016)). These ideas are similar to Hawaiian native cultural traditions where goddess Papa (Papahānaumoku), earth mother is torched by evil acts of humans, especially towards the nature. This goddess is specially adored by native Hawaiian women, and her place of worshipping

is called *Hale o Papa* (Mušić, 2017). In comparison to experience of male, in saga, when coming to Herland, Van is astonished by the natural resources and beauty of the urban towns.

## 5. CAROLINE BARTLETT CRANE, ECOFEMINIST PRAGMATISM AND CONSERVATION PROJECTS

Deegan and Rynbrandt (2002) investigated the research projects and importance of Caroline Bartlett Crane's work, namely giving her academic heritage following remarks: "applied sociologist and noted Progressive Era reformer, was an eminent figure, national leader in municipal sanitation, forerunner of the ecology and eco feminism movements of today, Crane is part of women's hidden heritage and her life exemplifies the theory of eco feminism pragmatism". Important fact about biographical notes from Crane's life was that she becomes part of Ministry despite the wishes of her family. In her devotion she formed settlement in church named Crane's institutional church in Kalamazoo, Michigan that was similar to Jane Adams's Hull House settlement, Chicago. Crane was social reformist, active sociologists that dedicated her life to suffrage, human rights, and sanitation- conservation projects. Importance of Caroline Bartlett Crane's professional work in sociology, is emphasized since her "claim to the title of sociologist is less obvious to contemporary professionals who are trained to emphasize men's abstract, objective practices in the academy" (Deegan and Rynbrandt, 2002). Kasler and Deegan founded criteria for naming female professional, founder in sociology, and Crane meets all seven of them: "because Crane consulted with sociologists, wrote about sociology, taught sociology, did sociology, self-identified as a sociologist, and was identified by others as a sociologist, she was a sociologist" (Deegan and Rynbrandt 2002). Therefore, Mary Jo Deegan and Linda J. Rynbrandt, stated that Crane represent an early American pragmatism movement founder. On the basis of the Greta Gaard's historical approach to women achievements in history, it has been noticed that binary dichotomies are elevating male accomplishments and devaluating female achievements in order to identify females with animals, and nature, and rationalizing the dominance over them. Crane's ideas are mainly supporting the ideas of Charlotte P. Gilman, with one move forward, since the Crane was practicing eco feminist pragmatism with interracial focus, rather than supporting the hierarchical society. Feminist pragmatist, namely Crane, Perkins –Gilman and Adams, still, did not believe that women are helpless victims; they saw women as a social reformist and environmental reformist, even though their quest for this later reform was mainly ignored and not well understood. Crane shared her ideas with her male colleagues such as Henderson and Zueblin, that better aesthetics of the town and environment would create better people (Mary Jo Deegan and Linda J. Rynbrandt in Mušić (2016) one of the themes that is discussed inside the notion of logic of care vs. Logic of dominance, and therefore Herland is practicing the ideal of care ethics vs. human, natural and animal world, while as in *Ourland* patriarchal society destruction is causing the motherhood and nature as having less importance. Gilman continues to discuss, social relationships inside the female utopia, that is academic and more civilized that other since it is „truly humane and truly civilized (Deegan, Podeschi in Mušić, 2016). Therefore the social relations are based on the idea of communalism and interconnections. All children are children of all mothers, and after first year of their life, they are educated inside the community, by professional educators and co-mothers, and their biological mother is given less importance. The fundamental idea of education is presented only in connection with motherhood: "Education and nurturing of children clearly demonstrate a belief in communal living as well as a celebration of interconnectivity and unity: motherhood and mothering bind *Herlanders* together, it is their religion" (Deegan and Podeschi in Mušić (2016)). Since this saga develops in historical comparison of matriarchal societies with newer patriarchal society. Ellador travels with Van through time, and harshly criticizes I World War seeing it as absurd and destructive, and so different from peaceful, caring, and respectful for human, animal and all sorts of life, matriarchal societies of earlier periods. Deegan and Podeschi, forming the final conclusions on Herland saga state: "Charlotte Perkins Gilman's *Herland/Ourland* saga is a powerful statement condemning patriarchal

society and its ill-effects, a classic example of the eco feminist equation". But yet, they also make notions of Gilman's exclusions and preferences for hierarchical societies that are not eco feminist ideas. "Crane actively promoted these ideas when she founded Women's Civic Improvement League in Kalamazoo, Michigan in 1904 in order to educate individuals in civic goals of public health, charity, and civic beauty". She influenced the development of Sociology of education, play and environment, and explained her devotion to civic improvement with notion that everybody will help their own children if they protect their environment. Crane strongly supported the development of playgrounds with emphasizing the importance of recreation and enjoyment in aesthetics and beauty of the environment. As Jane Addams did, Crane as well supports idea that we can understand the individuals if we can be part of their social world, and therefore for social and physical health the recreation and play, and healthy vegetarian diet are necessary. She held ironical speeches and spoke for better treatment of shop girls and horses, since she strongly believed in interconnectedness of all parts of the world. But Crane's interest for the environment was deep and scientifically supported, and therefore she : "earned the public title of America's Housekeeper, as a result of her studies of municipal sanitation problems, thereby including an important element of environmental concern. Crane conducts sanitary social surveys regarding the public health and safety of over six American cities in her career in municipal sanitation" (Mary Jo Deegan and Linda J. Rynbrandt in Mušić (2016)). Club of women to which Crane belonged, organized cleaning of the street, together with sharing the leaflets, such as following one shared in 1904: "Please! The Women Civic Improvement League had undertaken to keep Main Street clean. We ask YOU to help us. Please do not throw anything-paper, fruit skins, peanut shells or any other litter, in the street; put it in the waste-paper can at the corner. And, gentleman, 'please do not spit on the sidewalk, or in the gratings, or anywhere but in the gutter. Now, please don't throw this in the street!" Deegan and Rynbrandt (2002). Crane supported the idea of recycling. Influenced by the idea of American transcendentalism of Ralf Waldo Emerson, she also promoted a feminist theology, and natural and rational approach towards the religion, since she referred to God as mother and father ((Mary Jo Deegan and Linda J. Rynbrandt in Mušić (2016)). She had different understanding of difference in between sexes, and unlike Adams and Gilman, she did not think that women are more moral and more angelic in comparison to males. Professional sociologist, Crane working in progressive era, had deep interest in conservation projects of forest and environmental disasters. These ideas are only recently being acknowledged in articles of female sociologists, such as emerita Mary Jo Deegan, from Nebraska Lincoln University. Crane very actively opposed to destruction of the environment by Henry Ford, and held speeches actively being involved in reforestations tours, in Michigan area. Supporting the idea of suffragette Anna Howard Shaw who collected the seeds from different trees during the traveling all around the world, she anticipated sustainable development idea: "Shaw's forest should act as an emblem

and incentive for American women to mother all little trees-protects them from marauding ex and fire-that they may be to future generations"(Deegan, Rynbrandt, 2002). Crane offered the perspective of looking from home, other than looking from business side of building projects that involve destruction of nature. Despite her strong approach in social and environmental reforms, Crane had faced the disappointment and also was not successful in caring out all of her conservation project ideas. "Around 1930, Crane was actively seeking to have Rowe's Island in the Kalamazoo River become a state park. She was concerned about the preservation of Michigan's forests and parklands. Her attempts were ultimately unsuccessful" (Linda J. Rynbrandt, Mary Jo Deegan in Mušić, 2016). Even though her conservation project was not successful, Caroline Bartlett Crane is considered as leader of American pragmatist movement of early period, and active social reformer included in female founders in sociology.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The initial hypothesis in this work dedicated to investigation of Eco-feminist pragmatism of Female founders in sociology as source of Women Empowerment in Academia and Society, had confirmed that eco-feminist pragmatism authors had influenced the affirmation of female principles, in society and academia. The discussion had been divided into four subsections.

*Sexism against Female sociologists* focuses towards the historical position of Female sociologists in their profession, the reasons for their exclusion from sociology. Doctrine of separate spheres was one of the main reasons for segregation of women in sociology, and American sociological Association at first stage of development was similar to male club with only few women participating around theme of sociology of family. Sister founders vs. father founders focuses towards the formation of new definitions followed by the question raised by Mary Jo Deegan, Patricia Madoo Libermann, Jill Brantley, Christopher W. Podeschi and Linda J. Rynbrandt, which resulted in conclusion that there were female founders in sociology, and therefore female sociologists as professionals and workers inside the academia were not invisible but had been written out of sociological textbooks. In order to understand the notion of „being written out“, it is necessary to discuss theoretical knowledge of two famous female sociologist, rarely mentioned in sociological textbooks, such as contemporaries Charlotte P. Gilman(1860-1935) and Caroline Bartlet Crane(1858-1935). Both of these authors were famous and active social reformists and professional eco-feminist pragmatist and sociologists. In their work the experience of marginalization and discrimination is described in different forms. The eco feminism is historically developed and based on texts of feminist pragmatist who were mainly female professional sociologists. This writings are rarely mentioned in traditional sociological textbooks, and involve writings and documents from historical period in between 1890-1930-ties. Gilman's saga *Herland and with her in our Ourland*, is “a powerful exploration of gender relations which also includes commentaries on nature and the human relation to nature” (Deegan, Podeschi, 2001). Charlotte Perkins Gilman's *Herland/Ourland* saga is a powerful statement condemning patriarchal society and its ill-effects, a classic example of the eco feminist equation”. But yet, they also make notions of Gilman's exclusions and preferences for hierarchical societies, that are not eco feminist ideas. Crane formed settlement in church named Crane's institutional church in Kalamazoo, Michigan that was similar to Jane Adams's Hull House settlement, Chicago. Crane was social reformist, active sociologists that dedicated her life to suffrage, human rights, and sanitation- conservation projects. Importance of Caroline Bartlett Crane's professional work in sociology, is emphasized since her “claim to the title of sociologist is less obvious to contemporary professionals who are trained to emphasize men's abstract, objective practices in the academy” (Deegan, Rynbrandt, 2002). Kasler and Deegan founded criteria for naming female professional, founder in sociology, and Crane meets all seven of them: “because Crane consulted with sociologists, wrote about sociology, taught sociology, did sociology, self-identified as a sociologist, and was identified by others as a sociologist, she was a sociologist” (Deegan and Rynbrandt and 2002). Supporting the idea of suffragette Anna Howard Shaw who collected the seeds from different trees during the traveling all around the world, she anticipated sustainable development idea. These two biographical examples, confirmed the initial idea formed in this investigation, that only thorough in-depth analyses of contemporary sociological biographical recoveries of female founders in sociology. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2010) stated that female educational liberation happened from 1960-ties and on: “What is new is the individual female biography.....The individualized biography assumes that everyone can update and optimize his and hers decisions” in order to be open to new educational challenges with constant willingness to study and focus toward lifelong learning project.

## REFERENCES

- Beck, U. and E. Beck-Gernsheim, 2010. *Normal chaos of love*. In Giddens, A. and Sutton, P. *Sociology: Introductory readings*. Cambridge: Polity Press. pp: 181-190.
- Deegan, Mary Jo. *Early Women Sociologists and the American Sociological Society :The Patterns of Exclusion and Participation*, *The American Sociologist*, 1981, Vol.16, February :14-24.
- Deegan, Mary Jo. 1990. *Women in sociology-biobibliographical sourcebook*. Greenwood: Abc Clío.
- Deegan, Mary Jo. , Podeschi, Christopher W. *The Ecofeminist Pragmatism of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*. *Environmental Ethics* 2001.Spring; 23(1):1936.
- Deegan, Mary, Jo. and Rynbrandt, Linda. 2002. *The ecofeminist pragmatism of Caroline Bartlett-Crane, 1896-1935*. *American Sociologist*, 33(Fall): 58-68.
- Mother Earth/ Pacha mama. Available on line at <http://www.artsbymia.com/art-gallery/goddess-and-warrior-series/accesses> (1.3.2016)
- Mušić, L., 2016. *Female sociology as academic discipline: Problems and gender based marginalisation against female Sociologists*. Paper Presented at International Congress Gender Studies in Debate: Pathways, Challenges and Interdisciplinary Perspectives. CIEG, Lisabon, Portugal.
- Mušić, L., 2016. *Female scientists position in sociology*. Saarbrücken: Lambert academic Publishing.
- Mušić, L., 2017. *Femina sociologica*. Sarajevo: TDP.
- Wharton, A., 2012. *Sociology of gender*. New York/Singapore: Wiley and Blackwell.
- Lengermann, P. M. and Niebrugge-Brantley, J. 1998. *The Women Founders: Sociology and Social Theory 1830–1930*, London: McGraw-Hill.
- Scot, P., 2007. *Fifty Key Sociologists: The Contemporary Theorists*. Available from <https://www.scribd.com/document/68384897/FIFTY-KEY-SOCIOLOGISTS> [Accessed 23 April 2010].

# REACTING TO FEMINISM IN SPAIN. OLD OR NEW MISOGYNISTIC DISCOURSES?

MARIA MEDINA-VICENT

## ABSTRACT

It could be said that since 2018 feminism seems to have gained greater visibility in Spain. The success of the last feminist strikes of 8M and the profusion of feminist movements on social media demonstrate this reality (Reverter and Medina-Vicent, 2020). As well as the fact that issues related to women and gender equality increasingly occupy a central place in the media. So, we could state that feminism is undergoing a revitalization of its political and social nature, while it has become a massive object of consumption taking the form of t-shirts, mugs and books. Despite this, violence against women and misogynistic discourses remains more alive than ever (Segato, 2016), and so the women responses to this violence (Gámez Fuentes, Núñez Puente, and Gómez Nicolau, 2019).

In this new ambivalent context of feminist reemergence, there seems to be also an expansion of anti-feminist discourses, in a general context of rising of hate discourses and the prominence of far right (Butler, 2020). To some extent, feminism threatens the privileges that men have historically held (Sanfélix, 2020). For this reason, in these times of rewriting masculinity, feminism is perceived as a threat to be faced. This issue is not new in recent history, whenever there has been progress in the achievement of gender equality, anti-feminist reactions have also emerged (Faludi, 1993; Ávila Bravo-Villasante, 2019). In consequence, it is important to reflect on the misogynistic discourses that are gaining ground in the media and on the streets (Bernal-Triviño, 2019).

In Spain, we can find more and more anti-feminist discourses in different cultural products, such as anti-feminist manuals. In this communication, we try to identify the main arguments that sexism uses to attack feminism in Spain nowadays. We have identified the increase in the publication of manuals with explicitly anti-feminist content. Some books such as *Prohibir la manzana y encontrar la serpiente: Una aproximación crítica al feminismo de cuarta generación* (Leyre Khyal y Un Tío Blanco Hetero, 2019), and *Manual para defenderte de una feminazi: y otros asuntos de alta necesidad* (Cristina Seguí, 2019) are examples of this new process. We will try to analyze some of these works in Spanish, in order to identify the main concepts and discourses that are addressed in these works to discredit feminist ideas.

## REFERENCES

- Ávila Bravo-Villasante, María (2019): *La máquina reaccionaria: la lucha declarada a los feminismos*. Tirant lo Blanch: València.
- Bernal-Triviño, Ana (2019): *No manipuléis el feminismo. Una defensa contra los bulos machistas*. Espasa: Barcelona.
- Butler, Judith (2020): *Sin miedo. Formas de resistencia a la violencia de hoy*. Taurus: Madrid.
- Faludi, Susan (1993): *Reacción. La guerra no declarada contra la mujer moderna*. Círculo de Lectores: Barcelona.

Gámez Fuentes, María José, Núñez Puente, Sonia y Emma Gómez Nicolau (Eds.) (2019): Re-writing women as victims. From theory to practice. New York: Routledge.

Reverter, Sonia y Maria Medina-Vicent (2020): El feminismo en 35 hashtags. La Catarata: Madrid.

Sanfélix, Joan (2020): La brújula rota de la masculinidad. Tirant lo Blanch: València.

Segato, Rita Laura (2016): La guerra contra las mujeres. Traficantes de Sueños: Madrid.

# WOMEN'S SPORT PARTICIPATION IN THE UNITED ARAB EMIRES: A CASE STUDY

NILOOFAR MARGARITE ROUHANI

Doctorate of Philosophy

## Abstract

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) is a tolerant, progressive and developed Arab state having maintained its stability and prosperity over a sustained period. In the UAE, Islam has long dominated all aspects of life and so matters relating to marriage, divorce, inheritance, economics, politics, and personal conduct are guided by Sharia (Islamic) law. However, during a period of rapid social change in the UAE, accompanied by the emergence of a pan-Arab sense of identity, Emirati's (a citizen/passport holder of the UAE) are paying increased attention to opportunities that amplify their sense of national pride. Accompanying this period of social change in the UAE has been a dramatic increase in the participation of women in the public sphere.

At a rate not seen in the past, Emirati women have become increasingly active in the public sphere, in areas such as politics, business and education. Alongside this has been a surge in their participation in sport. Prominent here has been the recent emergence of the first Emirati women's football team. Using a case study methodology, this study explores the lived experiences of elite Emirati women footballers (for the purpose of this study, the term 'elite' is described as female players at the top level/national level who are actually remunerated for their participation in this sport), the challenges and enablers they encountered in their journey to competing at an international elite level.

Through a series of face-to-face interviews with members of the first all-Emirati women's elite football team, members of the team's coaching staff and key policy makers, the study seeks to explore the social and cultural conditions that enabled the emergence of this team. A key aim of the study is to analyse the cultural shifts that have seemingly facilitated changes to gender relations in the UAE, and to highlight possibilities for future gender equality work.

Against this backdrop, the study explores the significance of sport in the UAE society and its role in disrupting traditional gender boundaries. To do this, the study identifies and analyses contemporary social (religion, class and culture) conditions that facilitate, and/or restrict, women's sports participation in the public sphere of sport. Drawing on a feminist poststructural framework, the study seeks to analyse the discursive enactment of (disruptive) gender identity positions, using lenses such as 'discourse' and 'power'. With a focus on elite Emirati women's sport, the study seeks to build knowledge around the advancement of female participation in what has long been considered a masculine domain. Here, the study seeks to explore the lived experience of social change through a series of face-to-face interviews with members of the first all-Emirati women's football team and key support personnel.

**Keywords:** UAE, Emirati, sport, discourse, power, gender, equality and equity

## **RESEARCH AIM**

This research aims to bring to life the experiences of UAE women football players and encourage readers to understand the world of these women. The study set out to examine what impeded and assisted the participation of young women elite football players in the UAE. It is my hope that the lived experiences of my participants have offered rich description into the lives of those who, up to now, were not explored and their history, achievement and representation not yet written.

This research provides an opportunity for readers to learn from these experiences and with the insights gained, appreciate the hurdles they have had to go through and broaden the reader's world views of the women and challenge previously held misconceptions of elite UAE women football players. This study aims to understand what the UAE went through, the process of shift in mindset of UAE society providing opportunities for Emirati women to emerge as professional football players looking at the importance of focusing on traditions, culture and values and how they tied in with sport.

Literature on this subject and specifically in the context of women's football in the UAE is inconclusive on several vital questions. Most studies for the UAE focus on the change that happened for women in politics, education, and business/work but such in-depth study into the domain of sport and women's football still remains segregated. The research available does not show the consequences of 'rejecting traditional values' and reasons that lead some women to 'bend the rules' and some to 'bargained with patriarchy'. This research contributes to this missing link.

## **CONSIDERATIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE**

This research considers the challenges and opportunities participants faced in their own understandings of their religion, culture, and unique family relationships. Women's sport participation in the UAE has received recent scholarly attention (see Benn, Pfister & Jawad 2011) but research that foregrounds the voices of Emirati women players is somewhat scarce, particularly in the context of the UAE. The challenge that research in the Arab world now faces is in understanding the facilitators and barriers to sports participation as experienced by women in Islamic countries in general, and the UAE. My research seeks to contribute to these current understandings.

Although there are obviously some Arab women who participate in elite sport, their experiences are limited in the types of sports they engage in by both religious and cultural norms, and currently there seem to be few studies that have examined how those religious and cultural norms influence Arab women's sporting participation rates (Bikyamasr and Franey 2012). The notion of sport in Islam is important because all participants in my study and their families are Emirati, Muslims, and so the Islamic context is central to this study. When taken together, these two key aspects of culture in this region – family and religion – provide an important and unique area of focus for examining the sporting experiences of Emirati women in the UAE.

To that end, the research questions guiding this study are:

1. How do Emirati women in the UAE experience elite sport participation in football and how do these experiences contribute to their cultured gendered identities/subjectivities?
2. What are the facilitators that contribute to, and barriers that impede, all women's sport participation in the UAE?
3. In what ways might sport participation by Emirati women in the UAE at the elite level contribute to gender in/equality?

By exploring the above three questions, my study seeks to accomplish two tasks. The first goal is to identify and analyse contemporary social (religion, class, and culture) conditions that facilitate or limit Emirati women's sports participation in football in the UAE, particularly at the elite level. Second, my study will also analyse the discursive construction of social spaces, using concepts such as 'discourse', 'power', 'gender', 'equality' and 'equity' to better understand what limits and enables Emirati women to participate in football at the elite level. This provides valuable new knowledge about the ways in which Emirati women football players negotiate religious, cultural, and familial norms that can (self) regulate their sporting participation in these contexts.

### **MOST POPULAR GAME**

The international game of football (soccer in some countries) is the region's most popular sporting game. Football was introduced to the Middle East's top class in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century through British Missionary schools following the discovery of oil in in the late 1950s in Abu Dhabi, and in 1966 in Dubai and the associated influx of British nationals (Mangan 2000).

Though football participation was initially taken up by the wealthy and upper class, its popularity quickly spread amongst working-class people in the region. However, despite its widespread popularity, it was not until 1971 that a Football Association was set up in the UAE. At this time, football, like almost all other sports in the UAE, was seen as an exclusively male domain. With very few female role models in the professional sporting realm, there are limited historical accounts that celebrate Emirati women's sporting achievements in the UAE.

A notable exception in the Arab world is the 400m Olympic hurdle gold medal list in 1984, Nawal El Moutawakel (from Morocco). Champions like Nawal El Moutawakel would pave the way for more women in the region to seek opportunities to participate in sport and ultimately represent their country. However, while Arab women's sport participation grew, there were some places that remained the province of males. Whereas women's participation in football had grown throughout Europe since the late 1950s it was not until September 2009 that the UAE formed a Women's Football Committee. This gave rise to the first elite Emirati women's football team in the UAE in 2014. Comprising only of Emirate nationals, members of the UAE's elite women's football team practiced their sport each day amidst various other activities and responsibilities.

### **PARTICIPANTS IN THE STUDY**

The UAE elite football team was selected as an appropriate focus for exploring the issues connected to the emerging public profile of women in sport in the UAE. The experiences of members of this team were identified as a robust source of primary data collection for this research endeavour. Team members are well known via the media, so it was easy to locate them and the policy makers were identified via consultation with the Dubai Sports Council. Previous UAE women's teams, such as the one that won the Western Asia Football Federation (Waff) championship in Abu Dhabi in 2011, were created for short periods for specific, non-FIFA-sanctioned competitions. However, the elite women's football team I interviewed- also called the Whites Ladies- got a 73rd FIFA ranking at the Aphrodite Cyprus Cup to become part of the global women's football. They are second only to 54th placed Jordan in the Middle East and occupy the number one top spot among GCC countries.

The participants are aged 18-23 and are all Muslim Emirati nationals living in the UAE. I chose six from the team to interview as I believe that is an adequate number to research. The six were identified by

their coach as personalities who would be willing to talk and give the information I needed. Choosing four of the policy makers is also an adequate number as my four are in powerful positions and major decision makers.

Table 1 below is a table that summarizes some details on the participants. Pseudo names chosen for the football players:

<b>Role in the UAE Women's Team</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Brief Description</b>	<b>Role</b>
Coaching staff	Samir Al Andaluse	Male	47 years	Tunisian Nationality; with the Tunisian women's team (2004 to 2008)	Head Coach UAE Elite Women's Team – <i>The White Ladies</i> since August 2014
Coach Staff	Horiya Al Dhahuri	Female	28 years	First female in Middle East to get her 'A' License. Does not wear headscarf. Won the best goalkeeper in the Arab world at the age of 19.	Assistant Coach UAE Elite Women's Team – <i>The White Ladies</i> since Jan 2015  Also, Head Coach - Al Wahda Club
Player (ALL players are Muslim Emirati National)	Gigi	Female	26 years	Does not wear headscarf, Bilingual (English, Arabic), lives in Al Ain (a 2 hours from Abu Dhabi)	Player. Drive to the capital in her own car. Mother supported her playing.
Player	Naomie	Female	19 years	Does not wear headscarf. Bilingual (English, Arabic). Brought up in Dubai.	Player and Captain of the elite team. Father was her biggest supporter.
Player	Shireen	Female	18 years	Wears a headscarf. Only spoke Arabic. Lives in Al Ain.	Player. Mother supported her playing.
Player	Bushra	Female	20 years	Does not wear headscarf. Bilingual (English, Arabic).	Player. Lost her father as a child. Mother supported her. At high school, she won the best goalkeeper of the year two consecutive years.
Player	Hala	Female	22 years	Does not wear headscarf. Only spoke Arabic.	Player. Mother supportive, father accepting her game.
Player	Ayesha	Female	24 years	Wears a headscarf. Only spoke Arabic. Lives in Dubai.	Player. Mother knows and is supportive but father is un-aware that she plays. Even uses an asylum surname. Day time job is at the Dubai Public Prosecution's Office.
Policy maker	Amal Bu Shallakh	Female	Mid 30's	Wears a headscarf. Only spoke Arabic. Lives in Abu Dhabi. Widower, Mother of 3.	Board member for the UAE Football Association, Secretary General of Women's Football Committee

Table 1: Research Participants

A second source of data collection involved interviews with key policy-makers and coaches.

### **Recapitulation of purpose and findings**

This qualitative single case study- also used as a method of inquiry- explored and analysed factors, such as contemporary current social (religion, class & culture) conditions, that permits Emirati women to participate in sport in general and football in particular in the UAE. The study also aimed at revealing some sort of 'history of the present' (using a Foucauldian construct) and added some empirical dimension by interviewing current policy makers and champions who have helped pave the way for this social 'turn'. Using Foucault's concepts such as 'discourse', 'power' and 'gender' provided a useful set of analytic lenses to talk about the evolving engagement of Muslim women in sport.

The main empirical findings can be read in detail in my published thesis (available online <http://dro.deakin.edu.au/view/DU:30112376>). This section will synthesise the empirical findings to answer the study's three research questions:

First research question: How do women in the UAE experience sport participation in football and how do these experiences contribute to their gendered subjectivities?

Various early experiences of participants in the study mainly indicated 'truths' such as it is ok for women to play football as children in the neighborhood although not always would the boys in the neighborhood welcome them. As the participants grew older, they faced more resistance from parents and loved ones since 'the rules of play' was that women do not play football. However, my participants were able to change the discourse and what helped them was the changing political lens in the UAE with modernization starting in the 1970s. By forming the elite football team, my participants were able to prove that playing football is not contrary to being a Muslim and being a woman in Arab society.

Second research question: What are the facilitators and barriers that contribute to women's sport participation in the UAE (family dynamics, relationships, and support of Leaders)?

Many of the participants agreed that although their fathers acted as the head of the household, it was their mothers who had the greatest influence in allowing them to play football at an elite level. Mothers were the greatest convincers and had the greatest impact on the athlete's sporting careers.

In summary, while themes varied as to individual values of the players, the underlying conclusion of the interview data in this research study is that decision to play sport varies based on family situation. The theoretical framework proposed that playing football was linked to one's values, passion, religion, and culture over the life span of the women athletes.

According to the six participants interviewed in this study, most, if not all, agree that one of the main facilitators to the players achieving the elite level is the support from the rulers of the country and the backup they have demonstrated over the past few years with one major barrier being lack of female Emirati athlete role models. Participants have become role models for future generations, but they voiced that lack of female role models in all sport are needed to inspire and attract new athletes. Role models provide a new experience for the new generation and their culture becomes interchangeable. This is consistent with what Crotty (1998) says of meaning of experience becoming an exploration of culture. Another barrier was that currently (up to 20017) government schools (where most of the Emirati girls are studying) not having sport as part of their school curriculums as well as lack of women-only spaces to train and play sport.

Third research question: In what ways does sport participation by women in the UAE might contribute to women's autonomy specifically and in/equality?

The participants whether athletes, coaches or policy makers unanimously agreed that sport in general and football, in particular, can and has been a vehicle for social change. What I found was that sport in the Emirati culture has contributed to changed perceptions in society regarding women, their roles, and capabilities. Although this change is in its infancy, sport is doing its part in shifting paradigms and creating discourses about women and their capabilities and achievements.

## **RELATING TO PREVIOUS RESEARCH**

A brief overview of the three research questions and their relation to previous work in those areas will be the focus of this section.

My findings regarding the first research question, that of the experience of the elite players in terms of family dynamics and relationship were broadly in line with the Iranian researcher, Moghadam (2003), indicating that an important dimension of social change in the region has occurred in the context of the patriarchal family and traditional Kinship system. However, there were several areas in which the UAE is unique, and its circumstances differ from that of other countries in the same region. The uniqueness is due to the diversity among its female population in the UAE. This diverse cultures that exist in the UAE today embody different ways of perceiving and interacting with the world and women of course are affected by the changing gender and cultural perceptions which influences their involvement in education, employment and specifically their changing roles in the family as studies have indicated.

Looking at facilitators and barriers for women athletes in the UAE was my second research question and the findings of this study seemed to build on some of the works of Iranian and Arab researchers which indicate that traditional Islamic practices act as barriers to women's entry to the athletic sphere. Studies by Sehlkoglou (2010) indicated that these barriers included lack of women only spaces, the issue of hijab and familial pressures and duties. All these barriers were consistent with my findings. Facilitators such as modernization are indicated by Benn, Pfister and Jawad (2011) and that too was consistent with my findings of what the UAE has been through since the 1970 with the discovery of crude oil and the shift from tribal Bedouin life to more 'modernized' lives.

This modernization has had a different impact on each of the Emirates in the UAE. My imperial results indicate that for some conservative parents in some of these Emirates, it was harder to accept their daughters' entering the world of football than it was for other parents.

The analysis of the data in relation to the third research question, that of ways sport participation can contribute to women's autonomy (specifically in/equality), seems to follow closely on from researchers such as Moghadam (2003) with his notion of that giving women their right in sport is an indication of a greater equality in society. My findings indicated that the participants unanimously believe that their involvement in sport reflected in the heightening consciousness of the community towards the status of women and they are the best role models for the next generation of what is possible for women to do.

Currently, extraordinarily little work has examined how discourses and power relations permeate different social institution/society in the UAE, particularly in relation to the ways gender is thought about and enacted in elite level sporting contexts. However, this research indicates that the key to greater understandings of what is possible lies in understanding the context in which they are shaped. Importantly, in addition to greater understandings of the wider societal contexts, what is also needed

are more nuanced accounts of the ways in which discourse and power relations play out in the lives of women in the UAE.

**Li Keywords:** UAE, Emirati, sport, discourse, power, gender, equality and equity

### **MITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH**

The study has offered an insight and new perspective into the lives of elite women football players in the UAE and was conducted with a narrative approach. As a direct consequence of this methodology, the study encountered several limitations which will be considered.

Within qualitative research, the validity of the interpretation is open to different or further interpretation. As qualitative researchers, we need to understand ourselves and with that comes a personal agenda. Hence, the process is not purely advancing knowledge (which in essence is socially constructed); it is mixed with my subjective experience and my motives, values, and interests; my personal and cultural context. My chosen topic is based on a deep interest personally and professionally and although this interest can be considered a weakness of qualitative research, I believe the process has been valuable and meaningful due to this interest.

I acknowledge the limitations of open-ended questions in that they are more difficult and harder to evaluate their reliability and validity as well as the respondent's deception, fabrication, or forgetfulness. Another limitation to open ended questions typically is that they generate large amounts of data, 'data overload' which are usually time-consuming to analyse. I did not have that problem as the Emirati players were typically shy and less 'overloading' in their responses. With one of the policy makers, I felt it was like pulling a teeth when talking to her but I believe that was because she was new to her job, very young (22 years old) and very shy.

As for the limitations of my self-reports, I acknowledge that there could be validity problems associated with it such as my participants not being openly truthful and may be deceiving themselves. As Barak, Pistrang & Elliott (2016) have argued that "*people often do not know what influences their behaviour and that there are pervasive biases in the way that we account for our own and others' behaviour*" (p.79). Although I acknowledge this, I believe that the potential limitations of the data is considerate when I analyse and interpret the data and that is why I have supplemented my self-report data with observational data.

I should stress that the main issue that came up for me early on in my interview process was contacting the players which I soon realized was not allowed. I did not know that direct contact was forbidden, and I thought I could just find the player's numbers and call them. But I soon realized that their numbers were not listed anywhere and that I needed to go through the director of the Abu Dhabi Sport Council. Getting a hold of the director took around three months as she was always busy in meetings or travelling. Finally, her assistant was kind enough (and felt sorry for me after three months of calling) to put me in touch with her. Once I explained what I am doing, the director reluctantly gave me the team coach's number so that I get permission from the coach to contact the players. Getting a hold of the coach was another long process as she would either not answer her calls or her phone was off, and she would never call back. Finally, I managed to talk to the coach and after explaining to her about my research, she was impressed and happy that someone had finally taken notice of them and wanted to do research about them. Hence, she gave me her full support and told me to meet them at a hotel in Abu Dhabi where they were going to stay for a practice. I met all the players at the hotel a few weeks later and conducted my first research there.

As for challenges during the interviewing process, I was given permission to only interview the over 18-year-old, as per my ethics clearance. However, their coach would ask the 16 and 17 year old to attend and participate in my interviews although I was very clear with the coach- on several occasions- that I could only take the over 18 players. I believe that was because she was overly excited that such an interest is being given to her team. I was able to apologize to these younger players and explain that I was unable to take their points of view due to ethics issues.

Another problem that arose early on in my first set of interviews with the players was that some of them would want to do the interview in pairs. This was again because they were extremely shy and had not been interviewed before and so it was comforting for them to do the interview in pairs. The problem with this was that when a question was asked, one would answer and the other would not say much and just state that they agreed with the friend's answer. Hence, I could not get separate answers to my questions. I was able to avoid this problem with the second set of interviews by strictly asking them to be interviewed separately. This was not such a problem the second time round as they had already built a certain level of trust with me and also the second interview took place on the football field where they were practicing so it was on their terrain and in their comfort zone (vs. the first time where it was in the hotel coffee shop).

There was one feature of the research design which may have affected the quality of my findings. The decision to audio-record the interviews rather than video record them could have limited the analytical possibilities in terms of behaviour of the participants. However, video recording was not an option as the elite players are not to be videoed or photographed by anyone without the presence and approval of their public relations committee (as explained in earlier chapters). I overcame this quality issue by having a reflective journal and writing my personal observations after each interview; trying to capture what the body language and non-verbal moves of each player which provided focus and strength to the empirical results.

I took one approach to examining this issue, but I acknowledge that there can be other, much better, approaches to adequately discuss more comprehensive findings especially that such research has not yet been conducted in the UAE.

## **IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS**

This research contributes to new knowledge in the field of gender in/equality in the UAE by exploring the ways in which women in the country are positioned and in fact position themselves, in elite sporting contexts. This is particularly important since research in this part of the world is relatively new and research for the newly formed UAE's elite women football players does not exist to date hence related literature is still limited. As such, the study mapped key socio-historical events or conditions from the past two decades that appear to have contributed to advancements in gender in/equality in the UAE. Further, through a particular focus on elite women's sport, this study sought to build knowledge around women's experiences of gender in/equality in what can be considered a predominantly masculine domain.

The challenges facing women in the UAE who do want to take football as a profession involves the need to be aware of the support that does currently exist within the system and recognize the health and emotional benefits associated with being part of the team. When the interviews were being conducted with the Dubai Sport Council as well as the Abu Dhabi Sport Council, there was great interest in the potential research findings and they requested me to share the findings as they had no such research conducted for their all-Emirati elite team. Foremost for them was creating awareness about the team

and spreading the word that this football team can be good for the 'girls'. Besides the health and emotional benefits my research was pointing to, the councils were eager that my findings would create awareness about football as being in alignment with the UAE culture and not contrary to it. This would allow more parents to accept the fact that their daughters can join the team, earn a salary and be a professional football player. Intervention of policy makers, players and even schools in creating such awareness is vital if an all-Emirati women's elite football team is to continue. In practice, this awareness requires a shift in thinking and a shift in the mental mind-set of UAE families since the support from parents is what has proven, through this study, to be vital to the success of the players. The cultural shifts have already taken place in the UAE, as this study has proven, and needs to continue to gain momentum.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Despite the intense efforts the Abu Dhabi Sport Council has made and inspiring successes they have achieved, recommendations of the finding of this study is that it encourages the UAE Ministry of Education to impose physical education on all schools for girls as well as joint efforts and activities between the schools and the Sport Council. This suggestion is consistent with research that suggests the *"entitlement to a physical education as part of a holistic education is also supported through religious texts and examples"* (Benn, Pfister and Jawad, 2011; 32).

Adding sport to girl's schools and making it a mandatory part of their curriculum will create a cultural shift and change in mindset for parents who will, over time, accept that their daughters play sport- even football- and their girls can have a career out of it. The parent's active role in their daughters' career is vital to their success. Playing without parental consent, as is the case for one of my participants, Gigi, can only continue for so long. It is not sustainable and not the best example and model to present to the community. Once school set up their sport curriculum, they then have the task to work with parents so that they can play an active role in their daughter's sporting lives as that creates a family support system just like Gigi's parents did. The level of involvement will equal the level of commitment these parents exert. In developing policies that impose sport in girl's schools, the latter need to also have Emirati female coaches as there is currently a lack of those role models.

The results of my empirical study provoke targeted policy discussions around women's gendered experiences in sporting contexts and a need for change in policy in terms how the elite football players are monitored by their public relations committee. Many of the players as well as all policy makers suggest the need for more exposure of the team in the media and less restriction by this public relations committee for the elite team. However, due to the current restricting rules that not all pictures can be published in the papers, exposure of the women's football team in the papers is limited. Consistent with the results of studies in other countries, 'women athletes are markedly under-represented in newspapers and television coverage' (Benn, Pfister and Jawad, 2011; 162) in the Arab world. Studies by Arslan and Koca (2007) also indicate that male athletes receive higher coverage than female athletes and that is consistent with my findings for the UAE.

The empirical findings invite policy makers to close the gender gap by developing the capability to retain and attract the best talent which is vital for the effective existence of any country and any institution. It further suggests that if we do not retain women's talent in the UAE, players and those potential professionals will go to other countries like Hala was asked to play for European teams.

What is needed now are initiatives that shape and change perceptions and attitudes of UAE people. There are still hurdles that slow a woman's march to equity. Getting married and expectations; fewer

demanding jobs; flexi-hours, insufficient maternity leaves, and childcare policies. Hence, the recommendation suggests additional research to be conducted on the long-term impact of the sport curriculums and if they really result in what we anticipate to.

I plan to do further research to follow the lives of my participants and see if they would continue playing after they get married since they are all single now. Due to husband expectations about roles and duties of a wife, it would be necessary to see if player's careers stop after marriage or are they able to continue their passion.

## **AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL REFLECTIONS**

When I started my research in April 2013, I was afraid that there would be insufficient literature available because my research questions were focused on elite women football players whose lives, challenges and opportunities have never been explored. In this case the selection of information sources was limited to some books on the region and newspaper articles as there were no articles or dissertations to refer to. *"Although Arab women participate in various sporting tournaments including the Olympics, women are limited to certain sports due to both religious and cultural norms. No statistics exist for participation of Arab women in sports"* (Bikyamasr & Franey, 2012). When searching for relevant sources I tried to be as systematic as possible, but I also looked out for literature that was recommended to me by my supervisors. At the end of my searching, I had an overview of the nature of existing research on women athletes in the UAE, the history of women's sport in the region, media representations of women athletes, opportunities, and challenges. I knew I had covered the main literature when I started coming across the same stories, the same references, and the same issues. I realized that the gap in the research was wide because no such research had been conducted on UAE women playing football.

A month after I started my research (May 2014) the first ever, all-Emirati elite football team was formed. The new rules and reforms which came about in order to make this all-Emirati team possible were *"the reforms which alter the fundamental assumptions and preferences which underlie our laws and govern institutions"* (Schweitz, 2014; 1).

Part of my biases before I started the research was thinking that Emirati parents are totally against their girls playing football but to my pleasant surprise, I realized that many parents, and that includes fathers, do support their daughters passions for the game. This discovery was a pleasant surprise.

One surprise for me personally was the fact that the players indicated they all found a second family by joining the team. Unlike boys team where *"young males distort their sporting identities to deride, abuse, violate or suppress it"* (as my professor, Hickey), girls team in the UAE are supportive, caring and a second family to the players. A truly awarding journey this has been and honor and a privilege to be able to research the UAE's elite women's football team as soon as they were formed! It has brought about much change in my belief and attitude as a woman living in this part of the world.

I was often asked through the four years of my study why I chose this topic and why now, why the UAE. I always found my answer in Freire's clear assertion that women, together, in unity and solidarity with one another *"engaged in a movement for deliverance from oppression and the attainment of equality. No one can do it for them. It can only be their movement. Women must lead it and constitute its care"* (Crotty, 2003; 162).

## CONCLUSION

It was the contention of this research that the UAE can better utilize women's sport to influence personal and social values and attitudes towards women athletes, with a view to opening up spaces through which more equitable gender relations can be realized. However, in carrying out the study, it was proven that the UAE in practice has done much in a short period of time and has been able to do much in closing the gender gap in terms of education, work, politics and sport, even the most male dominated sport such as football. The UAE has offered a formula for gender equity that has not only worked but proved successful and the country has managed to dispel all misconceptions about what it means to be a Muslim woman. Knowing that women can enter a much masculine domain considering the subordinate status of women in civil law is refreshing (laws such as men having a wide latitude to seek divorce and are seldom penalized for abusive behavior and inheritance laws – further explained in the literature review).

The recommendations and implications of this study will help further raise the consciousness of the people of the UAE to realize that giving women their right in sport is an indicator of greater equity in society and heightens consciousness of the community towards the status of women. With the new knowledge this research has presented regarding gender equity in UAE society and new insights into the Emirati women athletes' lives, it will help "*laws and institutions change through the encouragement of new standards of behavior*" (Schweitz, 1995) to better the lives of UAE women in general and women athletes in particular.

What we learn from the stories of the first Emirate Emirati women's football team is that where the will is strong enough, there can be a way. While it is reasonable to assume that such pathways will become easier in the future, as the participation of women in such sporting arenas becomes less exceptional, there are factors that are likely to enable, and disable, such journeys. Prominent here is the presence of a 'powerful' guardian and/or mentor who can offer sustained support, and influence. In a society where males continue to have disproportionate access to social and domestic power, such support can be extremely influential. Guardians and mentors can play a crucial role in garnering the support of dominant male figures or helping to find ways to work around it!

**Keywords:** UAE, Emirati, sport, discourse, power, gender, equality and equity

## REFERENCES

- Barker, C, Pistrang, N & Elliott, R 2016. *Research Methods in Clinical Psychology, An introduction for students and practitioners*, 3rd edn. West Sussex, UK: Wiley Blackwell, John Wiley & Sons.
- Benn, T, Pfister, G & Jawad, H (eds), 2011. *Muslim Women and Sport*. New York: Routledge.
- Bikyamasr & Franey, K 2012. *Arab Women Sports Tournament kicks off in UAE*,  
retrieved 13 August 2013, <<http://www.asafeworldforwomen.org/womensrights/in-the-news/1983-arab-women-sports-tournament-kicks-off-in-uae.html>>.
- Crotty, M 1998. *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. California, USA: Thousand Oaks.
- Mangan, JA 2000. *Sport in the Global Society—Football Culture*. Portland, Oregon: Frank Cass.
- Moghadam, V 2003. *Modernizing women: Gender and social change in the middle*

east, 2nd edn. Boulder, CO, USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Sehlikoglu, S 2010. 'UAE Soccer Shows Status of Female', Muslim Women in

Sports, weblog post, 19 May, retrieved 6 October 2015,

<<http://muslimwomeninsports.blogspot.ae/search?q=%27UAE+Soccer+Shows+Status+of+Female%27>>.

Schweitz, M 1995. The Greatness Which Might Be Theirs: Baha'i Law and Principle: Creating Legal and Institutional Structures for Gender Equality, 26 August, retrieved 5 January 2014, <<https://www.bic.org/statements/greatnesswhich-might-be-theirs-bahai-law-and-principle-creating-legal-and-institutionalstructures-gender-equality>>.

# BARRIERS TO SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY: EVIDENCE OF BLACK WOMEN IN THE LABOR MARKET IN BRAZIL

THAÍS LIMA FRAGA

Unicamp -Brazil

## INTRODUCTION

The insertion of black women in the Brazilian labor market has historically been associated with the exploration and precariousness of working conditions, in such a way that gender and race are essential structural elements to understand the hierarchy of returns and a reproduction of social inequalities. In this regard, Lélia Gonzalez (1988), a philosopher and one of the pioneers in the study of the intersection of race, gender and class in Brazil, understood that racism<sup>1</sup> and sexism combined to subordinate black women.

According to a study by the Institute for Applied Economic Research (Ipea, 2018), black women are more vulnerable to unemployment, the unemployment rate of black women in the first half of 2017 was 18% and that of white men was only 9.3%. In another survey carried out by the same institution, it was found that women earn, on average, 76% of the income of white men and, specifically, black women earn only 43% of the income of white men (Ipea, 2019).

Thus, studying black women in the labor market involves incorporating the intersectional perspective. Intersectionality was a term proposed by Kimberlé Crenshaw, which gained academic popularity after the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Forms of Intolerance, in the city of Durban, South Africa, in 2001, with the work of Crenshaw (1989). According to the author, intersectionality is based on the idea that all individuals are subject to the crossing of three structural cleavages, race, gender and class as determinants of social hierarchies. We can observe these intersections in the labor market, as a privileged locus for the analysis of inequalities (Lima, Rios and França, 2013)

It is recurrent in the literature that black women have the lowest income in Brazil. Soares (2000) found that in 1998 and 1987, black women were the most affected by discrimination in the labor market, compared to white women, black men and black women. Oliveira and Rios-Neto (2006) studied the inequalities in pay for white women and black women from 1987 to 1999 and also found evidence that black women have a lower status in the labor market than white women. In turn, Lima, Rios and França

---

<sup>1</sup> Brazilian racism is based on "brand prejudice", that is, on racial appearance, what matters are the physical features, hair, nose shape, skin color and other phenotype criteria, different from the "origin prejudice" of USA, based on the genotype criterion, in this case, even if the individual has white characteristics, but his ancestry is black, he would be a victim of racial prejudice, according to Nogueira (2007).

(2013) highlighted the education gains of black women from 1995 to 2009, but even so, they were still maintained at the base of the country's income pyramid.

Despite this, the study of black women in the labor market is still little explored in Brazil, especially in more recent periods. It is important to remember that the Brazil was the country that decreed the abolition of slavery in 1888 and, for the first time in history, from 2004 to 2013, it managed to reconcile economic growth with improved income distribution. The question arises: what was the performance of black women in the labor market in the last phase of growth with a reduction in social inequality (2012-2013) and in the following years (2014-2018) of a reduction in economic activity in Brazil? Was the period of social improvement in 2004-2013 enough to contribute to the social mobility process of black women?

In an attempt to answer these questions, this paper presents an overview of black women in the Brazilian labor market, from 2012 to 2018, adopting as a hypothesis that race, gender and class interact to determine that inequalities affect women black more negatively, in other words, the fact of receiving the lowest remuneration has not been overcome, because there are rigid structural barriers that prevent an effective improvement in the position of black women in the labor market.

This paper is divided into four sections, including the present introduction, in the next section, will be presented an economic panorama of the period 2004-2018, after this section, a characterization of the position of black women in the labor market, based on the data of the PNAD 2012-2018 and next, the conclusion of this paper.

## **ECONOMIC SITUATION IN BRAZIL: DURING AND AFTER THE PERIOD OF GROWTH WITH SOCIAL INCLUSION**

The history of capitalism is the history of the increasing subordination of work and the “impoverishment” of the individual and, although capitalist logic promises the individual control over his own destiny, this does not happen, the “impoverishment”, the subjectivity and the way of life of individuals remain permanent to the automatism of capitalist accumulation. In this way, working conditions are more subject to capital movements than to citizens control (Belluzzo, 2016).

In this context, the beginning of the 2000s represents a phase in the Brazilian economy in which the movements of capital allowed the combination of economic growth with some level of social inclusion. In this context, the beginning of the 2000s represents a phase in the Brazilian economy in which the movements of capital allowed the combination of economic growth with some level of social inclusion. According to Baltar and Leone (2015), from 2004 to 2008, the GDP grew, on average, 5% per year, driven by the export cycle that had as one of the main protagonists, China and the adoption of national policies of valorization of income, with the expansion of consumer credit and the real appreciation of the minimum wage and the exchange rate.

Although the global financial crisis of 2008-2009 occurred in the period 2004-2013, anti-cyclical policies maintained the level of income and employment in Brazil, ensuring until 2013 the support of a cycle of economic growth, as shown in Figure 1.

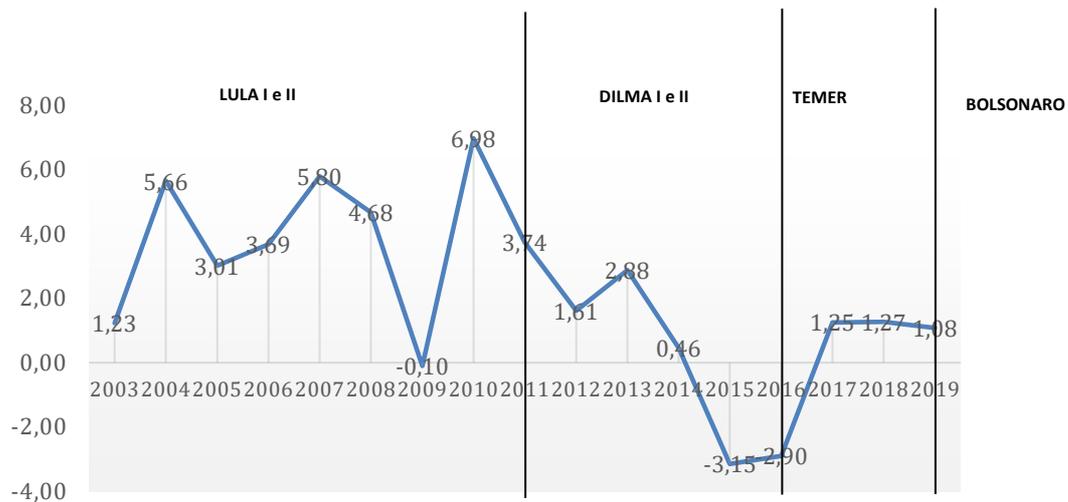


Figure 1 - GDP – basic prices - real annual variation (%)

Fonte: Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE/SCN Anual)

Figure 1 also shows that in 2014, the economy began to show signs of deceleration, with a growth rate close to zero, marking the end of the economic growth cycle with social inclusion. In the years 2015 and 2016, the economy reached a recession and, although the years 2017-2019 indicate a certain economic growth, the low rate reveals the difficulty of the macroeconomic environment to resume the growth trajectory of the period 2004-2013.

From 2004 to 2013, employment increased significantly, an increase of 27.7% in the level of employment, in 2013 there were 92.5 million employed persons, the participation rate in the labor market was 71.4% and the 6.6% unemployment rate. In general, the improvement in the labor market is explained by the fall in the unemployment rate, the increase in the degree of wage earning, the increase in the degree of formalization and the increase in income from work (Baltar and Leone, 2015).

However, the recession from 2014 to 2016 caused an increase in the unemployment rate, equivalent to 11.8% in 2016, reversing the reduction observed since 2004. This increase can be explained by the increase in people in the PEA (Economically active population) and reducing the number of employed people. When we look at the subsequent period, from 2017 to 2019, it is clear that the slow recovery in economic activity from 2017 to 2019 did not lead to significant changes in the unemployment rate, as the unemployment rate remained high.

Colombi and Krein (2020) signal that the 2000s were also characterized by the maintenance of the tendency towards more flexible working relationships: (i) the intensification of outsourcing, which implies workers with lower income and subject to greater turnover at work; (ii) the expansion of disguised employment relationships, such as the increase in internship work, the hiring of legal entities and in the Individual Microentrepreneur (MEI); (iii) expansion of the hiring for an indefinite period, format in which the employer can dismiss without justification and (iv) advance in the variable remuneration seen in the remunerations given by Profit Sharing Programs (PLR), among many other forms of flexibility, the question that arises here is that this trend goes side by side with the increase in precariousness and the lack of protection for workers.

However, it should be noted that the favorable and unfavorable aspects of the 2000s, especially with regard to the reversal of the economic cycle in 2014, brought different configurations for men and women. According to Teixeira (2017), the recovery of economic activity between 2004 and 2013 allowed the insertion of women who were out of the labor market, even at the height of the crisis between 2008 and 2009, formal employment grew 5.3% for women and 3.9% for men.

For this reason, Leone (2019) believes that the 2000s are marked by an increase in the rate of formalization in the labor market, mainly of women in households with lower per capita income. According to Teixeira (2017), when considering the sector, female participation increased most from 2004 to 2013 in the accommodation and food segment (13.9%), leather preparation and manufacturing (11.4%) and other collective, social services and personal (8.4%). As for income, the author points out that the period is also marked by the reduction in wage inequality between the sexes, in 2004, women received, on average, 69.5% and in 2013 they increased to 73.1%, except for the sector military. With regard to black women, Teixeira (2017) demonstrates that the participation of black women in the total employed population, until 2008, showed an increase, but it was lower than the participation of white women.

As of 2014, the economy slows down the pace of growth, increases public indebtedness and pressure to limit public spending. The impeachment of Dilma Rouseff in 2016 increases economic instability and opens space for a neoliberal policy expressed in the labor reform<sup>2</sup> in 2017. For Krein (2018), labor reform represents the dismantling of social and labor rights achieved in recent decades, based on an adjustment of the labor regulation standard, in which the employer has more freedom and the worker more insecurity to determine the conditions hiring, use of labor and remuneration.

We have shown so far that the unprecedented context in Brazil of economic growth and income distribution in the period from 2004 to 2013 has not been able to change the position of black women in the labor market. After 2013, the economic context has remained very unstable and the labor reform in 2017 tend to worsen the situation of black women in the Brazilian labor market, affecting their opportunities for socio-occupational mobility. Proni and Gomes (2015) stand out that women and black people have more difficulty in insertion the labor market, therefore black women, being affected by double discrimination, of gender and race, are worse off than other social groups, either in periods of growth or economic downturn.

## **BLACK WOMEN IN THE LABOR MARKET 2012-2018**

The aim of this section is to verify the position of black women in the labor market, considering the adverse nature of the period 2012-2018. Therefore, it is based on the idea that race and sex are relational concepts, so, as far as possible, information about black women will be contrasted with white men, white women and black men, in the hope of offering a panorama consistent about the position of black women in relation to other social groups.

Table 1 shows that black men are in greater proportion among employed people, followed by white men. However, when we consider the growth rate from 2012 to 2013, the end of the growth cycle with

---

<sup>2</sup> Labor reform was based on two laws, the law nº 13467/2017 that amended 201 points of the Consolidation of Labor Laws and the law nº 13429/2017 which frees up outsourcing and extends the temporary contract.

income distribution, black men were the group that most increased the number of employed people and in the period 2004-2018 it was black women who most increased the number of employed people

Table 1 – Occupied people aged 14 and over

Year	Men		Women	
	White	Black	White	Black
2012	24.025.584	27.472.832	19.364.189	18.899.345
2013	24.109.319	28.333.849	19.647.491	19.203.713
2014	23.861.705	28.701.381	19.687.374	19.872.210
2015	23.932.481	28.421.535	19.462.218	19.667.411
2016	23.032.172	27.909.650	18.711.993	19.786.823
2017	22.967.326	28.454.113	18.882.597	20.947.884
2018	22.679.770	28.926.555	19.019.891	21.325.326
<b>Δ% 2012-2013</b>	<b>0,35%</b>	<b>3,13%</b>	<b>1,46%</b>	<b>1,61%</b>
<b>Δ% 2014-2018</b>	<b>-4,95%</b>	<b>0,78%</b>	<b>-3,39%</b>	<b>7,31%</b>
<b>Δ% 2012-2018</b>	<b>-5,60%</b>	<b>5,29%</b>	<b>-1,78%</b>	<b>12,84%</b>

Source: PNADC / IBGE Microdata - Own elaboration

Regarding formality and informality rates, Table 2 indicates a reduction in informality rates from 2012 to 2014 for white men, black men, white women and black women. However, independent of the year, the lowest formality rates are for white men and women, while the highest informality rates are for black men and women, which indicates that formal/informal work is strongly determined by a race bias. For this, in general, the black people are without social protection and in a state of greater vulnerability in relation to the instability of the macroeconomic environment.

Table 2 - People distribution in the formal and informal labor market, excluding employers (Brazil, 4th quarters 2012 to 2018)

Year	Men				Women			
	White		Black		White		Black	
	Formal <sup>2</sup>	Informal <sup>3</sup>	Formal <sup>2</sup>	Informal <sup>3</sup>	Formal <sup>2</sup>	Informal <sup>3</sup>	Formal <sup>2</sup>	Informal <sup>3</sup>
2012	56,85%	43,15%	48,90%	51,10%	59,09%	40,91%	47,68%	52,32%
2013	57,36%	42,64%	48,25%	51,75%	59,87%	40,13%	48,92%	51,08%
2014	57,65%	42,35%	48,93%	51,07%	59,91%	40,09%	49,94%	50,06%

2015	55,86%	44,14%	47,22%	52,78%	60,34%	39,66%	49,62%	50,38%
2016	55,22%	44,78%	47,29%	52,71%	59,98%	40,02%	49,64%	50,36%
2017	53,14%	46,86%	46,14%	53,86%	56,76%	43,24%	47,60%	52,40%
2018	52,11%	47,89%	45,82%	54,18%	55,99%	44,01%	47,01%	52,99%

<sup>2</sup> Employees with work permit, domestic workers with work permit, military personnel and civil servants.

<sup>3</sup> Employees without work permit, domestic workers without work permit, auxiliary family workers.

Source: PNADC/IBGE Microdata - Own elaboration

Table 3 shows the amount of people discouraged by race and sex, according to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, discouraged people refer to people who are not employed and have given up looking for a job, it is an indicator that shows the lack of perspectives in the economic scenario.

According to Table 3, the black population (black men and women) is in a higher proportion among discouraged people. When considering the growth rate from 2012 to 2013, there is a reduction in discouraged people, a result of the favorable macroeconomic scenario that increased opportunities in the labor market, however when we look at the period from 2014 to 2018, discouraged people increased, especially the men.

*Table 3 - Discouraged people aged 14 and over by sex and race (Brazil, 2012 to 2018) - 4th quarter of each year*

Year	White Men	Black Men	White Women	Black Women
2012	217.228	583.887	328.686	799.136
2013	157.956	482.143	274.392	739.821
2014	170.023	488.251	246.800	684.065
2015	323.771	817.869	426.353	1.107.251
2016	423.818	1.273.696	552.257	1.601.898
2017	496.021	1.422.823	689.620	1.724.052
2018	541.335	1.555.690	659.543	1.889.446
<b>Δ% 2012-2013</b>	<b>-27,29%</b>	<b>-17,43%</b>	<b>-16,52%</b>	<b>-7,42%</b>
<b>Δ% 2014-2018</b>	<b>218,39%</b>	<b>218,63%</b>	<b>167,24%</b>	<b>176,21%</b>
<b>Δ% 2012-2018</b>	<b>149,20%</b>	<b>166,44%</b>	<b>100,66%</b>	<b>136,44%</b>

Source: PNADC / IBGE Microdata - Own elaboration

Table 4 shows the average monthly income in the main job, as noted, white men and white women have a higher level of income, while black women are at the bottom of the income pyramid. The Table 4 also shows that black women receive less than half of a white man, but white women, a group with an income closer to white men, receive the equivalent of  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the income of a white man, on average. Lima, Rios and França (2013) point out that in 2003, black women started to receive a little more than 40% of the income of white men, in Table 4 we see that in 2018, black women received, on average, 44% of the income of white men. Thus, we verified a range of income similar to that approached by Lima, Rios and França (2013), after 15 years, reinforcing the idea that double discrimination attributes high rigidity to the change in income of black women and their social mobility.

*Table 4 - Average monthly income from the main job for persons aged 14 and over in the 4th quarter of each year - Values deflated by the IPCA with base year 2012*

YEAR	White Men	Black Men	White Women	Black Women	\$ White Women /\$ White Men	\$ Black Women/\$ White Men
2012	2145,3	1172,5	1502,4	891,5	<b>70,03%</b>	<b>41,56%</b>
2013	2213,4	1227,7	1555,5	932,3	<b>70,28%</b>	<b>42,12%</b>
2014	2230,5	1241,8	1599,1	955,0	<b>71,70%</b>	<b>42,82%</b>
2015	2156,4	1186,4	1587,7	933,3	<b>73,62%</b>	<b>43,28%</b>
2016	2238,8	1189,9	1637,7	946,0	<b>73,15%</b>	<b>42,26%</b>
2017	2263,9	1238,4	1618,3	976,3	<b>71,48%</b>	<b>43,12%</b>
2018	2271,2	1248,0	1674,3	997,5	<b>73,72%</b>	<b>43,92%</b>
<b>Δ% 2012-2013</b>	<b>3,17%</b>	<b>4,71%</b>	<b>3,53%</b>	<b>4,58%</b>	-	-
<b>Δ% 2014-2018</b>	<b>1,83%</b>	<b>0,50%</b>	<b>4,70%</b>	<b>4,44%</b>	-	-
<b>Δ% 2012-2018</b>	<b>5,87%</b>	<b>6,44%</b>	<b>11,44%</b>	<b>11,89%</b>	-	-

Source: PNADC / IBGE Microdata - Own elaboration

Note: Values only for people who received cash, products or merchandise in the main job

Regarding the hours worked per week, Table 5 shows that men have an average of hours worked higher than that of women, and in the period from 2012 to 2018 the greatest drop in weekly working hours occurred among black men (-4% ) and white men (-2.7%), while white women registered the smallest decrease (-1%).

Table 5 - Average hours usually worked per week in all jobs for people aged 14 and over by sex and race

YEAR	Men		Women	
	White	Black	White	Black
2012	43,7	42,6	38,2	36,8
2013	43,3	42,1	38,2	36,6
2014	42,9	41,6	38,0	36,4
2015	42,3	41,0	38,0	36,2
2016	42,4	40,8	38,2	36,3
2017	42,4	40,8	37,8	36,1
2018	42,5	40,9	37,8	35,9
<b>Δ% 2012-2013</b>	<b>-0,9%</b>	<b>-1,2%</b>	<b>0,0%</b>	<b>-0,5%</b>
<b>Δ% 2014-2018</b>	<b>-0,9%</b>	<b>-1,7%</b>	<b>-0,5%</b>	<b>-1,4%</b>
<b>Δ% 2012-2018</b>	<b>-2,7%</b>	<b>-4,0%</b>	<b>-1,0%</b>	<b>-2,4%</b>

Source: PNADC/IBGE Microdata - Own elaboration

Regarding the educational level of black women, Table 6 indicates that employed black women in the period from 2012 to 2018 improved their level of education, there was a reduction in the proportion of employed black women with low education and an increase in black women with high education (undergraduate). Lima, Rios and França (2013) also found this gain in schooling for black women, the authors found that employed women with 12 years or more of education increased by 140.2% in the period from 1995 to 2009.

Still referring to Table 6, the increase in black women with higher education was greater between the period of economic slowdown. This result indicates that public policies for the expansion of vacancies in higher education allowed that in a context of economic instability, occupied black women improved their education level.

*Table 6 – Proportion of black women by highest level of education achieved for employed persons aged 14 and over*

	No education and less than 1 year of study	Elementary School incomplete	Elementary School complete	High School incomplete	High School complete	undergraduate degree incomplete	undergraduate degree complete
<b>2012</b>	5,5%	27,5%	10,8%	6,7%	33,2%	4,7%	11,5%
<b>2013</b>	5,4%	25,9%	10,6%	6,6%	34,8%	4,8%	11,9%
<b>2014</b>	4,9%	24,5%	10,6%	6,8%	34,7%	5,4%	13,0%
<b>2015</b>	5,4%	23,4%	9,5%	6,7%	35,4%	5,4%	14,3%
<b>2016</b>	4,1%	22,4%	8,9%	6,7%	36,2%	5,9%	15,8%
<b>2017</b>	3,4%	22,1%	8,5%	7,0%	36,4%	6,2%	16,4%
<b>2018</b>	2,8%	21,3%	7,8%	6,7%	36,8%	6,1%	18,6%

Source: PNADC/IBGE Microdata - Own elaboration

This section demonstrates that there has been some progress by black women, especially, the improvement in their education level and greater participation among employed people. However, when we consider the level of income and participation in informal work, we realized that there was no improvement, which indicates that the persistence of historical mechanisms of social exclusion prevents the improvement of the position of black women in the labor market, even after gaining schooling.

In this way, the position of black women with the lowest level of income in the country guarantees the preservation of the mechanisms of production and reproduction of social inequalities and demonstrates the difficulty of social mobility of black women in Brazil.

## **CONCLUSION**

This paper characterized the position of black women in the Brazilian labor market in relation to other social groups, in an adverse period that contemplates phases of growth, decline and stagnation of the Brazilian economy, from 2012 to 2018. In this period, we demonstrate that there was no significant change in the labor market for black women, remaining in greater proportion in the informal market and with the lowest levels of income. In this way, racism and sexism combine to keep black women in the worst situation in the labor market, hindering their chances of social mobility.

This evidence indicates that there is a strong structural strength in Brazil to the promotion of better living conditions for black women. So, overcoming historical barriers of racism and sexism is still one of the country's main challenges in building a fair and egalitarian society.

In addition to this important evidence, this study demonstrates the importance of incorporating into the research the differences imposed by the bias of race and sex, as it reveals the heterogeneous

socioeconomic positions of individuals and knowing these differences helps the State in the elaboration and monitoring of more effective public policies for the population .

## REFERENCES

BALTAR, Carolina Troncoso (2020). Estrutura ocupacional, emprego e desigualdade salarial no Brasil de 2014 a 2019. (Texto para discussão nº 382), jun/2020.

BALTAR, P.; LEONE, E. (2015) Perspectivas para o mercado de trabalho após o crescimento com inclusão social. Estudos Avançados, v. 29, n. 85, 2015.

BELLUZZO, Luiz Gonzaga De Mello (2016) O capital e suas metamorfoses. Scielo-Editora UNESP, 2016.

COLOMBI, A. P. F.; KREIN, J. D. (2020) Labor Market and Labor Relations under the PT Governments. Latin American Perspectives, v. 1, p. 0094582X1987571, 2020

CRENSHAW, Kimberlé W. (1989), Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex; a black feminist critique of discrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. University of Chicago Legal Forum, pp. 139-167.

IBGE (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística) - Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios. Anos 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016 e 2018. Rio de Janeiro. Microdados IBGE. <http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/>

IPEA. Mulheres ganham 76% da remuneração dos homens. Disponível em: <[http://www.ipea.gov.br/portal/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=34627](http://www.ipea.gov.br/portal/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=34627)>. Acesso em: 29 ago. 2019

Krein, J. D. (2018). O desmonte dos direitos, as novas configurações do trabalho e o esvaziamento da ação coletiva: consequências da reforma trabalhista. Tempo social, 30(1), 77-104.

LIMA, Márcia; RIOS, Flavia; FRANÇA, Danilo (2013). Articulando Gênero e Raça: A Participação das Mulheres Negras no Mercado de Trabalho (1995-2009). In: BRASÍLIA. Mariana Mazzini Marcondes. Ipea (org.). Dossiê Mulheres Negras retrato das condições de vida das mulheres negras no Brasil. Brasília: Ipea, 2013. p. 53-80.

Nogueira, O. (2007). Preconceito racial de marca e preconceito racial de origem: sugestão de um quadro de referência para a interpretação do material sobre relações raciais no Brasil. Tempo social, 19(1), 287-308.

OLIVEIRA, Tiago; PRONI, Marcelo Weishaupt (2015) Um mercado de trabalho heterogêneo e flexível: um problema persistente no Brasil. Revista da Abet, São Paulo, v. 15, n. 2, p. 60-86.

SOARES, S. S. D. O perfil da discriminação no mercado de trabalho – Homens negros, mulheres brancas, mulheres negras. Brasília: Ipea, 2000. p. 26. (Textos para Discussão, n. 769).

TEIXEIRA, M. O. (2017) Um olhar da economia feminista para as mulheres: os avanços e as permanências das mulheres no mundo do trabalho entre 2004 e 2013. Tese (Doutorado)– Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Instituto de Economia, Campinas.

# SEEKING SELF

THERESA E. WILSHUSEN

[twilshusen90@gmail.com](mailto:twilshusen90@gmail.com)

Department of Art Production, Faculty of Fine Arts, *Universidad Politécnica de Valencia*

## ABSTRACT

This document attempts to show the importance of identity representation through art, particularly through instant photography. I use instances of ancient Egypt as an example of the relevance of identity in contemporary life, and by extension, death. The need to identify oneself and to be identified is observed, and *Seeking Self* performs the concept of inclusion of everyone, but with a focus on the underrepresented, distorted, and often overlooked, through a series of images.

**Keywords:** art, gender, identity, instant photography, transgender

## CONTEXT

It is a basic human need to understand ourselves, to what extent depends on the individual. However, we can see identify the factors that contribute to who we are and what shaped "us". These factors - family, culture, and experiences - shaped "us," but we still control much of who we are. Our identity is "we". Looking at culture, be it our own or someone else's, we find evidence of key moments or experiences that shaped great people and shaped their identity.

*Seeking Self*, a sculptural installation of instant photography, allows viewers to question aspects that have shaped them, allows them to find common ground with others very different from themselves, and encourages an open discussion about what makes up identity. It questions what the difference is between sexual identity and gender identity and the range of factors that make up the two. The project, and subsequently the article, questions whether identity can be found in art through a variety of ways, but specifically through instant photography.

By including a wide range of subjects and themes, *Seeking Self* creates a sense of nostalgia for the past, as most of it is through instant film, and then exposes them to a range of images from the ordinary, to the mundane, to the sexually explicit. This exhibition then creates a sense of intrigue and asks "what [does this mean]?", "Why [is it like this]?", Or "how [does this relate to me]?" These are basic questions, but important, to discover what has shaped us. We often look for answers in our ancestral past and many of these images and themes appear in this work through jobs and workers, as well as representations of nature and places.

This document aims to delve into the past and ask more fundamental questions about identity through an intercultural examination of examples that have led to the formation and / or discovery of various identities from an artistic approach and from a feminist perspective. The paper is accompanied by photos of the work *Seeking Self*.

## Objective

This instant photography sculptural project, *Seeking Self*, aims to represent a series of identities, be they sexual, cultural, gender, racial or otherwise, by collecting a variety of images from mundane, everyday, to dark, radical, or abstract. The main goal is to achieve inclusion and acceptance through exposure and shared experience.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Instant photography has been regaining popularity over the years, specifically since 1998 with the release of Fujifilm's Instax (instant) camera and a re-rise in popularity in 2009 with Polaroid finally exiting the business of instant photography (N.A., Instax). This popularity has reignited the passion for physical photos. This withdraw from the digital aspect of photos creates a sense of nostalgia, whether it be real or implied. Real meaning in this sense that the person has once before experienced instant photography firsthand and longs for the same feeling of that previous time or place along with the emotional attachments to that period in their lives; for most it is of a simpler, more care-free time in their lives. Implied meaning that perhaps the person has never physically taken an instant photo or appeared in one, so they know not of the instant gratification of having the picture in their hand in the moment, the physical manifestation of the moment they experienced that does not get shuffled away with hundreds of other photos, like with digital photography.

Instant photography has a way of capturing a greater audience as many find nostalgia through it. This play with nostalgia evokes intrigue from the viewer as they engage in curiosity of the content and hope they find something familiar. Those that are less familiar with instant photography are also curious about the film itself and how content is captured. Through this curiosity the viewer becomes attached to an image they wish they had been a part of, particularly if they have a deep connection with the content of the photograph. Sometimes they long for the experience of taking an instant photo and having that moment physically in hand. In either situation instant photography is both a vintage and modern way of capturing a moment as well as a feeling, in that the style is reminiscent of, for many, childhood and 'simpler times', while modern being the new formats in an age of technology. It is a medium that expresses both the modernity and antiquity of a time, feeling, place, or being. Over time we see the worth of these images and their relevance in our lives.

Though photography is a 'modern' invention, only having been invented in 1839 (The British Library Board, N.D.) and instant photography much younger, in the 1930s, becoming public in the 1940s (American Chemical Society, 2018), the concept of capturing a person, a moment, a feeling, or a place has existed since the beginning of time. These early depictions were often used as instructions or to act as an historical document for a situation or series of events, but they are extremely important in understanding our necessity to capture these aspects of life.

If we consider and look back to ancient Egypt we see evidence of this need to capture important moments and give instructions. Pictures, like in many cultures, aided in explanation of the depictions of specific, important events. The ancient Egyptians not only invented their own language consisting of pictures (hieroglyphics) but they were sure to also make massive relief murals on their buildings (usually temples) and in tombs, which were often also painted in fresco (Cooney, K. M., 2007).

## **2. DISCUSSION**

The ancient Egyptians needed this expression flexibility so that those who could not decipher or read hieroglyphs would comprehend religious or cultural happenings, procedures, major cultural events like changing rulers (Cooney, K. M., 2014), or follow instructions into the afterlife. Most commoners could not read nor write hieroglyphs so these ensured basic comprehension of events in the most basic way (Ikram, S., 2003).

This technique of wrapping buildings inside and out with images is one we are familiar with in modern societies. From public murals, classrooms, warning signs, and music album covers to whole churches, like that of the Sagrada Familia in Barcelona, Spain, depict important cultural and religious happenings of the time. Like the ancient Egyptians, modern societies are willing to focus on imagery to do the work of words, which leaves a lot of room for interpretation. This may be intentional in some cases, but in others, particularly religious cases, they intend to be explicit as much as possible to close the gap of independent interpretation. In whichever case we find connections with images and they tell us something, often stories or warnings. This is exactly what the ancient Egyptians wanted to convey and they did it successfully.

These mural-style reliefs often portrayed the stories of the gods they were built to support and worship. The reliefs showed the current pharaoh interacting with the god to whom the temple belonged (Ikram, S., 2003). Through this depicted interaction the common people would understand the relationship of

the god they worshiped and their pharaoh (king). This was suggestive that the god(s) supported the current pharaoh and consented to their deeds (Cooney, K. M., 2007).

When pharaohs became more and more powerful the people believed that the gods approved and through this approval they were blessed with more bounty, be it agricultural, mineral or rock, animal, or acquisition (conquests) and/or success. These were all interpreted as blessings from the gods. When pharaohs changed, often because of illness, death in war, or murder of some sort, the people also believed this was the correct line of passage of the throne, as it was believed that the pharaohs were the gods incarnate (Cooney, K. M., 2014). It was not always accepted by the people, but when 'blessings' occurred the people were easily convinced it was correct. So when Hatshepsut appropriated the throne before her stepson could assume it, the people believed it could not be done, as women could not be king- they could not rule independently, without a true king. However, through persistence and perhaps convincing the right elite people, Queen Hatshepsut became King Hatshepsut no longer wife of Thutmose II, now only "God's Wife of Amen" (Cooney, K. M., 2014). Because of the existing importance of depictions of changes to the throne and legacy in ancient Egypt, Hatshepsut put her people to work "Hatshepsut maintained, concreted, and even expanded her connections throughout Egypt, creating jobs by way of temple renovations and construction, pitting armies against one another but not pushing too hard as to keep piety. She spread her influence to generals, priests, and treasurers," (Cooney, K. M., 2014). The people, confused at the goings on around them, were unsupportive of the new change, but through the demands of Hatshepsut herself and the new imagery that now engulfed them the people soon realized that Hatshepsut was not a Queen to be trifled with as they began to see the intolerance of the Queen for disbelievers, "He who will praise her, he will live. He who will speak an evil thing, ignoring her majesty, he will die," (Cooney, K. M., 2014). She soon won over their approval as the lands were 'blessed' with great fertility.

Throughout Hatshepsut's reign she began feeling more and more masculine, as she was regent to Thutmose III, believing that she was indeed righteously, and piously, a king. She began binding her breasts and wearing the typical clothing of a man in pursuit of her real identity, more and more so as Thutmose III, her stepson, neared his approach to the throne.

"7th year of Thutmose III reign, Hatshepsut is crowned King. The exact date of her ascension is disputed, as she had begun laying groundwork for such an event in Thutmose III's second year of reign.

Reliefs carved at Semna temple in Nubia show her in the company of the gods, and here, the description of her actions- as an heir, as a builder, as a ritual officiate"-are those of a masculine king." (Cooney, K. M., 2014)

'She' became 'he', officially. Was this Hatshepsut recognizing herself as a "phallic Woman" as Robert Stoller refers to a masculine woman in *Splitting: A case of Female Masculinity*, by her need to want to become King instead of maintain her position as Queen and regent to Thutmose III, eluding to Freud's "penis envy" (Freud, S., 1925)? Was this an example of Identity Dysphoria (or Gender Identity Disorder, GIS), the disconnect of her own feminine identity (Psychology Today, 2018)? This meant the erasing of her feminine features in all the depictions, hieroglyphs, and texts. Through these images she was described as she identified- a masculine being. She did not undergo any kind of surgery to make herself more masculine, like children undergoing circumcision thus becoming adults, but she did all that she could otherwise, as well as leaving images of this great transformation eternally etched into stone in hundreds of instances across Egypt. Hatshepsut was a revolutionary ruler for her time and the acceptance of these enormous developments we can thank, in great part, to the images she determined to be the most sincere and important (Cooney, K. M., 2014).

According to Judith Butler in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*,

*“Representation serves as the operative term within a political process that seeks to extend visibility and legitimacy to [women] as political subjects; on the other hand, representation is the normative function language which is said either to reveal or to distort what is assumed to be true about the category of [women],”* (Butler, J., 1990).

With representation through imagery we find inclusion, but we also encounter distortion of preconceived assumptions, which can be inclusive to all, not just women as Butler mentions. When we are represented we are seen as part of the greater whole of a social group.

### **3. METHODOLOGY**

As important as representation is, the way in which one finds their identity is also a very important factor. We have, I believe, three major factors that influence our identities, factors from which we draw aspects that shape who we are and become. These factors individually shape our identities, sexual or other, and their variety is what makes us all so individual, but in the same breath the similarities between them help us find other ‘like’ identities creating a greater pool of specific aspects making up identity. After all, we are products of our environments.

#### **3.1 The Family**

Family is one identifier that shapes our identity. This group encourages us in our early stages of life to be coherent, functioning adults. This group has prejudices and insecurities that are passed on in the rearing and thus influencing our identities based on what family deems acceptable or not. Family can also be interpreted as the biological aspect to ‘family’ as a genetic factor, which would indicate that this indicator is out of ones control. However, it must also be considered the independent influence of family in such cases as adoption, where the adoptee may unknowingly and unwillingly perpetuate family norms of identity. The ‘family’ indicator is highly influential in the early rearing years of life and even during some of the hardest times in ones life, particularly puberty, when one is literally developing into a sexual being. This is a challenge even if you identify with a majority group or with more common identifying factors. We cannot choose this identifying factor, family, therefore determining values and beliefs are imposed or appropriated until introduced to other ideals that questions or contradict those beliefs.

#### **3.2 Culture / Community**

Culture/Community is another identifier in shaping our identity. Culture is arguably the same as family, however culture as an indicator is composed of many more participants and has more generalized beliefs, customs and/or traditions. This comes with great change and therefore great influence. For with each change of community the identity of and individual may be highly influenced and more readily susceptible to diverse changes from previous cultures or adaptations to them, while one cannot rule out the possibility that one may feel unable or incapable of integrating into or adapting to the new culture. Smaller, gradual culture changes allow for quicker adaptations, especially over longer periods of time, however immense transformations may occur, particularly linguistics, mannerisms, acceptance

of greater societal norms or beliefs. This concept of performing an identity is one Deborah Cameron discusses in *Performing Gender Identity*. Though she is speaking specifically about gender identity it is not withholding of identity as a larger construct.

### **3.3 Experiences / Relationships**

(Personal) Experiences/relationships is the last identifier. These relationships shape us as intimate beings. Personal experiences/relationships are different from culture in many ways, but particularly because we often actively seek these identifiers out. This is where almost complete autonomy plays in our identities. Experiences are based on scenarios we put ourselves into, thus allowing us to have experiences of choice (hopefully) but may also contribute negatively by happenstance of the circumstances as a result of our decisions. When referring to relationships as part of the 'experience' identifier it addresses autonomy of our identity while contributing to our perceived definition of who we liken ourselves as, often these relationships are friendships; some are romantic but either way we begin using relationships (as experience) to perform our developing identity. How are experiences and relationships interchangeable in this context? Because they imitate one another by performing to gender stereotypes (Cameron, D., 1997). The relationships we have with others are our experiences with another being, which teach us how we like or dislike being treated, while we also shape others through our interactions with them. These relationships are based on societal norms and often gender norms as we perform to the group with which we are interacting (friends, family, colleagues, etc.) (Cameron, D., 1997). This performance is also based on conditioning from other identifiers, like family or culture- how we have been conditioned to 'perform'. Through these relationships, romantic or platonic, we form experiences as references, for which we will go on to gauge other relationships as well as influence our actions and internal dialogues. Should time alone, independent from other groups, including family or partners be considered as experiences/relationships? Yes. They should be considered (personal) experiences as we interact with ourselves, and even perform for ourselves. We enact gender stereotypes even in solitary. However, these too are relationships. They shape who we become based on that experience. The relationship is not with another in this case, but with ourselves. Our inner dialogue and conversation is our relationship with ourselves and we create an internal relationship with ourselves through these seemingly 'solo' experiences. We can control how we react and talk to ourselves in these situations. Sometimes we find that our internal dialogue is quite rude or mean, but we can change how we talk to ourselves and change the experiences we have with ourselves. However this dialogue creates a relationship within and through this we shape a different perspective of ourselves, of our identity.

With these three identifying factors we can then look at how we identify. Through these lenses of family, culture, and (personal) experiences one can begin to understand themselves and the factors that lead them to be whom they are now. For this, in this project, there is the use of the triptych (3). The photos are displayed in groups of three. For each side of the triangle there are influences of an identity. These identities are mixed with other identities formed throughout our lives as we grow and change, especially as we experience more diversity of cultures, create new families, and experience the world around us as well as observe the changes within. Each side of the smaller triangles merges with another touching its side forming a greater identity. This greater identity may be unexplored, it may be the identity we show to the world while the interior identities are whom we once were. It may feel like the reverse for some; the interior identities are who we truly are while the exterior identity is who we perform. The interpretation of this work allows the viewer to take in images of a variety of identifiers that have influenced individuals in a myriad of different ways. This interpretation by the viewer suggests

factors that may contribute to one's identity, as well as help explain how one has been chaperoned through life becoming someone they may not recognize as themselves or on the contrary, one may find the factors that have led them to be exactly who they are now. This concept reaches beyond identity as a whole and can be concentrated on one's sexual identity as well when the limits of gender norms are released and the concept is 'freed'. According to Judith Butler's analysis in *Sex and Gender in Simone de Beauvoir's Second Sex*, referencing Simone de Beauvoir's suggestion that,

"To choose a gender is to interpret received gender norms in a way that organizes them anew. Rather than a radical act of creation, gender is a tacit project to renew one's cultural history in one's own terms. This is not a prescriptive task we must endeavor to do, but one in which we have been endeavoring all along." (p.40)

#### **4. CONCLUSION**

These identifiers as suggestions can be taken literally in the context in which they are seen, i.e. bondage, cross-dressing, farmer, religious, etc., or varied based on similar personal experiences. The concept is one of reflection, consideration, and acceptance. The triangle best expresses these various triptychs of life. Finding identifying factors in obscure photos or scenes out of context and reflecting on one's 'history', while identifying a greater sense of what has sculpted who they have become as they identify personally and with the work.

## 5. INDEX OF IMAGES

### 5.1 Individual Images



**1. Theresa Wilshusen.** *"Seeking Self 200"*. Instant Photography. 99 mm x 62 mm. 2018. North Coast (Alexandria), Egypt.



**2. Theresa Wilshusen.** *"Seeking Self 204"*. Instant Photography. 99 mm x 62 mm. 2018. North Coast (Alexandria), Egypt.



**3. Theresa Wilshusen.** *"Seeking Self 099"*. Instant Photography. 99 mm x 62 mm. 2018. (Alexandria), Egypt.



**6. Theresa Wilshusen.** *"Seeking Self 222"*. Instant Photography. 99 mm x 62 mm. 2018. Dahab Egypt.



**4. Theresa Wilshusen.** *"Seeking Self 205"*. Instant Photography. 99 mm x 62 mm. 2018. North Coast (Alexandria), Egypt.



**5. Theresa Wilshusen.** *"Seeking Self 219"*. Instant Photography. 99 mm x 62 mm. 2018. Alexandria, Egypt.



**7. Theresa Wilshusen.** *"Seeking Self 223"*. Instant Photography. 99 mm x 62 mm. 2018. Dahab Egypt.



**8. Theresa Wilshusen.** *"Seeking Self 230"*. Instant Photography. 99 mm x 62 mm. 2018. Dahab Egypt.



**9. Theresa Wilshusen.** *"Seeking Self 239"*. Instant Photography. 99 mm x 62 mm. 2018. Alexandria, Egypt.



**18. Theresa Wilshusen.** *"Seeking Self 008"*. Instant Photography. 99 mm x 62 mm. 2018. Skagastrond, Iceland.



**10. Theresa Wilshusen.** *"Seeking Self 246"*. Instant Photography. 99 mm x 62 mm. 2018. Cairo, Egypt.



**11. Theresa Wilshusen.** *"Seeking Self 167"*. Instant Photography. 99 mm x 62 mm. 2018. Reykjavik, Iceland.



12. Theresa Wilshusen. "Seeking Self 138". Instant Photography. 99 mm x 62 mm. 2018. Reykjavik , Iceland.



13. Theresa Wilshusen. "Seeking Self 187". Instant Photography. 99 mm x 62 mm. 2018. Reykjavik , Iceland.



14. Theresa Wilshusen. "Seeking Self 010". Instant Photography. 99 mm x 62 mm. 2018. Barcelona, Spain.



15. Theresa Wilshusen. "Seeking Self 009". Instant Photography. 99 mm x 62 mm. 2018. Skagastrond , Iceland.



**19. Theresa Wilshusen.** *"Seeking Self 007"*. Instant Photography. 99 mm x 62 mm. 2018. Skagastromd , Iceland.



**20. Theresa Wilshusen.** *"Seeking Self 006"*. Instant Photography. 99 mm x 62 mm. 2018. Skagastromd , Iceland.



**21. Theresa Wilshusen.** *"Seeking Self 001"*. Instant Photography. 99 mm x 62 mm. 2018. Jökulsárlón, Iceland.

## 6. REFERENCES

American Chemical Society, 2018, *Edwin Land and Polaroid Photography, A National Historic Chemical Landmark*. Publicado por American Chemical society. Recuperado 10 de agosto 2018. <https://www.acs.org/content/acs/en/education/whatischemistry/landmarks/land-instant-photography.html#top>

Butler, J., 1986, Sex and Gender in Simone de Beauvoir's *Second Sex*, Yale French Studies, No. 72, Simone de Beauvoir: Witness to a Century (1986), pp. 35- 49 publicado por Yale University Press <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2930225>.

Butler, J., 1990, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, New York: Routledge

Cameron, D., 1997, *Performing Gender Identity, Young Men's Talk and the Construction of Heterosexual Masculinity*, en *Language and Society*, Cambridge University Press.

Chretien, B., 21 April 2017, The life, death and rebirth of instant film: a short history to celebrate Polaroid week, Recuperado por <https://www.wired.co.uk/article/polaroid-week-roundup>

Cooney, K. M., 2009, "*Where does the Masculine Begin and the Feminine End? The Merging of the Two Genders in Egyptian Coffins during the Ramesside Period,*" en: *Ehrenmord und Emanzipation: Die Geschlechterfrage in Ritualen von Parallelgesellschaften*, *Geschlecht--Symbol--Religion* series, B. Heininger, ed., LIT Verlag (Münster).

Cooney, K. M., 2014, "*The Woman Who Would Be King: Hatshepsut's Rise to Power in Ancient Egypt*". Crown Publishing

Cooney, K. M., 2007, Pp. 273-300. "The Functional Materialism of Death in Ancient Egypt: A case Study of Funerary Materials from the Ramesside Period," *Das Heilige und die Ware*, IBAES Vol. VII. Golden House Publications, London.

Freud, S., 1925. *Some psychical consequences of the anatomical distinction between the sexes*. SE 19, 243–258.

Harris, T., How Instant Film Works, Recuperado por <https://science.howstuffworks.com/innovation/everyday-innovations/instant-film.htm>

Ikram, S., 2003, *Death and burial in ancient Egypt*. Harlow: Longman

No Author. instax: the instant photograph creates a new culture in the age of social media, Fujifilm Corporation, Recuperado 15 agosto 2018 por <http://www.fujifilm.com/innovation/achievements/instax/>

Psychology Today, 2008, Gender Dysphoria, Sussex Publishers, LLC. <https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/conditions/gender-dysphoria>

Stoller, R., & Person, E. (1973). *Splitting: A Case of Female Masculinity*. Yale University Press. Recuperado por <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt32bmc7>

The British Library Board (N.D.) *Invention of Photography*, Recuperado 10 de agosto 2018. Publicado por The British Library Board. <http://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/item106980.html>

# **PARENTAL SUPPORT IN GIRLS ACCESSING TO HIGHER SECONDARY EDUCATION IN MALAKAND, PAKISTAN**

**SUNBAL KHAN, DR HUSSAIN ALI, DR. AHMED ALI**

Parental involvement plays a major role in educational success of girls. Their support develops confidence and positive behavioral change among educated girls. In the present research study researchers mainly focused to investigate the parental support in girls access to higher secondary education. Present research was conducted in District Malakand, Pakistan. A quantitative research design was used and data was collected from 384 parents. A questionnaire was designed and data was collected with simple random sampling technique. Researchers applied Pearson correlation statistical tests to draw the relationship between girl access to higher secondary education and their parental support. The Pearson correlation is 0.259 between girl higher secondary education and parental support in arranging transportation for girls in accessing schools with significance level 0.001. The Pearson correlation is 0.889 between girl higher secondary education and parental accompany their girls in accessing schools with significance level 0.001. Results show that parent's involvement and support is very important to increase girl enrollment in higher secondary education. It is suggested that schools should involve parents in different school level activities which can help in increasing student academic achievement and personality development.

# CHANGING FAMILIES: MOROCCAN FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS REDEFINING GENDER ROLES

FATIM ZAHRA RAFALI

Fatim Zahra Rafali, PhD. Candidate, Ibn Zohr University, Agadir, Morocco

## ABSTRACT

Worldwide, female headed households (FHHs) have become a cause for global concern. A growth in such households has been observed both in developed and developing nations. There are estimated one-quarter households that are headed by a woman on a global scale, according to World Bank and the latest Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) for 77 countries. Morocco is no exception as it is undergoing radical changes in its established family patterns and gender roles moving from families headed by men to more women centered households. Such phenomena have given rise to fundamental social and demographic changes marking the end of the male breadwinner model. In such contexts, women increasingly have to cope with challenges that formerly were deemed as exclusive male domains such as assuming financial responsibility of the household, taking in charge their own responsibilities and those of their family dependents (children and elders) and coping with hard living conditions. This paper depicts the development of family forms in Morocco with a focus on three types of left alone women namely widowed, divorced and single mothers. It talks about these left alone women comparatively by developing a typology of the social stigma each category suffers from, the challenges they face, and the mechanisms of their survival and subversion as well as the help they get from women associations, NGOs and the state.

Keywords: gender roles, family patterns, social and economic problems, survival mechanisms, agency, FHHs.

## INTRODUCTION

*“At the present time, we are experiencing a phenomenon known as the ‘feminisation of poverty’, which has been accentuated, amongst other things, by the increase in separation and divorce. Added to the tradition of leaving responsibilities for children to the mother, this situation has given rise to an increasing incidence of lone parent families headed by women whose vulnerability, for all their members, is elevated”* Chant (2003, p. 2).

Throughout the world, families are changing due to social, demographic and economic reasons. Many families are now governed by women giving rise to what is referred to as “female headed households” (FHHs). These women head their households single-handedly without the presence of men (husband, brother, father) and assume the responsibility of the household, in terms of the financial burden, to satisfy the needs of the family member. The term household is defined in this study as a group of related or unrelated people living in a dwelling unit or its equivalence, eating from the same pot, and sharing common housekeeping arrangements (World Bank, 2001:1). Given the importance of the family in the continuity of society, it has received a lot of scholarly attention. More than 70 years ago, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) recognized families as a fundamental unit of society, one which requires protection and assistance.

The phenomenon of female headed households (FHHs) is gaining ground in the present time and drawing the attention of family sociologists and psychologists. The concept of analyzing households supported by women is probably worthwhile because of the unique set of constraints they face. Although there are a number of studies focusing on women, there is a limited understanding of the socio-economic challenges of female-headed households at a household level. This makes research focusing on women to be both desirable and challenging. With more women bearing the burden of the household, an analysis of their survival mechanisms remains a gap in the research arena. The

fundamental motivation for this study, therefore, is to raise the visibility of FHHs and to create a body of knowledge upon which further studies on left-alone women's agency, their socio-economic challenges and survival mechanism can be carried out.

Various definitions of the concept of headship have been given by scholars and international organizations. According to sociologists, the expression "head of the family" is a descriptive term and the head of family is someone who has notable power comparing to other members of family. For the Welfare Organization, the female-headed households are *"the female who undertake material and intellectual livelihood of themselves and family members."* As for the International Labour Organization, Female-headed households may be defined as *"families in which an adult female is the sole or main income producer and decision maker."* In these households, women are forced to take in charge their own responsibilities and those of their family dependents (children and elders). The head of the household refers to *"a household member with authority and income earning responsibility"* (Barros, Fox & Mendonca, 1997:2). In the case of a female-headed household, *"the female adult member is the one responsible for the care and organization of the household"* (Buvinic & Gupter, 1997:6). Interest in this topic is not new, it was addressed by scholars such as Buvinic, Mayra; Youssef, N.H.; Von Elm, Barbara in their article *"Women-headed households; the ignored factor in development planning"* in 1978. They define FHHs as *"women who because of marital dissolution, desertion, abandonment, absence of spouse or male marginality are structurally placed in a situation where they are economically responsible for themselves and their children."*

### **Morocco**

Today, Morocco is undergoing radical changes in its established family patterns and gender roles moving from families headed by men to more women centered households. There are many reasons behind this change like migration, prison, widowhood, divorce and other factors. Such phenomena have given rise to fundamental social and demographic changes, leaving behind thousands of younger and older women in so called "female centered households" in villages, towns and suburbs across the country. These women are waiting for their husbands to return from migration, prison, exile or they are widowed, divorced or just left behind. In such contexts, women increasingly have to cope with challenges that formerly were deemed as exclusive male domains such as assuming financial responsibility of the household, taking in charge their own responsibilities and those of their family dependents (children and elders) and coping with hard living conditions. As a result, more and more households are nowadays headed by women.

It is important to differentiate between rural and urban challenges that left-alone women face. Urban women benefit from better social opportunities and seem to be more advantaged than rural women; they benefit from access to education, better health care services and living conditions. Urban women assume various responsibilities such as: taking complete responsibility of the household which involves working outside the house in order to provide for the family, doing all the chores, raising children single handedly and taking charge of their education, in addition to doing various public tasks like shopping, driving a car, going to the market, fetching legal documents in public administrations when needed, paying the bills. As for rural women, they face different challenges; illiteracy rates are higher in the countryside, rural women have to cultivate the land, take in charge their own responsibilities and those of their family dependents (children and elders) and cope with harder living conditions including the scarcity of water, poor access to electricity, a weak infrastructure, isolation and marginalization. Ethnographer Rachel Newcomb states,

*"Morocco is a country of multiple contexts, often extremes—between rural and urban, poor and wealthy, religious and secular, provincial and cosmopolitan, Berber and Arab—and there are just as many identities between those ranges, which are intended here as guides and not binaries."*

This paper explores the changing family patterns and the associated socio-economic activities of the left alone women. The paper argues that this movement from the private sphere to the public one has many implications on women's status. It is either a voluntary or involuntary movement where women either chose to live on their own by asking for divorce, or without their choice when their husbands quit, die or migrate. It goes without saying that developing society can't be achieved without improving women conditions. Therefore, adopting a woman centered approach is vital to understand the various strategies women use to maximize their empowerment. A subsidiary objective of this paper is to

analyze the impact of the legal reform in Morocco on women's status and the extent to which it contributes to women's economic and social empowerment.

The UN's report *Families in a Changing World (2019-2020)*, highlights the changes in family forms across the world. The report outlines a comprehensive family friendly policy agenda to advance women's rights and promote equality while recognizing the diversity of families. The report points to a major problem with policies which are designed on the basis of an 'ideal family' not taking into account other emerging family forms. These policies are still shaped by 'stereotypical' assumptions about families and men's and women's roles which leads to gender bias and discrimination. The report stresses that *"in order for laws and policies to support families and meet the needs of all their members, they must evolve and adapt moving beyond the standard family model."* In a conference held last January 17th, 2020 in Rabat, international experts, Moroccan officials and NGO'S investigated the family changes in Morocco and Moroccan women's support for families. International experts and Moroccan officials emphasized that families are changing more and more across the world in general and Morocco in particular. At a time when Moroccan families extended to grandparents and relatives, they moved to the nuclear family consisting of only parents and children, which today represents more than 65 percent; not to mention the emergence of single-headed households, which are mostly headed by women.

Laura Turquet, the United Nations representative and one of the authors of the "Families in a Changing World" report, took part in the conference and said that for the international and national agenda laws to advance women's rights to be effective, national and regional changes must be taken into consideration. Turquet explained that the policies adopted are mostly based on the type of families that consist of a couple and children, while there is a "second type of family." The UN official said that the type of families based on parents and children represents only 38 percent across the world; not to mention that there are families that live with the family or other relatives and represent 27 percent; while there are families consisting of spouses only, and it is 13 percent, which is the same percentage Families consisting of one person, not to mention families consisting of a mother or father and children, which amount to 8 percent across the world. Turquet enumerated a set of recommendations that she said should be paid attention to during the drafting of laws, stressing the necessity of adopting policies that are friendly to women and ending inequality between spouses, while ensuring the physical and economic integrity of women; and also emphasized the development of family laws based on non-discrimination, and recognition of various forms From relationships, with investment in public services.

### **Poverty**

Much attention has been drawn to the feminization of poverty in recent years. The UNDP's Human Development Report (1995) postulates that more than 70 percent of the world's poor are women. In addition to the transformation of female gender role and its linkages with changes in family patterns which have received substantial scholarly attention in the past decades. In her (2009) *article "Women and Poverty in Morocco: The Many Faces of Social Exclusion"*, Loubna H. Skalli analyses the gender dimension of poverty in Morocco and points to gender inequality that is still prevailing in Moroccan society. She underlines the blindness of previous studies on the subject to the complex causes and effects of poverty among the female population in the country. The aim of Skalli is to shed light on the social, cultural, legal as well as economic aspects and implications of poverty. As she puts it:

*"if the issue of gender inequality is gradually recognized and documented in the country, the gender dimension of poverty has yet to be taken seriously and integrated in development projects and pertinent action plans for poverty alleviation and gender equality".*

Skalli also points to the growing number of female-headed households in Morocco and considers female-headed households *"the concrete embodiment of all types of exclusions"*. Skalli maintains that divorce and widowhood often result in a *"redefinition and devaluation of the socio-economic status of women in Morocco"*. The left behind women struggle to survive in a world governed by gender biases and patriarchal cultural norms that impede women's social integration. The significance of Skalli's article is in emphasizing women's social exclusion. Skalli holds that women's *"lack of training and skills increases the vulnerability of their position in the labour market and reinforces the precariousness of their socio-economic status"*.

Recent statistics conducted by the Moroccan High Commission for Planning (HCP) corroborate Skalli's findings; they reveal that out of 7,333,806 households surveyed in Morocco in 2014, 1,186,901 are headed by women, or nearly one in six households at a rate of 16.2 percent, in a report published on October 10<sup>th</sup>, 2014. The HCP noted that this figure has remained stable compared to surveys from 2004.

The report points that the rate of women heading households is higher in urban areas, at 18.6 percent, or 896,091 households, than in rural areas, at 11.6 percent, or 290,810 households. The HCP also indicates that:

*“Households headed by women are smaller than those headed by men, at an average of 3.4 people compared to 4.8. Female heads from widowed households accounted for 654,647 or 55 percent, divorced women for 14 percent, or 170,265 of the women at the top of their households’ hierarchy, compared to 1 percent (55,424) of divorced men and 1 percent (65,122) of widowed men”.*

In the same vein, Sylvia H. Chant’s (2003) paper *On Female household headship and the feminisation of poverty: facts, fictions and forward strategies* interrogates the link between the ‘feminisation of poverty’ and the ‘feminisation of household headship’ in recent years. Chant summarizes the reasons why women-headed households have come to be widely equated with the “poorest of the poor” in development discourse. Chant also explores some of the consequences of competing constructions of female household headship, especially in relation to policy. What Chant particularly questions is the epithet “women-headed households are the poorest of the poor” which might be more ‘fable’ than ‘fact’ because of the growing dimension of poverty at a global scale. For Chant, some of the factors responsible for the ‘feminisation of poverty’ are:

*“gender disparities in rights, entitlements and capabilities, the gender-differentiated impacts of neo-liberal restructuring, the informalisation and feminisation of labour, and the erosion of kin-based support networks through migration, conflict and so on”.*

Like Loubna H. Skalli, Sylvia H. Chant considers female-headed households a highly heterogeneous group, which varies greatly in different social, cultural, demographic and economic contexts. This differentiation occurs

*“by ‘choice’ or involuntarily, and/or through non-marriage, separation, divorce, widowhood and so on), by rural or urban residence, by ‘race’, by composition, by stage in the life course (including age and relative dependency of offspring), and by access to resources from beyond the household unit (from absent fathers, kinship networks, state assistance and the like”.*

Nobuhiko Fuwa’s (2000) paper *A Note on the Analysis of Female Headed Households in Developing Countries* considers the relationship between female headship and poverty. The paper addresses issues related to the confusion between female headship analysis and gender analysis of poverty and the existence of alternative analytical purposes of using the concept of household headship. Fuwa questions the validity of some of the empirical regularities with regard to the higher poverty among female headed households (FHHs) due to the “relative paucity” of data that make fully systematic analysis possible. One major difference Fuwa makes is that gender and poverty questions draw attention to “possible intra-household inequality, while headship analysis is mainly concerned with differences among different types of households”. Fuwa also identifies two alternative operational definitions of household headship namely; demographic composition and economic contribution to the household resources. Nobuhiko Fuwa also points to the large heterogeneity among the self-reported FHHs in addition to the notion of “triple disadvantage” of FHHs which indicates that the possible sources of poverty of FHHs are a combination of both economic and demographic aspects of headship definition. In this regard he says:

A main reason why FHHs are claimed to be worthy of special policy attention is that such households are at a greater economic disadvantage due to the ‘triple burden;’ (1) the ‘head’ often being the single earner, (2) the earner being female thus with various disadvantages in the labor market and in other productive activities ( such as access to credit), and (3) the time pressure on the female head... being responsible for maintaining the household, including household chores and child care.

## **Literature Review**

Even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, many Moroccan women still suffer from a wide gap between the private and public spheres, many forms of social injustice, political marginalization and high illiteracy rates especially in rural areas. This lack of balance in different fields creates unhealthy societies that cannot develop. Raising awareness about these disparities is, therefore, crucial to achieve gender equality, greater women’s emancipation. Whether in literature, education, or politics, the struggle for women’s

emancipation has to continue until it meets its objectives. Research on women's issues pushes political leaders, government officials, policy designers, and decision makers to rethink women's situation and contribute to change. In fact, many economic, social, and cultural factors converge and reinforce each other to produce conditions of social exclusion for a sizable number of women. Therefore using a gender approach, which favors a comparative analysis between sexes and highlights the importance of social processes in the construction of the gender categories, is vital to explore the issue Moroccan female centered households.

Gender, as used in this study, is not a signifier of biological difference, but is a socially constructed category that prescribes certain behaviors and social roles based on that categorization. As a category of analysis, gender bypasses traditional notions of femininity and masculinity and knowledge about the human being in a larger transdisciplinary context. As Hans Bertens puts it in his (2002) book *"Literary Theory: the Basics"*, *"gender has to do not with how female (and males) really are, but with the way that a given culture or subculture see them, how they are culturally constructed"* (98). In fact, the concept of gender was introduced into the development discourse of the 1970s through the Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD) approaches (Moser, 1993). Moser (1993) articulates gender roles in terms of women's subordination to men in productive, reproductive and community work. Moser (1993: 39-40) differentiates between two types of gender needs: practical and strategic. She defines them as follows:

*"Practical gender needs are the ones women identify in their socially accepted roles in society... [They] do not challenge the gender division of labour or women's subordinate position in society ... [As for] strategic gender needs, they are the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in society ... They relate to gender division of labour, power and control ..."*

Female-headed households (FHHs)

*"All our lives long, every day and every hour, we are engaged in the process of accommodating our changed and unchanged selves to changed and unchanged surroundings; living, in fact, is nothing else but this process of accommodation; when we fail in it a little, we are stupid, when we fail flagrantly, we are mad, when we suspend it temporarily, we sleep, when we give up the attempt altogether, we die".* Samuel Butler

There has been a general acknowledgement that women are becoming important global economic players as well as heads of households and as such, their contribution cannot go unnoticed (Venter & Marais, 2005:3). Many families are now governed by women giving rise to what is referred to as *"female centered households"*. These women head their households single-handedly without the presence of men (husband, brother, father) and assume the responsibility of the household, in terms of the financial burden, to satisfy the needs of the family member. This phenomenon is not something new; throughout the history of human societies, women heading their families have always existed. Men's migration, their death, absence or handicap creates a radical change in women's lives in all aspects: financial, psychological and social. Given the importance of the family in the continuity of society, it has received a lot of scholarly attention. Linguistically, the concept of family refers to the strong relationships binding its members. From a sociological perspective, Ogburn and Nimkoff (1947) define it as *"a social bond between a husband, a wife and their children"*. It can be bigger than that including other members such as grandparents, grandsons or other relatives on condition that they share the same household.

There are a number of reasons as to why many households are female headed. These reasons include widowhood, separation, divorce and single motherhood. Having full responsibility of maintaining the household alone brings challenges to a female person. The challenges left alone women face include *"poverty, unemployment, disease and hunger, loss of personal dignity, crime, ignorance and illiteracy, among other things"* (World Bank, 2005; World Bank, 2001).

In *Considering the Gender Dimension or Moroccan Migration: A "Win-Win" Approach to North/South Migration in the Mediterranean* (2012), Fatima Sadiqi investigates the overall situation of women in Morocco. Sadiqi maintains that the larger factors which influence gender perception and gender role assignment are linked to the social organization where women are largely disadvantaged. In Moroccan society, she adds, women are not given the same social choices. In this vein she says:

*"the choices given to women depend on their positioning within each social variable: urban, rich, educated, working, married women have more social choices"*

*in Moroccan society than rural, poor, non-working, illiterate, and unmarried women”.*

Talking about Moroccan women might give the impression that they are a unified category with the same concerns and needs which is not the case. In fact, many scholars have pointed to this heterogeneity in discussions of female headship analysis. In her article *Women, Gender and Language* (2002), Fatima Sadiqi argues that Moroccan women do not constitute a homogeneous group and accordingly may be socially categorized along six parameters: “*geographic origin, (urban vs. rural), class (rich vs. poor), education (educated vs. uneducated), job opportunity (working vs. non-working), language skills (multilingual vs. monolingual), and marital status (married vs. non-married)*”). In the same vein *In Consumption Expenditure and Female Poverty: A Review of the Evidence* (2000) Julian A. Lampietta and Linda Stalkerb maintain that “*a more nuanced approach is necessary because female-headed households are a diverse group in terms of size, age structure, marital status and employment opportunities*”.

### **Previous studies**

This research on the topic of FHHs in Morocco yielded scarce random bits of information scattered over the past ten years comprising mostly of newspaper articles or blog posts describing the rise of female centered households. Review of research done in the field of economic problems, social and cultural female-headed households and library study shows that valid research in this area is very limited. However, I found some international reports, studies and thesis papers directly addressing the topic FHHs in developing countries, the challenges they face and their adaptation strategies.

### **Agency**

Women’s agency is deeply rooted in convention, culture and socio-economic structures. It defines women’s identities on the short, medium and long term. Agency is important to understand how gender operates and how it leads to given gender outcomes and why they are equal or unequal between men and women. To illustrate, “*when women negotiate their area of organization and autonomy, they use their agency*” (Barber, 2000). In *Well-being, Agency and Freedom* (1985), Amartya Sen links agency to freedom of choice and action. It refers to “*what a person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important.*” For Sen, agency, together with opportunities, is central to development. Alkire (2009) focuses on agency’s constructive role in the creation of values and norms to its intrinsic and instrumental relevance. As for Marta Nussbaum (1998, 1999), she addresses the gender dimensions of agency. Nussbaum argues that “*women’s agency is different from men’s due to unequal social and political circumstances that give women unequal capabilities*”.

In the same vein, the 2012 World Development Report (WDR 2012) on *Gender Equality and Development* also highlights the importance of promoting women’s agency across all countries. In its forward, the president of the World Bank Group Robert B. Zoellick maintains that “*achieving greater gender equality is a core development objective in its own right and it matters both for development outcomes and policy making*”.

The World Bank’s report (2012) entitled *On Norms and Agency: Conversations about Gender Equality with Women and Men in 20 Countries* conducted by The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development considers education, employment, and family formation as the primary areas where women see their agency and ability to decide expanding. The report maintains that “*women’s agency is a central element of gender equality pushing women to challenge gender norms and assert themselves in the social world*”. In this vein, the report claims that:

*“Increased agency allows women to move from enduring complete compliance to constraining and unequal gender norms, to questioning those norms in face of potential opportunities, to changing their aspirations, as well as their ability to seek and achieve desired outcomes”.*

However, this change does not always alter constraining norms. Inequalities derived from gender norms and lack of capacity to decide (agency) affect perceptions of power and freedom. Simply put, gender norms are a real impediment for women’s agency.

The second report (WDR 2012) on *Gender Equality and Development* also highlights the importance of promoting women’s agency across all countries. In its forward, the president of the World Bank Group Robert B. Zoellick maintains that achieving greater gender equality is a core development objective in

its own right and it matters both for development outcomes and policy making. Zoellick summarizes the report's four priority areas:

First, reducing gender gaps in human capital—specifically those that address female mortality and education. Second, closing gender gaps in access to economic opportunities, earnings, and productivity. Third, shrinking gender differences in voice and agency within society. Fourth, limiting the reproduction of gender inequality across generations.

In chapter four entitled Promoting Women's Agency, the World Bank's report focuses on a number of outcomes associated with women's ability (or inability) to make choices in a range of spheres. It is important to stop at the definition of agency to understand what is at stake in the case of female centered households. Agency, as defined in the World Bank report, refers to "an individual's (or group's) ability to make effective choices and to transform those choices into desired outcomes ... [It] can be understood as the process through which women and men use their endowments ( such as education, health or physical assets) and take advantage of economic opportunities to achieve desired outcomes". Agency is also defined as "the ability to make decisions about one's own life and act on them to achieve a desired outcome, free of violence, retribution of fear" (World Bank, 2014).

### **Women's Empowerment**

Empowering women is becoming a global concern today. International organizations, like the United Nations, are engaged in the fight against gender discrimination and consider issues related to women's empowerment and development a major global concern today. A case in point is the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted by all United Nations Member States in 2015, which provides a shared blueprint for global prosperity and welfare. At its heart are the seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which are an urgent call for action by all countries - developed and developing - in a global partnership. Among these goals putting an end to poverty, and achieving gender equality.

In addition to the United Nations, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (The EBRD) is also concerned with improving women's conditions. The EBRD *Enhancing Women's Voice, Agency and Participation in the Economy* (2015) report's main objective, as stated in its introduction, is:

*To undertake a mapping of voice, agency and participation in Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey so as to provide the EBRD with recommendations on how to design projects that better reflect and respond to women's strategic and practical needs, while contributing to improvements in the participation of women in social and economic life in these countries' specific contexts" (14).*

The EBRD provides a comprehensive review of the prevailing plural legal frameworks, social norms and customary rules as they relate to voice, agency and participation and access to economic opportunities. It is worth mentioning that both Egypt and Morocco are founding members of the EBRD. The EBRD believes that *"ensuring women's voice, inclusion and participation in economic decision making is critical for achieving women's economic empowerment, alongside other dimensions such as expanding their economic opportunities and strengthening their legal status and rights" (14).*

In *Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment* (2001), Kabeer Naila considers agency a dimension of empowerment, together with resources and achievements. Agency is seen as the ability to formulate strategic life choices or the ability to control the resources. Kabeer states in this regard:

The ability to exercise choice incorporates three inter-related dimensions: resources (defined broadly to include not only access, but also future claims, to both material and human and social resources); agency (including processes of decision making, as well as less measurable manifestations of agency such as negotiation, deception and manipulation); and achievements (well-being outcomes).

In their article entitled *Problems Faced by Single Mothers* 2017, Nidhi Kotwal and Bharti Prabhakar point to the challenging role of single parents in the upbringing of children especially when the family is headed by a woman. This is mainly because children are dependent on the single parent till the time they get married and or get jobs, but after that the problems are considerably reduced. Kotwal and Prabhakar focus on the economic, social, and emotional problems faced by a sample of 50 single mothers in Kashmir, India. The results of their study reveal that the financial problem was the main stressor for the majority of the single mothers. The emotional life of the single mother was also affected

by their single status. The majority of the single mothers found it hard to maintain discipline among the children due to absence of male members. The mothers complained about loneliness, traumatic and depression and found it difficult to handle the responsibility of childcare and to establish a routine for her children.

Mervet Sedke Abd El Wahab El Said's (2017) research *Living Adaptation Methods For Household Women in The Light of Feminization Poverty in Some Egyptian Governorates* addresses the living Adaptation methods of Egyptian female headed households, as well as the relationship between social and economic independent variables. The study also identifies the concept of poverty from the perspective of respondent women in villages study. The most important results of the analysis show that household women work either in food production by 36%, or work for others in agriculture by 88%, while the negative living Adaptation methods, prevent children's education by 44.7%, and attitude towards early marriage of girls by 27.6%. In addition, there is a positive correlation between the following social variables: current age, number of children in the family, and the total degree of living Adaptation methods. 81% of respondents explained the concept of poverty as not having agricultural land, while 74% determined poverty as young children's inability to work, and 41% of respondents determined poverty as reproductive girls, while the less percentage 11% determined poverty as inability to educate the children. The most important problems facing household women is lack of enough money to provide food for children by 61%, and not getting the inheritance by 58%.

The information and results gained from the literature review would help narrow my research focus and questions. To illustrate, the research revealed that the compositions of different types of FHHs are likely to be different across countries and across different areas within countries. For example, focus on the poverty of single mothers--headed households, who are found to be more disadvantaged than the more general categories of FHHs, is worth analyzing.

In addition to research in Africa, I also reviewed research on FHHs around the world to see what would come up in terms of challenges and resources from countries with a longer history on this topic. Reviewing the articles and thesis papers made me realize that the laws, societal values and norms, religious perspectives, make this topic very complex and what is true in one country will not necessarily apply to other countries. This implies that there are less likely to be gender-based expectations in roles and biases in Europe compared to Africa for example. Furthermore, in developed countries the welfare state system supports the disadvantaged thus providing income support, longer paid maternity leaves, a well-organized daycare system, education and healthcare thus alleviating the economic issues faced in the UK or US for example. In summary, although the literature from other countries deepened my understanding of the topic and gave me a lot of insight into general themes and perspectives, it did not provide any concrete, specific or new angles in terms of challenges and resources for FHHs.

### **State Gender Policies towards Left Alone Women**

According to the (2016) Moroccan report conducted by the Ministry of Solidarity, Women, Family and Social Development entitled *Women Empowerment & Sustainable Development*, improving women's conditions and empowering them is vital for the development and prosperity of the country. Morocco is actively involved in implementing measures to achieve sustainable development and social justice. Among its priorities is:

the consolidation of principles of fairness and equality between the sexes, improving women's conditions and empowering them to take their rightful place as fundamental partners and active participants in the development and prosperity of the country with full civil, political, economic, social, cultural, and environmental rights and freedoms.

In order to support widows in precarious conditions with custody of their children, the kingdom of Morocco has allocated financial aid to this category in 2015 allowing them to receive 350 Dirhams per month for each child, not exceeding 1050 Dirhams. In this regard the report asserts that "*since the government approbation of the decree 2.14.791 on direct support for windows in fragile condition up to October 2014, over 55 000 applications had been received as of January 2016*" (31-32). Divorced women resort to the court to get their financial rights for themselves and for their children. As for single mothers, they are disadvantaged at many levels compared to widows and divorced. They rely on associations' help mainly to provide for themselves and their children.

Reducing extreme poverty and hunger are one of the most important objectives that Morocco strives to achieve. According to the Ministry of Solidarity, Women, Family and Social Development, "*Morocco was able to surpass the poverty index measured according to the United Nations' threshold of one dollar*

*per capita per day*". Based on this indicator, the poverty index decreased significantly, from 3.5% in 1985 to statistically insignificant level close to zero in 2014, compared with 1.8% as the targeted value in the Millennium goals for 2015.

### **Legal Reform in Morocco**

Most countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region have dual legal systems in which "modern law", which is a secular legal system, coexists with "*Shari'a law*", derived from religion. Family law is maintained under *Shari'a* or Islamic family law. In *Reforming the Moroccan Personal Status Code: A Revolution for Whom?*(2009), Katja Zvan Elliott, defines family law as

"a collection of legal rules that organize kinship relationships. It regulates the, rights and duties pertaining to marriage, divorce, the custody of children, alimony and inheritance – in short, it governs social relations within the family but also significantly affects general gender relations within society at large."

During the past decades there have been many legally, culturally, socially and even religiously important changes concerning women's rights and status in Morocco. The reform of Moroccan former Personal Status Code, *Moudawana* 2004, which now has become Family Law, is one of them. According to Katja Zvan Elliott (2009):

*"The new Moudawana al-Usra or the Family Code made significant amendments to many discriminating stipulations of the old Personal Status Code, such as removal of a wife's legal obligation to obey her husband. It established mutual responsibility for the family and household management (article 51) and raised the minimum age of marriage for girls from 15 to 18, thus placing it on a par with boys (article 19). Women, upon reaching the age of majority, can conclude marriage contracts themselves without the consent of the legal tutor (wali) if they wish to." (article 25).*

Reforming the *Moudawana* is a very sensitive issue as it derives its legitimacy from Islamic law and the reform wasn't achieved overnight; it is the result of decades of women associations' activism and struggle for civil rights dating from when Morocco got its independence. In her article "*The Central Role of the Family Law in the Moroccan Feminist Movement*," Fatima Sadiqi focuses on the role of the women's movements in bringing about legal change as well as activism of social-conservatives – mainly Islamists – lobbying against these reform initiatives. She maintains that "*Family law reform has been a priority for most women's movements across the MENA region.*" In *Women's Rights in Morocco: Assessment and Perspectives*, Hayat Zirari Professor of Anthropology considers the mobilization of women's NGOs and the long struggle of all human rights and women's rights advocates the major reasons behind the significant legal reforms in Morocco. As she puts it: "*The reform of the Family Code occurring in 2004 was the result of a slow progression, a long struggle and unrelenting engagement and effort over the course of more than fifty years by all human rights and women's rights advocates.*" Some of the major reforms in Morocco include the organic law of the Chamber of Representatives and the Electoral Code (2008), the Nationality Code (2007), the Family Code (2004), the Labour Code (2004), the Penal Procedure and Penal Codes (2003 & 2002), the Family Record Book (2002), as well as the Code of Commerce and of Obligations and Contracts (1995). In this regard Zirari says:

These reforms could not have been passed into law without a major mobilization led by diverse organizations, among them women's organizations, through networks and groups connecting civil society. Using proposals, memorandums, parallel reports, campaigns and lobbying, they managed to convince a large section of the political class to back their demands.

Zirari considers that the controversy on the status of women in the family contributed in bringing up the issue of women in the private sphere and their movement towards the public sphere, and has turned it into a public and political issue.

The expression of Islamist opposition to the reform of the Personal Status Code is actually a public confirmation of the existence of two concepts of the family advocating two different projects for society: a modern, progressive one advocating the principle of equal rights within the family, and another, conservative one based on the submission of the woman and the hierarchisation of roles.

The reform of *Moudawana* means recognizing much stronger legal rights for women and working towards a change in society. It also marked "*an important moment in the advancement of women's*

*rights in an Islamic state*” according to Moha Ennaji. In her article, “Gender Equality in Tunisia,” Dr. Amel Grami notes:

*“Change in family law is considered as a significant index of social change in the Middle East. It is a barometer of the internal debate within Islam and an illustration of the capacity for Islamic reform. It is also highly indicative of the role of the state’s legal policy in matters of gender and the family”* (Grami, 2008, p. 361).

The ratification of several important international conventions and treaties added a new dimension to the implementation of family law and to the national reform processes in general. Since the 1970s, international law that recognize and advance women’s rights gained importance in Morocco. On May 3rd, 1979 Morocco ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). On June 21, 1993 Morocco ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). States that ratify the convention commit themselves to implementing gender equality in all areas.

In fact, even if the Constitution establishes the principle of equality and thus guarantees the exercise of public liberties for women and men, the field of responsibility and decision-making is more favorable to men than women. Consequently, the participation of women in economics and politics remains low. In a report entitled *Gender, Equality and Parity in Morocco: Preserving and implementing the aims and objectives of the Constitution* (2015), the National Human Rights Council (CNDH) draws its first thematic report on the state of gender equality and parity in Morocco. The report provides an analysis of the state of gender equality and parity ten years after reforming the Family Code, four years after the Constitution’s reform. The report puts Morocco is in a very advanced position compared to other countries in the region. Some examples of significant legal reforms in the country are:

- Mothers can have the legal Wilaya (guardianship) over their minor children in case of partial or total physical incapacity of the father, the mother, when she is “well-off”, has an obligation to cater for the family’s household needs (art. 199).
- Divorce for irreconcilable differences (Shiqaq) is a procedure that was meant to facilitate women’s access to divorce without the obligation to prove harm
- Amended in 2007, the Nationality Code grants women the right to pass their nationality to their children (art. 6). However, the Code recognizes to men the right to pass their nationality to their foreign spouses (acquiring nationality through marriage) and denies the same right to women.

The report points to some disparities between men and women in education/training, health, employment, access to resources and decision-making. According to the National Illiteracy Survey (Ministry of Education, 2012), the illiteracy rate is estimated at 28% (19% in urban and 42% in rural areas). Women are more affected by illiteracy (37% against 25% for men) and even more so in rural areas (55% against 31% for men).

The report criticizes the social security schemes which contribute to the exclusion of the majority of female workers from the social protection services because they are based on a male formal employment model and the assumption that all women have husbands to maintain them. Some of the recommendations that the report stresses are:

- Adopting a cross-cutting approach to the integration of gender, taking into account the economic and social challenges as well as the strengths and weaknesses of the situation of women in the labour market.
- Adopting a women’s empowerment approach in the informal sector, in particular for female family caregivers and poor self-employers and ensuring their access to property.
- Extending legal protection to women workers by developing decentralized and community-based protection systems, banning domestic work before the age of 18 years, and sensitizing the labour inspectorate to ensure better enforcement of labour laws.

### **Single Mothers in Morocco**

Morocco is considered as an example of moderation and progressiveness in its attitudes and laws with regard to women in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. However, despite the reform of Moroccan laws, deep inequalities still persist for women who suffer from discriminatory socio-cultural norms, and economic and financial dependence which marginalize them. A case in point is single mothers who suffer from social stigmatization, criminal repression and legal discrimination. The phenomenon known as *“al-ommahat al-‘azibat”*, which translates to “single mothers” includes a wide

range of women like divorcees and widows. The connotation in Moroccan society, however, is more specific; the term “Single Mother” refers to women who have children outside the framework of a legal marriage; these women and their children are defined by law as illegitimate and are branded for life. The latter meaning will be the focus of this paper. Women’s organizations, however, are doing their best to challenge this stigmatization as well as to help these women gain their rights. For all these reasons, I have started my fieldwork with single mothers and the associations supporting them because unlike widows and divorced women, this category of women is marginalized in society and suffers from legal invisibility and social stigmatization.

In fact, the extent of the phenomenon is hard to measure given lack of precise statistics. The issue of single mothers is considered a taboo in Morocco, and in most Arab countries, where sexual intercourse between a man and a woman is prohibited by religion and law; article 490 of the Moroccan Penal Code deems sexual relations outside of marriage illegal and punishable by one month to one-year prison time. Since the law criminalizes sex outside of marriage, single mothers run the risk of being arrested right after giving birth. Moreover, Moroccan society is not merciful towards single mothers. Values such as chastity, honor and decency are deeply rooted in Moroccan culture. A woman must remain a virgin until she gets married, which is a sign of her good upbringing and respect of traditions. It takes two to make a child, but all the blame goes to the woman once she falls pregnant. In this case, she bears the burden of the child alone, faces all the shame and humiliation from society, and either assumes the responsibility of taking care of the baby after birth or she chooses to abandon her baby. Whereas the man simply walks away once the woman becomes pregnant without bearing any obligations or judgment from society. For all these social, legal and religious barriers, most single mothers, especially those from rural areas, choose to leave their communities to find work in cities in order to avoid shame and support their children, which often make them vulnerable to poverty and prostitution.

In *Legal Empowerment of Unwed Mothers: Experiences of Moroccan NGOS* (2010), Stephanie Willman Bordat and Saida Kouzzi examine Moroccan non-governmental organization (NGO) initiatives that promote the rights of unwed mothers with children born out of wedlock. They draw a bleak picture of the legal reality surrounding single mothers and their children. Bordat and Kouzzi argue that “Social stigmatization, criminal repression and legal discrimination marginalize these women and their children, and impact on their ability to obtain official identity papers.” According to Bordat and Kouzzi, single mothers suffer from social invisibility and legal inexistence which prevent them from gaining their rights. Because unwed mothers are not legally recognized, they lack the legal identity necessary to empower them which affect their children as well. For example, “children born to unwed mothers have no rights from their biological fathers, such as the right to bear his name, receive financial support, or inherit.” Bordat and Kouzzi state two main procedures impacting unwed mothers and their children which are: registering a child’s birth and obtaining a Family Booklet.

In *Single Mothers Between Law and Civil Society in Morocco* (2013), El Batoul Majbar provides a number of reasons behind the rise of the number of single mothers in Morocco such as poverty, lack of education, marriage promises, and lack of sexual education. Majbar cites Aicha Ech Channa, the founder of Association “*Solidarité Féminine*”, as an icon in Morocco for all what she did for single mothers and their children. In this regard she says: “*Aicha Ech Channa has deconstructed a social cultural taboo in order to change the social perception towards single mothers [so that] they could be transformed from a condemned population to a recognized one*”.

#### A Moroccan Association Making a Difference

Mrs. Mahjouba Edbouche is a role mother for all Moroccan women and human rights activists dealing with bitter realities and working behind the scenes for the common good of her community. She is an example of the social worker who dedicates her life for others to solve very complex social problems. Her lifelong commitment to help a vulnerable section of society facing a lot of stigmatization, namely single mothers and their children in the region of *Souss* in the south of Morocco, equals that of Aicha Ech-Chenna and Najat M’jid two dedicated activists especially in Casablanca who made themselves known in Morocco and beyond the borders.

Mrs. Edbouche did a lot for single mothers and abandoned children in Agadir city. She is the founder of two associations: *the Oum El Banine Association*, which she has created since 2001 with the support of the Swiss foundation “Terre des hommes” and *INSAF*, devoting herself to the care of single mothers and children in situation of distress. In addition to “*Ahdane*”, another association dedicated to “*mothers with or without marriage contracts*” founded in 2012, in Dcheira. Discreet in the media, but present in the field, these associations carry out punctual but effective actions. They provide social, psychological

and financial support for single mothers, act as an intermediate between these women and their families for reconciliation, help abandoned kids find their biological mothers and offer many other services. So many events in Mrs. Edbouche's life shaped her personality to make her the strong woman she is today. She herself experienced what it means to be a single mother and family head after she lost her husband in a car accident while being pregnant, thus finding herself responsible for the education and upbringing of her children and step children. Life was very hard and she had to work and study at the same time to provide for her family. Eventually, she succeeds and joins a Swiss foundation called "*Terre des hommes*" which marks the beginning of her social career and voluntary work.

### **The Birth of the Phenomenon in Agadir**

In an interview with Mrs. Mahjouba Edbouche last Wednesday, January 8<sup>th</sup> 2020 in the headquarters of "Ahdane" association in Agadir city, I had the honor to question this human right activist about her work, the birth of her associations and the social work she had been involved in for years. Mrs. Edbouche explains the origins and the evolution of the phenomenon of single mothers in Agadir city. First, she likes to describe herself as "*a cause defender*" more than a president of an association; social work for her is a lifelong commitment, full of responsibility and sacrifice. This activist delves into the circumstances that catalyzed this phenomenon in the 80s during which she had just joined "*Terre des Hommes*" a non-governmental Swiss organization initially providing help for people suffering from heart problems and other handicaps. According to Mrs. Mahjouba Edbouche, it is this organization which first discovered the problem of single mothers in Agadir. She describes Jean Michele Kauffman, a member of "*Terre des Hommes*", as one of the greatest humanists she has ever met. It is thanks to this foundation that the first day nursery "*Al Massira*" was built in "*Battoire*" neighbourhood receiving more than 130 babies at that time. "*Terre des hommes*" has also created other day nurseries in Casablanca and Jerada, which can accommodate 62 and 60 children respectively. Figures which are regularly exceeded, since these structures live in overstaffing, with impressive waiting lists, according to *L'Economiste* newspaper | (Edition N°:165 Le 02/02/1995).

Mrs. Mahjouba Edbouche, tells us that single mothers were mostly small maids and seasonal workers working in canneries. She recalls that in this period this city lived at the rate of the boom of its agricultural-food industry especially in the sector of packaging of sardines and citrus fruits in the industrial zone called "Anza" in Agadir. These two sectors, in need of labor, attracted women from neighboring regions, notably the city of Tadla and Mohammadia. According to Mahjouba Edbouche, these women became heads of families assuming economic provision for their families. After 6 months of seasonal work and since these women had to continue to provide for their families during the other 6 unpaid months, they were forced to look for alternatives; some became engaged in clandestine prostitution, others worked as maids or other low-income jobs and were twice exploited. And this is how the number of single mothers has grown significantly, reaching more than 1,500 according to Mahjouba Edbouche. "50% of women abandoned their children," informs the activist.

As for funds, the association does not receive any help from the government; it relies mainly on donations from foreign foundations and voluntary organizations. According to Mrs. Edbouche, statistics about single mothers do not reflect the reality; the dropouts are much larger and far exceed that number. According to statistics carried out in 2010 by the INSAF Association in Agadir, nearly 24 babies are abandoned at birth per day! A figure that does not reflect, according to Mahjouba Edbouche, the true extent of the situation. That is why prevention of babies' abandonment is one of the priorities of INSAF Association in addition to supporting single mothers with a view to their social reintegration.

Mrs. Edbouche blames the greed of factories' employers and their lack of social support to their female workers. She stresses that manpower is not just in need of money, but it also needs good living conditions, health care and social support. Unfortunately, the factories recruiting female manpower didn't prepare the right platform to receive such big numbers of women nor did they sensitize these women about the risk of falling pregnant by offering contraceptives or a sexual education of some sort. At least prevention would have been much better than the disastrous consequences of hundreds of abandoned babies who later become street children if they ever survive. Mrs. Edbouche is very angered by the stagnant situation of single mothers at all fronts. "What is heart aching is that the situation didn't change over decades" she notes. "I understand that the beginnings are hard and that mistakes happen, but to remain as one stared in a business is enraging". Many factories fail to meet their legal commitments towards their employees and only care about making profit. To conclude, Mrs. Edbouche suggests revising the reformed family code 2004 so that it takes into account the situation of single mothers and grants them the rights they deserve.

## Conclusion

Although women have demonstrated considerable leadership in community and taken part in the public space that was traditionally reserved for men; henceforth, they share economic responsibility and the burden of family expenses. However, women still suffer from negative stereotyping, gender biases and the prevailing shackles of patriarchy and political dominance. It goes without saying that developing society can't be achieved without improving women conditions and integrating them in all developmental processes at the social, economic and political levels. It is through strengthening women's rights and promoting gender equality that social justice could be attained. By reforming its Family code and ratifying many international conventions, Morocco is engaged in promoting gender equality and improving women's conditions in the country. The Jordanian human rights activist Asma Khader summed up the importance of family laws for women's rights in Muslim countries saying that "family law is the key to the gate of freedom and human rights for women" (Charrad, 2001: 5).

## References

1. Bertens, Hans., 1995. *Literary Theory: The Basics*. London and New York: Routledge.
2. Barber, P.G., 2000 *Agency in Philippine Women's Labour Migration and Provisional Diaspora*. *Women's Studies International Forum* 23 (4) : 399- 411.
3. Moser, C.A. , 1993 *Gender Planning and Development Theory*, Practice and Training. London : Routledge.
4. Rachel, Newcomb, 2009. *Women of Fes : Ambiguities of Urban Life in Morocco*. Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press (192).
5. *Women Empowerment & Sustainable Development*. Report of the kingdom of Morocco, 2016 Ministry of Solidarity, Women, Family and Social Development AZ-Editions Printing, Agdal Rabat Legal deposit: 2016MO3830
6. Moha, Ennaji and Fatima Sadiqi, 2004. *The Impact of Male Migration from Morocco to Europe on Women: A Gender approach*. Finistera, XXXIX pp. 59-76.
7. Moha, Ennaji, 2002; *Migration, Development, and Gender in Morocco*. GAIA Books.
8. Moha, Ennaji. *The New Muslim Personal Status Law in Morocco: Context, Proponents, Adversaries, and Arguments*, <http://www.yale.edu/macmillan/a..edu/macmillan/africadissent/moha.pdf>.
9. Anne, Minnas, 1993. *Gender Basics: Feminist Perspectives on Women and Men*. California: Wadsworth Press. Company.
10. Charrad, M.M., 2001. *States and Women's Rights: the Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco*. Berkley: University of California Press.
11. Loubna, Skalli, 2001. *Women and Poverty in Morocco: The Many Faces of Social Exclusion*. *Feminist Review*, No. 69, *The Realm of the Possible: Middle Eastern Women in Political and Social Spaces*, pp. 73-89 Published by: Palgrave Macmillan Journals Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1395630> Accessed: 14/10/2018
12. World Development Report 2012. *Gender Equality and Development*. World Bank. © World Bank. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/4391> License: CC BY 3.0 IGO.
13. *Women Empowerment & Sustainable Development*. Report of the kingdom of Morocco, 2016 Ministry of Solidarity, Women, Family and Social Development AZ-Editions Printing, Agdal Rabat Legal deposit: 2016MO3830
14. Barros, Fox & Mendonca, 1997. *Female-Headed Households, Poverty, and the Welfare of Children in Urban Brazil*. Article in *Economic Development and Cultural Change* February.
15. Buvinic, Mayra, and Geeta Rao Gupta. 1997. *Female-Headed Households and Female-Maintained Families: Are They Worth Targeting to Reduce Poverty in Developing Countries?*. *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 45 (2):259-280.
16. Venter, Anita and Marais, Lochner *Gender and Gender Sensitivity in the South African Housing Policy: Preliminary Evidence from Mangaung (Bloemfontein)*. 2005 /[www.researchgate.net](http://www.researchgate.net)
17. Ogburn, William F. and Nimkoff, Meyer F., 1947. *Handbook of Sociology*. London : K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & co., Ltd.; First Edition.
18. Fatima, Sadiqi, 2012. *Considering the Gender Dimension or Moroccan Migration: A "Win-Win" Approach to North/South Migration in the Mediterranean*.

19. Fatima, Sadiqi, 2008. *The Central Role of the Family Law in the Moroccan Feminist Movement*, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 35, no. 3, 325–37;
20. Amartya, Sen, 2002. *Why health equity?* <https://doi.org/10.1002/hec.762>
21. Amartya, Sen, 1985. *Well-being, Agency and Freedom*. *J of Philosophy* (203).
22. Naila, Kabber, 2001. *Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment*. Discussing Women's Empowerment-Theory and Practice. SIDA Studies No. 3, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Sweden
23. Nussbaum, Martha C. 1999 *Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment in Development and Change* 30(3):435 - 464 .
24. Sarantakos, Sotirios, 2005. *Social Research*. New York: Mac Millan.
25. Chant, Sylvia H. (2003). *Female household headship and the feminisation of poverty : facts, fictions and forward strategies* [online]. London: LSE Research Online. <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/archive/00000574>
26. Benini, A. 2000. *Construction of Knowledge*. Rome: Gnome.
27. Buvinic, Mayra, and Geeta Rao Gupta, 1997. *Female-Headed Households and Female-Maintained Families: Are They Worth Targeting to Reduce Poverty in Developing Countries?* *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 45 (2):259-280.
28. Bordat, Stephanie W., and Saida Kouzzi. 2009. *Legal Empowerment of Unwed Mothers: Experiences of Moroccan NGOs*. Rep. Rabat: IDLO.
29. The International Labour Organization ILO 2007. [https:// ilo.org](https://ilo.org)
30. The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) 2015. *Enhancing Women's Voice, Agency and Participation in the Economy*. Studies in Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Tunisian and Turkey. pdf
31. Mervet, Sedke Abd El Wahab El Said's, 2017. *Living Adaptation Methods For Household Women in The Light of Feminization Poverty in Some Egyptian Governorates*. *Agricultural Extension and Rural Development Research Institute, ARC, Giza, Egypt*.
32. El Batoul, Majbar, 2013. *Single Mothers Between Law and Civil Society in Morocco*. The Asian Conference on the Social Sciences. Official Conference Proceedings. ISSN: 2186-2303.
33. CNDH, 2015. *Gender Equality and Parity in Morocco : Preserving and implementing the aims and objectives of the Constitution*. *Executive Summary*.
34. Hayat, Zirari, *Women's Rights in Morocco: Assessment and Perspectives*.  
Hayat, Zirari, 2007. "Trajectoire des droits des femmes au Maroc : Progrès et résistances," in *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paola Gandolfi, ed., p. 226- 244, Bologna: Il ponte.  
[https://www.iemed.org/anuari/2010/aarticles/Zirari Women en.pdf](https://www.iemed.org/anuari/2010/aarticles/Zirari%20Women%20en.pdf)

**REFUGEES AND FORCED IMMIGRATION '20 /  
V. INTERNATIONAL INTERDISCIPLINARY  
CONFERENCE ON REFUGEE AND FORCED  
IMMIGRATION STUDIES**

# **ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL DISTANCE TOWARDS REFUGEES AND IMMIGRANTS AFTER THE “MIGRANT CRISIS”. DATA FROM BULGARIA**

**LYUBA SPASOVA**

**Lyuba Spasova, PhD** is Associate Professor at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

## **ABSTRACT**

Drawing on data from a set of representative surveys, part of a larger project financed by the Bulgarian Science Fund, the paper tries to reconstruct a detailed picture of attitudes and social distancing of Bulgarians towards various groups of immigrants and refugees after the peak of intensified migration headed to Europe. There is still reduced solidarity towards migrants and refugees in the country and prevailing anti-immigrant sentiments and social distancing especially towards certain groups of immigrants. There is however a slight turn in the last year in social distancing and attitudes towards all studied groups of immigrants and, as may seem, a shift in anti-immigrant sentiments.

## INTRODUCTION

Over the last decade a significant number of people have migrated to Europe from the Middle East and Africa in an attempt to escape various dangerous and unfavorable conditions. Situated on one of the main migratory routes and part of the EU, Bulgaria was not excluded from the intensified migration processes. Over the course of this massive migration and its repeated representations as a “migration crisis”, as a number of studies (e.g. ESS, Eurobarometer) suggest, significant changes occurred in the overall attitude of Bulgarians towards immigrants.

The paper aims to deepen the understanding of those changes by analyzing data on social distancing and opinions on significant prejudice related issues from a set of representative surveys. Data are from a larger research studying deviance in the context of the intensified migration processes towards Europe, in which the author participates.

## CONCEPTS AND THEORETICAL APPROACH

Despite theoretical dispute over the concept of attitude (Schwarz, Bohner, 2001) and inconsistency of the migrant-studies terminology (Ceobanu, Escandell, 2010), the body of literature examining topics connected to attitudes towards immigrants and immigration is increasing at a high rate (just to name a few: Barna, Koltai, 2019; Hainmueller, Hopkins, 2014; Dinesen, Klemmensen, Nørgaard, 2016; Grigorieff, Roth, Ubfal, 2018; McKeever, Riffe, Carpentier, 2012).

Following an already classical definition attitude is understood here as a "psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (Eagly, Chaiken, 1993 pp.1). Attitudes are not rigid or context-independent and despite being relatively stable allow a degree of variability as individuals sample their beliefs when a question is asked in a specific context (Tourangeau, 1992) or in different points in time (Wilson, 1998). And though attitudes might indeed be described as “likes and dislikes” (Bem, 1970), the impact of the context and the need to analyze its effects, especially with regard to out-group relations such as those to immigrants, does not allow the study of attitudes to be reduced to probing for likes and dislikes. Instead, context-specific questions should be asked so that respondents are not forced to artificially frame or crop their attitudes, at the same time, however, keeping a high degree of abstraction.

In order to meet these two contradictory conditions of context-specificity and abstraction, the study employs the concept of social distance and one of the oldest psychological attitude tools (Wark, Galliher, 2007) - the Bogardus social distance scale (Bogardus, 1959). Inspired by Simmel’s ideas on geometry of social life (Ethington, 1997; Wark, Galliher, 2007), Bogardus devised a scale intended to measure prejudice and to "reduce rationalizing...as much as possible" (1959: pp30). The original scale is elegantly simple and consists of seven roles with an increasing level of social proximity and closer contact from which respondents are asked to select the one that they find most suitable for representatives of certain ethnic groups (Bogardus, 1959). The potential applications of the scale are boundless given that it can be adapted to any context and any set of groups defined by a desired attribute and it has been since used in countless studies.

Studies focused on the sources of antiimmigrant attitudes and the variety of antiimmigrant attitudes are abundant (Ceobanu, Escandell, 2010; Hainmueller, Hopkins, 2014), however rarely comprehensive (Gorodzeisky, 2013). There are two main lines of theorizing and analysis, which only seldom and only recently overlap (Hainmueller, Hopkins, 2014; Gorodzeisky, 2013). The first line of inquiry is grounded in political economy and is concerned with economic self-interest or collective economic interest like labor market competition and fiscal burden (O’Rourke, Sinnott, 2006; Dustmann and Preston, 2007;

Meuleman, Davidov, Billiet, 2009). The second - sociopsychological - suggests sources of antiimmigrant attitudes are to be found in the perceptions of a sociotropic effect (Hainmueller, Hopkins, 2014) on the host country and society. Studies in this paradigm are much more heterogeneous and study a variety of factors such as identities and values (Davidov, Meuleman, 2012; Billiet, De Witte 1995), nationalism (Ceobanu, Escandell, 2008), perceived threat (Scheepers Gijsberts, Coenders, 2002). Despite abundant research, there is little proof antiimmigrant attitudes are based on the effects on personal economic situations. More consistently, recent research shows that attitudes towards immigrants are “mostly driven by symbolic concerns about the nation as a whole” (Hainmueller, Hopkins, 2014: pp227). Other lines of research that deserve attention link antiimmigrant attitudes with media and information (Grigorieff, Roth, Ubfal, 2018; McKeever, Riffe, Carpentier, 2012), educational level (Hainmueller, Hiscox, 2007), the size of the immigrant population (Schneider, 2008) contact with outgroup members (Escandell, Ceobanu, 2009).

## **DESIGN OF THE EMPIRICAL RESEARCH**

In the current study four of the degrees of proximity of the Bogardus social distance scale are used – immediate neighbor, direct supervisor or employer, married to a close relative, close friend. The social distance scale is modified using a Likert-type scale with four response categories for each separate role. The middle category is removed to minimize errors (Alwin, Baumgartner, Beattie, 2017).

To study the sources of anti-immigrant sentiment three batteries of opinion statements are devised in which the agreement is again measured by Likert-type scale with four variables. In the three batteries statements reflect key factors identified in the desk research – economic and social security concerns, cultural and religious concerns, concerns about security and threats.

Empirical data are collected via a series of PAPI (Pen-and-paper assisted personal interviews) studies with a structured questionnaire. The information mainly used in the analysis is from the last wave, in which the survey is conducted in the period September-October 2019, as already mentioned - after the depletion of the massive inflow of migrants from third countries. For comparison on several occasions in the analysis data from the wave conducted in November-December 2017 is used. Taking into consideration the importance of spatial and psychological proximity and distance (Lieberman, Chaiken 1996) both studies are designed as a two-stage nested sample, as the one from 2019 is with of 840 individuals and the one from 2017 – with 800. Both studies are representative of the adult population of Bulgaria and field data are weighted by sex and age.

## **DATA AND RESULTS**

Despite small variations in the preferences for proximity to the different types of immigrants, there are two distinct groups with similar ingroup results and significant difference from each. The first group – they could be labeled “close immigrants” - are immigrants from ethnic Bulgarian descent born and raised outside of the country and other Europeans from countries in or out of the EU. The second group – which can be labeled as “distant immigrants” - comprises immigrants from Africa, the Middle East (Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, etc.) and China.

For the farthest tested distance position - that of an immediate neighbor – one third of Bulgarians would be completely comfortable if their neighbor is a European from outside the EU (34%) or ethnic Bulgarian from another country (31%), and 10% and 11%, respectively, would feel completely uncomfortable. Towards immigrants from Africa and the Middle East the percentages are the other

way around – only 9% or 8%, respectively, would feel comfortable if their neighbor is someone from Africa or the Middle East and 34% and 33%, respectively, would feel uncomfortable. Immigrants from China would be welcomed by 13% and would make completely uncomfortable 25% of Bulgarians.

Similarly, the distribution of the social distance preferences for the position of direct supervisor or employer shows that most comfortably Bulgarians would feel if a European from outside EU is their direct supervisor. 25% of the respondents stated they would be completely comfortable and 15% - that they would feel completely uncomfortable if this is the case. The results for ethnic Bulgarian from another country are very close as 25% stated that they would be completely comfortable and 16% that they would be completely uncomfortable. The results for the other three groups are significantly more unfavorable here as well. Least comfortable Bulgarians would feel with a person from the Middle East as their direct supervisor. In this hypothetical situation only 10% say they will feel completely comfortable and 31% - that they would feel completely uncomfortable.

For the third tested position – this of a close relative by marriage, the clustering of the immigrants into two groups is most clearly visible (Figure 1). Again, the group of the more unwanted immigrants consists from people from the Middle East, people from China and people from Africa and more favored are the ethnic Bulgarians and Europeans. Most comfortable Bulgarians would feel if they become related by marriage with a European from third country – 29% would feel completely comfortable and 16% - completely uncomfortable. For kinship by marriage, albeit with a minimal difference, the people from Africa are least desired – 20% have indicated that this doesn't matter, 6% would feel completely comfortable and 50% - completely uncomfortable.

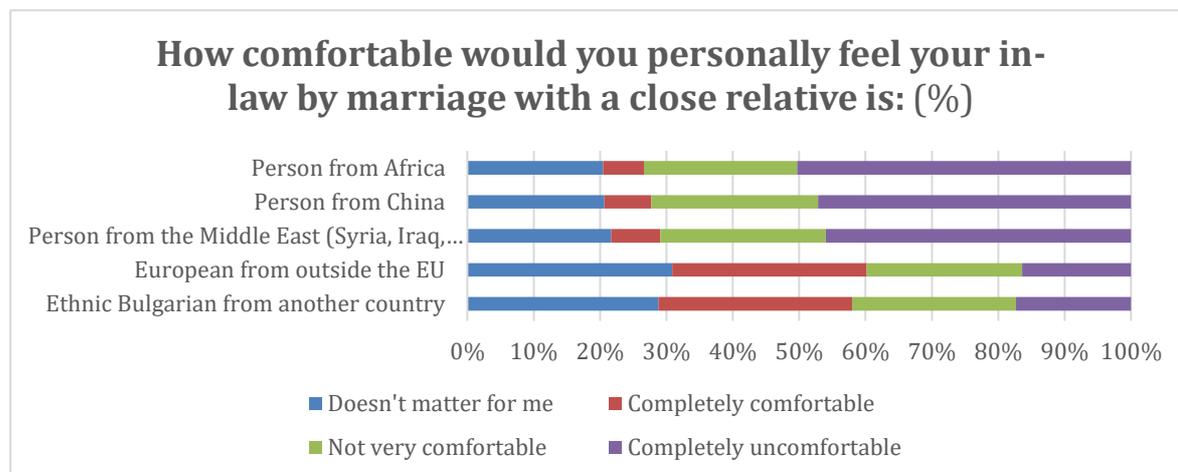


Figure 1. Degree of comfortability of different groups of immigrants as an in-law by marriage to close relative

It is interesting to note that, as for the other levels of proximity, there are differences in the number of respondents who indicated the option “Doesn't matter for me” for the different types of immigrants. 31% choose this option for immigrants from a European descent, 22% - for immigrants coming from the Middle East and 20% - for immigrants from Africa. Such a difference should not exist, if, as the answer suggests, in reality the origin of the neighbors is irrelevant. One explanation, one might hypothesize, is that there is a certain degree of social desirability in these responses, which, however, does not work well enough in the group of less desirable immigrants.

To enable a comparison that includes both the tested migrant groups and the tested social roles, an index was created by assigning weight to the different levels of comfortability (Figure 2). The index takes values between 0 and 100 as 0 corresponds to completely uncomfortable for everyone, and 100 - completely comfortable or origin is irrelevant for everyone. The index shows some rather curious results. For example, it is interesting and somewhat surprising to note that for the above discussed positions ethnic Bulgarians from another country are less desirable than other Europeans. As it will be seen further however this is not the case for the position of close friend. Further, for the group of closer immigrants, the most accepted role is immediate neighbor, while for the group of more distant immigrants, the most accepted role is that of direct employer. In the results for both groups kindred by marriage with a close relative is less acceptable. The clustering of the two groups – “close” and “distant” immigrants – can be easily seen.

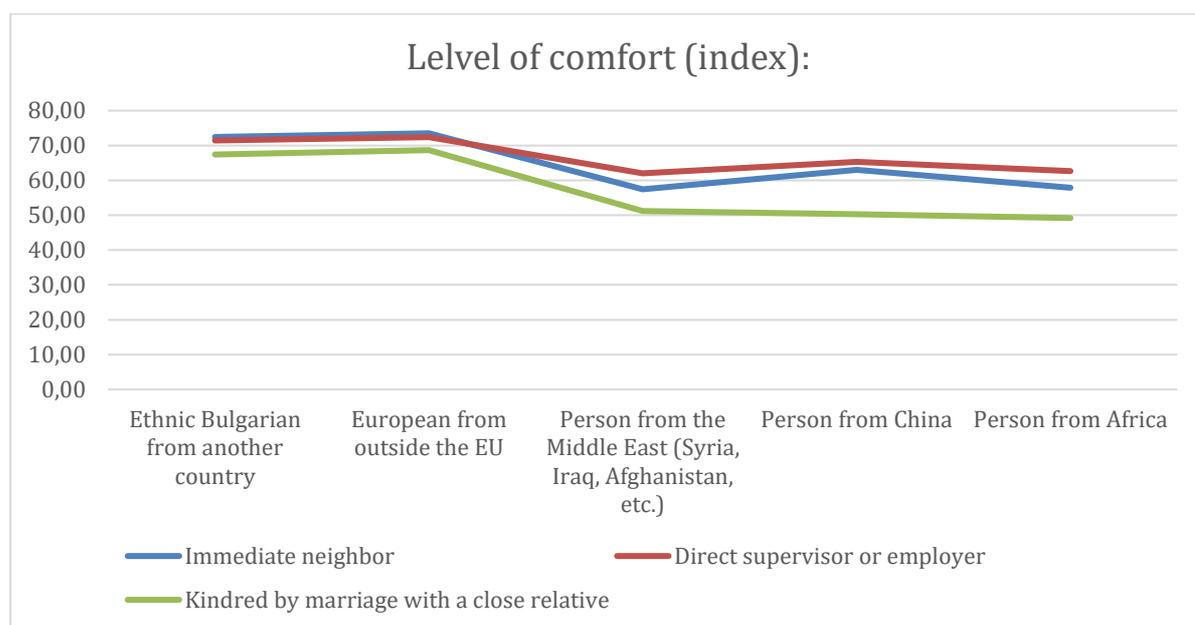


Figure 2. Social distance index (100 – complete acceptance, 0 – complete estrangement)

For the next tested role – this of a close friend, the willingness of Bulgarians to accept immigrants is highest for ethnic Bulgarians from another country as 78% are willing to accept them. Europeans from a third country come to a second place with 71% willing to accept them. Immigrants from the Middle East, Africa and China are again less accepted. A person from China would be accepted as a close friend by 44%, a person from the Middle East - by 38%, a person from Africa - by 35%.

Though the social distance for this role is quite high, especially for the group of distant immigrants, a comparison with data from 2017 shows a probable increase in the level of acceptance. Methodological considerations should be kept in mind, concerned with the fact that in 2017 acceptance was not tested for different groups but for all immigrants at large. Data show that in 2017 - much closer to the peak of the migrant inflow, only 23% would accept an immigrant, regardless of origin, as their close friend. In 2019 acceptance is several times higher for the closest groups and much higher even for the most distant immigrants for this role – the ones from Africa.

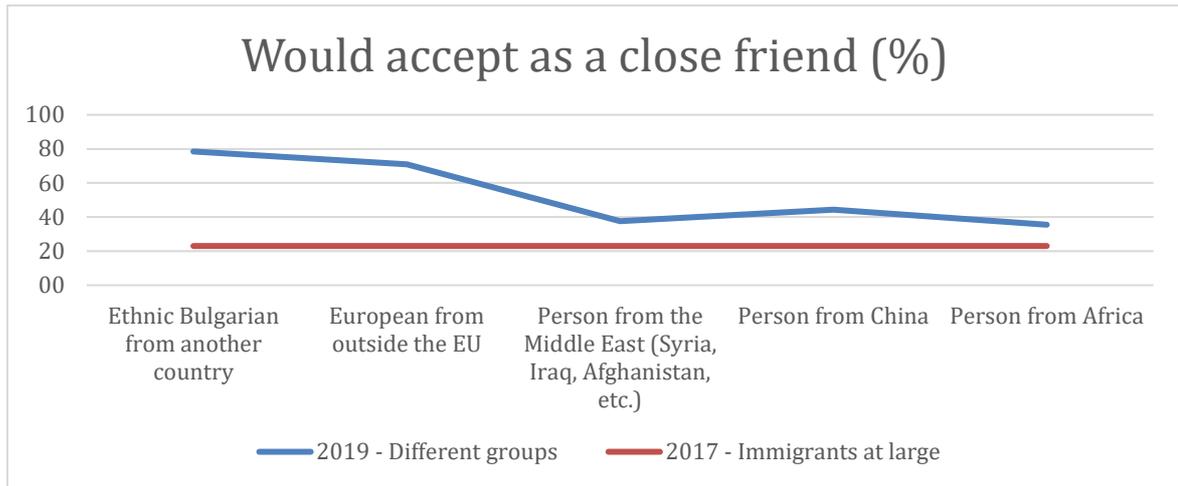


Figure 5. Acceptance of immigrants for close friend. Data from 2019 and 2017.

Further, data show that Bulgarians are still more prone to believing immigrants will rather worsen than improve the economy, religion or culture. For example, 40% believe to some extent that immigrants will threaten religious practices and beliefs, while 18% believe that they would enrich them (Figure 6).

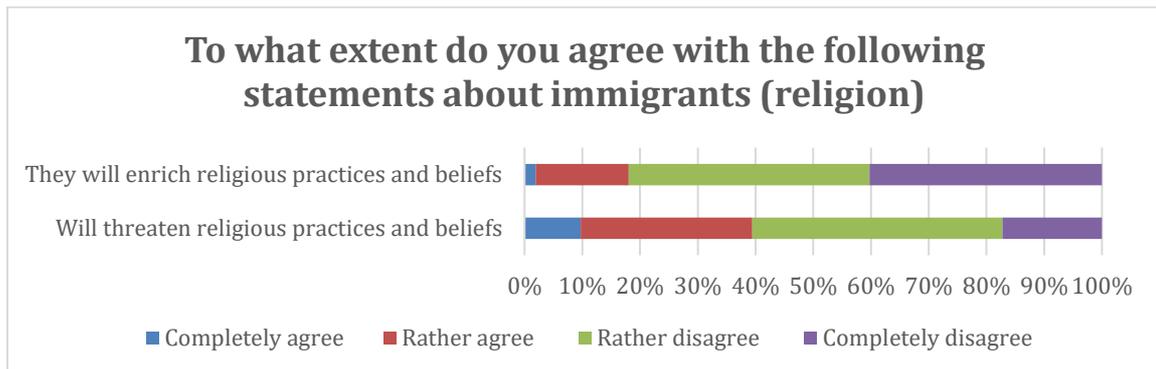


Figure 6. Opinions on the role of immigrants on religious practices and beliefs

Similarly, 42% agree (32% to some extent and 10% - completely) that immigrants will threaten our national culture. For comparison however, in 2017 75% of Bulgarians thought that immigrants would threaten our culture.

Regarding almost all aspects of economy and social security system Bulgarians are as well more prone to think immigrants are more harmful than helpful. 46% of the respondents are of the opinion that immigrants will fill in vacant jobs, 49% think they would contribute to lower labor costs and 43% think they would contribute to higher unemployment.

Regarding the social security system, the opinions are more extreme. 79% think to varying degrees (42% - completely and 37% - to some extent) that immigrants would be a burden to the social system, while only 14% (4% - completely and 10% - to some extent) that immigrants would increase incomes in the social security system (Figure 7).

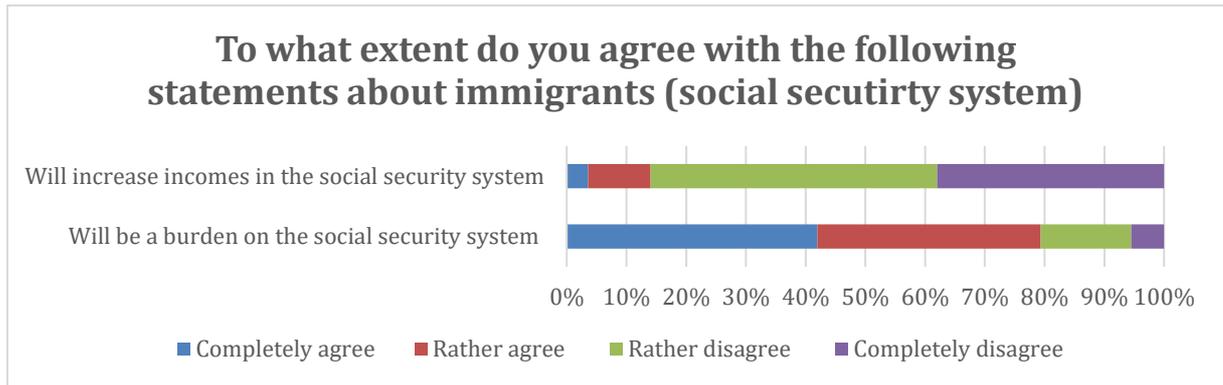


Figure 7. Opinions on the role of immigrants on economy and social system

The comparison with 2017 shows that while now 26% believe in varying degrees that immigrants would contribute to the development of the economy, in 2017 the percentage of those who agree that immigrants will contribute to the country's economy is 17%.

Further, the study tested some of the threats most commonly attributed to immigrants. Relatively unpopular, although still shared by 39% of Bulgarians, is the threat of them influencing the political life in the future, which in turn can lead to the promotion of foreign interests (Figure 8).

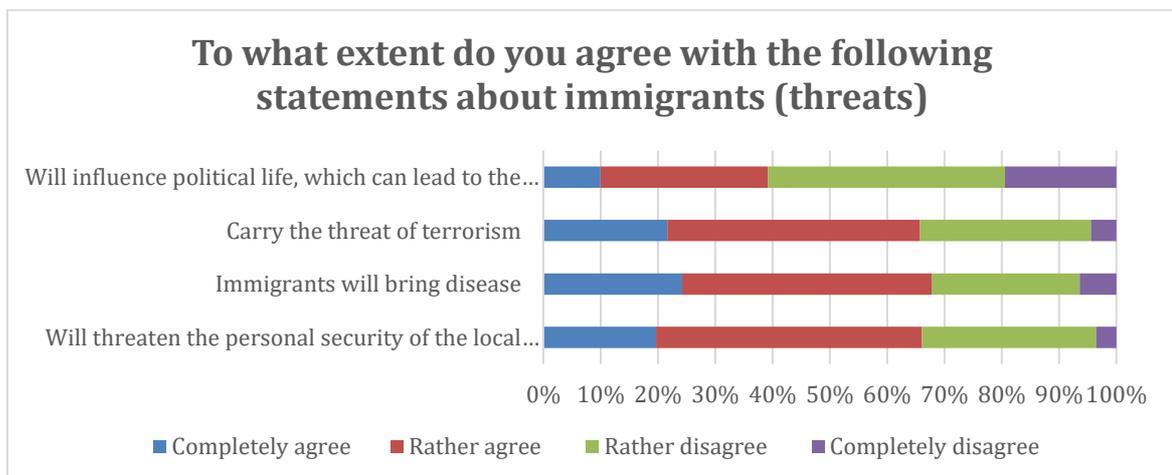


Figure 8. Opinions on possible threats associated with immigrants

Threats to the personal security of the local population and terrorism are much more popular. Two thirds agree in varying degrees (20% and 46% and 22% and 44% respectively) that those threat are real and likely to happen. The most widespread fear is the one from the diseases that immigrants could transmit. 68% of respondents tend to agree to one degree or another that immigrants will bring diseases.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The results reveal that in terms of social distancing, the different groups of immigrants are separated into two clusters – “distant” and “close”. Distinction between the two is not only in the levels of acceptance, but also in the different arrangement of roles according to preferences.

Despite the fact that the groups in the distant cluster are in fact more distant in terms of geography or culture and those in the close one are closer, social distance is not direct reflection of geographical or cultural distance. This is evidenced by the results, according to which people from China are generally more preferred than people from the Middle East for almost all social roles, although the latter are closer both culturally and geographically. Furthermore, contrary to expectations, ethnic Bulgarians living in another country, who are supposedly closest in terms of culture, are not the most preferred group for three out of four tested positions.

Another important conclusion we can draw from the results is that the roles are not necessarily monovalent in terms of social distance. The additional scales for each role allow us to see that for the group of closer immigrants the role of a close neighbor is most acceptable, while for the more distant ones, most acceptable is the role of a direct supervisor or employer.

Although solidarity towards immigrants is still not very high, especially towards the distant ones, results reveal that there is a slight turn in attitudes towards all studied groups of immigrants. Both results on social distancing and the shared opinions about the effect of immigrants on the economy, culture and social life show a positive change. Further research in the next years is needed however, to study whether those results are a random variation, a temporary phenomenon or a trend and in fact – a shift in anti-immigrant sentiments.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author gratefully acknowledges the financial support of the project “Social Context and Deviations: Persistent Dependencies and Situational Influences (Social Deviations in the Light of Contemporary Migration Processes)”, funded by the Bulgarian National Science Fund under contract DN 05-12/15.12.2016.

## REFERENCES

- Barna, I., & Koltai, J. 2019. Attitude Changes towards Immigrants in the Turbulent Years of the 'Migrant Crisis' and Anti-Immigrant Campaign in Hungary. *Intersections: East European Journal of Society and Politics*, 5(1), 48-70.
- Bem, D.J. 1970. *Beliefs, attitudes, and human affairs*. Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Billiet, J., & De Witte, H. 1995. Attitudinal dispositions to vote for a 'new' extreme right-wing party: The case of 'Vlaams Blok'. *European Journal of Political Research*, 27(2), 181-202.
- Bogardus, E. 1959. *Social distance*. Yellow Springs, OH: Antioch Press
- Ceobanu, A. M., & Escandell, X. 2008. East is West? National feelings and anti-immigrant sentiment in Europe. *Social Science Research*, 37(4), 1147–1170.

- Ceobanu, A. M., & Escandell, X. 2010. Comparative analyses of public attitudes toward immigrants and immigration using multinational survey data: A review of theories and research. *Annual review of sociology*, 36, 309-328.
- Davidov, E., & Meuleman, B. 2012. Explaining attitudes towards immigration policies in European countries: The role of human values. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(5), 757-775.
- Dinesen, P. T., Klemmensen, R., & Nørgaard, A. S. 2016. Attitudes toward immigration: The role of personal predispositions. *Political Psychology*, 37(1), 55-72.
- Dustmann, C., & Preston, I. P. 2007. Racial and economic factors in attitudes to immigration. *The BE Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy*, 7(1).
- Eagly, A. H., & Chaiken, S. 1993. *The psychology of attitudes*. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Ethington, P. J. 1997. The intellectual construction of "Social Distance": Toward a recovery of Georg Simmel's social geometry. *Cybergeo: European Journal of Geography*.
- Escandell X, Ceobanu AM. 2009. When contact with immigrants matters: threat, interethnic attitudes and foreigner exclusionism in Spain's Comunidades Autonomas. *Ethical and Racial Studies*. 32(1):44-69
- Gorodzeisky, A. 2013. Mechanisms of exclusion: attitudes toward allocation of social rights to out-group population. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36(5), 795-817.
- Grigorieff, A., Roth, C., & Ubfal, D. 2018. Does information change attitudes towards immigrants? Representative evidence from survey experiments. *Representative Evidence from Survey Experiments (March 10, 2018)*.
- Hainmueller, J., & Hiscox, M. J. 2007. Educated preferences: Explaining attitudes toward immigration in Europe. *International organization*, 399-442.
- Hainmueller, J., & Hopkins, D. J. 2014. Public attitudes toward immigration. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17.
- McKeever, B. W., Riffe, D., & Carpentier, F. D. 2012. Perceived Hostile Media Bias, Presumed Media Influence, and Opinions About Immigrants and Immigration. *Southern Communication Journal*, 77(5), 420-437.
- Meuleman, B., Davidov, E., & Billiet, J. 2009. Changing attitudes toward immigration in Europe, 2002-2007: A dynamic group conflict theory approach. *Social Science Research*, 38(2), 352-365.
- O'Rourke, K. H., & Sinnott, R. 2006. The determinants of individual attitudes towards immigration. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 22(4), 838-861.
- Scheepers, P., Gijsberts, M., & Coenders, M. 2002. Ethnic exclusionism in European countries. Public opposition to civil rights for legal migrants as a response to perceived ethnic threat. *European sociological review*, 18(1), 17-34.
- Schneider SL. 2008. Anti-immigrant attitudes in Europe: outgroup size and perceived ethnic threat. *European Sociological Review* 24(1):53-67
- Schwarz, N., & Bohnet, G. 2001. The construction of attitudes. *Blackwell handbook of social psychology: Intraindividual processes*, 1, 436-457.

Tourangeau, R. 1992. Attitudes as memory structures: belief sampling and context effects. In N. Schwarz & S. Sudman (Eds.), *Context effects in social and psychological research*. New York: Springer Verlag, 35- 47

Wark, C., & Galliher, J. F. 2007. Emory Bogardus and the Origins of the Social Distance Scale. *The American Sociologist*, 38(4), 383–395.

Wilson, T. D., & Hodges, S. D. 1992. Attitudes as temporary constructions. In L. L. Martin & A. Tesser (Eds.), *The construction of social judgments*. Hillsdale: Erlbaum, 37-65

# THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND BEHAVIOR - CASE STUDY OF ZAATARI CAMP IN JORDAN: PLACE ATTACHMENT, PLACE IDENTITY BETWEEN SYRIAN REFUGEES

**NOOR AL-TEKREETI, ESRA AKBALIK.**

**Noor Al-Tekreeti**, Master's student, Istanbul Okan University, **Dr.Esra Akbalok**, Prof., Istanbul Okan University.

## **ABSTRACT**

The world today is witnessing the largest migration and refugee's movement in decades. Refugee camps have become a feature of life, leading to a consistent changing of the world's layout. Despite their emergency purposes, temporary structures, and brief expected lifespan broadcasted by officials; these camps are lasting longer than their original target. Through history a majority of camps have transformed into a complete cities, with high inhabitants' numbers, and a lifespan of more than 50 years. These camps are becoming more stable and permanent settlements, somewhat a functional cities. When planning a refugee camp, the emergency of the moment and the necessity for fast building structures, the process surpass the urban-social-cultural planning, leading to constant alterations by the camps inhabitants which results in chaos therefor effecting planning and urban wise.

This paper aims to examine and explore the transformation of these camps from the temporary phase and perception to the permanent physical profile they become now. Furthermore, to understand the Spatial transformations of the camp that are practiced by the refugees, reflecting and expressing their psychological and physical adaptation process. In order to develop an understanding through this temporary to permanent transformation process; theories of Environment and behavior studies like Place identity and place attachment concepts are used in the case study.

## **INTRODUCTION**

The world today is facing the largest movement of refugees and migrants seen in decades and these movement patterns changes continually this resembles the internal migration towards the cities throughout the history. This shift is distressing a majority of aspects of the world we live in including human rights, economy, security, natural resources, and others. Through these flows of displacement all around the world, scientists, researchers, experts, and architects are all studying this shift and its consequences on the world. The forced displacement and migration have created an immediate crisis of providing shelters, healthcare, food, protection, and basic requirements. There is hence the demand for input from humanitarian agencies as well as the state bodies to provide the necessary supports to these camps. These new movements resembled the industrializing migration towards the cities, which for most these cities were not prepared for the population growth.

Accommodating 80.000 people, the Zaatari camp is one of the major camps for the Syrian refugees, located in Al-Mafraq government in Jordan, near the Jordanian Syrian borders. The camp is city-like with every feature of a long-lasting one. Although the characterization of camps and the guidelines of emergency handbooks contemplate the refugee camps as a short-term solution, presently these camps are lasting longer then their initial intent. The camp is changing through the influence of its inhabitants, creating new spatial patterns reflecting the refugees' cultural characteristics and their needs. The refugees taking charge of their environment, re-creating their world, developing their own neighbourhoods, streets, communities, shops, and homes. Through this process it displays the importance of these concepts, place attachment, place identity, and the relation between user's past, cultural background, and the connection formed with the new place.

Various studies and research have been conducted on place attachment and place identity in such purposefully built environments to deal with forced displacement and how these attachments might be considered in future planning of refugee camps weather being the result of natural or human related disasters. Various research has shown that forced displacement can have dramatic psychological effects on people and can prevent developing future attachment to the arrived settlements. As Brown and Perkins have mentioned "After the development of secure place attachment, the loss of normal attachments creates a stressful period of disruption found by a post disruption phase of coping with lost attachments and creating new ones".(Brown & Perkins, 1992, p. 279). however, there is evidence of coping in Zaatari camp and the sense of survival and this is shown in the adjustments done by the refugees to their communities and houses.

The misguided concept of these camps being short term solution will be explored later as evidence will be shown these camps almost always last longer, in some cases decades. Through research about the camps the findings showed that the early camps developed to be a part of the cities they were close to, such as the Palestinian camps in the capital of Jordan, and the Palestinians camps in Lebanon. These camps have now integrated into the urban fabric of these cities, where the social structure of these communities affected the built layout.

### **Intention:**

The study intended to examine and explore the transformation of these camps from the temporary phase and perception to the permanent physical profile they are becoming now. Furthermore, to understand and analyse the motives of the shifting and constant physical changing in the layout; and the urban organizing carried by the inhabitants related to the psychological experience of losing a place and the attachment process to another. The purpose of this thesis was to shed the light on the relation

between built environment and human behaviour through two key concepts; the importance of place attachment and place identity in forming new settlement and camps on refugee's behaviour and quality of their lifestyle.

#### **UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES UNHCR**

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees also known as the refugee's agency, was formed to protect and support refugees in crisis. The UNHCR was first established in 1950's as a respond to the displaced people across Europe due to the World War II, to assist millions of Europeans who fled during and after the math of the world war II. World War II left around 400,000 people scattered around Europe. The new global institution, the United Nations, created UNHCR under a three-year mandate to complete its work assisting refugees. The mandate intended for it was to complete its work and then disband. After a year, a legal foundation for assisting refugees was created in order to initiate a legal framework under which refugees can claim international rights. In recognition of its humanitarian achievements, UNHCR's presence has been beneficial and has had significant impact on numerous parts of the world. Throughout the 21st century, UNHCR has been aiding refugees in the extremely sensitive crises of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Somalia, and Syria and the Middle East.(Edwards, 2015). Over the past 68 years, UNHCR has become more involved in the refugee crisis around the world.(Figuer 1). Due to the rise of conflicts and wars, the UNHCR expanded and varied in its staff, budget, and legal framework. Also, now, it works to assist refugees and displaced people outside of camps. UNHCR now has more than 16,803 personnel. (UNHCR, 2019). it works in a total of 138 countries and the budget, which in its first year was US\$ 300,000, grew to US\$ 8.66 billion in 2020.(UNHCR, 2020).

#### **GENERAL REVIEW ON ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES FRAMEWORK.**

Through search about refugee camps it can be observed that the camps are not what they were intended to be. While observing plans, layout charts, and photographs the change can be noted. With this, further research is done to understand these changes and the cause of it, that is where the term environmental psychology was considered with two key concepts: place attachment and place identity. Place attachment and place identity are a controversial issue that continues to generate discussions... many agrees on place attachment and place identity are connected in creating a sense of belonging to a place. (Altman & Low, 1992; Stedman, 2002).

#### **Environmental Psychology**

Environmental psychology related to architecture is a field in psychology recognized since the late 1960s (Altman & Low, 1992; Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). They defined it as the discipline that studies the behaviour between individuals and the surrounding built environment. This means that Environmental Psychology examine the influence of built environment on individual's behaviour, and well-being. Also, counter wise the resulted influence an induvial has on the environment.(Altman & Low, 1992; Bechtel & Churchman, 2002; Proshansky et al., 1983). Environmental psychology involves theory, research, and practice that aim to enhance our relationship with the natural and built environment. The field defines the term environment broadly, encompassing natural environments, social settings, built environments, learning environments, and informational environments.(Kaplan, 2006; Steg, Berg, & Groot, 2018).

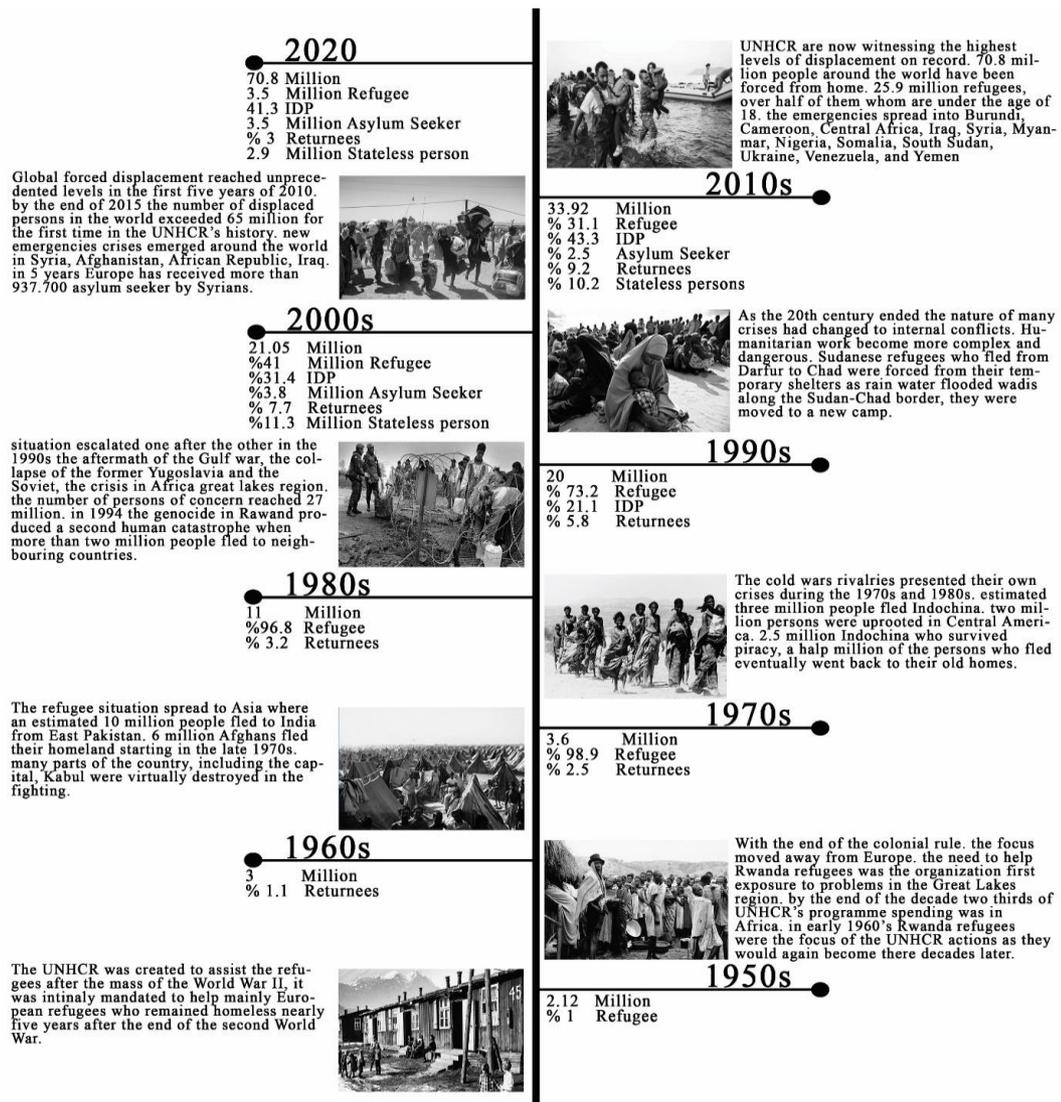


Figure 1: UNHCR History. By Author based one UNHCR data

Environmental psychologists are important figures in the teams that shape the world including designers, planners, policy makers, geographers, engineers etc. Architectures do not and cannot save the world by own themselves. They help to enrich the world in various ways. Sometimes this impact is dramatic. Environmental psychologists develop their research that directly or indirectly help to influence the different aspects of cities. Other times, "they influence the world in more subtle ways, such as by making hospitals more navigable, or making national parks more pleasant. Next, we celebrate a few of the ways that EP changes the world for the better."(Worthington, 2018). With the help of EP, we architects can better understand the needs and tendencies of the human being and fabricate their daily long-term lives. One of EP main points is helping with sustainability and Ecologically architectural environment in understanding the threats that caused by human behaviour, by targeting and preserving nature and natural resources.(Pelletier, Lavergne, & Sharp, 2008). EP seeks to not only alter and anticipate behaviour, but to make sure that this altered behaviour last and real.

## Place Attachment

In recent years the interest in Place Attachment and its connections to architecture and built environment have increased(Plunkett, Phillips, & Ucar Kocaoglu, 2018). While place attachment is

connected with number of fields like architecture, family and consumer studies, landscape architecture, urban planning and more.

The meaning of place attachment is particularly relevant when considering issues of urban development and community-building. Attachment may serve to promote and encourage environmentally responsible behaviour using appeals to individuals' self-identity and dependence.(Wolf, K.L., S. Krueger, 2014).

Many scholars define place attachment as the bond between a person and his/her physical surroundings. These connections are a powerful aspect of human life that form our sense of identity. Create meaning in our lives, facilitate community and influence action. (Altman & Low, 1992; Giuliani, 2003; Hernández, Carmen Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace, & Hess, 2007; Manzo & Devine Wright, 2013; Proshansky et al., 1983). In Schwarz et al. (1995) attachment defined as, "attachment is a process in which people "fall in love with a place" and this love cannot easily be traded for a new one." As it was foreseen by Altman and Low; place attachment have progressed from a concept development state where it was examined, defined, and determined to be multi-dimensional, an application to a state of its being applied to practiced issues.(Altman & Low, 1992).

Place attachment shapes an important partial of a person's character development, therefore; is directly connected with an individual's or group's identity.(Altman & Low, 1992; Proshansky et al., 1983; Stedman, 2002). The importance of place attachment often taken for granted, "like spatial awareness in general, place attachments are usually taken for granted. Yet they are powerful motivators for action to preserve and improve our communities for ourselves, own neighbours, and future generations"(Manzo & Devine Wright, 2013, p. 6). Place attachment was mentioned by (Billig, 2006); how important is the study of environment understanding and accepting in individuals who experienced a sense of safety, even if their place is in a war zone or near one. The scale of place attachment is an important figure for individuals. Place can have many scales (Altman & Low, 1992); may include planet, continents, countries, cities, neighbourhoods, streets, buildings, homes, room and others.(Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010); or the degree of personal and social envelopment, rootless in place, aesthetics, individual and group identity with place and so forth.(Cresswell, Edney, Delaney, & Schuurman, 2012; Lewicka, 2011; Seamon, 2012). According to Relph, "Place attachment is a multi-faceted, multi-disciplinary concept focused at different levels with many definitions most view it both positive and powerful. To humanistic, geographers, people's bonding with meaningful spaces represents a universal connection that fulfils fundamental human needs".(Relph, 1976). Place attachment can be developed or acquired through loss and destruction weather through exile-resettlement, disaster, or destruction. The impact of loss forms a new set of emotions which created a more emotional attachment.(Altman & Low, 1992, p. 169).

The benefit of place attachment is the enhancement of an individual's life(Shumaker & Taylor, 1983); and the well-being and health (Hornsey & Gallois, 1998). Gustafson in his paper "place attachment in the age of mobility, (Manzo & Devine Wright, 2013). Cited that roots, community ties, and emotional bonds with a place that have been depicted as important source of well-being. While (Brown & Perkins, 1992) Argued that the development of secure place attachment, and the loss of it create a stressful period of disruption followed by a period of coping.

Place attachment has been applied in immigration, mobility, disruption, and forced movement psychology to shed the light on the distress and grief experienced by individuals under the former situations.(e.g; Brown & Perkins, 1992; Giuliani, Ferrara & Barabotti, 2003; Gustafson, 2001). Brown and Perkins noted, "Most authorities involved in the resettlement process assumes that individuals simply need new home or shelter, not thinking of the lost social, cultural and physical disrupted attachments and needs". (Brown B., Perkins 1992, p. 301). In the field of emergency immigration and

refugees, researches and resources are limited in relation with place attachment; however when studies are conducted the focus usually is on displacement on individual scale, focusing on the attachment and the level of longing for places that are lost is defined.(Hirsch & Deutsch, 2005). This attachment to a new place may come from past experiences or memories, or one's birth place.(Marcus 1992, p. 111; Boğaç, 2009; Tuan, 1977). These bonds can be both negative and positive; As stated by Altman and other researchers, that it is difficult for people to adapt and accept new homes (shelters) that does not support or have their cultural values and social background. (Altman & Low, 1992), this shows in (Hernández, Carmen Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace, & Hess, 2007) statement "... One person could be attached to a place but not be identified with it, someone who likes to live in a place and wants to remain there but does not feel that this place is a part of their identity; at least not their main place identity". And vice versa. This where cultural background can affect the bonding process to a new place. According to Gustafson and Pollini; "although mobility persons who develop local attachment to their new surroundings, and involvement they remain loyal and have strong attachment to their national and orientations".(Gustafson, 2009; Pollini, 2005). The statue of the refugee's and their acceptance toward their living situation can be identical to the concept "elective belonging "to describe their form of attachment according to(Pollini, 2005; Savage, Bamgall, & Longhurst, 2005) . Many researchers agree that place attachment and place identity are connected in creating a sense of place. (Altman & Low, 1992; Stedman, 2002).

### **Place identity**

Place identity or place-based identity refers to a cluster of ideas about place and identity in the fields of geography, urban planning, urban design, landscape architecture, environmental psychology, ecocriticism, and urban sociology/ecological sociology. (Wikipedia). Researchers and phenomenologists studied the importance of "place", "people", and "meaning of place". According to Seamon (2012) "place identity is the process where by people living in or otherwise associated with a place take up that place as a significant part of their world". (Seamon, 2012, p. 17) . In the field of emergency immigration and refugees, research and resources are limited. However in place attachment, when studied the focus is on displacement at individual scale, only the attachment and the level of longing for a place that are lost is defined.(Hirsch & Deutsch, 2005). Several researchers still consider place attachment as one-dimensional concept, others however consider it as multi-dimensional with different factors with in it. Scannell & Gifford (2010) have proposed a multi-dimensional framework, the framework tests place attachment through person, process, and place dimensions.(Scannell & Gifford, 2010). The connection between refugees and their surrounding built environment in relation to place attachment and place identity, will be analysed by the three dimensions PPP (Person, Physical place, Psychological Process) framework suggested by (Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

### **The PPP framework:**

First, the person dimension which include an individual level: the experience is private, belongs to one person and his/her memory, and the experience that creates the meaning and bonding with a place(Manzo & Devine Wright, 2013). The group level, is the shared meaningful experiences among them, which creates the place attachment.(Altman & Low, 1992). Group attachment may lead the group to protect their bond with the place which is a represent of their connection to it, emotionally and physically. (Fried 1963; Cans, 1962).

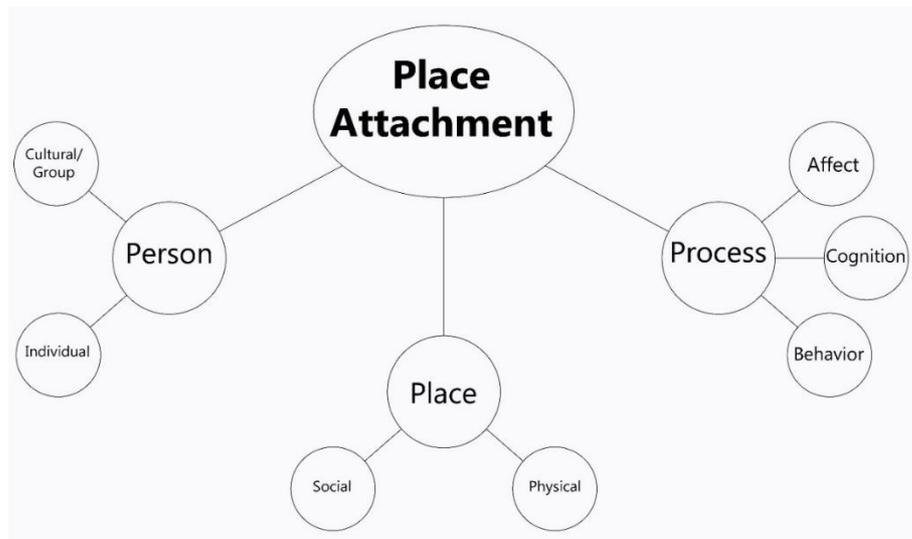


Figure 2: PPP Framework by Scannell & Gifford

Second, Place dimension is divided into two levels, social and physical place attachment. In this level, place attachment is presented as “the bond between people and their surroundings” whether individuals or group. For one sub-level the identity of place can contribute to the attachment of place. Such as a religious place (e.g., Mecca, Jerusalem, or on a smaller scale, Churches, Temples, Mosque) and their meanings to an individual creates a place attachment which can be protected by individual or a group.(Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2004). The place dimension could be social or physical, and on multiple scales ( e.g.: room, house, city or the world).(Altman & Low, 1992; Hernández et al., 2007). While most of the studies focus on the social shared experience that connect a group together and creates a place attachment. The others focused on what is the sense of community, and how they are connected by interests, lifestyle, location, background, etc. and highlighted that the meaning of a place and it’s features creates the bond in place attachment. (Manzo & Devine Wright, 2013; Stedman, 2002; Gans,1962; Hunter,1974; Brown & Perkins, 1992).

Third, the psychological process, many mentioned the psychological attachment to a place whether created by an effect of the place or the realization of it, which creates an emotional bond; the feeling exhibited by this place and the effect it has on the well-being of individuals. (Giuliani, 2003; Hernández et al., 2007; Manzo & Devine Wright, 2013). The connection that form the bond with a place can be both negative and positive with love, likeness or fear.(Manzo, 2005). The attachment between an individual or group and a place can be generated from memories, beliefs, meaning and knowledge; like the attachment to first home, first school, first neighbourhood, Etc. (Altman & Low, 1992; Manzo, 2005).

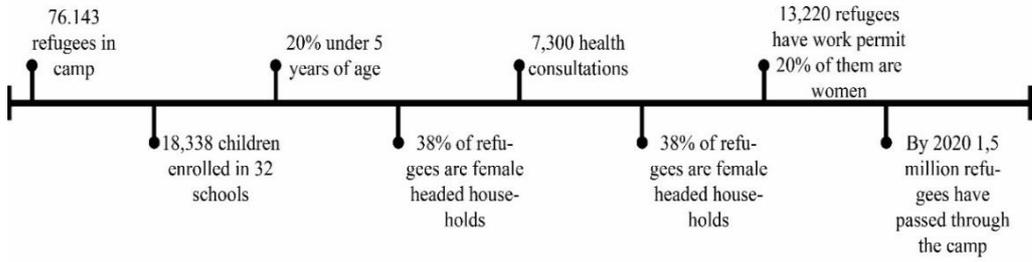
Place attachment can exist in many forms and levels. The common factors of forming a bond are survival and security. (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). And these bonds which are resulted by fear, safety, security forms a higher attachment among vulnerable individuals or groups (e.g. immigrants & refugees), so the close proximity and the need to stay close to a place is higher.(Fried, 2000; Giuliani, 2003). The authors considered the PPP framework to be more efficient and not restricted to one dimension. They believe the framework provides a more comprehensive view of place attachment and its structure.

The optimum ,method to study place attachment in multidimensional concept is to use combined methods including analysis of both photographs and interviews can be used to attain the desired study. (Boğaç, 2009; Manzo & Devine Wright, 2013; Scannell & Gifford, 2010)

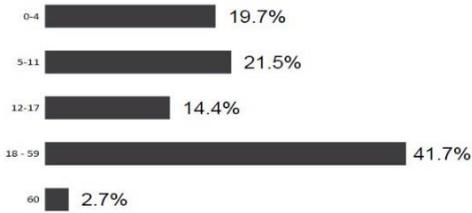
The proposed PPP framework by (Scannell & Gifford, 2010) is adapted in this research, this can be on different levels and dimensions. There is no expectation that all levels of the place attachment framework should be applied on a case study, but the definition of place attachment related to the person, place, and process should be defined.(Scannell & Gifford, 2014). The analysis will be on the physical place dimension with both the social and physical levels. Regarding the alternation and re-modelling of built environment in both housing units and neighbourhood planning. An area within the camps districts is selected and analysed through different phases of the camp.

### **Zaatari Camp History, Location, and Mapping**

The Zaatari camp was planned and opened in nine days in 2012, relief agencies with UNHCR were given a timetable to complete the first phase of camp.(ALRAI, 2012; UNHCR, 2010). Started as 3km camp ready to host 15 thousand refugees and provide temporary accommodates near Ramtha 10km from the borders with Syria. The camp is within the Mafraq government of Jordan and has grown rapidly since first opening. 1.4 million refugees over the years have arrived in Jordan which means one in four people in the country is a refugee.(UNHCR, 2009). Zaatari have become the fourth largest “city “in Jordan, which is also the first of five camps in the country. Jordan as a country has a history of embracing and taking in refugees and migrants, and has received waves of refugees since its’ establishment in 1946, Palestinian migrants being the most remarkable, which resulted in more than ten refugee camps nestled within the country. (Al Hussein, 2012). The latest Published fact sheet by the UNHCR in February 2020 can be seen below. The camp inhabitants increased above the initial target of 15 thousand refugees. The camp was the largest in scale compared to the previous older camps and is located outside of the city’s border. The planning was an educating process to all involved including UNHCR and the Jordanian Government. Today it’s still the largest camp hosting 80 thousand refugees according to the last UNHCR factsheet.(UNHCR, 2019). The second camp after Zaatari is Al Azraq camp with 6.461 refugees.



**Age Range**



**Place of Origin**

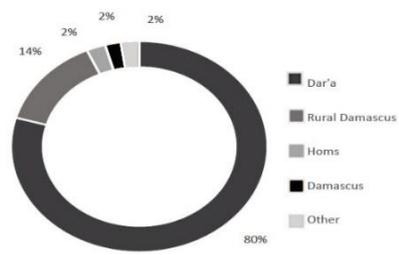


Figure 4: Zaatari camp Facts February 2020/©Author based on UNHCR data gate

Figure 3: Place of Origin of refugees. ©UNHCR 2019

# Zaatari Camp Facts in Two Years

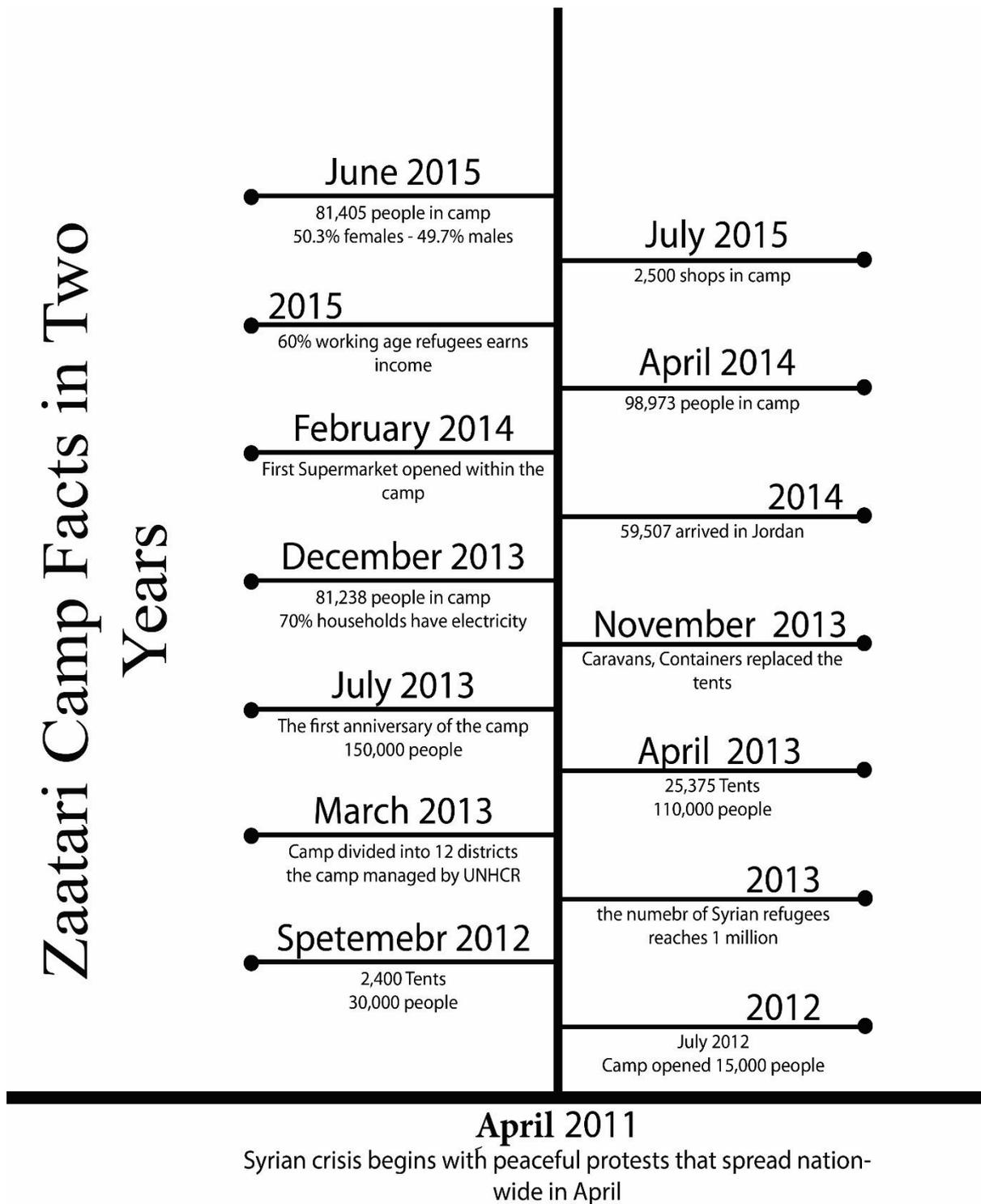


Figure 5: Zaatari camp Timeline 2013-2015. ©Author based on UNHCR data

The camp is under the management of joint forces of the Syrian refugee affairs directorate SRAD (the Syrian Refugee Affairs Directorate) and UNHCR. Where the UNHCR is responsible for protection, health, shelter, site planning, security, community, basic needs, and livelihood. Jordan is still accepting refugees at the camp which adds pressure to its infrastructure. In reference to the facts “in 2013 Jordan received a massive number of refugees in total of 250,000 Syrian refugees between January and October of the

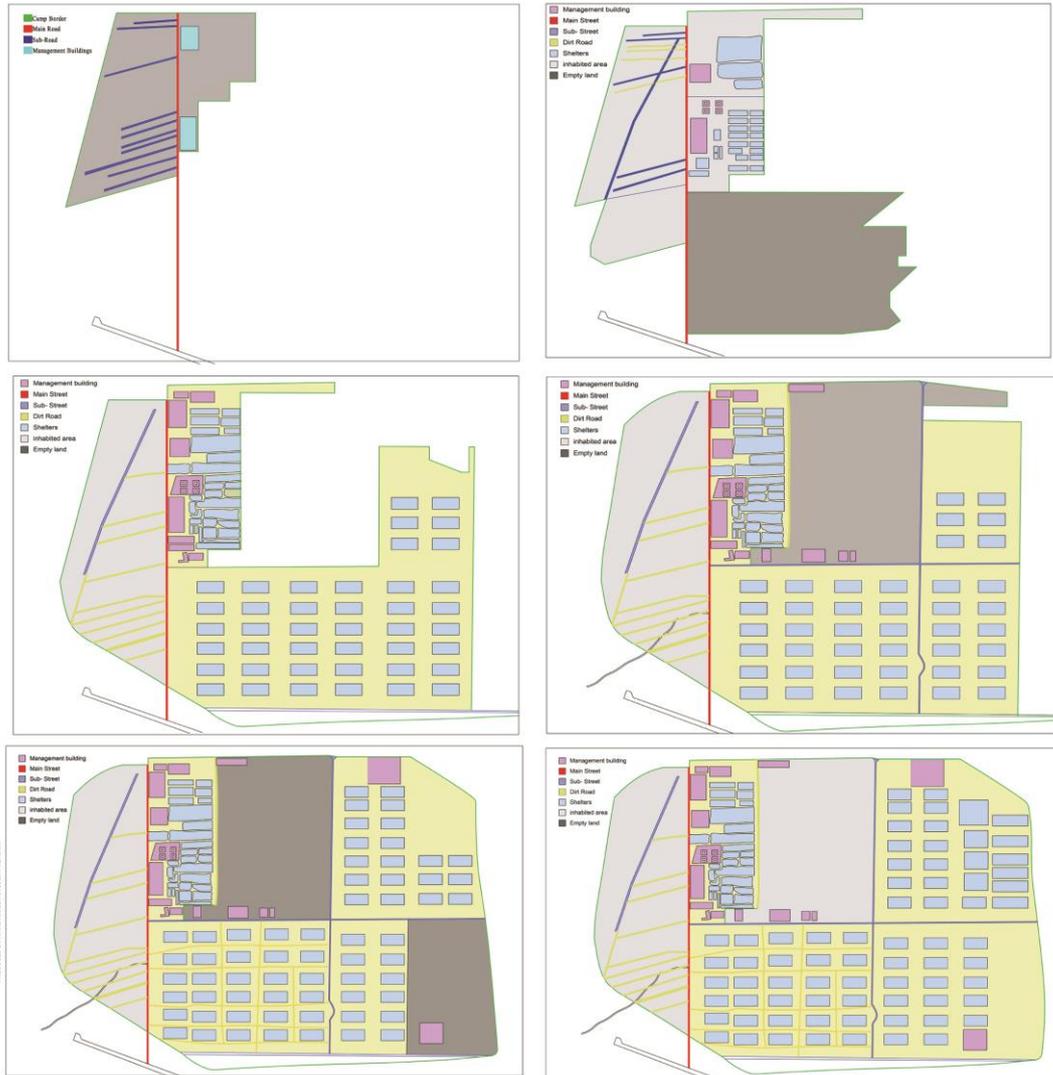


Figure 6: The spatial development of Zaatari camp from September 2012 and April 2013 /©Author based on Shared google Maps by UNHCR.

same year” (McKeever, n.d.). Today the total of refugees is 5,65 million where Syrian refugees 624,650 in Jordan as of 5 November 2019.

### Mapping of the Camp

The Zaatari camp initial plan was to accommodate 15 thousand refugees arriving through the borders (ALRAI, 2012; United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2014). The plan soon proved to be insufficient as the arriving tallies escalated. Refugees arriving at the camp were first passing through the main entrance into the registration centre, according to the UNHCR, their information, number of persons, gender, family information registered then working of finding relatives, or other family members in the camp and placing the family or individuals near them. Refugees were provided then with classical UNHCR tent, to shelter a family of five, with blankets, sleeping mat, cooking wear, and a plastic sheet. (UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2013; UNHCR, 2014a; US Air Force, 2000).

The camp was divided into districts with boundaries, separated by an asphalted street, there is twelve districts each one is a grid of shelters (Tents, Containers), arranged within the layout. The communal toilets, showers, kitchens, and multi-used spaces were located in each district reachable by walking.



Figure 8: The Location of the camp to the Zaatari village. ©Author based on Google maps



Figure 7: Facts in Zaatari camp regarding Utilities and Demographics. ©Author based on UN data

The first arrivals settled in the first, second, third, fourth and twelfth districts, due to the raising arrivals the master plan for these first districts became a chaos. (Dalal, 2014). In a study by Dalal, 2014 on the Zaatari camp stated that, “against the logic of an egalitarian grid, refugees moved their shelters to form small semi closed clusters, in which families and relatives gathered, beginning to share resources and establish socio-spatial patterns that are often reminiscent of habitats left behind in Syria, the resulting alternative spatial structure is a direct consequence of refugees mobilizing socio-cultural beliefs to find improvised assures to daily needs”. (Dalal, Darweesh, Misselwitz, & Steigemann, 2018, p. 67).

The main road had become the “souq” (Pazar) within the first districts as the refugees referred to it with shops such as markets, barbershops, Internet cafes wedding shops, restaurants and more. These districts have formed new neighbourhoods, communities and small family compounds with entrances and courtyards, they expanded the shelters to create more space and privacy, even created some gardens and water fountains. (Lee, 2018). All this reforming comes after few months of opening the camp. The existence of the situation in Syria was indicating to long-term state of the camp. Structures like hospitals, health centres, schools and administrative services were all being fabricated and modified containers, separated by flags and logos of the donated organizations and countries.

The modifications and expansions done by the refugees highlight that the rules and regulations by the Jordanian government who provided the land to the camp does not allow such permanent buildings

and no ownership of the land is provided or accepted. The expansions have led to conflict with the local

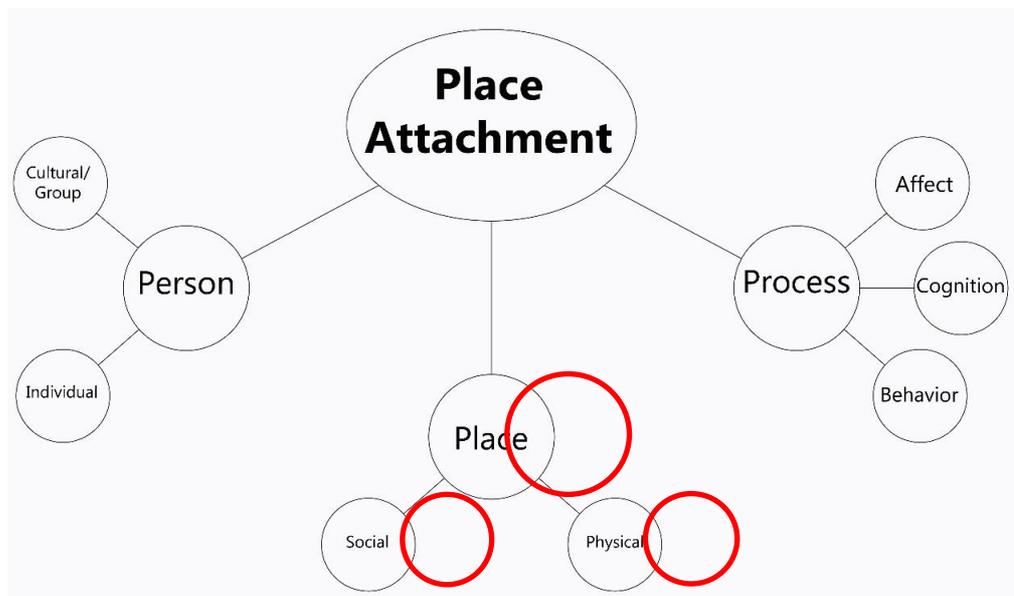


Figure 9: Place Attachment Framework by Scannell & Gifford/ prepared/© Author based on the study by Scannell & Gifford

authorities. Specially after the refugees using the main power supply to wire their homes and shops, which led to a spiderweb formation of utility wires and cables. That could be dangerous during natural weather conditions. The further districts still protect the original grid layout as more planning and regulation were forced. (Dalal et al., 2018). They are still in shortage of services comparing to the first districts. For the mapping system streets were named by using a system of formality and not allowing any names related to origin of the refugees, other streets were named after landmarks such as schools donated by other humanitarian agencies and donating countries; such as the “Saudi street”. Which refers to the caravans donated by Saudi Arabia, and the “Bahrainian school” street which house the Bahrain donated school, and “Qatari school “, “French hospital”.

### Physical Analysis of Zaatari Camp

The PPP framework of place attachment by Scannell & Gifford, is adapted in the analysis of the relationship between the built environment and refugees of Zaatari camp in Jordan. The selection of the Physical Place dimension to focus on, with both its concepts that being of social and physical levels will help to understand and analysis the changes carried by the refugees to their surrounding built environment. The analysis of the chosen area will show the connection between social physical background of refugees and the adapted physical changes.

The area selected for the analysis is within the first and third districts, which is located next to the main gate, being the first area to be inhabited at the camp. The chosen area has a distinguished and a clear layout, with multiple functions such as an entrance hall, hospital, school, shops, and markets. The analysis of the chosen area will be divided according to the hierarchy of scale (urban to shelters). and the type of common usage (public, private). Moreover, the analysis will consider two variables time and layout. Three time periods are selected to clarify and understand the changes that occurred in the chosen area. First period in 2013, second 2018, and third in 2020.

### **The Streets analysis:**

The analysis was performed in the chosen area using two variables time and layout. Through figure 65 the main street can be noticed as a continuous and not changing through the three period. The main street start with the main gate and extends to the end of the camp in the form of a continuous longitude line, is was used by the agencies as an easy, and fast access through the camp which resulted in it being used as a divider in the planning of the 12 districts. All roads were planned to be accessible at least by one side of the main street. Through the three periods it is evident that, being moulded from asphalt the main street holds its shape. The emerging of shops, and markets located alongside the main street led to be established as the prime lifeline of daily life in the camp.

Secondary roads however are used mainly by refugees, though most resulted as an outcome of the random movement and relocation of the shelters. These roads shifted easily being mostly dirt roads, which resulted in more fragmented urban layout. Drastic shift can be seen between the first period and the second, the continuous changing in the shelter's layout affected the direction and numbers of these secondary roads. Third period shows less shifting as more roads took a permanent shape, for being the eldest districts less change and planning were added to the layout.

Through the changing layout of the camp and the main streets, the lack of open areas and open spaces can be evident, green spaces were not thought of during the planning due to the short lifespan considered for these camps. Though more emerging green spaces and open areas can be noticed in the second and third periods (2015 -2020). The scale of these spaces still insufficient comparing to the camp's scale.

### **The Management analysis:**

the construction of new management structures are still taking place in the camp today. In order to meet the demand and constant changes presented. The initial structures can be seen in figure 66 are based at the front south-west area, through time the structures held its original location but increased in numbers and space. More NGO's and Humanitarian agencies got involvement thus led to the multiplication in numbers of the structures. Daily needs of refugees presented new requirements, more structures were added with multiple functions such as hospitals, command offices, planning offices, schools, youth centres and green areas to name a few.

Moreover, the unplanned expansion in the camp scale led for the importance of easy accessibility of these structures from the main street, with manageable access through secondary roads and resulted in a grid network alongside the main street.

### **The Utilities analysis:**

Utilities structures consisted of public kitchens, community gathering spaces, washrooms, toilets, communal baths, which was used heavily in the first period. Utilities structures were scattered around the districts where no planning used. The aim was to provide easy access from and to the shelters, which lead to the loss of direct accessibility to the main street. This spatial division intensified the fragmentation of planning. Through the second period, in Figure IV.52 less utilities structures can be seen, this was a result of adaptation in the refugee's shelters. The needless of these structures increased and thus the structures were fragmented, and the materials used for the expanding and

changing of the refugee's shelters. With the emerging of shops and markets some of these remaining structures turned into local business were other altered into prayer places.

### **The Shelters analysis:**

Tents are the symbol of refugee's camp shelters, it represent the first asset of protection offered to refugees fleeing war or natural disasters.(Agier, 2002). The first stage of opening the Zaatari camp tents were provided as shelters for the refugees. These tents were easily managed for relocation by the refugee's whether to be closer to others or to merge multiple tents to provide for a larger family. In the first period changes to the tents began, by adding a metal sheets extra space was provided for shading and cooking outside after several accidents regarding smoke and fire events. This new space also provided a defined entrance outside the tent's layout. Next the merging of two tents or more provided more separated defined layout, as patterns of privet and public spaces can be seen. The climate in Zaatari camp however proved to be challenging, it provided additional struggles and the need to find a better solution by the humanitarian agencies. The tents at this point proved to be incapable of providing both protection against the climate and privacy for the refugees. Thus, came the distribution of caravans. These new shelters met the refugee's need in both protection and privacy, but the substitution of tents into caravans in the early districts provided more fragmented and random planning. The resulted shape seen in Figure IV.56 of merging the caravans with tents resulted in random shape planning to random clusters that serve and mirror their daily life needs better. As result of these changes the need for the public utilities decreased as mentioned before.

The distribution of water tanks after the first period introduced the emerging of private toilets and showers within the shelter's layout, which was followed by the manifestation of a fully functional kitchens. Though some types of caravans were equipped with a built-in toilet and kitchenette, they were quickly utilized by the refugees and moved outside, this provided more independency for them. Figure IV.52, 53, 54 shows the methods used for the forming of these new housing units as gradually more functions were added.

The social physical background of refugees is evident, it required the separation of spaces, private from public with the private area usually is for women and children to use and the sleeping space located in the back, middle semi-private area where the kitchen, toilets, showers located. Then comes the public area usually for men and guests with the main entrance and an outdoor garden or courtyard. The layout zoning emerged from the Islamic Arabic traditional houses layout, also the choice of combining multiple families to form one family compound which can be seen closely in figure 73 in stage 5, and 6 with more permanent features added like fences and non-direct entrance to provide more privacy. The random clusters resulted from the formation, closeness and random fragmentation of these shelters as seen in figure 68. Here the role of social background in affecting the formation of place identity with a new space, thus resulting in the creation of place attachment in a forging settlement.



Camp Layout 14/1/2013  
Camp Zoning analysis



Camp Layout 14/1/2013  
Solid and Void analysis



Camp Layout 14/1/2018  
Camp Zoning analysis



Camp Layout 14/1/2018  
Solid and Void analysis



Camp Layout 14/1/2020  
Camp Zoning analysis



Camp Layout 14/1/2020  
Solid and Void analysis

Figure 10: Selected area analysis. ©Author based on Google maps, UNHCR data



Figure 13: Close-up Cluster area analysis.  
©Author based on Google maps, UNHCR data

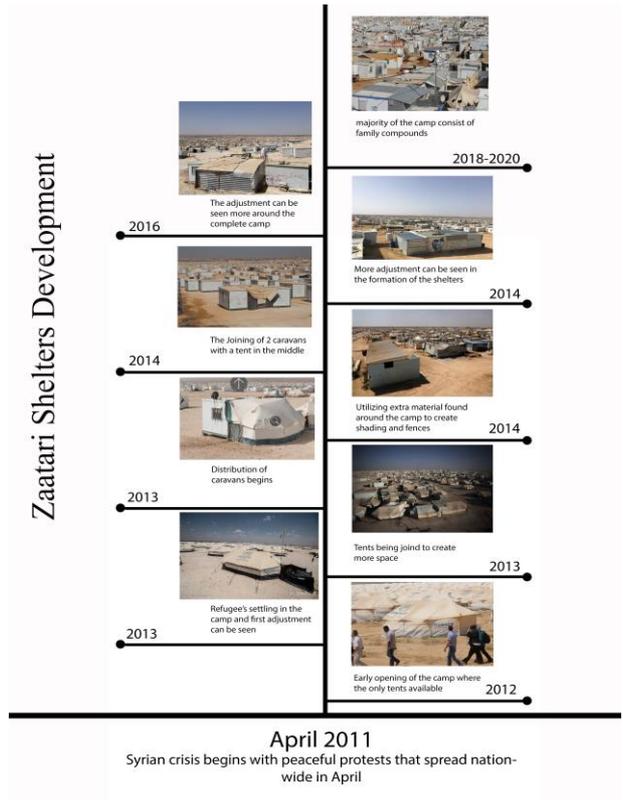


Figure 14: Shelter development pictures

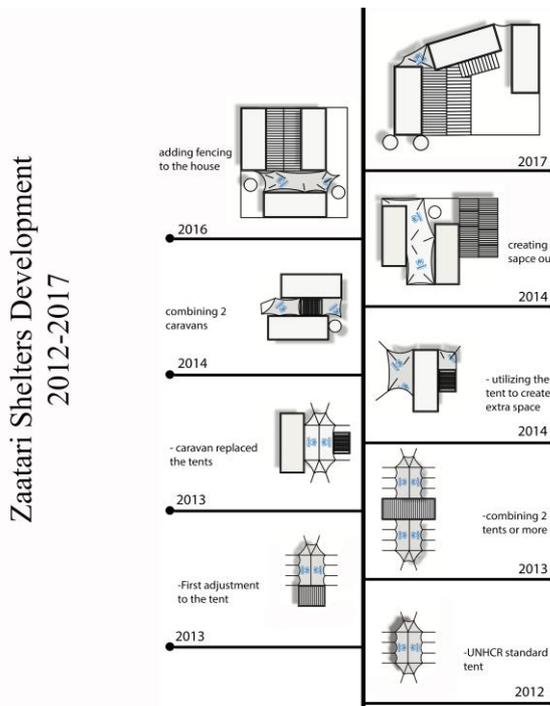


Figure 11: Shelters development illustration.  
©Author based on Google maps, UNHCR data

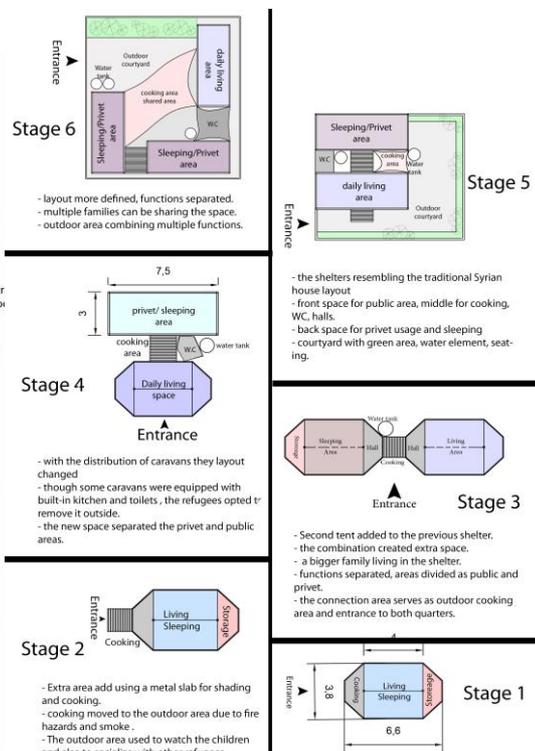
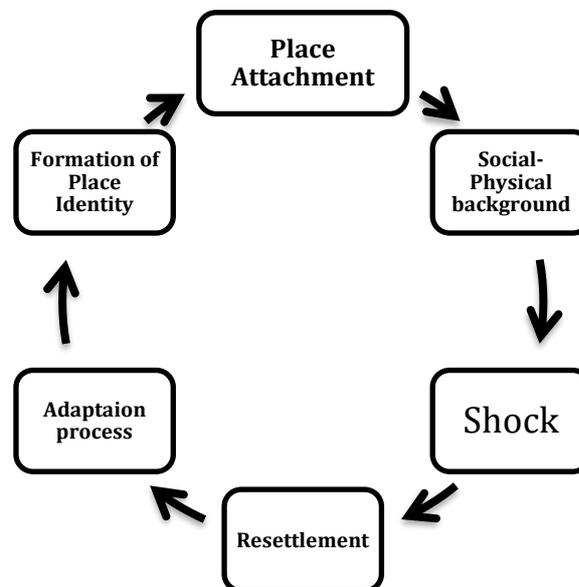


Figure 12: interior layout development of shelters.  
©Author based on Google maps, UNHCR data

## Conclusion

Today's news trend around the world are refugee's and war. This reality is only faced by the individuals, groups, and organizations involved. Recently the attention of researchers and architects shifted toward this trend. However, the shared idea of the short lifespan, and the needless necessity for the re-planning of these camps have created a pause for future research and studies. Zaatari camp has proved to be a rapid developing city without being one, the fast and uncontrolled expansion presented numerous challenges such being urban planning and infrastructure. The necessity to learn from these past mistakes in order to avoid future planning problems. The aim of this research is to show the effects of previous social background and place attachment in reforming bonds to a newly built environment. Place attachment has become a new trend in architecture, but the focus does not include the formed attachment in forced settlement, and migration as an outcome of war. the concepts of place attachment and place identity have not yet been explored in these new camps or refugee camps in general, more studies and research are needed in the field of environmental behaviour among refugees to understand the long last effects of these forced movements. Furthermore, does these concepts of bonding have effects on the process of bonding, and the connection created with the built environment will last or not.



This new bond formed by refugees towards the camp is a result of a continuous cycle. This process  
Figure 15: Process formation of Place Attachment.

(figure V.1) after the initial shock of resettlement, comes the acceptance and adaptation process followed by the formation of place identity which resulting in place attachment connected to their social- physical background. The results can be applied only to the zaatari camp, but future research in needed to understand whether these bonds can be created under different settings and camps.

The refugees need to relocate and adapt, they created an urban community layout similar to their Arabic cities. This resulted from their previous lifestyle as quoted by Boğaç “ A person's place attachment develops and matures as their self-evaluation process does, the place we born into and grow up in can influence our concept of the ideal environment”. (Boğaç, 2009). The analysis of shelters proved that cultural background can effect the new formed shelters, with the spatial layout it shows the gender separation, the different zoning and the new created areas within the household, all these spaces were created and added to serve their daily needs and to adapt to their lifestyle.

In the same study performed on place attachment between foreigners in settlements, the results showed that a person's original home still represented the ideal home layout, though providing of new shelters is not equal to the loss of the original home. The resilience shown by these refugees and the need to be rooted as mentioned by Simone Weil "to be rooted is the most important and least recognized need of human soul" made the adaptation and forming of new connections faster and more important. "The status of the refugee's and their acceptance towards their living situation can be identical to the concept of elective belongings to describe their form of attachment"(Savage et al., 2005). Through the changes the manifestation of environmental psychology, place attachment and place identity applied by the changes to the camp. The connection they formed led to the continuous transformation of the camp.

Google satellite images show the scale of growth and development in the camp similar to a city growth, though the centre of this growth begins with the first and third district where high living density can be seen and spread to the west, the planning of this camp does not adapt equally. The need for better understanding in future planning and infrastructure of these camps can save time, effort, and funding. Therefore, reducing waste and providing sustainability. In future prospect to use these camps for future settlements.

This research aims to help future studies regarding camps design with the consideration of environmental behaviour, the role of place identity how culture background plays a role in new place acceptance and thus creating place attachment. This research also can be the base for future studies to be more elaborated to find a suitable solution whether in construction techniques or the theoretical search regarding identity of these semi-temporary structures, and the multi-cultural space identity in forging settlements. With this information we ask can the understanding of these camps lead to new planning guides and new regulations regarding camps planning? Can the impact of environmental psychology be connected directly to the physical built environment of other and future camps? How important is the role of place attachment in our lifestyle?

## REFERENCES

- Agier, M. (2002). Between war and city Towards an urban anthropology of refugee camps. *Ethnography*, 3(3), 317–341.
- Al Husseini, J. (2012). The Management of the Palestinian Refugee Camps in Jordan between Logics of Integration and Exclusion. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, (January). <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2166837>
- ALRAI. (2012). افتتاح مخيم الزعتري لإيواء اللاجئين السوريين - صحيفة الرأي. *AL Rai News*. Retrieved from <http://alrai.com/article/530134.html>
- Altman, I., & Low, S. M. (1992). *Attachment Human Behavior and Environment*.
- Bechtel, R. B., & Churchman, A. (2002). Handbook on Environmental Psychology. In *Annual Reviews in Psychology* (Vol. 37).
- Billig, M. (2006). Is my home my castle? Place attachment, risk perception, and religious faith. *Environment and Behavior*, 38(2), 248–265. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013916505277608>
- Boğaç, C. (2009). Place attachment in a foreign settlement. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 29(2), 267–278. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2009.01.001>

Brown, B. B., & Perkins, D. D. (1992). Brown and Perkins, 1992, Page. 279.pdf (pp. 279–280). pp. 279–280. New York: University of Utah, Plenum, New York.

Cresswell, T., Edney, M., Delaney, D., & Schuurman, N. (2012). Place A Short Introduction (Short Introductions to Geography) -Wiley-Blackwell (2004) (Vol. 1).

Dalal, A. (2014). Camp Cities between Planning and Practice: Mapping the Urbanisation of Zaatari Camp.

Dalal, A., Darweesh, A., Misselwitz, P., & Steigemann, A. (2018). Planning the ideal refugee camp? A critical interrogation of recent planning innovations in Jordan and Germany. *Urban Planning*, 3(4), 64–78. <https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v3i4.1726>

Droseltis, O., & Vignoles, V. L. (2010). Towards an integrative model of place identification: Dimensionality and predictors of intrapersonal-level place preferences. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 30(1), 23–34. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2009.05.006>

Edwards, A. (2015). History of UNHCR - UNHCR Turkey. Retrieved November 25, 2019, from UNHCR website: <https://www.unhcr.org/tr/en/history-of-unhcr>

Fried, M. (2000). Continuities and discontinuities of place. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 20(3), 193–205. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jevp.1999.0154>

Giuliani, M. V. (2003). Theory of Attachment and Place Attachment 5 Theory of Attachment and Place Attachment. *Psychological Theories for Environmental Issues*, (November), 137–170.

Gustafson, P. (2009). Mobility and territorial belonging. *Environment and Behavior*, 41(4), 490–508. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013916508314478>

Hernández, B., Carmen Hidalgo, M., Salazar-Laplace, M. E., & Hess, S. (2007). Place attachment and place identity in natives and non-natives. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 27(4), 310–319. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2007.06.003>

Hirsch, B. J., & Deutsch, N. (2005). A place to call home: Afterschool programs for urban youth. *American Psychological Association.*, (a second home. In B. J. Hirsch (Ed.)), 41–65.

Hornsey, M., & Gallois, C. (1998). from the SAGE Social Science Collections . Downloaded. *Feminism and Psychology*, 8(1), 58–75.

Kaplan, S. (2006). *Environmental Psychology*. *Encyclopedia of Cognitive Science*, 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1002/0470018860.s00527>

Lee, J. (2018). Syria's war: Inside Jordan's Zaatari refugee camp | Jordan | Al Jazeera. Retrieved November 24, 2019, from al Jazeera website: <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/inpictures/syria-war-jordan-zaatari-refugee-camp-180326115809170.html>

Lewicka, M. (2011). Place attachment: How far have we come in the last 40 years? *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 31(3), 207–230. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2010.10.001>

Manzo, L. C. (2005). For better or worse: Exploring multiple dimensions of place meaning. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 25(1), 67–86. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2005.01.002>

Manzo, L. C., & Devine Wright, P. (2013). *Place Attachment book Advances in Theory, Methods and Applications* Lynne C. Manzo, Patrick Devine-Wright - (2013, Routledge).pdf.

- Mazumdar, S., & Mazumdar, S. (2004). Religion and place attachment: A study of sacred places. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 24(3), 385–397. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2004.08.005>
- McKeever, C. (n.d.). Best start to education for thousands of preschool children in Za'atari and Azraq refugee camps. Retrieved November 20, 2019, from UNHCR Jordan website: <https://www.unicef.org/press-releases/best-start-education-thousands-preschool-children-zaatari-and-azraq-refugee-camps>
- Pelletier, L. G., Lavergne, K. J., & Sharp, E. C. (2008). Environmental psychology and sustainability: Comments on topics important for our future. *Canadian Psychology*, 49(4), 304–308. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0013658>
- Plunkett, D., Phillips, R., & Ucar Kocaoglu, B. (2018). Place Attachment and Community Development. *Journal of Community Practice*, 26(4), 471–482. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10705422.2018.1521352>
- Pollini, G. (2005). Elements of a theory of place attachment and socio-territorial belonging. *International Review of Sociology*, 15(3), 497–515. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03906700500272483>
- Proshansky, H. M., Fabian, A. K., & Kaminoff, R. (1983). Senses of place. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 3, 57–83. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315745978>
- Relph, E. C. (1976). Place and Placelessness (Research in Planning and Design) (p. 156). p. 156. Retrieved from [https://www.amazon.com/Place-Placelessness-Research-Planning-Design/dp/0850860555/ref=sr\\_1\\_1?keywords=9780850860559&linkCode=qs&qid=1563182101&s=books&sr=1-1](https://www.amazon.com/Place-Placelessness-Research-Planning-Design/dp/0850860555/ref=sr_1_1?keywords=9780850860559&linkCode=qs&qid=1563182101&s=books&sr=1-1)
- Savage, M., Bamgall, G., & Longhurst, B. (2005). Globalization & Belonging.
- Scannell, L., & Gifford, R. (2010). Defining place attachment: A tripartite organizing framework. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 30(1), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2009.09.006>
- Scannell, L., & Gifford, R. (2014). comparing the theories of interpersonal and place attachment (pp. 22–36). pp. 22–36.
- Seamon, D. (2012). The Role of Place Identity in the Perception CHAPTER 1 Place, Place Identity, and Phenomenology: A Triadic Interpretation Based on J.G. Bennett's Systematics. *Understanding, and Design of Built Environments*, 3–21.
- Shumaker, S., & Taylor, R. b. (1983). Toward a Clarification of People-Place Relationships: A Model of Attachment to Place. Retrieved March 22, 2020, from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/313445457\\_Toward\\_a\\_Clarification\\_of\\_People-Place\\_Relationships\\_A\\_Model\\_of\\_Attachment\\_to\\_Place](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/313445457_Toward_a_Clarification_of_People-Place_Relationships_A_Model_of_Attachment_to_Place)
- Stedman, R. C. (2002). Toward a social psychology of place: Predicting behavior from place-based cognitions, attitude, and identity. *Environment and Behavior*, 34(5), 561–581. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013916502034005001>
- Steg, L., Berg, A. E., & Groot, J. (2018). Environmental Psychology : History , Scope , and Methods. *Environmental Psychology*, 1–11.
- Tuan, Y.-F. (1977). *space and place : the perspective of experience*.

UNHCR. (2009). NEW ISSUES IN REFUGEE RESEARCH Creating humanitarian space: a case study of Somalia Policy Development and Evaluation Service. (184). Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/4b2a035e9.pdf>

UNHCR. (2010). P R O T O C O L. Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees.

UNHCR. (2019). Global Trends Forced Displacement in 2018. Retrieved from [www.unhcr.org/5c6fb2d04](http://www.unhcr.org/5c6fb2d04)

UNHCR. (2020). UNHCR ' s 2020-2021 Financial Requirements. (November 2019).

United Nations High Commission for Refugees. (2014). Policy on Alternatives to Camps. 12. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2008.05.005>

Wolf, K.L., S. Krueger, and K. F. (2014). Place Attachment & Meaning :: Green Cities: Good Health. Retrieved October 30, 2019, from College of the Environment, University of Washington. website: [https://depts.washington.edu/hhwb/Thm\\_Place.html](https://depts.washington.edu/hhwb/Thm_Place.html)

Worthington, J. (2018). Sustainable Real Estate for a Changing Climate. Smart Building in a Changing Climate, 21–92.

# HOW DOES THE MIGRANT SMUGGLING SYSTEM WORK BETWEEN SYRIA AND TURKEY? THE SYRIAN REFUGEES CASE

İNCI AKSU KARGIN

Migrant smuggling has become a major problem among the many states that have experienced increases in the number of migrants in this last century. According to both international agreements and Turkish domestic laws, migrant smuggling, which entails ensuring that an individual will illegally enter into a country of which he or she is not a citizen in exchange for payment, is defined as a crime. The Syrian civil war, which began in 2011, has created a serious refugee problem throughout the world, and how to manage this problem has become a top priority for both neighboring countries, which host a majority of the refugees, and Europe. In particular, losing thousands of migrants their lives in 2015, when seeking to reach Europe through illegal ways, revealed that the risk in the increase of migrant smuggling will increase with the growth of the refugee crisis. Although the majority of states, particularly those in the European Union, have strengthened their border control and surveillance, both along land and sea, in order to discourage migrants from attempting to reach Europe via illegal means, it remains important to better understand how this illegal smuggling system works so that a solution may be developed. This study employed semi-structured interviews conducted with Syrian refugees in Gaziantep to assess how the network that facilitates the smuggling of migrants from Syria to Turkey works. Some of the specifics addressed have to do with the costs of the journey, how the migrant-smuggler connection is formed, and the risks the refugees face. In addition, this study examines how Turkish border security forces intervene in the smuggling process.

# ACCESS TO HEALTH CARE AMONG SYRIAN REFUGEES IN JORDAN: ACCESS BARRIERS AND ADAPTATION STRATEGIES

**IBRAHEEM ABU SIAM**

Background: Syria crisis considered the worst refugee crisis since world war II, the increase in the number of refugees from the Syrian Arab Republic (Syria) across the Middle East region continued and the need remains for a large-scale response to address the needs of refugees already present in the host community. Jordan was one of the most affected countries where more than 666,000 Syrians fled to and establish their new life, the vast majority of them (81.5 % ) settled themselves in major urban settings across the country where they used the established urban systems, with support from GoJ and UN agencies they were obliged to integrate their needs into public major systems including but not limited to health and education. Methods: A survey among Syrian Refugees in Jordan carried out in December 2019 to identify barriers to access health care and identify main adaptation strategies adopted by Syrian refugees in Urban setting. 384 urban Syrian refugees households (HH) selected from 2 major hosting governorate (Amman and Zarqa) through three community service centers using simple random technique. Results: Health Care-seeking was high with 87.6 % of households reporting a member sought medical care the last month and 92.6 % of them were able to get needed services. Almost three quarters (74.9%) of HH confirmed payment of some money to access the services; 32% confirmed the cost was a main barrier and the same proportion were not satisfied with the quality of care, less groups (12%) mention knowledge where to go as a barrier while transportation listed by only 4%. More than half of surveyed HH (53.1%) confirmed increase in health care cost; 99.5% of them confirmed presence of direct impact on their families. Several adaptation strategies adopted by HH to meet their health needs, for instant, more than half of families (56.7%) start looking for free services provided by NGOs to minimize the impact of health care cost increase while half of them reduce or stop use of medication. Additionally, almost half of HH (49.1%) used traditional medicine and other most borrow money or used savings to meet their families health needs. Conclusions: Despite high levels of care-seeking, cost was a major barrier to access health service for Syrian refugees in Jordan while a risky adaptation strategies adopted by high proportion of families. Finally, restricted access to the basic package of health services increase the tendency refugees to adopt negative adaptation strategies to reduce health care cost including use a low-quality health care, unsafe practices, reduction or delay care seeking or use drugs inappropriately.

# **PARTICIPATION IN SPORTS, ARTS AND CULTURE ACTIVITIES TO IMPROVE THE WELL-BEING OF THE UNACCOMPANIED REFUGEE MINORS IN THE THE LAGKADIKIA CAMP**

**JUSTIN BLANKENSTEIJN**

Refugees are very vulnerable to threats like human trafficking, being exploited and being daily exposed to crime. Within this refugee group there exist many even more vulnerable groups like unaccompanied refugee minors. According to UNICEF, 36% of the arrivals in Greece are minors, of which 17% came without parents or legal guardians (identified as unaccompanied refugee minors) (UNICEF, 2019). This study is conducted for Arsis. Arsis is an NGO that is active in supporting refugees and migrants in Greece in many ways. This study is specifically focused on the unaccompanied refugee minors in the Lagkadikia Camp (North of Thessaloniki). Arsis is active in the safe zone of this camp where they have the capacity of providing housing and support to around 30 unaccompanied refugee minors. The minors get not only supported by receiving houses, but they also get mental and physical support. The staff of Arsis who work in the safe zone provide food, psychological support and organize many kinds of activities. The purpose of this study is to identify which activities, in and outside the camp, are preferred by the minors and how they have a (more) beneficial effect on the well-being. The research design of this study consists of three main methods: an autoethnography, interviews and desk research. Experiences and stories from me (the researcher), who volunteered in the safe zone, are described. I was a couple of months active in the safe zone but due to the COVID-19 crisis, I couldn't continue my work. The interviews are conducted with Arsis staff members and key informants in the field who work with unaccompanied minors. Evidence of this study suggests that the unaccompanied refugee minors prefer competitive and active activities. The activities are more interesting to them if they are based on their needs and wishes or if they are unfamiliar. The activities should be well-structured, providing new experiences and based on their needs to increase their motivation to attend. It is important that the minors attend these activities because results from the research show that they can have a positive impact on their well-being. Findings from the research exhibit that if the activities are competitive, they are experienced as more fun and exciting, which has a positive effect on how the minors perceive their day. Activities that are new and give the chance to socialize with people can have a big effect on their self-esteem. To summarize the findings: this study recognizes activities that refugee minors prefer, how they can be motivated for attending different kinds of activities, how activities can have a positive effect on their well-being and how Arsis could improve their current activities to have a greater positive effect.

**LITERATURE STUDIES '20 /  
XI. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON  
LITERATURE**

# TOURISM ELEMENTS IN AGATHA CHRISTIE'S NOVEL *THE MYSTERY OF THE BLUE TRAIN*: COMPARISON BETWEEN FICTION AND REALITY

CLAUDIA MARIA ASTORINO

Claudia Maria Astorino, Prof. PhD, UFSCar Brazil

## ABSTRACT

Both her autobiography (1977) and the book *The Grand Tour: Letters and Photographs from the British Empire Expeditions* (2013) present many evidences that Agatha Christie has always been very fond of travelling. As a consequence, many of her novels take place in travelling situations, with plentiful of details about the means of transportation, hotels, food and beverage services, travel agencies, tour guiding, etc. In her novel *The Mystery of The Blue Train* (published in England in 1928) some of these tourism products and services are very explicit, resulting in a highly detailed portrait of the way the English and American high class tourists used to travel. The present work aimed to discuss the presence of the train, hotels, travel agency and other tourism elements in this novel in order to compare this fictional story with the tourism evolution by then. The methodology consisted of a technical reading to search and locate these tourism elements. Secondly, these findings were put on a table in order to analyze and discuss these elements afterwards, comparing them with the tourism evolution described by tourism researchers. The findings showed evident connection between fiction and reality.

**Keywords:** Agatha Christie; *The Mystery of the Blue Train*; tourism history; fiction x reality

## INTRODUCTION

Based upon the Comparative Literature widely discusses by Nitrini (1990) and Carvalhal (2007), this paper aims to discuss one of the possible associations between literature and tourism, at the same direction that some authors established association between cinema and tourism. Therefore, as well as it is possible to investigate in which extent cinema may be a rich input for choosing a tourist destination or a tourist itinerary, once a great deal of films may inspire people to travel to the places they see on the movies, something similar may be done with books. In fact, novels, short stories and even biographies mention and describe countries, cities, towns, villages and landscapes that may seduce the readers, who will be eager to visit the places that appear in the book. The novel *The Mystery of the Blue Train* (1928), which is the object under analysis in this paper, is a great source of inspiration for trips throughout the French Riviera. However, there are other associations between literature and history, as pointed out by Naxara (2006), which are still less explored by tourism researchers. One of them is the possibility of using literature as a document to illustrate the tourism evolution at a specific period in history. Therefore, literature (mainly, novels, short stories and plays) could be introduced in the program of tourism undergraduate courses as a valid tool to provide the understanding of the tourism evolution.

The English writer Agatha Christie is worldwide famous for her detective novels. As she was very fond of travelling, many of her novels took place in travelling situations. The *Mystery of the Blue Train* shows the movement of the English high class tourists towards the French Riviera during the winter months in order to escape from cloudy and cold days in England. They used to travel on the Blue Train, which was the popular name of Calais-Mediterranée Express. The luxury train was composed by cabins and a dining car, where passengers could have their meals.

Apart from the already mentioned movement towards the Mediterranean, specifically towards the French Riviera, other tourism aspects are mentioned several times along the novel: the train itself, where the crime takes place, the travel agency Thomas Cook & Sons, where both Derek Kettering and Katherine Gray book and buy their tickets for the Blue Train; the hotels in London (Savoy), Paris (Ritz) and in the French Riviera (Negresco, in Nice); the fine meals; tourist destinations in the French Riviera (Nice, Cannes, Montecarlo, Menton, Cap Martin; the casino in Montecarlo and activities like golf and tennis matches. These are therefore the elements that are highlighted and discussed in this paper.

The methodology consisted of three steps: (i) technical reading of *The Mystery of the Blue Train*, in order to search, locate and identify all the elements that could exemplify the tourism history and evolution; (ii) after this technical reading, all the mentioned and highlighted elements were put them on a table as to analyze and discuss each one of these elements and finally, (iii) comparison between these elements and the tourism evolution described and discussed by tourism researchers.

## FINDINGS

The tourism aspects that were widely presented throughout the novel may be divided as follows: 1) The movement towards the Mediterranean Sea, more precisely towards the French Riviera; 2) Tourist destinations that appear in the novel; 3) Travel Agencies; 4) The Blue Train; 5) Accommodation; 6) Leisure and social activities; 7) Transportation. The table 1 shows all these elements, their general aspects and their specific aspects.

	ELEMENTS	GENERAL ASPECTS	SPECIFIC ASPECTS
ELEMENT 1	MOVEMENT TOWARDS THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA (DREAMING THE FRENCH RIVEIRA)	Spontaneous movement or Medical prescription	Changing sceneries – from cloudy and cold English winter to sunny days by the Mediterranean Sea
ELEMENT 2	TOURIST DESTINATIONS THAT APPEAR IN THE NOVEL	Nice  Cannes  Antibes  Cap Martin  Monte Carlo	Final destination of the Blue Train  Location of the Negresco Hotel  One of the Blue Train stops  Location of Villa Marina  Location of the Villa Marguerite  Gambling and socializing destination
ELEMENT 3	TRAVEL AGENCIES	Thomas Cook & Sons	Travel advices  Rail tickets
ELEMENT 4	THE BLUE TRAIN	Structure  Services	Cabins  Dining car  Heating  Meals  Employees  Storing the cabins  Wake up service
ELEMENT 5	ACCOMODATION	Hotels	Savoy – London  Ritz – Paris

		Villas	Negresco – Nice Villa Marguerite – Cap Martin Villa Marina - Antibes
ELEMENT 6	LEISURE AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES	Tennis  Golf  Gathering together at the casino  Gambling  Meals (lunch, dinner, tea)	Some of them play, some just watch  Just mentioned  Monte Carlo  Monte Carlo  At one's villa, at one's hotel, in other hotels
ELEMENT 7	TRANSPORTATION	Public transportation in London  Private transportation at the French Riviera	Underground  Private car  Private car with driver  Taxi

Table 1. Elements presented in the novel with their general and specific aspects.

## DISCUSSION

### Movement towards the Mediterranean Sea – Dreaming the French Riviera

The novel shows English high class tourists' movement towards the Mediterranean Sea, more precisely towards the French Riviera, not only as an effort to change environment during the cloudy and cold English winter, but also as a social prestige. When Katherine Grey received her inheritance from Mistress Harfield, the first decision she made was giving herself a trip, and then she said that she knew very little of the world (p. 43). She added that she wanted to vary environments. Finally, she mentioned she was going to London to see her lawyer and then she was going abroad (p. 44).

Concerning the weather issues, throughout the novel *The Mystery of the Blue Train* there are passages that reveal the bad conditions of the English winter opposite to the qualities of the Mediterranean sunny days. The first time Lady Tamplin, who is English, is mentioned in the novel, she was in her Villa Marguerite located in Cap Martin - on the Riviera - reading the Daily Mirror when she learned Katherine Grey had inherited a significant fortune. She dropped the newspaper and "looked towards the blue waters of the Mediterranean" (p. 46). Some days later, when Mistress Kettering was at Victoria station,

saying goodbye to her father, she told him that the following month they would meet at the Riviera and he said that he wanted to go to the doctor that could recommend him a change of air and lots of sunshine (p. 57). Here, the reader may infer that doctors then would recommend a trip to the Mediterranean for patients with certain health issues, which could be classified as health tourism according to the classification discussed by Swarbrooke and Horner (2002, p. 62).

Already on the Blue Train dining car, as soon as Ruth Kettering and Katherine Grey started talking, they had an elucidative dialogue that well illustrates the habit of the English elite that used to spend the first two months of the year on the Riviera. This dialogue, that begins with Ruth revealing that she wanted to be surrounded by sunshine, also reveals that she goes to Riviera every year, justifying that “the months of January and February are horrible in London”. On the other side, it was Katherine’s first trip to Riviera, as she could finally travel only after having inherited a small fortune (p. 60).

After having spent the night on the train, when Katherine returned to her cabin from breakfast, she noticed that her cabin had been already tidied up by one of the train employees, who told her that it was a splendid day, and that it was so sad for the travelers who get there in a gray day (p. 66). Katherine answered him that she would feel bad about that indeed. Here, again, it is quite evident how important it was to change the English cloudy and cold days for the Mediterranean sunny days. Then, Katherine sat by the window and started to admire the sunny landscape, the palm trees, the blue immensity and the yellow mimosas, that are Riviera’s distinguished elements. Christie adds that all this scenery was enchanting, something new for someone who for the previous fourteen years has just experienced gray English winters (2010, p. 66). This colorful description meets what Swarbrooke and Horner (2002, p. 66) describe as “scenic tourism”.

Katherine was staying at Villa Marguerite, in Cap Martin, which was Lady Tamplin’s home, but she was not feeling comfortable at all due to Lady Tamplin’s and her husband’s behavior, always trying to explore her situation as a murder witness. However, when she stared at the blue Mediterranean through the mimosas, she was glad to be there once all that scenery was much nicer than that of Saint Mary Mead, where she had lived for fourteen years (p. 80). Again, there is evidence of scenic tourism. On the other hand, the following chapter, XIII, starts with Rufus van Aldin (Katherine’s father) working twice as usual as a consequence of a thick and yellow fog all over London, which highlights even more the differences between London’s and the French Riviera’s weather conditions (p. 82).

After Ruth’s murder, the judge of instruction, Carrége, found in her pocket a letter on which the Count de la Roche had told Ruth that it would not be prudent to gather together in Paris. Instead, they could have met at the Iles d’Or, in front of the Iles d’Hyères, which Caux, the police commissioner, described as an idyllic place. The detective Poirot then informed the others that he found out that the Count de la Roche was in Antibes, where he had rent Villa Marina (p. 96). Therefore, so far, the reader was already familiar with some of the most famous tourist destinations of the French Riviera that inspired the already mentioned scenic tourism (Swarbrooke& Horner, 2002).

However, while the elite could enjoy expensive trips on the luxury Blue Train as well as winters on the sunny Riviera, travelling was still reserved for a few, as the reader learns in chapter XXIX. When Amelia Virner - friend of the late Jane Harfield, of whom Katherine Grey had been chaperone - wrote to Katherine, complaining that she had spent a certain amount of money to consult a specialist in London, she also complained about the cost of the trip, even though she had a reduced price on the rail ticket (p. 177).

Right after reading Amelia Virner’s letter, Katherine contemplated the blues waters of the Mediterranean (p. 178).Chapter XXX starts with Katherine already back to England, in order to take care of Miss Viner. Through the window, she could see that it rained, not heavily, but persistently. She was

reading a letter from Poirot, in which he said that he wished she was doing well and that the English winter didn't make her depressed (p. 185).

Fuster points out that the Mediterranean began to be seen as a tourist destination in the middle of the XIX century (1974), and Boyer (1996, p. 73) and Lavarini (2009, p. 5) remember that the role of the Mediterranean remains that of a destination for winter; "swallows", as the English aristocrats who wintered in the mild climate of Southern Europe were called. In fact, Swarbrooke and Horner (2002) point out that France has always been one of the leading tourist destination because of its pleasant climate and good food & beverage, characteristics fully explored by Agatha Christie in this novel.

To sum up, researchers investigated that there are different travel motivations as well as multiple motivations, which seems to be the case of Katherine Grey, who traveled to the French Riviera to escape from the cloudy and cold English winter (evasion), to vary environment, to experience the beauties of the Mediterranean, and to visit her cousin's family, and according to Swarbrooke and Horner (2002), apart from the already mentioned scenic tourism, there are here examples of visiting friends and relatives tourism and evasion tourism.

## **TRAVEL AGENCIES**

When Katherine went to the offices of the Thomas Cook agency, she had to wait a while because the man who was talking to the employee was also interested in a rail ticket to the Riviera. "Apparently, everyone was going to the Riviera. Well, for the first time in her life, she would do the same as everyone else" (p. 51). The reader learns on the following page, that the man who was previously talking to the employee was Derek Kettering. He also headed to Picadilly Circus to go to Thomas Cook & Sons travel agency. Agatha Christie tells the reader that "the place was full and he had to wait for his turn" (p. 51), from what the reader can infer two things: (i) as it was high season (winter, when English elite members headed to the French Riviera) and (ii) Thomas Cook & Sons travel agency was quite popular. In fact, tourism researchers (De La Torre, 1985; Schlüter & Winter, 2000; Castoldi, 2008) concluded that not only Thomas Cook is recognized as the creator of the travel agency business, but also had he developed very fine travel services and spread travel agencies across the Great Britain as well as across other European and non-European countries. Returning to the novel, there was a dialogue between Derek and the travel agency's employee, who recommended him the Blue Train, since this was the most convenient one, as it would avoid disturbances at Calais customs (p. 52). The train was rather full, but the employee told Derek that there were still three cabins. When Derek went back home, he handed his servant a check, instructing him to cash it the following day so he could get the train tickets from Cook agency (p. 53). On the day of the trip the reader learns that the departure in London was at Victoria station (p. 57).

## **THE BLUE TRAIN**

As presented in the previous item, the Blue Train was quite popular among the English elite members who traveled from England to the French Riviera, boarding the train at Calais, the first French city for those who came from the English Channel. As a matter of fact, the Blue Train or *Train Bleu* (in French) was the colloquial way the train Calais-Mediterranée Express was called. It was a luxury French night train.

The reader learns that part of the trip, from Dover to Calais, was made by sea as Agatha Christie mentions at this point that Ruth Kettering was already used to sea travel. Later, as soon as she

disembarked from the ship in Calais, she settled with her maid, Ada Mason, in a double cabin on the Blue Train (p. 59). Throughout the novel, the reader may notice the fact that this elite used to take along his/her servant/maid in his/her trips.

After having settled on the train, Ruth headed for the restaurant car, where she met Katherine (p. 59). At this moment, Agatha Christie highlights the excellence of the Blue Train, narrated that a waiter with the peculiar skill of the company's employees served them two soup plates (p. 59). Then, the reader learns that there was a second dish and afterwards they drank coffee (pp. 60-61).

Soon after, Agatha Christie elucidates that the facilities shared by Ruth and her maid were two cabins joined together by a communication door (p. 61). The author also explains that there was more than one car on the train, as Katherine went to her cabin, which was on another car (p. 62), and that there were interminable stops and changes of tracks until reaching the Gare de Lyon in Paris, station where supposedly Ruth ordered her maid to buy her a basket of food and beverages (p. 63). As soon as the train left Paris, they began ringing the bells to announce dinner. When Katherine arrived at the dining car, the reader finds out that her dining companion would be Poirot, who appears for the first time in the novel (p. 63). On the following pages, the reader learns that on the Blue Train there were employees in charge of tidying up the cabins, making the beds and, if necessary, waking up the passengers in the morning. When Katherine got up during the night and left her cabin, everyone seemed to be sleeping on the train (p. 64). The next day, when Katherine got up, the sun was already shining very high and she headed to the dining car to have breakfast (p. 66). After breakfast, she was told by this employee that the train was a bit late and that he would let her know as soon as they would be approaching Nice. Later, when the train entered the Cannes station, she got out of the train to walk along the platform (p. 66).

After the crime had been already discovered, the train employee told detective Poirot that Mrs Kettering had told him not to wake her up in the morning, but as they arrived in Cannes, he decided to call her, and as she did not answer, he entered her cabin. When Van Aldin, Ruth Kettering's father, got to Nice, he was introduced to Poirot, who told him that he was retired and that he was just enjoying life, reason that explains why he was on the Blue Train heading to Nice too (p. 86).

In addition to all the already mentioned services, in order to provide a comfortable winter trip for the "sun seekers", the train was heated, providing a warm ambience inside, whereas it was cold outside (p. 139).

The Blue Train was undoubtedly a luxury train, which can be deduced by the details described by Agatha Christie, such as private cabins or double cabins joined by a communication door, fine meals, high quality services, etc. However, on page 108, Derek Kettering reproached the occurrence of a murder in such a luxury train as well as the French police for not having caught the murder by then.

In Chapter XXXIV the Blue Train is back. Poirot took Van Aldin and his secretary, Knighton, to undertake a trip from Calais to Nice in the "millionaires' train" in order to recreate the circumstances of Ruth's murder. Van Aldin and Knighton were staying in two cabins joined together by a communication door - just like the ones occupied by Ruth and her maid prior the murder - whereas Poirot was in another cabin in the same car (p. 203). After the train had left the Gare de Lyon, in Paris, they had dinner on the train. As Poirot had proposed them to spend the whole night sitting in Van Aldin's cabin, situation which was not at all comfortable, Christie comments that it was certainly the first time that three people paid the tickets for the most luxury train in the world to spend the night in the worst conditions (p. 205).

## ACCOMODATION

The hotels which are featured in the novel are all luxury, not fictional and so far still active. The first one with which the reader becomes familiar to is the Savoy, where Van Aldin used to stay while in London, from what the reader may conclude that this hotel is not only for tourists but also for those who plan to live in London in a temporary term, which is Van Aldin's situation. In fact, when the rich American met Knighton for the first time in a Swiss winter resort, he offered him a job, informing him that he was planning to stay in London for six months (p. 17).

Another real and still active hotel is the Ritz in Paris. César Ritz was a Swiss man who, despite a humble childhood, managed to undertake a career in the tourism field by working in distinguished restaurants and hotels until he had been given the director position at Savoy Hotel, in London, in 1889. Five years later, in 1894, he finally opened his own hotel, Grand Hotel di Roma, in the Italian capital, and in 1898, the first hotel that takes his name, Hotel Ritz, at Place Vendome, in Paris (Lavarini, 2009). In the novel, when Knighton came back from the French capital where he had been for business purposes, he intrigued Van Aldin by telling him that after his business appointment, he had gone to the Ritz to collect his luggage and to have lunch before taking the train at Gare du Nord. This way, the reader gets acquainted that the Hotel Ritz was quite popular among the English elite. Not only went Knighton to Ritz, but it also seems that Ruth sent her maid to this hotel, where she should wait for new orders, whereas she was heading to the French Riviera. As Mistress Kettering was already a known guest at Ritz, her maid would be given a room without any difficulty (p. 88).

The Negresco hotel in Nice is mentioned several times. Derek Kettering went there to have a drink and by the description of the author, the reader gets acquainted with the fact that it is located by the sea, as he stares the sea now and then (p. 111). After a brief conversation with Mirelle (his former lover), he ends by inviting Katherine, who arrives later and with whom he was in love, for lunch (pp. 111 – 113). Therefore, Agatha Christie lets the reader know that non guests were welcome for having meals at the facilities of the hotel.

Poirot and Knighton went to Mirelle's hotel, whose name is not mentioned. Apart from the bedroom, there was another small room, where there was a fireplace, a table and a vase full of lilies, which may lead to the conclusion that the apartment was quite comfortable (p. 161). Agatha Christie does not mention the name of the hotel where Papopoulos and his daughter, Zia, were staying either, but Poirot found them having breakfast in their own room (p. 133), which is the first evidence of room service in the novel. Similarly, when Poirot arrived exhausted to his hotel room, he asks his servant, George, to order a cup of chocolate, which shows that room service was not only available for meals but also for light snacks (p. 166).

In Chapter XXXI, Poirot is talking with Katherine in Savoy Hotel. She mentioned the letter that she had received from him and that had been written when he was staying at the Ritz Hotel and he told her that he loved to stay in good hotels, mainly when paid a millionaire (p. 197).

From a luxury train to a luxury hotel, in chapter XXXV, not only did the reader see the Blue Train for the last time, but also the Negresco as Poirot is sitting and talking to Van Aldin in his room (p. 207). And finally, the last chapter, XXXVI sees the detective talking to Lenox at Villa Marguerite and the blue waters of the Mediterranean were even more intense than ever (p. 215) when they listen the whistle of the "damned Blue train" (p. 216).

## LEISURE AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

When Katherine got at Villa Marguerite, Mr Evans asked his wife, Lady Tamplin, if her cousin, Katherine, played tennis and she answered that she did not believe Katherine could play tennis nor golf. So, here, for the first time, the reader gets familiar with two of the leisure activities that were popular during this winter holidays in the French Riviera. One day, after Knighton and Katherine were introduced at Lady Tamplin's Villa Marguerite, Knighton invited Katherine to go to the tennis court and sent her a car to pick her up (p. 125), but in fact Knighton, Katherine, Van Aldin and Poirot gathered together there just to watch other people playing (pp. 127–132).

Another social activity during the holidays that can be seen in some parts of the novel is gambling or simply going to Monte Carlo and to its casino where it was possible to spend some relaxed time with other people. There was another characters' meeting in Monte Carlo: Katherine and Poirot were sitting at the casino garden. Afterwards, Knighton got out of the casino telling Katherine that he had gambled and lost all the money he had with him. Later, Poirot, himself, was gambling, but bet a minimal amount. Knighton approached Poirot so to have a private conversation with him, and the detective suggested that they could go outside because it was very pleasant to sunbath while walking and Knighton said he really loved the Riviera (pp. 153-158). Regarding Monte Carlo and its worldwide famous casino, Acerenza remembers the fortune of the city of fortune goes back to 1872, when there were already 35 hotels and 116 villas to attend the ten thousand tourists demand (1986).

Another social activity at the Riviera was having lunch or dinner with friends. Poirot invited Papopoulos and his daughter Zia to have dinner with him (p. 137). They had a delicious dinner, the menu was select and, the wines, excellent (page 171). Afterwards, they headed to the casino, as Poirot proposed them to gamble. As they got there the Greek went for a walk around the halls, whereas Poirot and Zia went gambling. He was not lucky, but Zia, instead, had a good run and, shortly after arriving, had already won a few thousand francs. Later, Poirot proposed a walk around the Casino beautiful garden (page 171). Vega (1979), who wrote about the tourism periods and evolution, pointed out that Monte Carlo was, in other times, the exclusive domain of the most benefited classes, which is confirmed by this Agatha Christie novel.

## LOCAL TRANSPORTATION

Throughout the novel, apart from the luxury and exclusive Blue Train, the reader may encounter different means of local transportation, from public to private ones. In spite of being a real millionaire, Van Aldin got the underground in London to reach the City, which is an evidence that this transportation system was not popular just among the working class (p. 31). At the French Riviera, on the contrary, transportation was based on private basis. Count de la Roche went to Monte Carlo by driving his own car (p. 105), and later he drove very fast his two-seat and fast red car back to Monte Carlo, where he spent several hours in the casino. Afterwards, he went to Menton, where he had tea in one of the local hotels. Afterwards, he went back to Monte Carlo, where he had dinner (p. 118). Some others also reach Monte Carlo by car, but driven by a private driver. By the way, regarding cars with private driver, Poirot takes one to pick up Katherine at Villa Marguerite, and later the same car takes her back to villa Marguerite (pp. 121-124). Mirelle, too, was seen in a car with driver, although drivers were never mentioned (p. 144). Palhares (2002) points out some advantages of the private cars as opposite to public transportation: (i) independence, which permits the owner to use it whenever he/she wants to; (ii) comfort; (iii) privacy and (iv) door to door service. All these advantages may be seen in the episode that has been just described, once Count de la Roche could go wherever and whenever he wanted to, which included escaping from the police chase

## CONCLUSIONS AND FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This paper aimed to highlight and discuss the tourism elements present in the novel *The Mystery of the Blue Train*, by Agatha Christie. Therefore, after a technical reading, these elements were extracted and divided into 7 categories: 1) The movement towards the Mediterranean Sea, more precisely towards the French Riviera; 2) Tourist destinations that appear in the novel; 3) Travel Agencies; 4) The Blue Train; 5) Accommodation; 6) Leisure and social activities; 7) Transportation. Firstly, the paper discussed the English high class' need of evasion and search for the Mediterranean during the winter months, especially January and February. In the same item, the tourist destinations in the French Riviera were exposed and discussed. Afterwards, it showed the popularity of the Thomas Cook & Sons travel agency services. Then, the luxury Blue Train was introduced with all its features and services. Having arrived at the destinations, some of the tourists used to stay in private villas, either renting them or being a guest at a friend's or a relative's one. Others preferred to stay in luxury hotels. The hotels which were presented and named throughout the novel, Savoy in London, Ritz in Paris and Negresco in Nice are not fictional. They are real hotels and are still active, which makes it possible to get familiar to their facilities and services. The following category discussed the leisure and social activities that gathered together the tourists. Although Agatha Christie introduces tennis and golf as winter sports, the characters used rather to watch the matches instead of practicing these sports. On the other hand, regarding gambling, the characters were more active, as the author shows Knighton, Zia and even Poirot at the casino gambling, although the casino was also a place to gather together, talk and have lunch or dinner. Meals were another activity to gather the tourists together. They could have breakfast, lunch, tea and dinner in hotels restaurants or in their villas. As the Mediterranean was a winter destination, the blue waters sea of the French Riviera were widely admired, but beaches, which are a major tourist attraction in the XXI century, were never mentioned at all.

In conclusion, it was possible to verify the usefulness of the novel *The Mystery of the Blue Train*, by Agatha Christie, to discuss this period of the evolution of tourism (1920s), in the context of an undergraduate tourism course, in a applied example of comparative literature. The same research may be adapted for other Agatha Christie's novels, once as already mentioned in the Introduction, she was very fond of travelling, therefore she has written many novels that took place in travelling situations: *Death in the Clouds* (1935), *Murder in Mesopotamia* (1936), *Death on the Nile* (1937), *Absent in the Spring* (1944) *A Caribbean Mystery* (1964), to name just a few.

## REFERENCES

- Acerenza, M. A., 1986 *Administración de turismo: Conceptualización y organización*. México D.F.: Trillas.
- Boyer, M., 1996. *L'invention du tourisme*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Carvalho, T. F., 2007. *Literatura Comparada*. São Paulo: Ática.
- Castoldi, G., 2008. *Nuovo turismo: le basi*. Milano: Hoepli.
- Christie, A., 1977. *Autobiografía*. São Paulo: Editora Record.
- Christie, A., 2010. *The Mystery of the Blue Train*. Buenos Aires: Planeta.
- De La Torre, F., 1985. *Agencias de Viajes y Transportación*. México D.F.: Trillas.

- Fuster, L. F., 1974. *Teoría y técnica del turismo*. México D.F.: Nacional.
- Lavarini, R., 2009. *C'era una volta il turismo*. Milano: Hoepli.
- Naxara, M., 2006. Historians and the literary text: some notes. *História: Questões & Debates – Palavras Compartilhadas: diálogos entre romance e história*, 4(1), pp37-48.
- Nitrini, S., 2000. *Literatura Comparada*. São Paulo: Edusp.
- Pichard, M., 2013. *Agatha Christie. The Grand Tour. Letters and Photographs from the British Empire Expedition*. Milano: Oscar Mondadori.
- Schlüter, R; Winter, G, 2000. *La agencia de viajes y turismo: Estructura y operaciones*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Docencia.
- Swarbrooke. J.; Horner, S., 2002. *O comportamento do consumidor no turismo*. São Paulo: Aleph.
- Vega, J. L. G., 1979. *Lazer e Turismo*. São Paulo: Salvat.

# A BAUMANIAN INTERPRETATION OF VIOLENCE AND MEANING IN SARAH KANE'S *BLASTED*

ESMA NUR ÇETİNKAYA KARADAĞ

Esma Nur Çetinkaya Karadağ, Instructor, Rize RTE University

## ABSTRACT

Sarah Kane's *Blasted* has been a matter of discussion since it was first shown at the Royal Court Theatre Upstairs in 1995. This controversial play consists of five scenes in which violence, the fear of uncertainty, the questioning of time, the apparency of naked bodies, the affair of a female and a male character, the presence of a soldier in a hotel room, different types of rape, cannibalism, authority, the pursuit of hope and meaning are incorporated tightly. All these issues are blended in the existential crisis of characters in one place where the physical and the psychological remains of war are patrolling around. In this study, I aim at interpreting these issues from the perspective of Zygmunt Bauman who is one of the leading theorists and sociologists of the 21st century. Bauman's writings on violence, war, the fragility of human relationships, the destruction of the core elements of modernism such as order, power, knowledge and technology, and the sociological and political fracture points of the events that characterized the last century can be a guideline to interpret the main issues in *Blasted*. I will also refer to Viktor Frankl to examine the characters' search for meaning and Hannah Arendt to comprehend violence clearly.

Sarah Kane's *Blasted* has been a matter of discussion since it was first shown at the Royal Court Theatre Upstairs in 1995. This controversial play consists of five scenes in which violence, the fear of uncertainty, the questioning of time, the apparency of naked bodies, rape, the affair of a female and a male character, the presence of a soldier in a room and the pursuit of hope despite the dead bodies at home where the physical and the psychological remains of war are patrolling around. All these themes are mingled with each other so tightly that they cannot be thought separately.

In this study, I aim at interpreting these issues from the perspective of Zygmunt Bauman, because Bauman is one of the leading theorists of the 21<sup>st</sup> century who wrote on violence, war, the fragility of human relationships, the destruction of modernity, the sociological and psychological fracture points of the events that characterized the last century.

In the first place, I examine the violence in the play. The utmost violence in the play comes to a shocking point at the end of the play when Ian eats a dead body of a baby in an indifferent way. Namely, the cannibalistic behavior inside the human is uncovered at the end of the play. The innocence and the silence of a baby who represents the hope for humanity disappears and the readers are left with the disgusting experience of cannibalism without hope. Here, whether cannibalism belongs to the human nature or cannibalism may be produced through violence can be questioned here. I think by referring to a cannibalistic behavior, Kane refers to the long history of human beings who were evolved to a civilized being. However, the civilized being in the modern world may easily turn into a cannibal when s/he experiences the terror of a war in the civilized world. So, cannibalism as an incongruous behavior may appear in a civilized world and it tears down the so-called civilized world easily.

*"No one engaged in thought about history and politics can remain unaware of the enormous role violence has always played in human affairs, and it is at first glance rather surprising that violence has been singled out so seldom for special consideration."* (Arendt, 1990 pp.8)

Arendt's focus on violence can explain Kane's stress on the role of violence which deeply influence the human affairs in *Blasted* like her other plays. Ian thinks that he can oppress Cate easily because she is his ex-girlfriend and Cate cannot resist to him. However, Cate has already given up that affair and she is in pursuit of a safe life amid a traumatic environment. Ian rapes Cate and Ian is later raped by a soldier. Both Ian and the soldier carries the burden of their traumatic experiences and they transfer the violence to each other. Since Cate is the youngest and the naivest among these characters, she cannot free herself from the violence. Rather she becomes a victim of violence twice. The relationships between those characters are characterized by their violent past.

Kane wrote *Blasted* because she was profoundly affected by the Bosnian war lasted from 1992 to 1995 in the heart of Europe. During the Bosnian war, the Western world was blind to the terror of soldiers and the war did not draw much public attention at that time.

*"The tragedy of Srebrenica is not just the Bosnian Serb and Serbian aggression in the final stages of the war, but also the failure to intervene effectively by the international community, specifically the United Nations. Along with the Rwandan genocide, Srebrenica has become shorthand for the international community's dereliction of duty, especially the failed UN peacekeeping missions of the 1990s. It is important to note that the UN's failure to act in Srebrenica was also part of a pattern: the abdication and abandonment of its responsibility to protect the enclave's population were consistent with the international community's halting, reluctant engagement throughout the war."* (Nettelfield & Wagner, 2014 pp.14)

Nettelfield and Wagner's point on the blindness of the Western world to the Bosnian war at that time is similar to what happened in Rwanda between 1990 and 1994 in Africa. The indifference of the

Western world to the Bosnian war affected Kane and she changed the scenario of the play that she was writing then to demonstrate the violence in Bosnia. Furthermore, Kane states that the famous photograph of a young woman who hanged herself on a tree in the forest although she was the survivor of the genocide in Srebrenica in 1995 shocked the world and therefore Kane could not be indifferent to this tragedy because to her this photograph was the real photo of despair. (Sierz,2009 pp.135)

Namely, Kane felt responsible to that young woman's death in Srebrenica and she wittingly drew public attention to the traumatic experience of the Bosnian war as well as lamenting over her.

Bauman, as a Polish Jewish bases his writings mostly on the Holocaust and he states:

*"The only answer to pass the test of the evidence from the history of the Holocaust is that the helpers, unlike many or most other people of the same social category, education, religious faith and political loyalties, could not do otherwise. They would not be able to go on living if they failed to defend the lives of others. Protecting their own physical safety and comfort could not make up for the spiritual distress caused by the sight of people who were suffering. Probably, they would never have been able to forgive themselves if they had put their own welfare above the welfare of those whom they could have saved."* (Bauman, 2009 pp.97)

Bauman points out to the Polish people who defied the Nazis and who were willing to save their Jewish friends despite the risk of capital punishment in the above quote. Kane, by writing *Blasted* bore a tremendous responsibility to the woman who hanged herself on a tree in Bosnia during the war. Because she *could not do otherwise*, either. She preferred to spoil the comfort of a hotel room in Leeds by assigning the horror of rape, violence, and suicide in Bosnia into *Blasted*.

*"As individuals are called on to invent and deploy individual solutions to socially produced discomforts, they tend to respond in kind. What they respond to is a turn of events that plays havoc with the expectations suggested by a person-focused ideology. That turn of events is perceived and 'made sense of' by the same ideology of privatization as a personal snub, a personally aimed (even if randomly targeted) humiliation; its first casualties are self-respect and the sentiments of security and self-confidence. The affected individuals feel debased, and since the ideology of privatization assumes the presence of a culprit behind every case of suffering or discomfort, the feeling of being debased rebounds as a feverish search for the persons guilty of doing the debasing; the conflict and enmity, just like the harm of which they stand accused, are deemed personal. The guilty ones must be located, exposed, publicly condemned, and punished. The 'them' nominated by the ideology of privatization are as individualized as are those whom that ideology designates as 'us'.* (Bauman, 2009 pp. 91)

War is both a political and a sociological concept, however, the trauma of war is mainly individual. Soldiers who are deprived of their humane feelings during the war cannot adapt themselves into a life without violence after the war and people who are abused in many ways during the war cannot relieve themselves. Namely, war makes people sacrificed for the sake of politics, economy, and racism. These people become the victims of meta narratives, and the rest of their personal stories are terrorized by their past experiences. However, the loss of self-respect, the sentiments of security and self-confidence make them suffer more after the war. Because now they must cope with the outer world as individuals, they are no longer a part of a meta narrative as in their previous life. In the scene three the soldier says:

*"Went to a house just outside town. All gone. Apart from a small boy hiding in the corner. One of the others took him outside. Lay him on the ground and shot him through the legs. Heard crying in the basement. Went down. Three men and four women. Called the others. They held the men while I fucked the women. Youngest was twelve. Didn't cry, just lay there. Turned her over and – Then she cried. Made*

*her lick me clean. Closed my eyes and thought of – Shot her father in the mouth. Brothers shouted. Hung them from the ceiling by their testicles.” (Kane, 2011 pp.43)*

The soldier tells one of his memories to Ian so calmly that as if he is a robot who successfully fulfilled the tasks, he was assigned during the war. His sentences are short and fragmented as well as devoid of feelings like mercy and love. Bauman’s point can be a guideline for us to comprehend the calmness of the soldier:

*“It was not that the calculations were revealed to be mistaken; erroneous calculations can be corrected, and correcting them may be a useful, rationality-serving undertaking, since people tend to learn from their mistakes, making their future less prone to accident and mischief. It was rather the very idea that, given sufficient knowledge and technology, the future can be calculated and goals secured by sharpening the means that was consigned to the grave on the killing fields of the Somme, Verdun and East Prussia – murdered and buried in the mass graves alongside millions of soldiers, Europe’s self-confidence, and the belief of civilized people in the ultimate victory of reason over passions, their trust in the wisdom and benevolence of history, and their comforting feel-good conviction of a secure present and a guaranteed future.” (Bauman, 2009 pp. 60)*

In *Blasted*, the soldier who belongs to the civilized Europe represents the knowledge and technology, however, the mass destruction in the very heart of Europe once again proves that people are oppressed with the obsession of power and reason. A very similar form of Jewish genocide was once again experienced in Bosnia in the 1990s. Namely, the soldier’s calmness in his speech and actions indicates the cold aspects of the war.

In the second place, I examine Cate’s questioning of time. Cate, who is a young and naïve person woman looks for a secure place where she can live like a fetus in her mother’s womb or she is just trying not to lose her hope for a bright future despite they are all being in the midst of a despair.

*Ian We’re all bloody hungry, don’t shoot myself I’ll starve to death*

*Cate It’s wrong to kill yourself.*

*Ian No it’s not.*

*Cate God wouldn’t like it.*

*Ian There isn’t one.*

*Cate How do you know?*

*Ian No God. No Father Christmas. No fairies. No Narnia. No fucking nothing.*

*Cate Got to be something.*

*Ian Why?*

*Cate Doesn’t make any sense otherwise.*

*Ian Don’t be fucking stupid, doesn’t make sense anyway. No reason for there to be a God just because it would be better if there was. (Kane, 2011 pp. 54-55)*

Cate is trying to find a shelter for herself because she is bitterly depressed and belief in God can be a salvation for her. According to her the meaning of life exists only with the existence of God, otherwise all the negative things she has experienced would be for nothing. However, unlike Cate, Ian does not

believe in God, prophets, or any other fictional things like fairies. Because Ian is more realistic than Cate and he prefers to be in the concrete world. In that sense these two characters differ from each other. Viktor Frankl, the founder of logotherapy writes:

*“As each situation in life represents a challenge to man and presents a problem for him to solve, the question of the meaning of life may actually be reversed. Ultimately, man should not ask what the meaning of his life is, but rather he must recognize that it is he who is asked. In a word, each man is questioned by life; and he can only answer to life by answering for his own life; to life he can only respond by being responsible. Thus, logotherapy sees in responsibility the very essence of human existence.”* (Frankl, 1984 pp. 131)

It is obvious that Cate prefers to hold on a belief that whatever she has experienced must have a further meaning and as a human she must understand this meaning. Otherwise, her trauma will deteriorate, and she will not be able to find a comfort zone for her existence. To understand Ian’s psychology, we can benefit from Bauman again:

*“What if religious and tribal versions of transcendence fail, lose popularity, miss earthly powers willing and capable of promoting practices that lend those versions credibility and at least an appearance of realism? The love relationship seems to be transcendence’s last shelter. According to Otto Rank, the modern person’s dependency on the love partner ‘is the result of the loss of spiritual ideologies’. Bereaved by God and His secular emulators, the modern person ‘needs somebody, some “individual ideology of justification”, to replace the declining collective ideologies’. Love takes over at the point where God and the Despot-with-a-Mission left. Not that love is born of modern bereavement. But it is the modern predicament, one which emerged in the wake of the bankruptcy of tested old policies of survival, that has burdened love with new load which it was never before called to carry.”* (Bauman, 1992 pp. 28-29)

Ian can be regarded as rational and secular compared to Cate. He does not believe in God because God is the invention of an old ideology and in modern time there is no need for God. The world is already a messed-up place and people are just wandering around. People try to survive in a meaningless world and their fates are bound to the history of grand narratives, they cannot change their fate with some motives like God, transcendency, or spiritual ideologies.

Bauman adds an important point to his analysis:

*“In a recent comment by Richard Drake, ‘reciprocal slaughters and assassinations, of the kind seen today between Sunnis and Shiites in Iraq’ (and we may add: seen only yesterday between Serbs, Croats and Bosnian and Kosovo Muslims), a seemingly endless cycle of murderous retaliations, engulfed France, and most of Western Europe, in blood. The horror of incessant wars that set brother against brother and neighbour against neighbour and stripped them all of the last shred of mutual loyalty, pity and compassion inspired Blaise Pascal to name war as ‘the greatest of evils’ and Hobbes to select the ‘war of all against all’ as the most prominent characteristic of the natural state of humankind.”* (Bauman, 2009 pp. 48)

The depictions of war by both Pascal and Hobbes are plausible to apply to *Blasted*. Kane, herself expresses that the suicide of a young woman who was just twenty-one in Bosnia was the end of hopes for humanity. Therefore, she wrote *Blasted* and put Cate, Ian, and the nameless soldier in a common place where they cannot find a safe ground to exist as pure human beings. Because all of them carry the burden of war which is not seen on the stage but in the minds, souls, and actions of those characters. Similar to Pascal and Hobbes’ depiction of war, the evil in the lives of Cate, Ian and the soldier are created by war and they are trapped in an endless cycle of horror.

*Cate Ssh.*

*Ian What you doing?*

*Cate Praying. Just in case.*

*Ian Will you pray for me?*

*Cate No.*

*Ian When I'm dead, not now.*

*Cate No point when you're dead.*

*Ian You're praying for her.*

*Cate She's baby.*

*Ian So?*

*Cate Innocent.*

*Ian Can't you forgive me?*

*Cate Don't see bad things or go bad places –*

*Ian She's dead, Cate.*

*Cate Or meet anyone who'll do bad things.*

*Ian She won't, Cate, she's dead.*

*Cate Amen. (Kane, 2011 pp. 58)*

Cate is praying for the baby, but she is unaware that the baby has already died. So, her pray resembles to a funeral ceremony after the baby. She also focuses on the innocence of the baby and she hopes a different world in which the baby will not see bad things, bad places, or bad people. However, Ian demolishes the imaginary world of Cate by repeating the fact that the baby has already died. Namely, Cate represents the spirituality and Ian represents solid facts. The body of a baby is interpreted differently by these two different characters. In this dialogue we also see that Cate feels responsible for the baby and she tries to save the baby's life because she is still hopeful about a good future for the baby. Although their real world was destroyed long ago by a war which was the product of a bigger ideology, Cate does not want the past to ruin the future of a baby. At least she does not want to accept the same traumatic experiences for the baby.

When the soldier tells Ian about what he saw in the war, we learn more about the trauma of the war.

*Soldier (Withdraws the gun and sits next to Ian.)*

*You never fucked by a man before?*

*Ian (Doesn't answer)*

*Soldier Didn't think so. It's nothing. Saw thousands of people packing into trucks like pigs trying to leave town. Women threw their babies on board hoping someone would look after them. Crushing each other to death. Insides of people's heads came out their eyes. Saw a child most of his face blown off,*

*young girl I fucked hand up inside her trying to claw my liquid out, starving man eating his dead wife's leg. Gun was born here and won't die. Don't think your Welsh arse is different to any other arse I fucked. Sure you haven't got any more food, I'm fucking starving.*

Ian      *Are you going to kill me?* (Kane, 2011 pp. 50)

The soldier tells the tragedy of women, babies, a child, and a young girl who belonged to the weakest group in the above quote. Those people were the victims of the war and they were incapable to defend themselves against guns. Therefore, their tragedy is like a video game in which people tried to survive, and in the end the stronger ones won the game while the weaker ones were excluded from the game mercilessly.

Bauman makes a connection between the surviving of people in modern life and the functions of Reality TV shows. He says:

*"Not for nothing are the remarkably popular 'Big Brother' shows presented as 'reality TV'. That denomination suggests that off-screen life, 'the real thing', is like the on-screen saga of 'Big Brother' competitors. Here as there, no one playing the game of survival is guaranteed to survive, permission to stay in the game is just a temporary reprieve, and team loyalty is only 'until further notice' – that is, it won't outlive its usefulness in promoting individual interest. That someone will be excluded is beyond dispute; the only question is who it will be, and hence what is at issue is not the abolishing of exclusions (a task that would favour joining forces and solidarity of action) but shifting the threat of exclusion away from oneself and towards the others (a task that prompts self-concern while rendering solidarity unreasonable, if not suicidal). In the 'Big Brother' show, someone must be excluded each week: not because, by some curious coincidence, regularly, every week, one person is found to be inadequate, but because exclusion has been written into the rules of 'reality' as seen on TV."* (Bauman, 2009 pp. 89)

Women and children are the silent victims of wars and since they are without guns, they are the most defenseless and powerless ones during a war. Thus, they can be easily violated, raped and in the end eliminated. Compared to them, the soldier is successful because he survived, but the mental wounds he got then and there does not lead him to find peace for himself. He transfers the chaos from the uncivilized world to the civilized world, he becomes psychologically down, and, in the end, he commits suicide. The soldier himself is excluded from the real world, too. Bauman sees some exclusions normal and he says:

*"Exclusion is in the nature of things, an undetachable aspect of being-in-the-world, a 'law of nature', so to speak – and so to rebel against it makes no sense. The only issue worthy of being thought about, and intensely, is how to stave off the prospect of being the one to be excluded in the next week's round of exclusions."* (Bauman, 2009 pp. 89)

The reason why women, children and the soldier were excluded from life is different. The former ones are excluded because they were weaker, and they did not have any power mechanism to defend themselves; the latter was excluded because he could not find a meaning in life after the war. He was powerful during the war because he represented a grand narrative with his uniform and the guns. However, he was as defenseless as women and children which he killed. In modern world he represents nothing and so he is meaningless without such a representation. This is the reason why he commits suicide.

The loss of meaning in life due to the different forms of violence is one of the core issues seen in *Blasted*. Based on his concentration camp experiences, Viktor Frankl depicts this situation as in the following quote:

*“Under the influence of a world which no longer recognized the value of human life and human dignity, which had robbed man of his will and had made him an object to be exterminated (having planned, however, to make full use of him first - to the last ounce of his physical resources) - under this influence the personal ego finally suffered a loss of values. If the man in the concentration camp did not struggle against this in a last effort to save his self-respect, he lost the feeling of being an individual, a being with a mind, with inner freedom and personal value. He thought of himself then as only a part of an enormous mass of people; his existence descended to the level of animal life.” (Frankl, 1988 pp. 70)*

In *Blasted*, Cate never gives up trusting in a spiritual power which can save the innocence of humanity. However, unlike Cate Ian adopts a more materialistic view.

Ian *I've seen dead people. They're dead. They're not somewhere else, they're dead.*

Cate *What about people who've seen ghosts?*

Ian *What about them? Imagining it. Or making it up or wishing the person was still alive.*

Cate *People who've died and come back say they've seen tunnels and lights –*

Ian *Can't die and come back. That's not dying, it's fainting. When you die, it's the end.*

Cate *I believe in God.*

Ian *Everything's got a scientific explanation.*

Cate *No. (Kane, 2011 pp. 55-56)*

Ian sees the world from a perspective that where human life and dignity were seriously harmed, and he also wants to kill himself like the soldier. However, Cate adopts a perspective which can soothe her wounds. She prefers to believe in God because she finds a meaning in her suffering.

*There are situations in which one is cut off from the opportunity to do one's work or to enjoy one's life; but what never can be ruled out is the unavailability of suffering. In accepting this challenge to suffer bravely, life has a meaning up to the last moment, and it retains this meaning literally to the end. In other words, life's meaning is an unconditional one, for it even includes the potential meaning of unavoidable suffering. (Frankl, 1988 pp. 137)*

According to Frankl, suffering is unavoidable for all human beings, however, people can choose whether surrender to that suffering or not. Cate, amid all this trauma, prefers to believe in God and finds a meaning. However, Ian and the soldier surrender to the suffering they experience. In that sense these three characters differ from each other.

To understand Ian more, we can benefit from a Baumanian perspective and it can be said that Cate finds a solution to her existential crisis by believing in God, but Ian does not resort to God. However, God is a medium to hide the defects in the society or in the order. So, people's tendency to God can make the tragedies in their life meaningful. If they explain their life from a fatalist point, they can find a meaning in life like Cate, however, Ian does not want to veil his tragedy with God or ghosts. (Bauman, 2018 pp.27)

Bauman sees that the existence of God is necessary for the society because when people delineate the things in their lives with the plan of a superpower, it is easy for them to be satisfied. Otherwise, life becomes meaningless and science does not give them a sense of satisfaction or meaning. In the play, Cate's insistence on the existence of God makes her feel safe in a violent world, however Ian's alienation from God or any other mechanism of belief or trust makes him unsatisfied.

## REFERENCES

Arendt, Hannah., 1970. On Violence. 1st ed. The USA: A Harvest/HBJ Book.

Bauman, Zygmunt., 1992. Mortality, Immortality and Other Life Strategies. Great Britain: Polity Press.

Bauman, Zygmunt., 2009. The Art of Life. Great Britain: Polity Press.

Bauman, Zygmunt., 2018. Parçalanmış Hayat. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.

Frankl, Viktor., 1984. Man's Search for Meaning. New York: Pocket Books.

Kane, Sarah., 2011. Complete Plays. London: Methuen Drama.

Nettelfield L.J. &Wagner S.E., 2014. Srebrenica in the Aftermath of Genocide. The USA: Cambridge University Press.

Sierz, Aleks, 2009. Suratına Tiyatro Britanya'da In-Yer-Face Tiyatrosu. 1st ed. İstanbul: Mitos Boyut Tiyatro Yayınları.

# EXPRESSIONISTIC SYMBOLS IN ANNA SEGHERS' NOVEL "DAS SIEBTE KREUZ"

GÜLRÛ BAYRAKTAR

Gülrû Bayraktar, Alanya Alaaddin Keykubat Üniversitesi, Yabancı Diller Yüksekokulu

## ABSTRACT

Anna Seghers' novel "Das siebte Kreuz" deals with the Nazi problem in Germany during the second world war. The author indicates how the society is coping with the fascist regime and how they are trying to keep up solidarity. This novel is one of the most important literary works of the twentieth century and although Seghers realistically displays what happened during the second world war, she also uses expressionistic symbols throughout the whole novel. These symbols can be categorized into political, religious and cultural symbols. Seghers uses political symbols like steel helmets, swastika and signs for mine ditches. On the other hand, the author uses religious symbols just like crosses, the number seven and priests. As cultural symbols; she presents typical German surnames comparing them to Jewish surnames, flags and different types of amulets. In this study these categorized symbols of Anna Seghers' novel have been analyzed for what they represent. It was concluded that Anna Seghers shows that the main symbol, 'the seventh cross', symbolizes a way to escape from the fascist system.

**Key words:** Anna Seghers, German Literature, Expressionism, Symbols.

## INTRODUCTION

In the Novel "Das siebte Kreuz" (the seventh cross) from Anna Seghers the author displays seven men who are trying to escape from a concentration camp. Seghers describes their journey of seven days. Not only the fugitives, but also their accomplices were persecuted. It all happens in 1937, during the second World War. The author Anna Seghers was a Jewish communistic writer and she tried to show the fascistic situation in Germany during the Nazi-Regime. She was born in Germany in a Jewish family. In 1925 she married Johann Lorenz Schmidt, who was a Hungarian Communist (Hilzinger, 2000: 22-28). All of her novels are coping with the Nazi-Regime. Because of that she soon gets in trouble with de Gestapo. She fled to Mexico in 1940 where she founded the anti-fascist Club named after the German poet "Heinrich-Heine". Before she went to Mexico she stayed a little while in France where she had written "The seventh cross" for which she received the Büchner-Prize in 1947 (Hilzinger, 2000: 24-28).

## ANNA SEGHERS

Anna Seghers is one of the most important German women writers of the twentieth century. She was born on November 19, 1900, in Mainz on the Rhine. Her original name was Netty Reiling. She was born in a welthy Jewish Familiy. From 1920 to 1924 she attended the University of Heidelberg. 1924 she married Ladislaus Rádványi. When Hitler came to power in January 1933 Seghers did not immediately flee the country. Like many other exiles she then went on to France. Seghers's last novel to be completed in French exile would become her most famous, *Das siebte Kreuz* (1942, The Seventh Cross). Seghers returned to Europe in 1947. During the last years of her life Seghers felt more and more alone. She died in 1983 (Christian, 2000: 34).

## "THE SEVENTH CROSS"

The most important structural feature of this novel is the simultaneity in the presentation: seven days are told in seven chapters from different perspectives, with each scene having a connection to Georg Heisler's escape. Linking times such as "around this time" or "during" are typical. This results in several storylines with numerous characters. The most important are listed at the front of the book in a list of people, as is usually the case with theater plays. This alone creates a lot of tension. The abundance of figures and different living environments, together with the scenic representation, ensure immediacy and liveliness. The narrative perspective is also very flexible: sometimes an omniscient narrator speaks, then reports are made from the limited perspective of a character and some things are also told in the inner monologue. By skillfully withholding or releasing information, the tension is also increased. Seghers 'language is straightforward and straightforward; Successful character psychology makes all characters seem credible (Fehervary, 2001: 56).

## INTERPRETATION

Although National Socialism had already gained so much power by the time the novel was written that its opponents can hardly fight it anymore, the story shows confidence. The small triumphs are discussed: Georg's successful escape, Aldinger and Belloni, who evade their pursuers, albeit through death, and the courageous deeds of the numerous helpers.

Especially those helpers who know who Georg is and what risk they are taking by contacting him gain new strength from the resistance. They recognize what is important to them and break through the overwhelming power of Nazi terror and the crippling everyday life with their humanity.

Christian symbols are reversed in the novel. The story does not develop towards the cross, but away from the cross: George, who cannot be nailed to the cross, is the symbol of salvation. So it is not a crucified person who stands for the hope of redemption, but a cross that remains free. And when Franz Ellis' sister brings apples, then not only are the gender roles of the biblical fall reversed, but the fall is discarded: these apples do not trigger expulsion from paradise, but contribute to liberation.

The number symbolism plays an important role, especially the number seven, which is prominent in myths and fairy tales (seven dwarfs, seven little kids) as well as in the Bible (seven fat and seven arid years). Seven concentration camp inmates fled, Georg's escape took seven days, and the novel has seven chapters. The Way of the Cross of Jesus also has seven stations in the Catholic tradition.

The simultaneous representation with its abundance of scenes and figures shows a cross-section through the different social classes and the possible attitudes towards National Socialism. Detailed psychograms are also dedicated to the camp commandant and his most important henchman. Right next to the hell of the camp there is normal everyday life, alongside indifference and fear there is compassion and helpfulness

## **CULTURAL AND POLITICAL SYMBOLS**

In the narrative, Anna Seghers makes use of many cultural references from myths and fairy tales. The name Georg is already a reference to a mythical motif: that of the dragon slayer from the golden legend of Jacobus von Voragine, who freed a city from a dragon and then explained to the city that it owes its salvation to God and should convert. Of course, it is difficult to separate the mythical aspect from the religious aspect of George, who has become the patron saint of knights. However, if one invokes Seghers' life and convictions, one can claim that here the heroic act of the dragon slayer and not the subsequent conversion of unbelievers is used as a symbolic background. Because Georg Heisler also achieved the apparently impossible: He escaped from the concentration camp and thus became a symbol of hope, resistance and freedom.

Furthermore, the shepherd Ernst, who lives in apparent seclusion in the Taunus heights and observes the actions in the valley from a distance, has something fairytale-like about it. It illustrates the continuity of life in which the Nazi regime is only a brief episode. Franz criticizes his "indifference" (Seghers, 1993: 135) towards the events of the world. It is as if Ernst came "from a dark past" (Seghers, 1993: 134). He never lacks anything, because the residents of the village keep providing him with accommodation and food. In this regard, he is reminiscent of the shepherd in the Brothers Grimm's fairy tale *The Dearest Roland*, for whom the girl secretly cooks and cleans, who does not need to worry about anything and who seems to live outside the action. He also stands for continuity and his only function seems to be to illustrate the girl's loyalty to Roland.

Also, the last woman Georg meets before his final escape from Germany is surrounded by mythical and superstitious signs. The name of the inn alone is a positive sign: "Zum Engel". In fact, the young waitress will get involved in a relationship with Georg and offer him shelter and shelter for the last night. The waitress herself bears signs that indicate that she is a good, loving person: around her neck a "small cross made of garnet stones [...] holds her collar together" (Seghers, 1993: 401) and on her finger she wears "a thin ring with a lucky beetle, how to win in a fair" (Seghers, 1993: 402). The cockchafer brings

luck in the vernacular. Only an attentive look can recognize these details and yet they are particularly revealing in terms of their personality and behavior.

In addition, the number seven plays a central role, and this also in folk tales. The number seven is already a leitmotif within the book: Seven prisoners escape from the concentration camp and are to be hung on seven crosses. They are supposed to be recaptured within seven days, but on the seventh day the seventh refugee manages to escape. In addition, the book is divided into seven chapters. You meet the number seven again and again in fairy tales and the book builds explicit bridges to this world. This is how Georg thinks when he eats at the doctor's: "Oh, eat from seven plates, drink from seven glasses" (Seghers, 1993: 361). This quote is reminiscent of Snow White who, on arrival at the empty house of the seven dwarfs, eats a little from all seven plates and drinks from the seven mugs. The story of the seven prisoners in the Seventh Cross is also reminiscent of the fairy tale *The Wolf and the Seven Young Goats*. In this fairy tale, the six siblings of the seventh little kid are eaten by the wolf. They owe it to him that their mother can ultimately save them from the wolf's belly. So Georg can symbolically stand for the seventh little kid that ultimately makes rescue possible.

## **RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS**

Furthermore, the number seven is inextricably linked with the biblical creation myth, which here coincides with the oath of the concentration camp administration to arrest the refugees again within seven days. Even if Seghers was not Christian and left the Jewish community, many Christian-religious motifs play a central role in her work because they are part of her cultural heritage. So the symbol of the cross is also a Christian symbol, that of redemption through the sacrificial death of Christ. It is also a sign of the martyrdom to which the recaptured will succumb.

Furthermore, the figure of Wallau has something of a saint. He worked out the escape plan and is the head of the dispersed group. In difficult moments, Georg talks to him in his mind to know how Wallau would have acted in his situation. Wallau seems to be physically and spiritually unshakable, and Georg keeps wondering if he was caught. He doesn't seem to care about the others. The prisoners who stayed behind lay all their hopes in Wallau and his arrest again shook them deeply.

The loss of the heritage plays a central role here in connection with Wallau. But Wallau embodies willpower. Even if he collapses physically, he remains mentally stronger than the concentration camp leadership. He embodies resistance to dictatorship and his death means redemption from the world.

In addition, the reader comes across specific Christian references: Georg spends a night in Mainz Cathedral, which gives him the opportunity to look at the church windows and the stories depicted on them. In this way he recognizes Adam and Eve's expulsion from paradise, the child in the manger, the last supper, the crucifixion (Seghers, 1993: 81). Although Georg "has long since lost all of the images (Seghers, 1993: 82), he is still able to recognize the most important ones, which is a sign that Christianity is part of Germany's cultural and literary heritage. Furthermore, he comes across Saint Martin twice, which suggests a happy ending. The first time he sees him after he has been cared for by the Jewish doctor (Seghers, 1993: 98) and the second time he sees him shortly before his departure on the ship (Seghers, 1993: 399). Christian symbols are also part of Anna Seghers' literary legacy.

With all the knowledge of these symbols it was concluded that Anna Seghers shows that the main symbol, 'the seventh cross', and all the other political, cultural and religious symbols are standing for hope and showing the desperate ones a way to escape from the fascist system.

## REFERENCES

Fehervary, H. 2001. *Anna Seghers. The Mythic Dimension*. Michigan: Ann Arbor.

Hilzinger, S. 2000 *Anna Seghers*. Leipzig.

Seghers, A. 2001. *Eine Biographie. 1947–1983*. Berlin.

Christiane, Z. R. 2000. *Anna Seghers. Bir Biyografi 1900-1947* (Anna Seghers. Eine Biographie 1900–1947) Aufbau, Berlin.

Seghers, A. 1993. *Das siebte Kreuz. Roman*. Aufbau Verlag: Berlin.

# PERSIAN DRAMA IN CONTEXT: THE NEW GENERATION OF IRANIAN PLAYWRIGHTS

SAMAN HASHEMIPOUR

Associate Professor, Yeni Yüzyıl University, Istanbul

## ABSTRACT

Persian literature is influenced by many genres throughout history that are reflected in the form of historical events in literary works until they emerged new types of literary works in Persian literature. Persian Fiction, due to its diversified social and cultural inclinations, has attracted many readers. Thereby, Persian prose writers and playwrights promoted drama, as a genre, in their works of art. In the early years of the theater in Iran, the few numbers of screenplays were written in the realm of the national and religious spirit of Iran; however then, this trend was accelerated by the dominance of Western translated plays. This study examines the state of playwriting in Iran, as well as the praised plays that have ever executed. It aims to examine the historical trend of playwriting in Persian literature, literary movements that effected the drama genre, and all variations that pull Iranian theatre into the current status. The study evaluates the effects of theatre in Iran and its alignment with the widespread popularity of Persian prose and literature, especially in recent years. Instead of revealing the historical phases of the development of Drama in Iran, this article demonstrates well-accepted plays in Persian and categorizes these works of art to conclude the place of theatre in Iran through instantiating of a genre of literature. Akbar Radi, Mohammad Charmshir, Ebrahim Makki, Bahrām Beyzāie, Mohammad Rahmanian, Mohammad Aref, Ebrahim Rahbar, and Mehrdad Rayani-Makhsous are some of these famous playwrights whose masterpieces are studied in this article.

**Keywords:** Persian Drama, Theatre of Iran, Persian Playwrights, Bahrām Beyzāie

## INTRODUCTION

Theater in Iran has a long history, and its background dates back to ancient times, when ceremonies in which legendary and national heroes were praised, and the enemy was humiliated. During the reign of Nasser al-Din Shah in the nineteenth century, new and modern European theater—like many other Western manifestations—introduced to Iranians. Unaware of the folk days, Iranians did not know that it is possible to create a national theatre worthy of new developments by developing the performing style and traditional values of the folk play and advancing its content by current intellectual thoughts. Bahrām Beyzāie (2015) mentions how the West takes raw materials from the East and makes them more complex, and then re-offers them with emerging colors. We can extend this idea to culture in which the imposed lifestyles are introduced in a way that was hardly recognizable to all Easterners. (p. 208) Sattari (2016) also investigates why Muslims throughout the history of civilization did not or could not reflect the tense events in dramatic works? He investigates whether they have freedom in thought and action to also true some secrets of the conscience and express themselves through political, cultural, and religious opinions and ideas, or not—as Prometheus or Antigonus exerted their authority in Greek mythology? (p. 85)

In all contemporary plays—both the Western and the Eastern plays—Iranian plays are the only drama types that have preserved their sacred religious and cultural features up to this day. This is an inseparable part of the national beliefs of Iranians. Whatever is shown to other people is nothing but only entertainment and fun and the pleasure of seeing and hearing the pleasure of heart and soul. However, in Iran, the play has an entirely religious characteristic. People are happy to participate in the commemoration of the death of their holy religious figures and mourning for them. (Thalasso, 2012, p. 21) We can quickly notice these elements by studying Persian drama in context. This study is a concise collection of a summary of works by contemporary Iranian playwrights to introduce modern plays. By categorizing the content of the dominant thought and the concepts in some plays of each Iranian playwright, one can understand the specific style of that playwright. The plays are selected based on the interest of the researcher, and therefore comprehensive research on this subject requires extensive research on the anthology of Persian Drama.

## AKBAR RADI

Akbar Radi (1939-2007), whose works have been compared with Anton Chekhov, Henrik Ibsen, and Luigi Pirandello, was teaching playwriting as a free-lance lecturer at the University of Tehran. Dariush Asadzadeh (2010) calls Radi a prominent playwright who left teaching in school due to his love for literature and writing. (119) Traditional families in the realm of social and political issues and class conflict are discussed in this famous Iranian playwright's works. The central theme of his plays is his exploration of contemporary Iranian society by reflecting historical events that influence the process of formation of characters in his plays (Afshariasl, 2011, p. 336). According to Ghaderi (2011), Radi is the most prominent playwright who dramatized the interaction between Iranians and the contemporary social discourses shaping their identity. (p. 115) In Radi's plays, the setting is taking place within a family by reflecting historical events of its time. Shariati (2016) also says, "Radi, in a Realist mode, depicts the psychologically tormented lives of the fading gentry and the aristocratic intelligentsia who substitute talk for action, and whose seemingly pointless lives are filled with ennui and paralyzing depression." (pp. 63-64) Similarly, Abbasi (2012) mentions the way Radi implies the idea. In this play, "despite all cultural, social and historical differences amidst people, they are all but one who have the same pains and worries in one society" (p. 249). About Radi's writing style, Heydari Fard (2020) says, "Radi employs the element of repetition in order to highlight some symbols and emphasize some

particular matters. He uses this technique to make a kind of relationship between different parts of a play, and it has different usage in each play.” (p. 94)

The language of the characters of Radi’s plays is not the exact language of the people or stratum or group that characters belong to. In other words, the language does not contain origin faithfully from out of the literary work into it. This signifies that Radi does not use a record or something to imitate the real language of ordinary people; Radi did not do a sort of social-linguistic survey in his works. What Radi has done is that he created several diction and style of talking. These dictions remind the audience of individuals from different social levels. In other words, he made a kind of symbolic wording style that is not the exact material but the reminiscent of it. (Talebi, 2004, p. 63)

*Hamlet with Season Salad* (1978), one of Radi’s well-known plays, is about the post-wedding period. The couple is back home after seven years of honeymoon, and the bride wants to introduce the groom to his father, uncle, grandfather, and family members. The groom is from a lower class, and the bride is a member of the aristocrats. The bride’s family has some expectations from the groom, but the groom cannot fulfill their expectations, so they decide to commit suicide. Similarly, *Cactus* (2004) is a short, one-act play about a doctor and a playwright—who no longer has a good communication in daily life with his wife and children. The doctor intends to commit suicide, and the author of the story, with the adventures that make up the play, prevents him from killing himself. However, eventually, the doctor commits suicide. This common theme in Radi’s plays, which ends with committing suicide or death, is continued in other plays, either. *Night at the Wet Pavement* (1999) is the story of a doctor who is expelled from university because of his beliefs. He rented a house for his blind daughter and sister. His friend invites him back to the university. The owner of the doctor’s house owes him money, and in exchange for his request, he proposes marriage to the doctor’s sister, but she does not accept it. One of the doctor’s neighbors named Malekshahi is in a relationship with the doctor’s sister, who formerly borrowed money from Malekshahi as much as their debt. The doctor’s daughter is upset by this and finally commits suicide.

In *Āmiz Qalamdun* (1998), Shokouhi is a tax-paying employee who lives with his wife, Shokat. Shokat, who is tired of the monotony of life, under the influence of Heshmat—a neighboring widow—is planning to travel abroad. Thereby, she manages her house expenses to save money and cover her travel expenses. Shokouhi usually spends time with his friends in the park and also caring for a small flower bush. Mr. Shokouhi is proud of his career by the recollection of his sweet memories of the past when he never deviated from his moral standards during his career and has always been an honest employee. At the end of the play, Mr. Shokouhi, who has an unequivocal true love for his wife, goes to the yard and picks his favorite red flower and congratulates Shokat on her birth, but Shokat continues her murmur. Shokouhi puts his head on the couch, and he has died.

## **EBRAHIM MAKKI**

Ebrahim Makki (1942-) is a former professor of dramaturgy at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Tehran. He was managing TV-series and radio dramas at Iranian Radio-Television. Forced into exile after the Iranian Revolution of 1979, he continued his writing career in France in both Persian and French. His thesis on Expressionism in Samuel Beckett’s theater influenced his directing and writing style. Criticizing the political and social anomalies that lead to the disturbance of human relations with delicacy and precision in human relations is a characteristic of Makki’s works. The bitter humor in Makki’s works, which is artistically dealt with his avoidance of judging the figures of his plays, helps the audience to feel that the author never imposes his opinion. Through this atmosphere of the play, the

story engages the audience thoughtfully. Makki's plays reflect the confusion and alienation of human beings involved in the relations and norms of a society under the dictatorship. The simple language of Makki's works, in many cases, succeeds in conveying the complexities of the situation to the audience in a more tangible way.

*The Bench Hotel* is the story of two homeless old men, one of whom sleeps on the stone under the bench every night and the other on the bench. One night they are both sitting on a bench together, and this is the first time they have visited each other. Then, they start telling lies about their home and life all midnight. Each of them waits for the other to leave, and then he can sleep on the couch. After a period, two men tell the real story of their lives and then spend every night in the park. They decide to compete for a seat; they leave the bench and walk eight steps away from it, and whoever gets back to the bench earlier can sleep the whole night on the bench. They get up from the bench, but as soon as they get away from the bench, an older man enters and falls asleep on it.

*The Questionnaire* is the story of a nurse in a clinic responsible for administering an anti-rabies serum. A man comes to her and asks the nurse how long it takes from the time he takes the bite until the time of death. The nurse is thinking of taking over the client, so she avoids answering. After insistence, the nurse responds and says 24 hours. The man tells the nurse that 24 hours have passed since he was bitten and that the nurse should inject him with serum. The nurse gives her a questionnaire, and the man starts filling it out. However, suddenly, he gets mad and attacks the woman. In Makki's plays, protagonists are getting mad and do unusual reactions in conclusion. In another play, *Ms. Roghayeh Gave Born to a Monkey*; a shoemaker is waiting at the bus stop. A newsagent spreads the hot news of the day. One of the news is that Ms. Roghayeh has given birth to a monkey. The shoemaker is curious and asks several questions to the newspaper seller. The embarrassed newspaper salesman starts arguing with the man. The fight escalates, and the shoemaker kicks the newspaper seller with a hammer and kills him.

## **BAHRĀM BEYZĀIE**

Bahrām Beyzāie (1938-), the son of the poet Ne'matollah Beyzāie, is a critically and popularly acclaimed filmmaker, playwright, theatre director, screenwriter, film editor, and master of Persian letters, arts, and Iranian studies. He is often considered as a pioneer of a generation of filmmakers whose works are sometimes described as the Iranian New Wave as well as a leading playwright. He is often considered as the greatest playwright of the Persian language and holds a reputation as the Shakespeare of Persia. Dariush Asadzadeh, a legendary actor and translator of theatre in *Survey in the History of Iranian Theatre before Advent of Islam till 1939*, wrote Bahrām Beyzāie is a writer of theater and directing that makes the community artistic proud of him. (p. 115) Since 2010, Beyzāie has lived and taught at Stanford University, the United States, after the Iranian government banned many of his movies. They focus on Iranian culture—and not Islamic—portrayal of strong female characters and references to Iran's ethnic and linguistic varieties. (Shariati, p. 169) His career is marked with constant attempts to "create alternative narratives on the formation of human identity at psychological, personal, social, national, and cultural levels." (Talajooy, p. 691)

In *Memoirs of an Actor in a Supporting Role* (1981), Mohabbat and Zulfiqar come to Tehran to set a business. One day when they are frustrated with finding a job, a man offers them a job. Their work is sabotage against the government, and they should confuse people and change their minds against the government as ordering people. However, they are unaware of this issue and their unconscious duty. Zulfiqar falls in love with a woman in this group named Belqis, who guides them, and they progress. Belqis is arrested during one of the demonstrations. Mohabbat realizes the dangers of their work, leaves

the group, and works in a mosaic factory. Zulfiqar, who is money-grubbing anymore, continues until the armies kill him in a demonstration.

*The One Thousand and the First Night* (2003) is setting in three episodes. This play narrates the thousand and one last night of Zahak's kingdom. In the first episode of this play, Shahrnaz and Arnavaž are sisters who have made up a thousand nights for the king of the story and have saved a young man from death every night with this trick. One night, the two sisters tell their last story to Zahak. This is the story of a thousand nights of his reign, and openly talk to Zahak about everything and reveal the secret of staying with Zahak. In the second episode of this play, the wife and sister of Pour Farkhan, are narrating someone who came to Sharif in Baghdad to find his address. Pour Farkhan is the one who translated a thousand myths into Arabic at the request of Sharif and the court of Baghdad. Now that the Arabs have read it in Arabic, they do not like its content and have imprisoned Pour Farkhan. Also, Sharif takes and destroys a thousand copies of these stories. The third episode is the story of a woman away from her husband named Roshanak, who has read the book *One Thousand and One Nights* for a thousand and one night. The book that the patriarchal society considers harmful to women is believed as a legendary source that any woman who reads it dies. This play narrates and confronts an ignorant man and a wise woman. Forouzani et al. describes this play as,

The first episodes of Beyzai's *One Thousand and the First Night* are dominated by myth and legend and a hybrid genre (a mixture of epic, historical, social, and family genres). Where major preoccupations of contemporary society, such as feminism, are integrated into a world of myth and legend, it attempts to presents a new creation of the narrative of *A Thousand and One Nights*. [...] Beyzāie has present different interpretations under the influence of nationalistic, feministic, political, and social tendencies. [...] It can be claimed that the characterization of the hero and anti-hero within the first episode of *One Thousand and the First Night* is flawless, integrate, and harmonious with other parts and components of the narrative. Appellative, expressive, phatic, and poetic functions of language are more evidently discerned in three episodes of *One Thousand and the First Night*; these functions help the playwright to provide more successful characterization. (pp. 19-20)

#### **OTHER IMPORTANT PLAYS IN FARSI**

The playwright and stage director, Mohammad Rahmanian (1962-), is the writer and director of several acclaimed plays. In *Rooster*, Mah Jan and Kaka are brothers and sisters living in rural parts of Afghanistan. Kaka is thinking of collecting booty, following the damage caused by the Taliban. The only property of Mah Jan is a rooster. Kaka reports that the Taliban have killed many people somewhere. He asks Mah Jan to go to that neighborhood to collect booty. Mah Jan returns with a wounded girl, a man buys her from her family and brings her there from Mazar-e-Sharif and leaves her. They find out that the girl is pregnant. The girl intends to have an abortion. A Taleban man comes to their house to collect the booty, but the girl resists. A Talabani man kicks her in the abdomen, and her baby is aborted. In the end, Kaka is killed by the Taliban, and the girl sells herself to the Taliban man to get back the rooster of Mah Jan, which was usurped by the Taliban man.

*Ghadamshad's martyrdom reading in Tehran* is the story of a surviving woman from the Qajar family trying to perform a condolence ceremony during Muharram—the first month of the Islamic calendar—for the Day of Ashura with the help of women. It is a conflict between constitutionalists and libertarians. Some women take refuge in Alamtaj's house to escape outside conflicts. Alikhan, the servant of Alamtaj, realizes that these women—one of whom is named Ghadamshad—are musicians. Alamtaj asks them to perform the ceremony, but because they do not know about the martyrdom, perform a

different ceremony. She faints, and after a while, when she regains consciousness, the women start the martyrdom assembly with the ellipses given to them. The constitutionalists are attacking Alamtaj's house. Alamtaj asks Alikhan to kill her. Alikhan stabs Alamtaj in the throat, and her entourage welcomes the arrows of the constitutionalists.

Esmaeel Khalaj (1945-), the Iranian acting teacher and director, started to write plays in the 1970s. In his plays, he keeps a naturalistic worldview and a bitter language. He is under the influence of European nineteenth-century realism and naturalism. The setting in his plays are coffeehouses and shrines, and his characters are prostitutes, pimps, thieves, and illiterate people. These characters use a simple and sometimes rude language, but at the same time, they think about challenging issues like death and life. In *A Trip*, A bankrupt businessman has two sons: a man of great eloquence and an ignoramus who evaluates everything based on physical power. His sons decide to travel, and the father, who opposes their journey, follows them after they leave. The father watches out them while they struggle for a job. After the boys get acquainted with the problems and get experienced, the father has appeared. In the end, they buy clothes and return to their city for trade.

*Khaloo buys a Donkey* is the story of Khaloo and Salman, who gather firewood together and take the firewood to a grill and sell. They decide to buy a horse with their coins. Khaloo is empty-handed, but every time instead of taking care of his coin, he eats barbecue. Because he has few coins and cannot buy a horse, he decides to buy a donkey, but he needs ten coins to buy a donkey, while he has only nine coins. Khaloo goes to the fortune teller to find a solution, and the fortune teller offers him nine coins to get rid of any temptation, but he forgets and sends someone to look for the coins. Also, Khaloo sends someone else to the fortune teller tomorrow to get the coins, but he does not get the coins. Then, the fortune-teller is trapped with the plan of Darogheh and Salman and returns the money. Finally, Khaloo manages to buy a donkey, and Salman eats barbecue while aiming to buy a horse and a farm.

Mohammad Charmshir (1960-) is a playwright and university lecturer. His works have been translated into many languages and put on stage in various countries. The central theme of his plays is misery and death. *The Last Supper* is the story of three women in prison. They no longer have a name after entering the prison and are identified by the numbers given to them. The oldest woman was married recently, but she has been sentenced to death for the murder of his last husband. She has a young daughter who is grown up in an orphanage, and her only wish is to be released from prison and live with her daughter, but in the end, she is executed. *Behjat* is the story of a woman who does not have children, and her husband no longer wants to live with her. The woman is sorrowful and nervous and is constantly divining and going to different fortune tellers to be informed about the future of her married life. In the end, she decides to commit suicide. *Crying in the Water* is also the story of two brothers who sell their father's house, where there is no more property left. They wait for the buyer who will come to buy the house, but in the end, we find out that there is no buyer and one of the brothers wants to get the house.

Mehrdad Rayani Makhsous (1970-) is the theatre actor, director, and playwright who got his Ph.D. in Theater Studies at Manchester University. In *You are Our Dear Aziz* (1994), Aziz and Taqi are two close friends who went to clear an area during the war, but an explosion leaves everyone unaware of Aziz's fate and assumes that he was martyred or escaped. However, Aziz was saved but lost his memory, and now he is back after ten years. He realizes that Taqi and his mother have died. Maryam, his wife, is married to one of his companions by the insistence of his dear mother, but her husband is also martyred. In the end, Aziz goes crazy. *Overnight in Hell* (2001) is also about three men who are sitting together at a party, and each is talking about their beloved women. In the end, we find out that all three men are talking about the same person. She is married to each of them by a new name and then divorced in absentia. *Hello* is about a boy who takes his father abroad for treatment, but the father is

not treated. It is Muharram—the first month of the Islamic calendar—and the father and son are returning to Iran. The father goes to Mashhad, where the shrine of the holy Imam Reza is settled, and he is healed there. The son also wants to go to Mashhad with his father, but he has an accident and dies on the road. The father buries his son in the shrine of the holy Imam Reza.

Ebrahim Rahbar (1938-) is an Iranian writer of the 1960s and one of the early members of the Iranian Writers Association. His different playwrighting style makes him distinguished from many other northern writers. He has portrayed various parts of the lives of men and women in northern Iran and has tried to record aspects of social relations and their concerns. In *Mandatory*, a boy who does not want to go to the army and tells his mother that if a homeless woman has only one son, he will be exempted from military service. The woman, who is married after the death of her first husband, despite her husband's wishes, is divorced. *Garden* is the story of a woman who spends much time with her children. Her husband left them a few months ago to find work but has not sent them much money so far. The woman and her daughter work on their master's farm. The girl becomes attached to her boss and buys cloth to sew clothes to look perfect to the boss. The woman finds out about this and punishes the girl. The girl is also disappointed.

Mohammad Aref (1961-) is an associate professor of Anthropology of art. *The night of the event* is the story of two women who live together in the same house. One night a man with a bag of spoils of war goes to their house and hides the bag in a hole in the porch of the house to deliver to the sultanate of Kufa the next day. In the middle of the night, the sound of the Quran is heard from the hole, and a dove comes out of the hole. The women find out that there is something hidden in the bag and realize that it is Imam Hussein's hidden corpse. The man changes to an ape and is captured by two women. *Behind Earthen Doors* is the story of a young student, and a theater actor leaves the university during the war and goes to the war against Iraq. He is injured in a battle and has to continue his life in a wheelchair. After a few years, he is still locked in a room talking to his twin. He is decided to get out of his prison alone and wash himself in the river. Finally, he leaves the room.

Mohsen Yalfani (1943-) started to playwrighting as a teenager, and after the 1980s, he lives in France. Before the Iranian revolution of 1981, his plays were banned by the government, and he lost his teaching position after being jailed. *Moderate pain* is the story of a young man who is dissatisfied with his married life, and it is related to a failed love affair in the past. His wife is tired of this situation and decides to make a living by having children. However, when the man finds out that the woman is pregnant, he leaves the house. Moreover, when he returns home, he realizes that the woman has committed suicide. *Trap*, Ali's story, is about a young man from a city who came to Tehran to study. His parents are waiting for him to return and help them to earn their lives. His cousin has been waiting for him to return for years. After graduating, he returns to the city, but he decides to return back to Tehran to continue his education and marry his favorite girl, and then leave the country. Her mother has a seizure when she finds out. In this situation, his cousin also comes to see him and get help.

## CONCLUSION

Due to the large number of playwrights introduced, this study does not analyze all suggested works, and it briefly introduces the summary of these works. In recent years, I have realized that although Iranian playwrights have the talent to write a fair play, mismanagement and lack of attention in the field of theater does not allow dramatists to show progress and stand on their feet. The quality and level of Iranian plays are exceptionally turbulent. Unfortunately, writers who had strong vigor and significant works are not active anymore. They are living abroad or are retired. This factor helps new playwrights who include Islamic themes and religious and superstitious beliefs in their plays in some

way in order to obtain a playing license to get known. In recent years, most theater directors in Iran have been thinking about being seen, becoming famous, and bestsellers, rather than exposing the right play to the public by making the right decisions. Although plays must have originated from the culture of the country itself, few playwrights have reflected the concerns and problems of society in their plays. However, by reading modernist theatrical texts in Iran, Iranian playwrights are interested in writing dramas that are much closer to the Western worldview than the Eastern perspective.

## References

Abbasi Narinabad, H., 2012. A Study of Postmodern Narrative in Akbar Radi's *Khanomche* and *Mahtabi*. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics & English Literature*, 1(4): 245-256.

Afshariasl, I., 2011. "Jayghah-e Khanevadeh dar Asar-e Akbar Radi" (The Place of Family in the Plays of Akbar Radi). In Hamideh Angha (Ed.), *Radi-Shenasi 1 (A Study of Radi 1)*: 301-15. Tehran: Ghatreh Publications.

Asadzadeh, D. 2010. *Survey in the History of Iranian Theatre before Advent of Islam till 1939*. 1st ed., Avardgah-e Honar & Andisheh.

Beyzaie, B. 2015. *Namayesh Dar Iran ["Theatre in Iran"]*. 10th ed., Roshangaran & Women Studies.

Forouzani, F., Badr, N., Gorji, M. and Haghighi, S., 2017. The Role of Language in Processing Various Characters in Bahram Beyzaei's Play: *One Thousand and First Night*. *Journal of History Culture and Art Research*, [online] 6(1): 8. Available at: <<https://www.readcube.com/articles/10.7596%2Ftaksad.v6i1.698>> [Accessed 19 September 2020].

Ghaderi, B., 2011. "Jame'e-e Moaser'e Radi va Modernitey-e Ghenas" ("Radi's Contemporary Society and Distorted Modernity"). In Hamideh Angha (Ed.), *Radi-Shenasi 1*: 85-117. Tehran: Ghatreh Publications.

Heydari Fard, M., 2020. A Study of Chekhovian Elements in Radi's Drama. *International Letters of Social and Humanistic Sciences*, [online] 42: 94. Available at: <<https://www.scipress.com/ILSHS.42.88>> [Accessed 19 September 2020].

Sattari, J., 2016. *The Background of Ta'zieh and Theatre in Iran*. 2nd ed., Nashr-e Markaz.

Shariati, M., 2016. *Staging Iranian Modernity: Authors In Search of New Forms*. Doctor of philosophy. The University of Texas at Austin.

Talajooy, S., 2013. "Beyzaie's Formation, Forms and Themes," *Iranian Studies*, vol. 46, no. 5: 691.

Talebi, F., 2004, *Akbar Radi: A Literary Biography*. Tehran: Ghatreh Publication.

Thalasso, A., and Kamyabi Mask A., 2012. *Le Théâtre Persan*. Translated by Faezeh Abdi, 1st ed., Bidgol.

# EXPLORING POSTMODERN LITERATURE: METAFICTION AND HYPERREALITY IN MCEWAN'S *ATONEMENT* (2001)

SARRA. A. BEDERINA

Departement of English, : Amar Thelidji University Laghouat

## ABSTRACT

By the mid 20th century, the postmodern debates have influenced the intellectuals all over the world and had been adopted by a large variety of fields such as philosophy, sociology, science, art, architecture, linguistics, politics, visual arts and literature. In literature, postmodernism rejected the old standards used in modernist literature and came out with new ones; it inquires the instability of the human experience, self-reflection and metanarratives. Postmodernism has paved the way for new ways of thinking and a new theoretical base, postmodernists had rejected the traditional way of thinking, which attempts to interpret the objective reality by means of observation and practice just to allow the “re-creation” of new specific realities through releasing the sign of its meaning and its referent. In this context the representation means the construction of reality without reference to the objective reality: it is actually hyperreality. By that time, fictions have started discussing their situation as artistic artefacts, which permitted the postmodern novel to construct debates about fictionality and reality in order to examine the way of the use of language to construct the reader’s perception of reality. Accordingly, postmodern writers tend to employ metafictional devices and techniques so as to address the readers directly, taking parts within the text as characters. Eventually, these characters are introduced to the reader as mere metafictional conceptions; a subversion of the narrative conventions and extra information that extends the story.

*Atonement* (2001) by the British writer Ian Russell McEwan is a metafictional novel with postmodern conventions: the fusion of fiction and reality, the evaluation of the narrator and the story within a story along besides fictionalizing reality: instead of representing the truth of what really happened the protagonist deliberately replaces it by a nonreality. Accordingly, this paper aims to examine the two postmodern concepts: metafiction and hyperreality in the contemporary novel *Atonement*.

**Keywords:** postmodernism, hyperreality, metafiction, British literature, McEwan

## **EXPLORING POSTMODERN LITERATURE: METAFICTION AND HYPERREALITY IN MCEWAN'S *ATONEMENT* (2001)**

A century ago, the world has known many changes, a transformation in several domains; political and economic reformation began after the cold war, the breakup of global scale in the field of information technology and the founding of new systems. In the swirling core of such processes, literature would take a part in such fundamental changes. The conventional norms that may set accurate definitions of perception of these changes indicate a critical matter in an attempt to determine their reflection on Western society. Individuals belonging to that society may not encounter this postmodern world, for disparate reasons.

Postmodernism basically subverts the foundation of individuals' accepted modes of thoughts to reveal the meaninglessness, the void and the nothingness of existence. Hence, postmodernist writing is an ontological concern which is mostly interested in questioning the kind of world people live in. Its language is, at times, mysterious, rambling, pluralistic and random. The discourse of postmodernism is, then, the discourse of ironies, fragments and repetitions; it has a lot to do with investigating the fundamental premises of humanism "universal truths": religion, philosophy, law, democracy and grand narrative that could justify the social structure and institutions. It also lays bare the dissolution of assumptions of Western thought of enlightenment; aspects such as belief in the self: coherent, autonomous; originality: simulacra; rationality: illusion and language as a transparent medium of communication.

Moreover, postmodern fiction for some is a continuing process of problematization or revocation of realist aesthetic ideology; it covers a multitude of different writers.

Ian McEwan's *Atonement* (2001) reflects characteristics of postmodernism in its minimalist stage setting, its fragmented dialogue and its seemingly meaningless situations performed by the exotic characters. Briony Tallis, a successful writer in the novel, reveals the game playing of her story in the penultimate section. The reader, then, learns that the novel is Briony's piece of literature. It also portrays how postmodernist literature has been developing ways to play with fictional possibilities and traditional categories of reading. Therefore, the status of fictions has started to be discussed as an aesthetic artifact which has enabled the novel to build up debates about fictionality and reality and to analyse the use of language for the sake of constructing the reader's perception of reality.

These are some of the metafictional techniques in which the author takes part within a text as a character, addressing the reader directly; the author presents characters to the reader as mere metafictional conceptions; narrative conventions are subverted, and extra information are brought up in order to extend the story.

In *Atonement*, one can draw various parallels between the narrator's role and the reader's life experiences. McEwan employs the metafictional devices to strengthen his plot and introduce the features of the hyperreal world.

Metafiction cannot be restricted to postmodernist fiction; it exhibits previous works which contain self-reflexive techniques that are attached to postmodernist metafiction. This comes from the fact that most writers are fully aware of the nature that lies beneath the reproduction of fiction. Exploring the question of reality and fictionality is of a great importance in metafictional literary works where the line between them is blurred; additionally, there is a set of characteristics and literary devices that grant the reader to classify a work as metafictional.

In addition to the aforementioned postmodernist devices, hyperreality, a term associated with the work of French theorist Jean Baudrillard (1981) who questions the distinctions between the real and the representation of the real, the copy and the original.

As a contemporary writer, McEwan has chosen to let the first three parts resemble to a classic realist novel, and only at the end of the third part of the novel he let the reader know that it is in fact the protagonist's novel. By doing so, McEwan makes use of postmodernist features in *Atonement*. Accordingly, the concern of this article is to explore two postmodernist features: Metafiction and hyperreality.

## **DEFINITION OF POSTMODERNISM**

Postmodernism has been developed as a scope of academic study by the late 1960s (Baldick, 2001, p.201). The concept is a complex term that resists a single definition and is hard to explain since it occurs in a large variety of areas of study like technology, art, sociology, architecture, film, music, communication and literature (Childs & Fowler, 2006, p. 185). For many, the term postmodernism refers to postmodernity but in reality; postmodernity applies to postmodern culture whereas postmodernism applies to postmodern theory. In other words, the postmodern theory should be used in characterizing intellectual or philosophical ideas while postmodernity can be used at any aspect of living in a postmodern society.

Postmodernism had become a movement that cannot be denied as it gained a lot of both oppositionists and followers. The transformation in different areas has created a new aesthetic forms or it has just regenerate techniques of previous movement by putting them in an adapted cultural framework.

One can count many "theories" of postmodernism. For most, postmodernism refers to the period starting from the 1960s to the present day which can be remarkable by the Cold War and technology marked by the rise of computers and television. Postmodernism differs from an area of study to another: in art, it involves a use of irony, satire, pastiche and fragmentation; in philosophy, it is linked with the relation between techniques such as real and unreal; meaning and truth. Some philosophers assert that a modern world still exists and there is no place for a postmodern world as written in *The Routledge Companion to Postmodernism (2001)*:

Nowadays, the term postmodernism in a general sense is to be regarded as a rejection of many, if not most, of the cultural certainties on which life in the West has been structured over the last couple of centuries. It has called into question our commitment to cultural 'progress' (...), as well as the political systems that have underpinned this belief. Postmodernists often refer to the 'Enlightenment project', meaning the liberal humanist ideology that has come to dominate Western culture since the eighteenth century; an ideology that has striven to bring about the emancipation of mankind from economic want and political oppression. (Childs & Fowler p. 24)

Postmodernism refers to different cultural improvements, notably in literature and art, it questions Enlightenment, it is also considered as a reaction to modernism.

## **PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND OF POSTMODERNISM**

The philosophical origins of postmodernism go to the end of the 19th century in the works of Nietzsche, the German philosopher, and Kierkegaard, the Danish philosopher, whose works were skeptic about

authority, cultural and political forms which were a major facet of a postmodern philosophy. Nietzsche's statement that 'God is dead' has established several philosophical movements such as existentialism and postmodernism.

Jean-Francois Lyotard, the French philosopher and writer of *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (1984) which is considered to be an important book in terms of theoretical expression of postmodernism, stated that postmodernism was a reaction to the failings of modernism. It emerged from crisis. Lyotard suggested that we should reject the 'grand narratives' of western culture because they have lost all their credibility (359). He gave them the term of meta-narrations instead of metanarratives. (Philosophy, Science, Education and Culture 2005)

According to Lyotard, plurality is one fundamental issue of postmodernism. In "Answering the Question; What Is Postmodernism?", Lyotard asserted that "a work can become modern only if it is first postmodern" (7). Consequently, according to his speculation "postmodernism is not modernism at its end, but in a nascent state and this state is recurrent" (7).

Michel Foucault, another postmodern French philosopher, argued that the idea of Truth is an illusion, according to him 'knowledge' and 'truth' are created by those in power. What seems to be true in the world is that we have been accustomed to. For him, it is not a truth but a received wisdom, Foucault rejected the idea that the world is getting better and society is moving forward. In most cases, people adopted the version of reality imposed by those in power which is a major source of social discipline and conformity. This, then, forged how they think and the idea of truth became disparate from society to another.

In this sense, Foucault claimed that "[i]n any given culture and at any given moment, there is always only one 'episteme' that defines the conditions of possibility of all knowledge, whether expressed in theory or silently invested in a practice." (1). To him, power is knowledge. In the postmodern world, the absolute truth does not exist since what truth is for one may not be truth for others (Rabinow & Rose,38). He examined the marginalized groups such as insane, homosexuals and prisoners in connection with their behavior and the way that dominant groups, such as politicians, can impose their power on the powerless groups. He came to the conclusion that there is an intimate relation between the systems of knowledge (discourses) which codify techniques and practices for the exercise of social control and domination within particular localized contexts. The prison, the asylum, the hospital, the university, the school, the psychiatrist's office are all examples of sites where a dispersed and piecemeal organization of power is built up independently of any systematic strategy of class domination. What happens at each site cannot be understood by appeal to some overarching general theory (qtd. In Harvey 45).

Another postmodern philosopher whose works have been claimed to be controversial is Jean Baudrillard. His concept of mass media as well as its impacts on the consumer society has been of great importance. Actually, he adopted postmodern views in response to Marxism which he considered to be unsuitable to understand the contemporary society; the most important part of his idea is related to mass media and consumer society. In his opinion, mass media has become an important tool to grasp the world, in addition to that, what used to be real, currently turned to be factious and vice versa. Madan Sarup commented on that:

Media practices have rearranged our senses of space and time. What is real is no longer our direct contact with the world, but what we are given on the TV screen: TV is the world. TV is

dissolved into life, and life is dissolved into TV. The fiction is “realized” and the “real” becomes fictitious. Simulation has replaced production (165).

Due to media, our senses of space and time have been reconstructed, what was real becomes fictitious and what was fiction turned to be real.

To Baudrillard, the conception of the world is constructed of models that do not refer to any reality, in which the meaning of simulacrum progresses through time. According to him, the postmodern era stands on simulacra, simulations that no longer relate to reality. In his book entitled *Simulacra and Simulation*, Baudrillard stated that:

Whereas representation attempts to absorb simulation by interpreting it as a false representation, simulation envelops the whole edifice of representation itself as a simulacrum. Such would be the successive phases of the image: it is the reflection of a profound reality; it masks and denatures a profound reality; it masks the absence of a profound reality; it has no relation to any reality whatsoever; it is its own pure simulacrum. (6)

In distinguishing between representation and simulation, it seems that representation starts from the principle that the sign and the real are equivalent, as the image shifts further from reality it moves forward from representation towards simulation to become, eventually, a pure simulacrum.

Postmodern philosophers gave a big importance to the instability of knowledge for Lyotard, disproving the uniformity of the society, as for Foucault; the union of knowledge and power as for Lyotard and Foucault, and for Baudrillard the uncertainty to perceive reality.

#### **A POSTMODERN READING OF ATONEMENT**

Postmodern literature has emerged under the scope of postmodernism in connection with art in the late 1960s; it has given the authors the way to experiment a multiplicity of genres which is one of the most important characteristics of postmodernism. Postmodern works have come as a reaction to modernist literature and enlightenment. Different genres have become popular namely science fiction, comic books and detective stories.

Moreover, it is plainly “marked by a tendency to question the legitimacy of the narrative itself, the refusal to offer any universal truths and multiple points of view” (Sim10).

Postmodern writers are no longer respecting the aspects associated with traditional stories but relying on the multiple ways of structuring narrative. They, however, insist on providing numerous probable results for the plot (Sim 174).

Ian McEwan is a contemporary British writer who has been writing and publishing in the period labelled postmodernism. He is well known for his interest in the relationship between reality and imagination as well as history and fiction during the process of writing, along with intertextuality and metafiction.

In his book, *The Novel Now: Contemporary British Fiction (2007)*, Richard Bradford claimed that “[t]he battle between realism and modernism/postmodernism is now, in the early twenty-first century, effectively over. Neither side is victorious but the middle ground of fiction is shared by hybridized versions of both” (78) talking about hybridization<sup>3</sup>, the act of producing something heterogeneous in origin or composition, as a solution to the conflict between the different literary styles without perceiving that it is a main aspect of postmodernism.

Likewise, Childs Peter asserts that “[t]he novel ultimately emerges as at least in part a postmodernist novel, because it questions its own fictive status, exposing itself as a construct.” (Qtd. in Habibi, 57).

Ian McEwan’s novel *Atonement* is considered to be a postmodern novel whose story is mainly concerned with the protagonist Briony Tallis a child who is “possessed by a desire to have the world just so” (McEwan 4). Briony is trying to atone for a crime she did in 1935 by writing. She gave a false testimony against a young man Robbie Turner, son of the Tallises’ chairwoman which led him to public disgrace and a sentence in prison for rape. This led to separate him from her older sister, Cecilia Tallis with whom he was involved in secret love story. They both die in World War II, leaving Briony tormented with guilt.

In her critique of the novel in “Memory and Storytelling in Ian McEwan’s *Atonement*” (2005), the author Pilar Hidalgo, observes that the novel:

*Atonement* is structured in three parts and a final, a much shorter section titled “London 1999.” The viewpoint, crucial in a story that so dramatically foregrounds perception, is shared by four characters in part 1, set in the family’s country house during the summer of 1953. Part 2 records the retreat to Dunkirk from the perspective of Robbie Turner, now a private in the British army; in part 3 the action simultaneous to that of part 2. As we follow the preparations to receive the casualties from Dunkirk in a London hospital where Briony is a probation nurse. The three parts are narrated in the third person, and at the end of part 3 the identity of the narrator turns out to be now what the reader (at least this particular reader) had expected. The final section is told in the first person by Briony Tallis, and the time now is fifty-nine years after the events in part 1 and 2 (83).

The novel is divided into four parts: the first part revealed the origin of all the conflicts, the summer of 1935 in the family house when the protagonist Briony noticed a sexual scene between her sister Cecilia and Robbie the housekeeper’s son and later accuses him of raping Lola her cousin. This results on taking Robbie to the prison.

The second part is set during the Second World War; Robbie spent two years at prison, and then, get released in condition to take part in the army to fight in the war. He has been in contact with Cecilia, who has become a nurse, only by sending letters. A great part of this section was devoted to the evacuation of Dunkirk.

The third part introduces Briony’s feeling of guilt as she refused to accept her place in Oxford. Instead, she became a trainee nurse a way for her to forget what she did to Robbie, she also attends the wedding of her cousin, Lola, and a friend of her older brother, Paul Marshal. Finally, she visits Cecilia to tell her that she is ready to exonerate Robbie and promises to begin all the needed procedures.

The last part, which is the final part entitled “London 1999” , is told by a 77-yearold novelist Briony. It is in this section that the reader noticed that the book is Briony’s book. Even if Cecilia and Robbie were reunited together in her book, Robbie would have died of septicemia due to war injuries and Cecilia killed at the bombing of the Balham tube station. Therefore, *Atonement* can be seen as a postmodern novel in the way it portrays a novel and in the final chapter, it represents the novel as a book written by Briony Tallis a character within the novel itself.

Postmodernism can be detected also in the two alternative endings which Briony does with the possible death of Cecilia and Robbie during the war.

Regarding history, some authors confirmed that it is related to postmodernism. Linda

Hutcheon affirmed that what is universally considered as “official” history is rather a work of fiction which requires a process of selections from the author. She adds “storytellers can certainly silence, exclude, and absent certain past events—and people—but (...) historians have done the same” (107). Putting it differently, authors are no longer representing reality but creating a new one based on construction of words.

*Atonement* depicts a lot of historical matters like life in the British society in 1930's, and the social classes during this period, as well as the atrocities of the Second World War to which McEwan devoted a complete part of the novel recounting the Dunkirk evacuation in 1940. Providing a historical examination and interrogation of the real, the explored themes in the novel may be historical; the novel explores historiography and fiction by portraying historical realities. In *Atonement*, McEwan admits that there are devices of construction of representations of reality depending on each person and each group of people.

McEwan's novel is involved with history, major events happened in addition to destinies of individuals all along the novel. His engagement towards society and his documentary quality presented in the second part which reveals the evacuation of Dunkirk through the eyes of Robbie Turner as a soldier and his thoughts and memories towards the woman he loves, his ethical dimension captured in the following passage in which Henri Bonnet, a French soldier who along with his brother Jean-Marie Bonnet show, kindness to Robbie in wartime France, says: 'All that fighting we did twenty-five years ago. All those dead. Now the Germans back in France. In two days they'll be here, taking everything we have. Who would have believed it?' (McEwan20)

In this passage, Robbie Turner is trying to bid farewell to his hosts. Apart from introducing historical event, *Atonement* is a well-structured novel that keeps the reader's intention, In describing such scenes, McEwan alters the inner monologue, he merges historiography and fiction at the same time to represent historical events; consequently, the reality revealed at the end of the book pushes the reader to question if the historical events mentioned before are real or a mere imagination of the writer, that does not mean that reality does not exist but it is disputed and challenged in different ways from the facts in the story to the juxtaposition of what is real and what is fictive. In *Atonement*, the past is always susceptible to new perceptions and judgments; it is a living force. What leads to interrogate whether the historical accounts are authentic or not along with grand narratives of war.

The technique used in *Atonement* corresponds to postmodern writings, the omniscient narrator delves into the text mixing reality and fiction altogether in a way that makes the reader confused about the truth at the end of the novel. This complex structure of the narrative makes the novel typically postmodern. Along with the several points of view including that of Cecilia, Briony's sister, Emily, her mother and Robbie are mere illusions of Briony's imagination which is confirmed in the last part of the novel. Accordingly, Brian Finney claims that “McEwan draws attention to a continuous tension between the narrative and its narration” (4).

Owing to his style of writing, it has become a hard task to categorize McEwan in a particular literary movement, eventually, his sophisticated language has given him a fame among the postmodernist writers. His style of writing has attracted the readers' attention and the critics' interests. Hidalgo Pilar, for instance, reinforces the idea that the reader has the choice to accept or deny the truth he faces while reading; accordingly, she observes how “[t]he introduction of the first-person epilogue turns the novel into a postmodernist metafiction” (87). Besides, McEwan states: “I don't hold with the sort of postmodern relativist view that the only truth is the one an individual assert. I do believe there are realities that await our investigation. In that sense, I'm an objectivist.” (Roberts,189).

On the one hand, *Atonement* questions the possibility of portraying truth in narration. While on the other hand, it investigates the possibility of being objective in narrating past events. Those narratives depend on the interests of the narrator; it exposes the fictional relation between the novel itself and the reader who is exposed to those techniques. For example, Briony's presentation of herself as an omniscient narrator leads the reader to assume that he/she is reading McEwan's narrative instead of Briony's narrative. This points out the idea that the self-reflexive technique is applied in order to imply the constructed nature of narratives. Briony, as a writer, cannot be reliable especially when narrating the same events.

Another example is shown in the last part when the reader becomes aware that he has been manipulated about the story and wondering whether the story is a historical reality or just an ordinary reality. In fact, the story is a tragedy turned into a happy ending: a kind of redemption. Furthermore, Brian Finney states that:

By making the protagonist and narrator a writer McEwan has situated the act of artistic composition in the context of national history. Ostensibly a novel concerned with the relationships between fact and fiction, the novel's use of metafiction draws attention to the way fictional writing cannot be isolated from the wider concerns of history and politics. In the first place, when novelists force us to understand the constructed nature of their characters by commenting on their own act of creation, they invite us simultaneously to reflect on the way subjectivity is similarly constructed by ideological means in the non-fictional world we inhabit. (91)

One can distinguish two fictional worlds; the first world created by the 77 years old Briony which is a world of fiction mixed with some historical events like war, and another world which is created by Ian McEwan, the real author, a world where characters and historical events are representing reality through language. The construction of meaning can be considered as a performance, since any given set of real events can have several plots in several ways, it can take the responsibility of being told as any amount of diverse varieties of stories.

The use of a variety of postmodern techniques such as the shifts in the narrative style, different points of view, and allusions to previous literary works has classified *Atonement* as a postmodern novel.

Besides, the harmony between reality and history affords *Atonement* a postmodern dimension; it demonstrates a good example of the postmodernist approach. It is until the epilogue of the novel that the reader acknowledges how narratives could be selective or unreliable, it is at the end that he realizes that the happy ending of the novel is a mere imagination of Briony leaving the reader confused and disappointed.

To sum up it seems that this combination of various literary styles and techniques together with a metafictional element at the end of the story ensures the novel's postmodern status.

## **EXPLORING METAFICTION**

### **Origins**

Self-reflexivity has become the main matter of postmodern fiction even if it was implicit in a variety of fictional works. In 1970, William H. Gass termed this literary device "self reflexivity" "metafiction" (Qtd. in Waugh, 2). The American writer, John Barth (1930), defines metafiction as "a novel that imitates a novel rather than the real world." (Currie, 161). He sets aside former literary terms such as "antinovel"

and “antifiction” since metafiction is “fiction about fiction” as Robert Scholes clarified and named it self-reflexive fiction. Along with advocates of postmodern metafiction who agree with the term, for instance, Lynda Hutcheon’s ‘narcissistic fiction’; James Rother’s ‘parafiction’; and Raymod Federman’s ‘surfiction’.

According to Linda Hutcheon, narcissistic fiction is a fiction which includes within itself some sort of commentary on its own narrative and/or linguistic nature. Her analysis is further extended to discuss the implications of such a development for both the theory of the novel and reading theory. (Hutcheon 18)

A parafiction as Lambert-Beatty writes in “Make Believe: Parafiction and Plausibility” is related to but not quite a member of the category of fiction as established in the literary and dramatic art. It remains a bit outside. It does not perform its procedures in the hygienic clinics of literature but has one foot in the field of the real. (51-84) Furthermore, surfiction is “a term coined in 1973 by the American experimental writer Raymond Federman to designate a new kind of fiction which is now more often referred to as POSTMODERNIST, as it abandons REALISM in favor of METAFICTION, self-consciously advertising its own fictional status. Federman proposed that “the new fiction will not attempt to be meaningful, truthful, or realistic” (142)

In her book entitled *Metafiction: The Theory and Practice of Self-Conscious Fiction* (1984), Patricia Waugh defines metafiction as a fiction that “self-consciously and systematically draws attention to its status as an artifact in order to pose questions about the relationship between fiction and reality” (2). According to that, metafiction is not only concerned with creating a new narrative but re-creating and representing another one in order to “explore a theory of fiction through the practice of writing fiction” (Waugh 2).

Although metafiction has been the focus of postmodern works, theorists associate metafictional techniques to earlier works of Homer and Chaucer (Sharma & Chaudhy), while others argue that Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* (1599-1601) is considered to be the earliest work of metafiction: the play-within-a-play scene provides a prime example of metafiction in drama. As a plot to convict his uncle for killing his father and marrying Hamlet’s mother, Hamlet hires a theater troupe to perform a play that closely mirrors the events of his father’s murder. Likewise, Miguel Cervantes’ *Don Quixote* (1605) in which some readers can trace self-reflexivity. In fact, the protagonist Don Quixote lives for the book that will be written about his adventures. As well as Jane Austin’s *Northanger Abbey* (1817) also shows tendencies of metafiction. As a matter of fact, she refers to her narrator as a writer. These classical works are considered to be examples of early metafictional tendency. Hence, metafiction tends to blur the line between fiction and reality, i.e. the perception of reality is investigated by employing metafictional devices and challenging memory, truth or social assumptions. This results in undermining the reader’s assumption.

As a literary device, metafiction can be used by writers at the expense that the text might become unreliable, incomplete or deniable by other characters. It is a powerful and compelling technique.

## Definition

Metafiction has been theorized especially in postmodern times. According to Lynda Hutcheon, metafiction is a "form of fiction which is itself acutely self-reflexive" (Using the term 'metafiction' has created critical ambiguity. Anne Jefferson, in her review of Patricia Waugh's *Metafiction*, asserts that "the trouble is that Waugh cannot have it both ways, and present metafiction both as an inherent characteristic of narrative fiction and as a response to the contemporary social and cultural vision" (574). Theorists usually use the same definition of metafiction, which eventually makes it hard to differentiate between the one referring to post-modern metafiction and all works containing self-reflexivity.

Waugh elaborates that metafiction is:

A term is given to fictional writing which self-consciously and systematically draws attention to its status as an artifact in order to pose questions about the relationship between fiction and reality. In providing a critique of their own methods of construction, such writings not only examine the fundamental structures of narrative fiction, they also explore the possible fictionality of the world outside the literary fictional text. (2)

In this quotation, Waugh asserts that the metafictional novels highlight the author's function, the role of literature in society and the examination of the literary genres and techniques. This investigation lays bare the link between two fundamental opponents, fiction and reality. In order to better reveal its status, literature offers a disparate analysis of its own "methods of constructions" and examines the tools of fictionalizing fiction.

Mark Currie defines metafiction as a "borderline discourse, a kind of writing which places itself on the border between fiction and criticism, which takes the border as its subject" (2). He adds commenting on metafictional works that are marginalized: "to see the dramatized narrator or novelist as metanarrative devices are to interpret a substantial proportion of fiction as meta-fiction" (4).

Most theorists suggest that metafiction shows a "self-reflexivity prompted by the author's awareness of the theory underlying the construction of fictional works" (Waugh,2). In other words, even with the variance between the definitions aforementioned, most theorists approve that metafiction is not only a mode/approach of postmodern fiction.

In addition to that, the writers of metafiction give a big role to the reader by involving him within the literary work either by importing his earlier knowledge in literature or by making him expecting what kind of fiction he is reading. In *the Art of Fiction* (1983), John Gardner states that:

The writers of metafiction give the reader an experience that assumes the usual experience of fiction as its point of departure, and whatever effect their work may have depended on their conscious violation of the usual fictional effect. What interests us in their novels is that they are not novels but, instead, artistic comments on art (32-33).

Gardner, here, asserts the significance of the artistic comments that writers of metafiction usually provide while they analyze the status of art.

## Types

There are plenty of terms that refer to metafiction like self-conscious, narcissistic, introspective, introverted and auto representational, the task was given to the reader to identify whether the text is metafictional demands awareness of the characteristics and literary techniques.

Patricia Waugh identifies three types of metafiction. The first type occurs when the writer subverts the role of the omniscient narrator who becomes aware of the details included in the literary work. We can detect this first type in John Fowles' novel *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (1969). In previous literary works, the omniscient narrator knows everything about the characters and the events of the story, his/her role is to report those events in an objective way, while in metafictional literary works the omniscient narrator takes an active role in the story he/she is narrating. The second type includes works which portray a parody on a particular fictional mode like in Fowles' *Mantissa* (1982) in which he portrays a metafictional parody. The third type of metafiction contains works that are not obviously metafictional but performing 'meta' aspects like in Richard Brautigan's *Trout Fishing in America* (1967).

There is a variation of metafictional characteristics, one can trace a pattern of various techniques which can be detected in combination or singularly.

The first technique that can be detected in metafictional texts is the alteration from the omniscient narrator/ character and from the first personal pronoun 'I' to she/ he narrator, these changes can be related to more elements in the text than narration. Changes can also augment the awareness of the reader about the insincerity of the text; the reader may be confused about the main context of the metafictional text yet puzzled about what is real and what is fictitious. Waugh comments: "the main concern of metafiction is precisely the implications of the shift from the context of the 'reality' to that of 'fiction' and the complicated interpenetration of the two" (36). Putting it differently, the reader is no longer passive but he/she has a role in interpreting the metafictional text he/she is reading and thus he/she becomes a player as Hutcheon states:

The reader must work to decipher the text as hard as the writer did to cipher it ... [...] the act of reading becomes a creative interpretative one that partakes of the experience of writing itself. these fictions [metafictional novels] are about their own processes, as experienced and created by the reader's responses. They also contain ...in their self-consciousness their own self-criticism... [...] the reader, like the writer, becomes the critic.(144)

## METAFICTIONAL ELEMENTS IN *ATONEMENT*

A metafictional text may refer to other texts or to itself. For postmodernists, a literary text can be created by using old literary texts they cannot exist in isolation. Accordingly, the theorist Roland Barthes asserts that a work of literature is "a multidimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash" (146).

Metafiction in *Atonement* is discovered gradually, in the beginning it opens with a long quotation from Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* (1918), a novel which has significant metafictional aspects, it introduces a combination between ethics and metalanguage; then a relevant information about Briony who attempts to write her own memories which become at the end "*Atonement*," the book we are actually reading. Briony a thirteen years old girl passionate about writing, a passion that she discovered at the early age since she had written some literary works. A girl with big imagination; she is "possessed by a desire to have the world just so" (McEwan.4). In his essay, "Briony's Stand Against Oblivion: Ian McEwan's *Atonement*" (2002), Brian Finney claims that:

*Atonement* employs the narrative voice of a 77-year-old English woman and focuses on a crucial period of British history between 1935 and 1940. Instead of the closed claustrophobic inner world of the early protagonists, it ranges from an upper-class household in pre-War southern England to the retreat of the British army to Dunkirk, to a wartime London hospital, ending with a coda in 1999. (1)

The self-referentiality in *Atonement* is present when Briony gets an answer from the magazine to which she submits her first attempt in writing, even though it is not obvious to the reader that the novel is turning to itself. Through the suggestions in the reply of the editor, the making of *Atonement* is demonstrated, such as extracting from *Trails of Arabella*, the play she wrote and changing the type of the vase broken by the fountain.

To investigate metafiction in *Atonement*, the last part is crucial because it bears a sudden development in the narrative which confirms Waugh's view that "[m]etafictional novels often end with a choice of ending [o]r...with a sign of impossibility of endings." (05).

In other words, all metafictional works have the tendency of the multiplicity of endings. At the end of *Atonement*, the reader is tricked by the happy ending that Briony had invented to fulfill her romantic story she had created to atone for herself just for a while to be surprised later on by the fatalities that really happened. In her essay, "Getting an Angle on Truth: An Analysis of Narrative Viewpoint in Ian McEwan's *Atonement*" (2008), the critic Linda Cruise believes that: "her only justification for having created such an imaginary world, in which Cecilia and Robbie share a harmonic life of love, is her compulsion to be freed from her long-life burden of guilt". Briony comprehends her effort as a final act of kindness/towards Cecilia and Robbie/, a stand against oblivion and despair" (351). Therefore, Briony is able to fulfill by fiction what she couldn't do in real life. As she questions in the final passage of the book:

[...] how can a novelist achieve atonement when, with her absolute power of deciding outcomes, she is also God? There is no one, no entity or higher form that she can appeal to, or be reconciled with, or that can forgive her[...] In her imagination she has set the limits and the terms. (371)

In his essay on "The use of metafiction in *Atonement*", Habibi (2013) comments about the narrator, he advances that: "in *Atonement*, there is the slightest of awareness in the omniscient narrator of the first three parts and their narrator is near to the implied metacommentary, while in "London 1999" the narrator reveals her identity as the author of aforesaid narrative and shows her continual self-consciousness." (8).

Furthermore, Finney (2004) claims that: "to complain about the metafictional elements in the book is to fail to understand that we all are narrated, entering at birth into a pre-existing narrative which provides the palimpsest on which we inscribe our own narratives/lives."

The narrative structure in *Atonement* is characterized as metafictional, in which the coda reveals the fictional nature of the three parts created by Briony as a fiction about her. In such frame, stories are incorporated in other stories; one narration in another. The sense of reality which is created by language juxtaposes with the sense of fiction that exists in reality as well as different points of view, the same scene told by two different characters like the scene of the fountain in part one. The first narrator describes the scene as a simple incident where an ancient family vase was broken. This made Cecilia angry against Robbie and decides to go down and look for the missing piece down the fountain, the scene is described by the author as follows "She kicked off her sandals, unbuttoned her blouse and

removed it, unfastened her skirt and stepped out of it and went to the basin wall" (McEwan 30), while Robbie was standing there just looking at her.

In addition to that, the exploration of the relation between fiction and imagination seems to be a major feature of metafiction. McEwan states that he "examine[s] the relationship between what is imagined and what is true" (19). He, then, led the reader to question reality within the novel. Briony, as an author, manages to construct this reality by blurring the line between what is fictitious and what is real, her love for fiction and her active imagination led her to accuse Robbie of a crime he didn't commit, and thus, separates him from her sister Cecilia. In an attempt to atone for that, she used fiction as she used to do, by fictionalizing events, Briony has the ability to use the past in order to create a fictional future, so *Atonement* is a way to give Cecilia and Robbie a chance to live, a future for them, a life within pages of a book.

The tension between reality and fiction is crucial, a tension seen between Briony as a character and Briony as a narrator. Briony as the narrator is divided between the writer's image in her text, and the fictitious writer of the novel, the writing agency.

As far as the narrative form is concerned, McEwan does not limit himself to a certain form. Instead, he used multiple perspective and narrative voices; the use of third person narrative to achieve a description where illusions are fixed; the shifts in points of view allow the reader to see the events from distinct aspects; the first-person narrative gives the reader the opportunity to delve into the character's private world. It is noticeable that the narratives in *Atonement* integrate different genres and styles of writing into the scope of metafiction.

McEwan's *Atonement* is full of metafictional elements to which the reader becomes aware of in the last part of the novel. The epigraph of the novel gives hints about the intertextuality as well as a foreshadow about the protagonist's interest in writing. In addition to the epigraph, the last part of the novel in which Briony confesses: "I've regarded it as my duty to disguise nothing – the names, the places, the circumstances – I put it all there as a matter of historical record" (McEwan, 369). Being the writer of the previous parts can be seen as an excellent example of postmodern metafiction.

## THE CONCEPT OF HYPERREALITY

Hyperreality is the idea that had been shaped by the French philosopher Jean Baudrillard whose work *Simulacra and Simulation* is tied with early postmodernism, he formed its basis on the idea that the postmodern consumer exists as a big system of signs and symbols that need to be decoded, which encouraged the idea that the actual society has changed all reality and meaning with symbols and signs, in addition to considering the human experience as a mere simulation of reality.

The word hyperreality is divided into two words: hyper and reality. "**Hyper**" as defined in Merriam-Webster dictionary as a concept, hyper (short for hyperactive) primarily denotes high energy and activity. Moreover, as a prefix, it refers to going over, above, or beyond and it implies that "the thing or quality is present over or beyond the ordinary degree..." (Oxford English Dictionary). "**reality**" the Oxford English Dictionary (2009) defines reality as "the quality of being real or having an actual existence," By joining both words, hyperreality can be seen as a perception of realism that is beyond that of the existing standards.

The historical origins of hyperreality goes back to Plato's theory 'The Allegory of the Cave' was put forward, it concerns human perception, Plato asserted that knowledge gained through the senses is just an opinion and real knowledge has to be gained through philosophical reasoning. Plato's theory of

form which embraces that the true essence of an object is not what we perceive with our senses, but rather its quality and that most people perceive only the shadow of the object and are thus limited to false perception.

Plato's allegory is adapted by Jean Baudrillard into his concept of hyperreality, which he applied to mass media. It elucidates the signs and symbols employed in a variety of media tools such as television, films, and internet as devices used to construct a hyperreality and then demonstrate it as reality. Russel W. Belk describes hyperreality as "a sanitized version of reality, cleansed of strife, world problems, dirt, prejudice [and] exploitation" (29).

This particular term 'hyperreality' is a critical postmodernist term which means – an inability of consciousness to segregate reality from a simulation of reality, especially in technologically advanced Postmodern societies. Hyperreality is seen as a condition in which what is real and what is unreal are flawlessly muddled together. It is a concept or a condition in which reality and fiction are mixed together so that there is no clear distinction between where one ends and the other begins. The semiotic concept of "hyperreality" was coined by the French socialist Jean Baudrillard.

In his book entitled *Simulacra and Simulation*, he defined the term as "the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal" (343). Hyperreality is an image without a reference. Baudrillard considers it as more than combining the "real" to the symbol it represents: it comprises producing a symbol or a quota of signifiers which illustrate something that does not exist in real world.

Baudrillard advocates that our world has been replaced by a copy world where we look for simulated stimuli only; he uses the example cited by Jorge Luis Borges in "on exactitude in science" of a society created by cartographers by a map that includes every detailed thing. But with the collapse of the empire, the map vanishes into the landscape, he claims that the representation and the real both disappear what remains is the hyperreal.

Being influenced by Marshall McLuhan, Baudrillard challenges his statement that "the medium is the message" by advocating that information absorbs its own content. In fact, hyperreality is the inability to distinguish the reality from a simulation of reality especially in technologically advanced societies (Zampetti, J. P. & Moffitt, M. A.). On the other hand, the theory of Baudrillard step forward McLuhan's medium theory: there is not only an implosion of the message in the medium, there is, in the same movement, the implosion of the medium itself in the real, the implosion of the medium and of the real in sort of hyperreal nebula, in which even the definition and distinct action of the medium can no longer be determined (Laughey, D.). In fact, it is no longer really the real, because no imaginary envelops it anymore. It is a hyperreal, produced from a radiating synthesis of combinatory models in a hyperspace without atmosphere.

[...] It is a question of substituting the signs of the real for the real, that is to say of an operation of deterring every real process via its operational double, a programmatic, metastable, perfectly descriptive machine that offers all the signs of the real and short-circuits all its vicissitudes. Never again will the real have the chance to produce itself. (2)

Baudrillard's hyperreality is about altering symbols, it is a form of reality which is beyond what society considers to be real. Umberto Eco, an Italian philosopher, writer, and literary critic investigates the concept of hyperreality by indicating that the action of hyperreality is to desire a reality and in the attempt to achieve that desire to fabricate a false reality that is to be consumed as real.

Umberto Eco provided a description of the manner contemporary culture nowadays is rich with themed environment and recreation, in his book *Travels In Hyperreality* (1986), he reported that our creation

of these realistic fabrications for the sake of coming up with what is better than real gives us more beautiful, interesting, exciting, inspiring perceptions than what we expect in our life.

Additionally, another major concept in the postmodernist critic is that of hyperreality, which is the result of a process in which representation has been substituted by simulation. Thus, the sign becomes a simulacrum, a truth which conceals that there is none.

According to Baudrillard, the relationship between reality, symbols, and society has been deformed by the postmodern condition, reality has been changed for symbols, signs, and meaning, through the evolution of imitated copy, the fictional concepts give way to formulate a conception of symbols. The notion of artificiality requests some sense of reality. In hyperreality the relation between reality and its representation is no more distinguishable; there is the only simulation.

In order to explain the postmodern fusion of reality with hyperreality, Baudrillard labels a set of cultural phenomena naming contemporary media like television, film, and internet which blur line between reality and fiction, like for example war film in which “the war became film, the film becomes war, the two are joined by their common hemorrhage into technology” (60). Likewise, postmodern consumerism forms an imitated world of reality, consumer culture confuses the products needed with those created by commercial images and thus don't make the difference between what is needed and what is wanted. Reality is ruined since consumerism is acting like “a kind of genetic code that directs the mutation of the real into the hyperreal” (33).

The structure of reality is controlled by language, for Baudrillard rhetorical devices like images and metaphors are the core of language's power, in postmodern condition language is performed according to its contribution to hyperreality as long as “there is a proliferation of myths of origin and signs of reality: of secondhand truth, objectivity, and authenticity. There is an escalation of the true, of lived experience, a resurrection of the figurative where the object and substance have disappeared” (96)

## **SIMULATION AND SUMILACRA**

The simulacrum is never that which conceals the truth — it is the truth which conceals that there is none. The simulacrum is true. The term “simulacrum” had been used by Plato to describe a false copy of something. In his book *Simulacra and Simulation*, Baudrillard explains simulation as:

the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal' (and that the) 'age of simulation thus begins with a liquidation of all referential worse: by their artificial resurrection in systems of signs which are a more ductile material than meaning, in that they lend themselves to all systems of equivalence, all binary oppositions, and all combinatory algebra... it is rather a question of substituting signs of the real for the real itself' (166-7).

To Baudrillard, the main idea which is developed upon in *Simulacra and Simulations* is to replace the simulated object with a copy that has the only role to simulate, this copy does not refer to the original it is completely involved with its function.

Furthermore, Baudrillard argues that a simulation cannot be called as a part of reality, since there is no imaginary attached to it, alternatively, it tags “hyperreality”, as a field where references are reduced to malleable signs. (2)

In the framework of hyperreality, signs have completely random meanings, the simulation and the signs within it are counterfeit because they have lost connection with reality and change it for operational value, in that kind of sign system, all distinction is managed artificially and all meaning can be shaped, Baudrillard mentions that: "It no longer needs to be rational, because it no longer measures itself against either an ideal or negative instance ... It is a question of substituting the signs of the real for the real." (2)

In Simulacra, the absence of reality is masked by simulation because reality ceased to exist after being replaced by hyperreality, Baudrillard's simulation involves the death of the object which it was supposed to copy, the original discontinues to function if the original is replaced by a copy and serves no purpose but being a copy, for him the simulation is more authentic when it cancelled its original model, in other words, the simulated reality expires in a metaphysical sense.

Baudrillard's late work was concentrated on simulation, *Simulacra and Simulation* according to Wilson, can be considered as his "magnum opus" (421), what Baudrillard calls simulacra used to be called representation, a simulacrum is "a truth effect that hides the truth's non existence" (35). Baudrillard uses Disneyland as the prime example of this phenomenon:

Disneyland is there to conceal the fact that it is the 'real 'country, all of 'real' America, which is Disneyland. Disneyland is presented as imaginary in order to make us believe that the rest is real, when in fact all of Los Angeles and e America surrounding it are no longer real, but of the order of the hyperreal and of simulation. It is no longer a question of a false representation of reality (ideology), but of concealing the fact that the real is no longer real, and thus of saving the reality principle. (175)

Simulation presents us with a new order of how signifiers are related to their signified (Bishop & Phillips 2009, 138). In simulation, signs have nothing to do with the reality they used to represent because reality itself does no longer exist as a consequence is not possible to distinguish the true from the false to Baudrillard what is sought is the "more false than the false: illusion and appearance" (185).

Through his book *Simulacra and simulation*, Baudrillard set up several examples to present a collection of other simulations like for instance the documentaries about the Holocaust on television which turned the ignorance of atrocities of wartime into banal reenactment (49-51); hypermarkets that re-totalize space and time and anticipates the cities that are built around them. The "Precession of Simulacra" in simulation and simulation conveys the short story of Jorge Luis Borges "On Exactitude in Science"

... In that Empire, the Art of Cartography attained such Perfection that the map of a single Province occupied the entirety of a City, and the map of the Empire, the entirety of a Province. In time, those Unconscionable Maps no longer satisfied, and the Cartographers Guilds struck a Map of the Empire whose size was that of the Empire, and which coincided point for point with it. The following Generations, who were not so fond of the Study of Cartography as their Forebears had been, saw that that vast map was Useless, and not without some Pitilessness was it, that they delivered it up to the Inclemencies of Sun and Winters. In the Deserts of the West, still today, there are Tattered Ruins of that Map, inhabited by Animals and Beggars; in all the Land there is no other Relic of the Disciplines of Geography. (Borges 1998, 325)

In this one paragraph-length short story, he has imagined an empire that created a map which is conformed with its territory on a scale of one to one, the map placed in the territory that it represents, and thus being combined with it. For Baudrillard, the map comes first, and the real thing it represents comes after, besides he claimed that the difference between the real and the unreal has disappeared.

## **THE AUTHORS OF *ATONEMENT*: MCEWAN AND BRIONY**

Briony as a character represents postmodern tendencies; the reader is confused between what is real and what is a figment of her imagination. He/ she learns that the author has deceived them by playing with words and events throughout the entire story.

The reader learns that he/she is reading a fictional book based on truth but distorted with lies and deception, the main character Briony founded her story on truth with changing parts of it while McEwan, the author of the entire book represents the ways in which fiction and truth are mixed as a collection of individual narratives.

### **McEwan as the Author**

Even if Briony confesses in the last part that she is the writer of the previous parts of the novel, McEwan is considered to be the author of the book who controls both Briony and her novel. He creates the story world within the novel and gives Briony an authorial role, he also makes his characters conscious about their situations as fictional in a world of a constructed reality, Briony as a character thinks that she can change the other character's lives and control them through her power of writing, the text of McEwan puts the notion of reality and fiction under postmodern lenses as constructed in Baudrillard's theory of hyperreality. It occurs when an absence of some events is hidden by a constructed truth which in turn replaces the original reality. McEwan points out: "there can surely be no more mileage to be had from demonstrating yet again through self-enclosed 'fictions' that reality is words and words are lies. There is no need to be strangled by that particular loop- the artifice of fiction can be taken for granted" (11).

He reveals the process of writing and gives the reader an external view disconnected from him which shows that it is Briony's story. McEwan creates an unreliable narrator which undermines his own text and examines the process of writing and the relationship between author, the narrator, and reader.

### **Briony as the Author**

It is in the last section of the novel that Briony tells the reader what has occurred after the fulfillment of her novel, at this stage Briony a 77 years old lady is suffering from vascular dementia, she has written books since ever, her last one seems to be an achievement for her because through this book she tries to get rid of guilt. To atone for that she adds an event that did not happen, the scene of meeting Cecilia and Robbie again in order to ask for forgiveness.

She gave a happy ending to her book: the lovers Robbie and Cecilia live happily ever after but in the final section where old Briony reveals that they both died before they could meet again, she thought "[w]hat sense or hope or satisfaction could a reader draw from such an account?" (371) according to her she just wonders what a reader could get with a sad ending: the real one if she could change scenes and events since she is the writer of that book the god of it. She states:

When I am dead, and the Marchalls are dead, and the novel is finally published, we will only exist as my inventions. Briony will be as much of a fantasy as the lovers who shared a bed in Balham and enraged their landlady. No one will care what events and which individuals were misinterpreted to make a novel. I know there's always a certain kind of reader who will be compelled to ask, but what really happened? The answer is simple: the lovers survive and flourish. As long as there is a single copy, a solitary typescript of my final draft, then my spontaneous, fortuitous sister and her medical prince survive to love. (371)

In this passage, what makes the story alive is the power of the novel, a reason for her to give her book a happy ending besides atoning for her sins by making the reader aware of the matter that the story in that book stays alive through his reading. What she attempts through the title of the book is trying to find redemption through writing which wasn't an easy task for her she claims: "The problem these fifty-nine years has been this: how can a novelist achieve atonement when, with her absolute power of deciding outcomes, she is also God? There is no one, no entity or higher form that she can appeal to, or be reconciled with, or that can forgive her."(371)

Briony as the author of the book compares herself to a "God" giving herself a position of fictional creator, she is strongly taking the role of the author which forms a contained narrative within her mind. Briony's writing could be considered as a fixed restoration of events which helps to form a new manageable reality for her. This creates a comfortable world where she can live peacefully managing her guilt.

Stenport estimates that: Briony's version will strengthen her position as the well known writer she is at 77 if adopting McEwan's idea about multiple truths. Briony as the fictive author, however, makes clear that she is aware of the fact that she has accused Robbie falsely not taking responsibility for her action which once again shows that her fabricated memories are myths, psychologically essential for her self-esteem. (06)

Even if Briony is old now and can distinguish between what is correct and what is not, she still doesn't tell what really happened being guided by her selfishness and self-esteem fearing the loss of her career as a novelist, Stenport considers: "Briony is the fictive author and as such not reliable since she is the one most interested in presenting the story to her advantage." (21) this renders Briony as an untrustworthy narrator is her loss of memory.

Albers Stefanie, and Torsten Caeners clear up:

Among the reasons is her mental condition. No one can be sure how far this has affected the narrative. Then there is a long span of time between the events and the final version of the story, which may have caused loss or alteration of events in Briony's memory. Also, there is her agenda of atonement which has to be taken into consideration. (712)

According to them, it is difficult to trust such a character, besides having dementia,

Briony's versions of the story stay questionable.

In hyperreality, the copy becomes more valuable than the real thing, and what something symbolizes is more important than what the thing actually is, within a hyperreal world a constructed reality with fictitious signs of reality without any referent takes place in the real world. Baudrillard's world is one of hyperreality where information and communication technologies contribute to more profound experiences than common ones of daily life, along with codes that construct it.

## **CONCLUSION**

The article has prevailed two aspects of postmodernism: metafiction, and hyperreality. What is worth mentioning is that is that the writer's use of those aspects played significant roles in highlighting the epoch and placing the novel within remarkable literary and historical contexts. These contexts, however, celebrate and innervate the stylistic techniques of metafiction. They also embrace the theoretical as well as the philosophical framework of hyperreality or the hyperreal world, accompanying the metafictional situations.

This article embraced an initiation to the postmodern movement; the notion of postmodernism is explained in accordance to major philosophers and authors of that period and its primary principles including questioning reality and representation, metanarratives, and analysing *Atonement* from a postmodernist approach.

Moreover, the question of reality and fictionality through the novel was tackled through the concept of metafiction to which McEwan achieved command. Eventually, the novel is a metafictional novel with postmodern conventions: the fusion of fiction and reality, the evaluation of the narrator and the story within a story. Then, it demonstrated that this literary state of both the narrative and its narrators was captured by the use of laying bare the lines between art and life. McEwan tried to create two diverse fictional worlds. The first one illustrated the narrative as a genre while the second one expounded remarks and comments on the making of literature by allowing the reader to see both worlds in one novel. This could be seen as comparison and criticism on the production of literature. The writer also tried to establish a purely literary zone where the reader and the narrator meet, away from any constraints or restrictions. The novel, then, conferred the reader with a notable attitude toward the characters, the events, and the text itself.

Lastly, the aspect of hyperreality which occurs in the novel was presented through McEwan's delayed disclosure as well as through the fictionalized ending of the protagonist. It was approached according to the major figure, Jean Baudrillard, whose works were largely combined to postmodern theory, and his book *Simulacra and Simulation* in which he interrogates the relationships among reality, symbols, and society in addition to other postmodernist theorists who have related their works to postmodern society with contemporary media

## REFERENCES

- Baudrillard, J & Dyer, G (2010) *America*. Verso.
- Baudrillard, J & Poster, M (2001) *Selected Writings*. Stanford University Press.
- Baudrillard, J. (1994) *Simulacra and simulation*. The University of Michigan Press.
- Best, S & Kellner, D (1991). *Postmodern Theory: Critical Interrogations*. MacMillan Education.
- Baldick, C. (2004). *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Oxford University Press.
- Childs, P & Fowler, R. (2006). *The Routledge Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Routledge.
- Cuddon, J. A, et al. (2013). *A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Currie, M. (1995). *Metafiction*. New York: Longman Group.
- Eco, U. (2014). *Travels In Hyperreality*. Mariner Books.
- Ellam, J. (2009) *Ian McEwan's Atonement*. Continuum.
- Finney B. (2006). *Ian McEwan: Atonement (2001)*. In: *English Fiction Since 1984*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gardner, J. (1993). *The Art of Fiction*. Vintage Books.

- Habibi, S.J. (2013) "Distrust in Realism and Modernism: A Metafictional Detour in Ian McEwan's *Atonement*." *International Academic and Industrial Research Solutions*, (ICELL- 2013), 94-102, Hyderabad: India.
- Hidalgo, P. (2005) "Memory and Storytelling in Ian McEwan's *Atonement*." *Critique*, ProQuest Direct Complete 46.2(Winter 2005), 82-91.Spain.
- Hutcheon, L. (1988). *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction*. Routledge.
- Hutcheon, L & Natoli, J. (1993). *A Postmodern Reader*. State University of New York Press
- Hutcheon, L.(1980). *Narcissistic Narrative: The Metafictional Paradox*. Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Hoffmann, G. (2005). *From Modernism to Postmodernism: Concepts and Strategies of Postmodern American Fiction*. Rodopi.
- King, A. (1998) *A Critique of Baudrillard's Hyperreality: Towards a Sociology of postmodernism* Philosophy Social Criticism.
- Lyotard, J & Bennington, G. (2010). *The postmodern condition*. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press.
- Lukas, G. (1971). *The Theory of the Novel*. Merlin Press.
- McEwan, I. (2001). *Atonement*. Great Britain: Penguin Random House UK.
- McHale, B. (1987). *Postmodernist Fiction*. Great Britain: Routledge.
- Sim, S. (Ed). (2001). *The Routledge Companion to Postmodernism*. Routledge.
- Stenport, I. (2012). *Real Life as a Play on Stage: A Study of Guilt and Shame in Ian McEwan's Atonement*. Diss. Hötsterminen.
- Sturken, M & Cartwright, L. (1984). *Practices of Looking*. Oxford University Press.
- Waugh, P. (1984). *Metafiction: The Theory and Practice of Self-Conscious Fiction*. London: Routledge Publication, Print.
- Woods, T. (1999). *Beginning Postmodernism*. Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press.
- Zompetti, J.P & Moffitt, M.A (2008). Revisiting Concepts of Public Relations Audience Through Postmodern Concepts of Metanarrative, Decentered Subject, and Reality/Hyperreality. *Journal of Promotion Management*,14(3/4), 275-291.doi:10.1080/10496490802623762

**CUI'20 / VIII. INTERNATIONAL  
CONTEMPORARY URBAN ISSUES  
CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS**

# NEIGHBOURHOOD STREET VENDING: THE FORGOTTEN INFORMAL ACTIVITY OF INDIAN CITIES-THE CASE OF A NEIGHBOURHOOD IN BANGALORE

AMALA ANNA JACOB

Amala Anna Jacob, School of Architecture, MSRIT

## Abstract

The commercial activities of early Indian cities were a result of production and consumption of mainly local goods. The public realm in the city was designed for the movement of pedestrians and to facilitate trade of these goods using horses or bullock carts. The medium of consumption included both formal markets and informal vendors who would move through neighbourhood streets on foot to sell to its residents. Over time, traditional neighbourhoods have transformed and new neighbourhoods have been designed to include many changes including wider roads that can accommodate vehicles and modern infrastructure such as streetlights and footpaths. However the conventional method of buying and selling through street vendors has largely survived and thrived through the years. Although this informal method of commercial activity has moderately adapted to and successfully competed with the fast paced processes of commercial consumption in cities, the designers of the contemporary urban neighbourhoods seem to have completely disregarded the spatial requirements of everyday street vendors. The result of this is a daily disarray of vehicle, vendor and pedestrian on the neighbourhood street. This paper investigates the conflicts of Indian neighbourhood streets in this regard through a case in Bangalore by analyzing the circulatory and spatial requirements of stationery and mobile street vendors who frequent the neighbourhood.

**Keywords:** informal activity, street vendor, neighbourhood, spatial

## Introduction

Traditionally Indian cities were places of diverse economic and social activities. Many Indian cities owe their beginnings to existing trade routes. The neighbourhoods of such cities would often support the lives of a certain group of people who would organized themselves according to a particular guild or trade. The nomenclature and character of these neighbourhoods have evolved as a result. In the pols or neighbourhoods of Ahmedabad you can find Kansara pol, Zaveri ni pol (jeweller's) and in the pete's of Bangalore one finds Chickpete (small market), Akkipete (rice market). While the overall morphology of these neighbourhoods has changed, physical evidences of these patterns are seen even today.

In Bangalore, most of these neighbourhoods have evolved through the years to accommodate modern ways of living. The pete'shad bustling city streets where wares were sold by a particular type of trader in a designated area. The overall structure of the neighbourhood was formed by a conglomeration of these petes. Various categories of commerce both formal and informal are now located across the city and no longer concentrated in an area.

Among the informal commerce is the humble street vendor who navigates the neighbourhoods on foot to sell their wares. It is a common assumption that street vending is responsible for congestion that can have further negative consequences on neighbourhood livability. (UN Habitat, 2013) However as this paper will discuss later, street vending is only a natural consequence of the vendor taking advantage of an already available pool of customers. The conflict between, vehicle, vendor and pedestrian is a more recent phenomenon caused by the dependence on vehicles. Although many city neighbourhoods have adapted to modern process of buying and selling, the traditional methods have failed to be sustained through urban processes.

This paper will discuss the importance of spatial inclusion of street vending as a neighbourhood activity by first looking at street vending in the Indian context, the various policies, decisions and designs concerning street vending. A review of the literature will link these aspects of street vending with the relevance of streets in neighbourhood design, neighbourhood commerce and neighbourhood morphology and will be further illustrated through a case in Bangalore city.

### **Street Vending in the Indian Context**

Street vending in India is often fraught with overarching complications of money, power, space and society. Ever since the National Policy on Urban Street Vendors, 2009 and the Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Act of 2014 came into being, street vendors have long been recognized as legal and important contributors to the country's economy. Street vendors are considered to be service providers who engage in daily commerce and can be 'stationer vendors' who regularly set up at a specific location or 'mobile vendors' who engage in commercial activity by vending in a selected area. They are issued certificates for vending which can be used by them or a close family member upon payment of vending fees and can also be transferred to a family member upon the vendor's death. (Street Vendors Act, 2014).

As a commercial activity, street vending has marginal fixed costs and no operating or labour costs when compared to a formal shop (Sevstuk 2020). The fixed costs may include the maintenance charges paid for public amenities. The lower overhead costs also allows the vendors to provide goods at a cheaper rate while still achieving a profit and thereby allows the commerce to be more affordable for both vendor and customer. Street vending is also an occupation that requires little skill and very little educational qualification.

Therefore, in a country like India that has a large population and where poverty is a major detriment to urban growth and where competition for retail space in higher, informal mobile and stationery vending becomes a suitable method of earning a livelihood. For many it is an alternative source of employment (Mohan et al, 2019). According to the first schedule of the Street Vendors Act:

(1) The plan for street vending shall,—

(a) ensure that all existing street vendors identified in the survey, subject to a norm conforming to two and half per cent. of the population of the ward, zone, town or city, as the case may be, are accommodated in the plan for street vending;

(b) ensure the right of commuters to move freely and use the roads without any impediment;

(c) ensure that the provision of space or area for street vending is reasonable and consistent with existing natural markets;

(d) take into account the civic facilities for appropriate use of identified spaces or areas as vending zones;

(e) promote convenient, efficient and cost effective distribution of goods and provision of services;

(f) such other matters as may be specified in the scheme to give effect to the plan for street vending.

(2) The plan for street vending shall contain all of the following matters, namely:—

(a) determination of spatial planning norms for street vending;

(b) earmarking of space or area for vending zones;

(c) determination of vending zones as restriction-free-vending zones, restricted vending zones and no-vending zones;

(d) making of spatial plans conducive and adequate for the prevalent number of street vendors in that city or town and also for the future growth, by adopting such norms as may be necessary;

(e) consequential changes needed in the existing master plan, development plan, zonal plan, layout plan and any other plan for accommodating street vendors in the designated vending zones.

Despite these provisions and considerations to ensure that street vendors do not face undue distress in their activities, exclusion from the city is a reality they have to face everyday. Lack of space and lack of services are also common problems faced by street vendors (Mahadevia et al,2014). Convenient policing of vendors resulting in payment of bribes by vendors to police and government officials in exchange of safety and the right to vend another practice that causes vendors undue stress.(Mahadevia et al, 2016 ; Bangalore Mirror, 2019) This endless chain of 'scratching ' each other's back is a consequence of an absence of formal policies that supported street vending early on and is not something that can end suddenly with the implementation of new policies and acts. Mobile vendors are considered to be less prone to this type of harassment( Bhowmik and Saha, 2012)

There are various recommendations of spatial allocation for street vendors. One such recommendation suggests an area 5 sq. meter per vendor and using underutilized spaces such as car parks on weekends for vending activity. (Jha, 2018)

In the absence of a well designed spaces for street vendors, it can cause problems of congestion, health, negatively affect walkability The process of inclusion of street vendors in Bangalore so far has been haphazard and the survey conducted by an ad-hoc town vending committee incomplete. (Citizen

Matter, 2020). As per the street vending Act, no street vendors can be relocated or evicted till the surveys are complete and certificates issued to all vendors.

### **Link Between Neighbourhood Commerce, Street Vending, Streets and Neighbourhood Morphology**

It is the streets that makes the city.(Jacobs,1961)The neighbourhood street is a hub of diverse activity from dawn to dusk. This space is in essence where the people 'are' and is often considered an extension of the home.They become social spaces that need to support an assortment of activities many of which are commercial in nature. The morphology of streets has a direct link to the commerce it can support.Well connected streets have been proven to support economic activity and increase sales because of higher pedestrian footfall(Jacobs, 1961; Sevstuk 2020) Such streets also attract informal activity because of an existing pool of customers and can also lead to the formation of 'natural markets'(Bhowmik and Saha, 2012). Natural markets can be defined as "a market where sellers and buyers have traditionally congregated for the sale and purchase of products or services". (Street Vendors Act, 2014) The customers along these streets are also able to cut down on transport costs as buying usually occurs on the way to the destination and does not require to take separate trips.

The neighbourhood structure is formed by this web of linkages that stitch the urban fabric together. They are essential to the functioning of the neighbourhood. Streets have become conduits for mobility(Alexander et al, 1977), information(Lynch, 1981), catalysts of social and economic processes (Mehta, 2013 ; Jacobs,1961 ; Gehl, 2011) and in essence the backbone of the neighbourhood unit. In such a place of diverse and regular activity, it is no surprise that street vendors gravitate towards it to ensure their own economic prosperity.

"The more accessible an area is to various activities in a community, the greater is its growth potential"- Walter Hansen (Sevstuk 2020, pg 197). Street density (UN Habitats, 2013), street intersections(UN Habitats, 2013 ; Jacobs, 1961)), walkability indices UN Habitats, 2013 ; Ameli et al, 2015),are all measures of public streets that have a direct link to improved economy. Sense of place (Mehta and Mahato, 2019), walkability are positive qualities that promote neighbourhood commerce. All the above indicators along with other indicators of morphology such as mixed uses (Jacobs, 1961), building typology (Sevstuk, 2020) all contribute to make prosperous neighbourhoods. As recommended by the UN Habitat organization prosperous streets contribute to infrastructure development, have access to basic services, accommodate both motorized and non-motorized modes of transport and promotes productivity. (UN Habitat 2013)

"Streets, in particular have for millennia been a vital part of the public realm, providing a place where merchants can sell their wares, children can play, and people can stop to talk. The growing prevalence of the automobile has squeezed out these uses."(Projects for Public Spaces) Traditional neighbourhood layouts were more user -friendly for the pedestrian vendor and made neighbourhood commerce more accessible to residents.

In the the city of Bangalore, the public realm of the neighbourhood included the open courtyards or squares and the streets which saw a vibrant range of activity that was linked to the time of day. (Iyer,2019).

The neighbourhood in Bangalore today has morphed by way of social, political, economic and technological influences. However many threads of traditional practices linger in the current patterns of living. Some of these practices have morphed along with society and the city and have successfully adapted to present requirements. The practice of street vending is one such activity that has survived in most cities (Jha, 2018).

Neighbourhood commerce has repeatedly proven to contribute to active and vibrant spaces that attract people. Clarence Perry identified local shops to be an easily identifiable character of neighbourhoods. Local commerce has an important position in the neighbourhood morphology. By placing them at the four corners, they are meant to attract customers from adjacent districts also and create a vibrant place.

Neighbourhood commerce is often a strong driver of its vibrancy, special character and has a direct influence on the social networks created and maintained in the neighbourhood.(Jacobs, 1961).In the Indian context this commerce is seen to be formal shops and informal vendors. In the absence of a mix of building uses- the informal vendor provides an essential character of diversity and can even contribute to street safety. Therefore informal vendors are an essential part of the neighbourhood identity and need to be given due spatial consideration. "In a time when .....public space in cities are shrinking and transforming into privatized pseudo-public realm as a result of fear, the neighbourhood commercial street provides an open neutral territory that is a key quality of public space"(Mehta, 2013, pg10)

Street vendors contribute to neighbourhood livability (UN Habitats, 2013), publicness of streets and enhance the experience of a place (Deaore and Lathia, 2019). "Going shopping does not come at a zero cost. It takes time to walk to a store, and time has value"(Sevstuk, 2020, pg 62). Mobile vendors are a convenient source of daily supplies. They are considered to be cheaper than more formal sources and also more easily accessible. Since the goods are brought directly to the resident's doorstep, there also save on time.The resident therefore has the advantage of buying goods from the comfort of your own homes. Stationery vendors tend to position themselves at locations of higher density and active pathways or nodes where the footfall of customers is higher. In such locations there is a chance that a customer may make an unplanned purchase (Sevstuk 2020). It is also a convenient for the customers as they save time, transportation costs and do not need to make more trips solely for the purpose of shopping.

### **The Case of a Bangalore Neighbourhood**

The neighbourhood selected is a part of HMT Layout in Mathikere and lies in North-West of Bangalore. The area's name comes from an existing water body or tank called Mattikere which has since been developed to create a biodiversity park. Mathikere was once considered to be the suburbs of the city but has developed rapidly in the last twenty years. The neighbourhood selected consists of predominantly lower middle class and middle class residents.



Figure 1. Building Use of selected neighbourhood (red indicates institutional, orange-mixed use and blue-commercial)

The neighbourhood is predominantly residential with some mixed use buildings found along the inner neighbourhood street. The character of the uses along the widest streets are purely mixed use or commercial. The mixed use in the neighbourhood is also found along wider streets or at street intersections. The typology of mixed use on the inner streets is usually of ground floor commercial and the remaining floors residential. There are very few stand alone commercial buildings on the interior and these buildings are of only one floor.

The pattern of uses makes the streets abutting the mixed use buildings highly active during the day. The intensity of pedestrian activity on the inner streets is comparatively lower. The inner streets are more active during the earlier part of the mornings when residents go to work, garbage collection takes place or in the evenings when children are playing or residents walking. Mobile vendors contribute to the intensity of street activity and are drivers of more sociable streets. As they move through the neighbourhood, the residents come onto the streets to buy the goods. This in turn may attract more neighbours with the result of the residents spending more time on the streets.

### Existing Neighbourhood Commerce and the Street Vending

The most intense commercial activity is found along the two main roads that connect the neighbourhood to the rest of the city. These streets are also where the public transport facilities can be accessed. The shops found within the neighbourhood are lower order retail which attract customers only from the neighbourhood. The shop at the periphery have some larger stores and shop owners use the better connectivity to the city to attract a larger number of customers.

There are several daily need shops spread across the neighbourhood. These shops sell household items and processed foods. Very few sell fresh vegetables or fruits. This too in very limited quantities and not regularly. The only vegetable large shop that was opened recently was shut within the month and replaced by a shop that sold essential household products.

### Street Design and Conflict of Stationery and Mobile Vendors

Stationery vendors use laris or push carts usually made from cheap wood and metal. The laris have the dual advantage of being located at a place during a particular time of the day during which time they become stationary vendors or by pushing these laris around the neighbourhood become mobile vendors.



Figure 2. Location of stationary vendors in relation to building use and street widths

Clusters of vendors are found at major intersections or along the widest streets. Single vendors are found at major intersections or close to public or semi-public buildings such as temples and banks. The only cluster of vendor found in the interior of the neighbourhood is close to a large chunk of institutional land where there is a temple and a school.

Mobile vendors navigate the inner streets of the neighbourhood. These streets are narrower and often have vehicles parked, children playing, moving vehicles and pedestrians causing conflict everyday. There are three types of mobile vendors in the neighbourhood:

Those who use the laris or push-carts to move through the neighbourhood streets. These vendors usually move alone or sometimes with a family member who helps them.

Peddlers who move on foot and carry their wares in baskets above their heads

Vendors is small trucks

The vendors use distinctive calls to announce their presence. The sound of these call carry through to the adjacent streets also. Those who travel in vehicles use megaphones to attract customers. Mobile vendors sell a variety of goods from vegetables, fish, toys, ladies accessories, utensils etc. The most common of these are the vegetable vendors who traverse the neighbourhood everyday.



Figure 3. Conflict between mobile truck vendor, pedestrian, infrastructure and parked vehicles

The plot sizes being smaller in this area, the residents use every square inch of space available as per the by law to build. As a result of this, it is common to find vehicles parked outside on the streets. Except for the streets that abut the widest roads and the streets that abut the temple and school, none of the streets have footpaths. Most of the infrastructure and services run above ground. Transformers, electric poles and even water tanks are located on the street or footpath. This adds to the confusion on the street.

### Conclusions

Street vending as a practice is not new to Indian cities. New policies and acts which aim at legalizing street vending and try to protect the rights of street vendors are nascent steps towards making cities

more inclusive for vendors. However, this needs to be taken forward to improve the overall quality of city neighbourhoods by making street vending an inclusive and necessary activity of neighbourhood commerce. Without a complete survey of street vendors and issue of vending certificates, vendors may set up anywhere and will only lead to further problems of congestion, cleanliness that are associated with vending.

The case demonstrates that stationary and mobile vendors have the potential to fill in the gap of providing a variety of goods that may not be available in the formal shop.

Street vending also saves time, money and is convenient to residents and improves the quality and prosperity of the neighbourhood. Mobile vendors have also been seen to be directly linked to the time residents spend on the streets and improving the social quality of the neighbourhood streets.

Therefore, the neighbourhood streets need to be designed keeping in mind that the practice of vending is ingrained into the people, culture and daily life of its residents and is an essential service that needs to be included physically into design through provision of services, mixed uses and existing commercial typologies that can support vending, spatial comfort and without compromising on other aspects of quality of the neighbourhood.

## References

Alexander, C., Ishikawa S., Silverstein, M., Jacobsen, M., Fiksdal King, I., Angel S., (1977). *A Pattern Language*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ameli, H. S., Hamidi, S., Garfinkel-Castro, A. & Ewing, R. (2015). Do Better Urban Design Qualities Lead to More Walking in Salt Lake City, Utah? *Journal of Urban Design*, Volume 20(3), pp 393-410, DOI: 10.1080/13574809.2015.1041894

Bhowmik, K. Sharit and Saha, Debdulal (2012). *Street Vending in Ten Cities in India*. School of Management and Labour Studies, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Delhi: National Association of Street Vendors of India.

Deaore, Prithvi and Lathia, Sauwmya (2019). *Streets as Public Spaces: Lessons from Street Vending in Ahmedabad, India*. *Urban Planning*, Volume 4, Issue 2, Pages 138–153 DOI: 10.17645/up.v4i2.2058

Gehl, J. (2011). *Life between buildings: Using public space*. Washington, DC: Island Press.

Guha, Pooja (2020). Can Bengaluru's street food vendors tide over COVID-19 lockdown?. *Citizen Matter*. Retrieved from <https://bengaluru.citizenmatters.in/bengaluru-covid-lockdown-street-food-vendors-impact-cholera-eviction-street-vending-act-43897> [Accessed October 22, 2020]

Iyer, Meera (2019). *Discovering Bengaluru. History. Neighbourhood. Walks*. Bengaluru: INTACH.

Jacobs, Jane, (1961). *Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House Inc.

Jha, Ramanath (2018). *Strengthening Urban India's Informal Economy: The Case of Street Vending*. Issue 249, Observer Research Foundation.

Kumar, Praveen (2019). *Hafta gang preying on us, say vendors*. *Bangalore Mirror*. Retrieved from <https://bangaloremirror.indiatimes.com/bangalore/crime/hafta-gang-preying-on-us-say-vendors/articleshow/67648192.cms> [Accessed October 22, 2020]

- Lynch, Kevin (1981). *A Theory of Good City Form*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology: MIT Press
- Mahadevia, D, Brown, A., Vayas, S., Patel, T., and Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) (2014). *Inclusive Design for Street Vendors in India*. Ahmedabad: Centre for Urban Equity.
- Mahadevia, D., Mishra, A., Joseph, Y., & Das, A., (2016). *Street vending in Guwahati: Experiences of conflict*. Ahmedabad: Centre for Urban Equity.
- Mehta, Vikas (2013). *Streets A Quintessential Social and Public Space*. New York, Routedledge
- Mehta, Vikas and Mahato, Binita (2019). *Measuring The Robustness Of Neighbourhood Business Districts*. *Journal of Urban Design*, Volume 24(1), pp99-118, DOI: 10.1080/13574809.2018.1500137
- Mohan, D., Sekhani, R. and Roy, S. (2019). *Inclusive urban eco-systems: A case study on street vending businesses in markets of Kolkata, India*. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, Volume 47(4-5).pp.581-606.
- Placemaking and the Future of Cities. Project for Public Spaces, Inc.
- Sevstuk, Andres (2020). *Street Commerce: Creating Vibrant Urban Sidewalks*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Act of 2014
- UN Habitat 2013. *Streets as Public Spaces and Drivers of Urban Prosperity*. Nairobi: UN Habitat.

# MODALITIES OF BEING IN A FOREIGN LAND: DYNAMICS OF INFORMALITY OF SYRIAN REFUGEES AND SOUTH-EAST ASIAN MIGRANT WORKERS IN SAHAB, JORDAN

JANSET SHAWASH

Janset Shawash, PhD, German Jordanian University

## Abstract

The city of Sahab in Jordan presents an atypical example of a troubled coexistence of two diagonally different groups of migrants with a relatively homogenous population of substantial tribal character: Syrian urban refugees arriving in the aftermath of the Civil War of 2011, and the South-East Asian migrants working in the expansive Qualified Industrial Zone of Sahab. This research aims to draw a comparative analysis between the two migrant minorities focusing on their coping and surviving strategies and modalities of being in a foreign place – much of which fall beyond the established frameworks of formality.

The research attempts to deconstruct the intricate social frameworks of the city and understand some of its complex spatial dynamics. It tackles the questions of migrant livelihoods in terms of structure of social networks, social cohesion, spatial distribution, access to housing and services, participation in the economic sector, local mobility and coping strategies. The research also examines the effects of the strict quarantine imposed in Jordan due to the global COVID-19 pandemic on the migrant groups, and the tactics of dealing with the elevated threat of contagion associated with conditions of poverty and population density. The conclusions aim to locate the spatial manifestation of informal patterns of social cohesion and identify urban typologies and practices that could be successfully implemented in parallel contexts across the world.

## 1. Introduction

As forced and voluntary migration have become an established trend in the world, with protracted migration taking hold as a phenomenon, Jordan can serve as an example for different forms of analysis as it holds second highest rate of refugees per capita. In order to supplement the rich literature describing and analyzing the presence of refugees in camps and urban contexts, this research considers refugees as active agents by putting them vis a vis voluntary migrant and comparing their tactics of livelihood. The research selects Sahab as a case study as it holds at least two migrant minorities that appear in a state of successful co-existence. The case of Sahab also adds complex dimensions of local tribal society and neoliberal approaches to empower the industrial sector in Jordan. Informality is explored as a strong modality and potential framework of maneuver for some migrants. The research attempts to understand how it is implemented or avoided by different displaced groups.

## 2. Definition of research background, methodology and aims

Forced and voluntary migration has been a characteristic of humanity since pre-historic times. However, despite the ubiquity of displacement in the world, each displacement event leads to a unique setting of transformation and unprecedented context. As numerous waves of refugees and migrants settled in Jordan, each wave presents a unique modality of being – a framework of adaptation to circumstances and locations, where the newcomer group attempts to carve an existence suitable for its specific needs against the established power dynamics of the context. While the Government and international agencies attempt to implement strategies of dominance in the Lefebvrian sense to assist, but also regulate, hegemonize and formalize the newcomers, the newcomers display their agency via smaller tactics of resistance, by carving a space for maneuver via informal frameworks (Giddens, 2013) (Lefebvre, 1992).

Much research had been conducted on camp refugees (Agier, 2002), questions of national dominance (Malkki, 1995), refugee dispersal (Arnoldus, Dukes and Musterd, 2003), and issues of formality and informality in the city (Darling, 2017). This research focuses on the tactics of informal refugees vis a vis the tactics of other migrant minorities and attempts to understand the logic of their decisions in the space of the city.

The aim is to unpack and explore the modalities of being and tactics of resistance in the space of the city of Sahab, which presents on face an example of peaceful coexistence of a local tribal community with thousands of Syrian refugees and thousands of South-East Asian workers. The research begins by analyzing the status of Syrian refugees in Jordan versus other migrant groups such as South-East Asian and Egyptian workers, who all compete for local employment as a means of livelihood. The research then proceeds to identifying the transformative condition, rights and limitations of the Syrian refugees and the Government's and international agencies attempts to assist and regulate, some of which are naïve and misplaced. An observation of lack of sincere support and resort to misguided attempts to resolve the refugee livelihood situation through self-reliance and display of resilience, explains their resort to informal tactics of survival, while their cultural make-up makes understandable (though not commendable) even such tactics as resort to child labor. Despite the dire conditions of poverty that Syrian refugees face, it becomes apparent that the formal imported workers employed at the Qualified Economic Zones suffer worse, if different limitations, as they are subjected to abuse and urban isolation.

The research draws on various literature, reports and media narratives that document and analyze the condition of Syrian refugees, South-East Asian workers and other migrant workers that constitute the minority groups of Sahab. The research also draws on first hand field observations, open ended interviews with refugees, workers, members of international organizations, members of the Municipality and city residents conducted since 2018 as part of an academic urban design project, and updated in 2020 to reflect the most recent transformations and reactions to COVID-19 pandemic.

The research attempts to understand the following issues:

migrant livelihoods and the structure of their social networks, the particulars of their social cohesion and integration;

their spatial distribution in the city, access to housing and services and participation in the economic sector;

informal urban typologies and coping practices and strategies;

impact of urban mobility and relation to density;

and the impact of COVID-19 as a contagious disease, as well as curfew measures enforced to mitigate it.

### **3. Economic context of Jordan**

Jordan is a relatively small, upper-middle income country with limited natural resources. The small-scale economy of Jordan is service driven focusing on the financial sector, trade, real estate and tourism. Economic growth centers on the prime capital Amman leading to the underdevelopment of rural areas, and has been at a modest 2.2% in 2017 (Better Work, 2018). Although regional dynamics promote positive externalities such as an active trade flow, they also pose major challenges in light of political instabilities and drastic regional transformations leading to the influx of waves of hundreds of thousands of refugees across the decades, with the most recent wave being as a result of the Syrian Civil War.

In order to empower development in line with global dynamics, Jordan introduced liberal economic policies after the ascension of King Abdullah II to the throne in 1999. Jordan entered free-trade agreements to strengthen its manufacturing sector which grew to nearly 20% by 2005. Although the strongest industrial sectors in Jordan are the pharmaceutical and fertilizer production, a wider diversification was possible following the agreement of 2001 with the U.S., as it led to the establishment of approximately 13 Qualifying Industrial Zones (QIZs) throughout the country. The QIZs provide duty-free access to U.S. market and focus on light industries such as ready-made garments. Other industrial conglomerates, such as Special Economic Zones also received special status benefits in the form of tax incentives, low utility costs and improved infrastructure, as well as allowances to import cheap foreign labor to the amount of 75% of the establishment's workforce. This led to a systematic influx of formal workers from South-East Asia to satisfy the increasing demand. Although this zonal development supplemented national economic growth, high dependence on foreign labor, and disengagement from local communities created segregated islands of development in disadvantaged areas and drew much critique.

### **4. Workforce in Jordan**

The workforce of Jordan consists of three major groups: Jordanians, migrant workers and refugees, whereby each group displays different characteristics and dynamics, in terms of education, skills, working sectors, numbers of workers, and conditions of residence and employment. Jordanian labor legislation closed 16 employment sectors to non-Jordanians in order to prevent competition and counter national unemployment. These sectors include highly skilled employment sectors such as medicine and engineering, but also medium and low-skill professions that would target lower national economic strata, such as sales, loading and cleaning. The closure of these sectors has had unintended consequences such as high segmentation of labor according to nationality, and the rise of a large and active informal workforce. The sectors where formal non-Jordanian workforce congregates are agriculture (25% of workforce, with a high percentage of Egyptian and Syrian workers); manufacturing (26%, out of which 57% consists of east-Asian nationalities, and 31% of Egyptian and Syrian workers); construction (9.6% dominated by Egyptian labor); trade, restaurants and hotels (12.8% also dominated by Egyptian labor); and social and personal services (2.9% divided between Egyptian males who work as guards for residential buildings, and East-Asian females who work as domestic help) (Department of Statistics, 2018). In reality, the non-Jordanian informal workforce is much larger, with many workers

using the formal working permits as an entry point into other more lucrative sectors, other workers working without obtaining a working permit at all or overstaying the allowed residency period.

The mechanisms of residing and working in Jordan also affects mobility, access to services, and rights of the workforce. While Arab citizens do not need pre-approval to visit Jordan or stay in it, they need to register with the police for extended residence and need a working permit that links them to a fixed employer. Otherwise, they remain independent in the provision of housing and sustenance. Non-Arab foreign workers need pre-approval, a working permit and residency approval, which are usually handled by labor importation offices. These workers are usually linked to their employers and have very limited mobility. On the other hand, their employment contracts usually provide for housing, sustenance and other services, and their rights are advocated by their embassies and international agencies. Everyone with a valid residency has access to primary services such as public healthcare and education but may be subjected to higher rates as of 2018.

In regard to the attributes of education and skills of the workforce, Jordanians are generally more highly educated, which reflects on their expectations regarding type of work and compensation. However, unemployed Jordanians on average have no more education than migrant workers. Thus, labor segmentation is linked to perceptions attributed to nationality rather than education or skills. For example, most Egyptian construction workers enter the sector with no prior experience. South-East Asian workers are usually sourced by more formal channels through labor import offices and are pre-selected according to physical attributes and a specific skill set, but not necessarily education. The types of labor they perform however allow for training on site. On the other hand, Syrian refugees have less formal education than Jordanians or migrant workers but have marketable vocational skills that allow them to compete in the informal employment market.

In addition to issues of education and skills, family situation poses important distinctions. Usually migrant workers come to Jordan alone on a temporary basis, for the purpose of working and supplying remittances to their home countries. Conversely, Jordanian and settled Syrian workers view their employment as a permanent part of their lives and aim for career development balanced with family life, and spend their earnings within Jordan (Razzaz, 2017).

#### **4.1. Migrant workers**

Majority of migrant workers arrive to Jordan on an individual basis without families for the purpose of temporary employment. Migrant workers who obtained a permit in 2018 amounted to 352,350, with Egyptians accounting for 53%, Non-Arab workers (from Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka, Philippines and other countries) for 32%, and Syrian workers for 11.5%. However, these numbers do not reflect the size of non-Jordanians working informally in the Kingdom, as the number of Egyptians present alone is reported to account for more than 700,000, most of whom arrive to Jordan for work (Kuttub, 2020). If the informal numbers of workers are considered, the size of foreign workforce in Jordan becomes almost equivalent to the Jordanian force of 1.79 million workers. The high dependence on foreign labor to fulfill certain sectors can be historically linked to the energy crisis of the 1970s; as previously Jordanians worked in all sectors. After the energy crisis, many migrated to the Gulf in search of better employment, and the new wealth allowed the importation of increasing number of foreign workers. Jordanians grew accustomed to desk-jobs in the public and military sectors while certain occupations became dominated by specific nationalities of foreign labor. As a result, the Jordanian economy not only became saturated with non-Jordanian labor, but also suffered the constraints of decades of shift towards low value-added economic structures (Razzaz, 2017). The public sector and the military remain the biggest employers of Jordanian citizens in the Kingdom as a means of socio-economic support, while

unemployment is relatively high at 18.5% for the formal sectors. Participation of women in employment is exceptionally low at 14% (Better Work, 2018).

## **4.2. Syrian refugees**

Although Syrians refugees are formally considered as part of the workforce, prior to the Syrian crisis they were treated as any Arab visitor and had strong trade and intermarriage with Jordanian society by virtue of proximity and strong historical links. The refugee status however, required a more direct humanitarian assistance and intervention. Jordan has had several encounters with waves of incoming refugees, with a ratio of 89 refugees per 1,000 inhabitants it is the second largest host of refugees per capita in the world (UNHCR, 2018). At the same time, Jordan has not ratified the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, which mean that refugees and asylum seekers are not protected by this international convention but rather by national laws and regulations. This group of non-Jordanian citizens is heterogeneous in terms of rights and what type of assistance they can access. There are still over 2.1 million Palestinian refugees registered with UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East) today, of which the majority possesses the Jordanian citizenship, displaced persons from Gaza in 1967 and other more recent hostilities did not obtain the Jordanian citizenship. In addition to the Syrian refugees, Jordan hosts refugees from Iraq, Yemen, Sudan and Somalia. The main characteristics of non-Palestinian refugees are that they are primarily urban (81.1 % live in urban areas), primarily young (51 % are children); and primarily poor (over 80 % live below the poverty line.)

As the Syrian crisis led to the inflow of about 1.27 million persons into the Kingdom (Department of Statistics, 2015), population increased from 6.69 million in 2010 (pre Syrian-crisis) to 10.75 million in 2020 (Department of Statistics, 2020). Only 659,673 Syrian refugees are formally registered with the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) and receive support. Of the registered refugees 19% reside in serviced UNHCR camps, while the rest are self-distributed in urban areas, predominantly in the north of the Kingdom and in the capital (UNHCR, 2020a). To support the Kingdom in its efforts to host the astounding influx (the Jordan Response Plan), the international community developed the 3RP (Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan) to support Municipalities and local communities, in addition to direct support programs for refugees by UNHCR and individual international agencies.

Virtually every Syrian refugee that is formally registered in Jordan has entered through UNHCR camps, which were set to provide direct humanitarian aid and primary services. As the refugees started permeating into the cities and rural areas, the Government of Jordan (GoJ), UNHCR and international agencies worked on facilitating access to health, education, employment and housing.

In regard to access to primary services and livelihood by Syrian refugees - healthcare, education, housing and employment are of major importance.

### **4.2.1. Access to primary services**

In principle, all registered Syrian refugees are entitled to healthcare and education services within the official UNHCR run camps, as these services are offered by various international and humanitarian organizations. However, as refugees settled urban areas, they depended on the provision of free

healthcare by the Ministry of Health. As of beginning of 2018, Syrian refugees in urban areas are required to pay the same rates as other foreigners at public hospitals (35-60% higher than the uninsured Jordanian rate), with 80 percent up-front. Given that the vast majority of Syrian refugees in urban areas live below the Jordanian poverty line, they face a precarious condition. A survey conducted by the UN in 2017 indicates that Syrian refugees were already spending 41 percent of their monthly income on healthcare, 36 percent of urban refugees cannot afford needed medicines or health services. This is further exacerbated by the reduction in humanitarian support being provided to refugees in Jordan. International humanitarian funding for refugees in Jordan, provided only about 66% of healthcare needs in 2017, and half of the overall humanitarian budget (Abu Hamad, Jones and Samuels, 2017). As of February 2018, UNHCR had received only US\$17.8 million out of the \$274.9 million budget it needs for Jordan in 2018.

As for education, refugee students in Jordan can access education through Ministry of Education (MoE) schools (in camps, single or double-shift schools in host communities). In response to the Syrian Crisis, the MoE began opening schools in camps and increasing double-shifts in others in 2011. By the end of the 2016-2017 school year, more than 125,000 Syrian refugee children were enrolled. As of 2016-2017, around 340 MoE school buildings operated in two shifts during a school day, receiving two separate groups of students (one in the morning, one in the afternoon), with 200 shifts (usually afternoon shifts) dedicated to Syrian students. In response to existing challenges with reduced instructional time, the MoE increased lesson length and added Saturday classes in the Jordanian-Syrian double-shift schools in 2016.

However, despite the significant efforts of the government and several international organizations to improve school enrollment, challenges remain. For example, in 2016-2017 around 85,000 officially registered Syrian refugee children were still out of school. Human Rights Watch report showed that school-related costs such as transportation and child-labor still prohibit some refugee students from accessing education.

#### **4.2.2. Access to housing**

As the majority (80-90%) of the Syrian refugees live outside the camps in Jordan, primarily in regions in the North, their impact on the housing sector has been substantial. The Government of Jordan, partly following an unwritten ideology of social integration and partly due to lack of funds, did not provide any dedicated housing stock for urban Syrian refugees. In principle, the Syrian refugees have access to housing on par with any foreign national in Jordan as subject to national legislation. They can rent properties with a standardized national rent contract and have access to utilities (water, sewage and electricity) as registered in the owner's name. These contracts are due for renewal on yearly basis and allow each party a notification period in case of a desire of termination. They can also own property in Jordan and have access to utilities similarly to any foreign national, which is conditioned by an approval and a security clearance from the Ministry of Interior. As most Syrian refugees in Jordan are under financial duress, property ownership is not common. However, the presence of refugees led to an immediate and unsurmountable demand for housing stock and a big densification and building activity, which resulted in a general increase of price rents.

UNHCR supports 30,000 refugee families outside the camps by providing cash assistance to cover cost of housing and livelihood (UNHCR, 2020b). Due to the temporary nature of their condition, and in order to save money, the families accept to cohabitate or inhabit smaller sizes of apartments. This led to their ability to pay higher rents than the Jordanian families. On the other hand, the living conditions of Syrian refugees are overall quite poor. As per a study conducted by Overseas Development Institute (ODI) in

2017, although 95% of respondents were living in permanent housing – as opposed to informal tented settlements (ITS) – crowding was extreme due to supply constraints. A median of 3.7 people was sharing a single bedroom. Households receiving larger assistance packages, which tended to be poorer and have more members, had higher crowding ratios. About one-fifth of families were still sharing toilets, 12% had run out of water at least once in the past month, and only 76% of homes were connected to the public sewer. Nearly all, however, had electricity (96%), a TV (90%) and a refrigerator (85%) (Abu Hamad, Jones and Samuels, 2017).

On the other hand, and due to the impact of presence of Syrian refugees on rent prices, tensions flared as some Jordanians could no longer afford the rent in the city. A young population for which marriage and securing an independent home is crucial, coupled with increasing poverty and unemployment, has driven some Jordanian youth to consider settling their young families in temporary tents. For the average family in some of the cities of North of Jordan (such as Mafraq), the ratio of salary spent on rent has risen from a third to 75%. Another source of tension is the perceived advantage that the Syrians hold over Jordanians as they have access to both UNHCR aid and informal employment. Jordanians feel left out of international support despite the stress the hosting of refugees causes to their everyday lives. However, the general assistance issued to refugee families has been reduced in the last few years due to lack of international financing, leading to a more severe destitution of the refugee families and a reduction of the tensions associated with real-estate rents.

The choice of location of residence for the Syrian refugees is highly affected by proximity to three principle factors: proximity to other Syrians, to suitable rent, and to place of work. Proximity to other Syrians centers on the network of relatives, be it Jordanian extended relatives through inter-marriage, Syrian families who migrated to Jordan in different historical periods, or Syrian refugees arriving earlier during the crisis period. Syrian refugees tend to choose housing close to each other forming clusters in different locations of the city and benefitting from the newly formed safety nets. Many Syrians have been housed for free by their Jordanian extended relatives or by charitable individuals. Suitable rent locations are often located in the lower-middle class neighborhoods of cities, as home-owners are able to expand their existing houses. Many owners extended their building upwards, taking the opportunity to supply the emergent demand, and as a result increasing urban density. Another locality that has consistently become a magnet for Syrian families to settle is the city center as well as commercial corridors on major city roads. Although city centers commercial corridors are some of the most expensive real-estate in cities, they are also places of old building fabric, congestion and mixed use residential units which do not allow for high privacy. These residential units have often attracted Egyptian migrants and foreign workers as well as the poor. Living in the city center also fulfills proximity to employment.

Weak public transport in Jordan makes mobility a critical problem, and the families attempt to live within a walking distance (sometimes walking up to an hour) from their jobs. As working opportunities available to Syrians are not stable, residing in the center allows for better accessibility to different parts of the city. When Syrian families reside in the villages surrounding the cities in proximity of their safety nets, losing employment and diminishing aid leaves them stuck as they suffer lack of mobility. Mobility is also an important obstacle to the participation of Syrian families in public life and simple leisure activities, as going to parks or recreational facilities is beyond their means. Women and adolescent girls are especially affected and can sometimes spend months trapped inside their own homes, largely due to social norms protecting family honor. Overall, Syrian refugees have limited opportunities for socialization and participation as they cannot afford to or do not have the time (Abu Hamad, Jones and Samuels, 2017).

#### 4.2.3. Access to employment

One of the most challenging issues in refugee situations is the refugees' right to work in the host countries. Most refugees enter the host countries with no intention to work, but it is almost inevitable that paid jobs become necessary for both economic survival and psychological well-being, especially in protracted situations (ILO, 2015).

Initially Syrian refugees were dealt with through customary international interventions that viewed them as objects in need of humanitarian assistance, but since 2014 there has been a change in approach as the response was pushed to be more development oriented, aiming to make Syrian refugees more self-reliant and resilient and thus less dependent on international assistance. In Jordan Compact, announced in the London donor conference for Syria and the region in 2016, the GoJ announced it would issue 200,000 working permits to Syrian refugees to formalize their labor and facilitate integration in the employment market. In 2017, the Ministry of Labor estimated that 49% (around 300,000 people) of the registered Syrian refugees in UNHCR are of working age, and that about 200 thousands are working illegally in Jordan in general (unofficial sources confirm that the number is much higher) (Mheisen, 2017). However, the ODI study of the same year reported that only 18% of refugees earned wages, and only 15% were self-employed. Despite the increased facilities for permit issue, only half the study respondents were aware of it, and only 10% of the sample applied for one.

Attempts to formalize Syrian refugee labor through a restructuring of the labor market and legalization of refugee work through permits neglected the reliance of said market to a significant degree on illegal migrant labor and the selective enforcement of labor regulations. Syrian labor is well skilled and trained, and thus competes with other foreign nationals, especially Egyptians, and lower-skilled Jordanian workers. An ILO study of 2017 found that migrant workers and Syrian refugees see that the primary benefit of work permits is protection from deportation, and as Syrians are generally not subject to refoulement, they forgo applying for work permits if avoidable. Although work permits are sometimes seen as a means to improve working conditions, many others believe that work permits decrease working conditions because sponsors control the worker's mobility and are able to engage in extortion (Razzaz, 2017). Other refuse to obtain a permit for the fear of losing the UNHCR refugee card, which provides between 80 JOD and 155 JOD per month to refugee households in need (depending on household size). They also fear of losing right to resettlement, and flexibility in seeking better employment, as well as fear of the bureaucracy associated with applying for the working permit in general (Guant, 2016). While some jobs can be formalized through changed incentives and regulations, others defy such attempts, demonstrating how entrenched informal arrangements are in sectors like construction or retail, wholesale and trade.

In the informal sector Syrian workers work in increasingly inappropriate environments, characterized by long work hours, low wages, and poor working conditions, including lack of work contracts. This situation is also unfavorable for Jordanian workers, who suffered from pre-existing unemployment that is further exacerbated by increased competition for jobs with Syrian refugees in an unregulated market. Many Syrian workers complain of tension with their Jordanian colleagues.

As for the involvement of Syrian refugee women in the employment market, it remains very limited despite a pertinent need to supplement household income or provide it in the case of widows. Syrian women in Jordan still face additional constraints linked to limited mobility, and a lack of opportunities. Home-based work may be more attractive to women due to social and cultural factors, and some forms of 'gig work' offer paid activities which can be carried out in the home (ODI, 2017). Child labor, however, is widespread. Refugee children usually work to earn additional money and help their families. They have been found working in various low skilled occupations, and as apprentices for more sophisticated

vocational professions. Several programs to address child labor have been undertaken by Jordanian government, UN agencies, and both local and international NGOs with limited success (UNHCR, 2017).

International Labor Organization conducted a qualitative survey in 2017 about “Work Permits and Employment of Syrian Refugees in Jordan”. The study found that work permits did not bring significant advantages as expected. Most Syrian workers with work permits were not covered by social security, and only a third of them had a written work contract. Most of them worked excessive hours and few were paid for overtime. There were lapses in applying occupational Safety and Health rules in their workplaces—irrespective of whether they had a work permit or not (ILO, 2017).

Other attempts to formalize Syrian refugee labor through integration into larger industries, such as in SEZs and in garment manufacturing in QIZs did not succeed either, showing a troublesome neglect of core features of Jordan’s political economy and labor market, and/or the lives and survival strategies of refugees. Driven by donor demands, the GoJ envisioned replacing some of the imported South-East Asian labor with refugees, the factory owners objected due to the higher cost of refugee employment and the disruption to a stable and highly segmented employment market. They asked to displace Jordanian workers with the refugees instead, which was not a suitable scenario given the rampant unemployment rates. The Syrian refugees also rejected to be employed in QIZs due to high cost of mobility, low wages, and harsh working conditions (Lenner and Turner, 2019). Formalization of refugee work remains a challenging issue especially in the context of recent economic recession and the impact of COVID-19 on global economies.

## **5. The context of Sahab**

Sahab is a small satellite urban settlement within the sphere of influence of the Capital Amman, and forms one of the nodes of the city’s planned expansion to the East (Figure 1). Sahab covers an area of 12.6 km<sup>2</sup> and has a population of 187,330 (Department of Statistics, 2019), with 139,236 persons occupying the urban envelope (MoMA/ MoLA, 2019), comprising approximately 5% of the population of the Governorate of Amman. Sahab grew from a mere tribal pastoralist village in the 1950s into an industrious town connected to Syria, Iraq and Saudi Arabia by major regional highways, securing its position as a hub of regional freight, and a strategic location for industrial estates. The town includes one of the major Qualified Industrial Zones in Jordan— the King Abdullah II Industrial Estate, which enjoys investment incentives such as reduced taxation, waiving of Municipal fees, and special allowances for the importation of cheap foreign labor. The city also contains numerous industrial facilities within the boundaries of municipal control such as the major vocational area used for stone cutting and is adjoined by a Specialized Investment Compounds area (Al Tajamouat Industrial City), which Sahab shares with Amman (Figure 2).

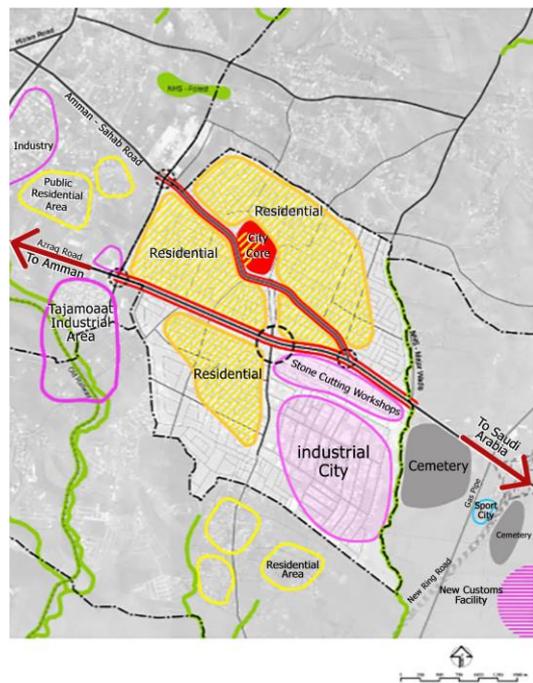
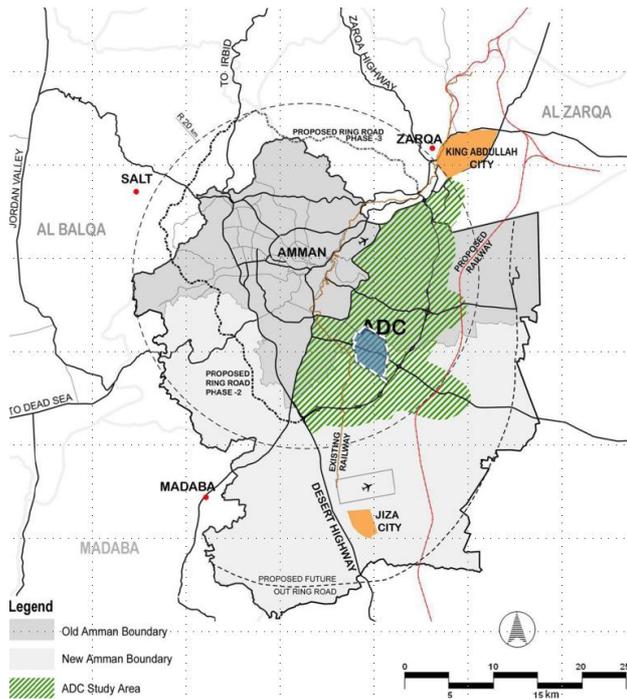


Figure 16 (left): Location of Sahab Municipal area (in blue) within Greater Amman Municipality particularly, as a node in the proposed expansion to the East (in hatched green) catalyzed by the new Amman Development Corridor (ADC). (GAM, 2008)

Figure 2 (right): Main functional zones in Sahab. (CCG, 2009)

Municipality of Sahab was established in 1962 and was joined to the Capital in 2006 during its expansion to incorporate weaker adjoining localities. However, local politics broke Sahab away from Greater Amman Municipality in 2013, leaving the resource-poor town in a critical financial and development condition. Sahab is dissected by the Amman – Saudi Arabia highway, which splits the denser and older

city to the North of the highway, from the industrial and newer, relatively more affluent residential areas. The town suffers from unbalanced growth, poor infrastructure and services, insufficient public transport and slow business development. Poverty and high regional connectivity promote smuggling, high crime rates and drug use; while the towns industrial areas contribute to increased pollution (Hassouneh, 2018). Sahab is also adjoined by the biggest cemetery in the Kingdom, adding more problematics to the image of the town. However, since the splitting of Sahab from Greater Amman Municipality, its new Mayor – H.E. Abbas al-Maharmeh – had led a progressive rebranding campaign and strategic development efforts, in an attempt to beautify the town, resolve issues of infrastructure, traffic congestion and lack of services, increase a sense of belonging for the residents, and attract investment through an active municipal project program.

The population of Sahab comprises of 53% of Jordanians, 24% Syrians (at approx. 40,000), and 12% each of Egyptian and South-East Asian labor migrants (apprx. 20,000 persons each). The Jordanian population consists primarily of local tribal families; predominantly Muslim, conservative, young and educated. The family size in Sahab is slightly higher than the national average of 4.8 at 5, with 52.2% of population being under the age of 25 (Department of Statistics, 2018), despite the fast population growth, it is slightly lower than the national average of 2.6 at a local 2.2 (MoMA/ MoLA, 2019). While the unemployment in Sahab is lower than the national rate of 18.6% at a local 14%, it is still quite high and reflects local socio-economic struggles; the majority of employed citizens work in the public sector or the military, as per the national trend.

This study focuses on the two diagonally different migrant groups residing in Sahab: the Syrian refugees and the South-East Asian workers.

### **5.1. Syrian refugees in Sahab**

Sahab has long had historical linkages with Syria by virtue of business and marriage, and warmly received the incoming refugees once the unrest broke out. In the first months of the civil war, the status of refugees was not formalized, and they were considered Arab Muslims fleeing an oppressive regime; they did not need a visa or complicated procedures to enter Jordan. The majority of Syrian refugees in Jordan come from the rural and tribal South, with social structure and cultural tendencies not dissimilar from the culture of the conservative people of Sahab. The first refugees integrated well and settled in middle-class neighborhoods where landowners were able to expand on existing residential buildings. Self-distribution of residence was largely motivated by previously existing social networks, with extended families or families originating from the same village would live together in order to provide mutual support and a safety net. The associated building type consisted of multi-story residential buildings, whereby multiple families could occupy a single apartment to save on rent and utility bills. The rising demand of housing and ability of refugees to afford more expensive rent than the locals as they received cash assistance led to a spike in rents and a slow urban densification of the sparse quarters of the city such as Salboud neighborhood South of the Amman - Saudi Arabia highway and East of the QIZ district.

Similarity in language and religious practice, as well as a conservative family structure helped garner an acceptance of the locals towards the new social group. However, due to conservatism of both communities and understanding of their tribal nature the newcomers remained cautious. In interviews conducted in 2018, they revealed a preference to separate their children in school attendance from Jordanian children, and their use of public spaces for leisure activities in the evening hours when Jordanian families would customarily be at home. As one woman expressed: “I prefer that they have separated the school periods. If my son hits a boy from Sahab there would be never-ending problems

with the boy's family". However, neighborly relations and formal visitations were the norm, and Sahab remained a city low in social tension in comparison to cities in the North – Irbid and Mafraq.

However, Syrian refugees arrived into a saturated employment market in Sahab, as it was fulfilled by Jordanian investments and workforce operating local businesses as well as the public sector; Egyptian workforce operating in construction, manufacturing and industrial sectors; and South-East Asians operating in the QIZs. First unable, and after 2016 reluctant to formalize their labor through the issuance of work permits, many refugees worked in informal sectors thus beginning to compete with Egyptian labor. However this competition was not straightforward despite their ability to drive down wages, the Egyptian labor had been in Sahab long enough to establish relationships of trust and co-dependence with local business owners. Syrian refugees proved to be enterprising in nature and possessed skillsets different from local offer – they expanded and enriched the local meagre food sector, offered new skills in construction and decoration, and were efficient in sales positions at local shops. Most refugees worked in these sectors without permits, although some issued formal permits (especially for the agricultural activity) but worked in a different field. Several refugees opened businesses informally, as a formalization would require complicated procedures to partner with a Jordanian citizen. Thus the Syrian refugee community expanded on the business offer of the city and enriched the service market.

However, with the influx additional refugees, deteriorating national economy and dwindling aid, poverty informed many of the families' life decisions; early marriage and child labor are persistent characteristic in the Syrian community. Child labor however is seen as a route to apprenticeship rather than abuse, as young men in their early twenties already have a craft mastered, are able to support themselves and establish a family. Many Syrian refugees in Sahab view apprenticeship superior to formal education, although the choice to combine education and apprenticeship is often the norm. Poverty combined with lack of efficient and affordable local public transport posed great challenges to mobility, necessitating a choice of residence for the poorer groups of refugees to live in proximity to employment opportunities in the city center and along commercial roads despite the lower quality of residential stock. Although Syrian refugees competed with Egyptian workers for some economic sectors, they did not compete for living stock or integration in the city. The Egyptian workers of Sahab are generally single men working in the stone cutting workshops, car repair shops, or factories of the Tajamoaat Industrial Area; whose main target is to maximize remittances sent back home. Thus, they accept difficult living conditions on worksites and in cheap communal quarters, with limited services. They usually have or establish families in their hometowns in Egypt and have a formal yet courteous relationship with the people of Sahab. As many of the workers have been living in the city for decades, they are of an older generation who accept a long working day that leaves little time to leisure, attend prayer in mosques and socialize in coffeeshouses specially dedicated to Egyptian workers in the downtown.

Access to cheap health services is limited for both Syrian refugees and Egyptian workers, as the city has only one public general hospital – Totanji, and one public family clinic. Many are driven to recourse to the multiple local private clinics, leading to additional expenses. However, the two groups differ in their outlook towards the future: as Egyptians are accumulating wealth in their homelands, return to Syria remains problematic. Many refugees perceive their stay in Jordan as protracted. As one refugee expressed: "I have lost my land and any documents to prove it. I have already invested in furnishing my home here and my business. I don't see myself going back". Syrian refugees who are able to sell their properties in Syria and buy in Sahab are doing so, especially due to the military conscription enforced in Syria that would gravely impact the young Syrian refugee population.

The Municipality of Sahab joined the efforts of international organizations to support the Syrian refugees especially in terms of employment from home that targets women of both Syrian and

Jordanian nationalities. The project provides suitable applicants with financial support to establish productive kitchens and workshops in their homes and provided licensing for food related activities in particular. However out of 600 applicants in 2020, only 30 will be supported.

## 5.2. South-East Asian workers

The minority of South-East Asian workers has arrived under very different conditions. The industrial QIZ of Sahab forms one of the largest in Jordan and presents a typical case-study in neoliberal economic reforms. The industries are highly gendered, with females and males working and living in separate factories and living quarters. The workers are usually sourced from their home country by foreign labor import offices and arrive for a period of two or more years. Their contracts include provision for residential quarters and meals, as well as salary payments. The residential quarters are provided in the form of communal dormitories attached to the factories, with rooms housing 4 to 12 persons, often suffering from crowded conditions, dampness and lack of proper heating, ventilation and maintenance (Better Work, 2018) (Figure 3). The workers share a cafeteria and bathrooms. Within the boundaries of the Industrial City, they are provided with shops, medical clinic, and a mosque. Although the workers are allowed to exit the city on their day off, which is usually a Friday, difficulty in transportation and the fact that the markets of Sahab are close on Fridays discourage them from doing so.

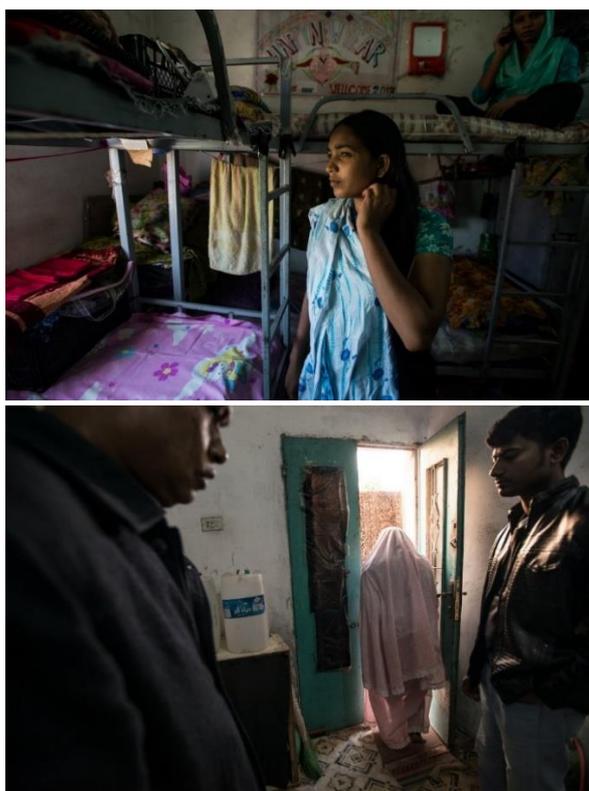


Figure 3 (left): a Bangladeshi worker in her dormitory, which holds from 4 to 12 residents. Source: (Bseiso, 2014)

Figure 4 (right): Informal Bangladeshi workers in Sahab rent apartments in poorer neighborhoods near the industrial area. They are protected by local residents in return for the rents. Source: (Bseiso, 2014)

Lack of family structures, different language, customs and religious practice led to the exclusion of these laborers from the space of the city, and the refusal of the people of Sahab to provide them with regular

housing or social connections, except in individual cases. They are excluded from the spaces of the city and rely on their mobile phones to stay connected to their families back home.

Instances of abuse and maltreatment were registered towards these migrants, especially females, including frequent verbal abuse, retention of passports, lapses in payment and denial of paying for overtime work. In certain cases, abuse escalated to instances of human trafficking and crimes of sexual harassment and bodily harm. Under the pressure of international organizations, the GoJ established hotlines for Anti-Human Trafficking unit at the Municipality of Sahab and launched “Better Work Jordan” with the support of international governments and organizations. Better Work acts as a negotiator to promote the rights of migrant workers and protect them when needed. It also acts as a direct connection with the workers in times of crisis, such as during the COVID-19 lockdown of the Kingdom.

As for the non-Arab workers whose permit has lapsed or who left their place of work, they suffer the illegality of their status. They often find employment as informal workers and choose to remain in Sahab but have to find residential accommodation elsewhere (Figure 4). The poorer areas of the old city in Sahab and neighborhoods close to the Industrial Tajamoaat area offer rental housing for these individuals. However, they remain excluded from the public spaces of Sahab. It is interesting to draw a comparison with Amman, which hosts the majority of East-Asian workers working in the domestic help sector. These workers are predominantly female and have successfully intermarried with local population. They have established quarters and markets to supply their needs and are often seen in public space and in churches. Although their presence in Jordan is also troubled by systemic exploitation, their presence in the city is more pronounced, and sense of community is strong.

### **5.3. Impact of COVID-19 on Syrian refugees and migrant workers**

As COVID-19 emerged as a global pandemic, the Government of Jordan enforced some of the strictest measures in the world to counter the early spread of the virus. After several gradual measures of shutting down places of gathering and means of international travel, the GoJ implemented a complete lockdown from the 17th of March until the 29th of April: all vehicle movement was prohibited, and residents were only allowed to move within the range of their neighborhoods on foot to buy food, groceries, and provide their households’ needs between 10 am - 6 pm. Although this curfew had the advantage of curtailing the spread of the virus, keeping the number of infected cases in Jordan at a minimum for months, it had a very negative impact of the poor and informal workers.

The Syrian refugees living outside camps had access to support by UNHCR and its health partners as it continued to offer access to primary, secondary and tertiary healthcare services, through the referral system and the cash for health program. Through UNHCR advocacy, since July 2020, all non-Syrian asylum seekers and refugees across Jordan are also able to access healthcare at hospitals and medical facilities run by the MoH at the non-insured Jordanian rate, similarly to Syrian refugees, by presenting their UNHCR issued Asylum Seeker/Refugee certificates (UNHCR, 2020b). This access however, requires registration with the UNHCR and ability to afford the non-insured Jordanian rates at overwhelmed public medical centers. As the case worldwide, the poor are affected the hardest by the pandemic. The Red Cross, the Army and the Municipality worked to deliver medication for chronic and severe conditions, and food for the most vulnerable during the lockdown, within the Government’s and the Municipality’s modest means. In the months after the lockdown, communities across Jordan were hit by another economic recession, leading to further descent into poverty.

In the case of the South-East Asian workers in the QIZ of Sahab, their isolation during the lockdown was provided for by the employers, and the production never stopped. Their isolation delayed infection until August, when 30 cases were registered in major factories, which had to be quarantined. The infected workers were retained in the national quarantine facility at the Dead Sea at the employer's expense, and medically treated according to need. Ironically, the city of Sahab was locked down for the last week of August to prevent infection, while the QIZ factories remained functioning and accessible (Al-Ghad, 2020).

Some of the most affected groups by the curfews and lockdown measures were informal and daily workers and Egyptian migrants. As the lockdown occurred in the last week of the month, many Egyptian workers found themselves destitute as many employers failed to pay them at the regular end of the month period. Banks and money changers were closed and there was no means of international travel to return to Egypt. The Jordanian government has moved quickly to address the needs of most of its citizens but migrant laborers were not very high on the government's priority. The vast majority of Egyptian workers also did not have access to unemployment assistance as they were not registered with the Social Security. Transportation was another major obstacle for migrant workers, as many were forced to sleep at place of work or walk for miles to reach their homes. The Government has since created a platform to assist Egyptian workers who want to return and waived any incurrent fines for workers with lapsed permits and residency documents (Kuttab, 2020).

Overall, the curfews and Government actions and interventions revealed the different impacts the pandemic had on these poor groups under conditions of forced or voluntary migration.

## **6. Conclusions**

This research explored two migrant modalities in the Jordanian city of Sahab, the first one the involuntary displaced Syrian refugees and the second the voluntary economic migrants from South-East Asia. Both groups form considerable percentage of the population of Sahab yet display diametrically different settlement and livelihood options and conditions. A third group of Egyptian migrant workers emerged as an intermediary modality in the city, with characteristics and coping strategies different from the previous two groups. Each of the groups exist in relative tension between formality and informality, drawing on informal frameworks to supplement their livelihoods. Despite the Government's and international efforts to bring them into the formal realm, the groups of Syrian refugees and Egyptian workers attempt to resist this inclusion as it is perceived as an economic and social limitation, while the South-East Asian workers benefit due to their restricted existence and the protection offered by formalization.

The research conducted a deeper analysis of the conditions and characteristics of the life of Syrian Refugees in Sahab, in relation to national trends. It traced their settlement in the city and incorporation into the local labor market, all of which is done outside of the limits of formal structures. Despite the refugees' partial reliance on UNHCR assistance when available, the majority remains under the poverty line and resorts to tactics of informal maneuvering associated with the survival of the poor: building social safety nets, preference of apprenticeship over formal education, avoidance of formalization of labor, attempting to create new demand for manual skills, early marriage and child labor, to name a few. Mobility remained a major issue for all groups, which became ever more evident under the conditions of the curfew imposed to counter the spread of COVID-19.

At the moment, the cases of COVID-19 are spiking in the Kingdom, and all social groups will be affected. So far it seems that factors of urban density and mobility axes that are usually considered proxies for infection did not emerge as strong catalysts, but it is still too soon to tell.

## References

Abu Hamad, B., Jones, N. and Samuels, F. (2017) *A promise of tomorrow: the effects of UNHCR and UNICEF cash assistance on Syrian refugees in Jordan*. ODI, UNICEF, UNHCR. Available at: <https://www.odi.org/publications/10978-promise-tomorrow-effects-unhcr-and-unicef-cash-assistance-syrian-refugees-jordan> (Accessed: 23 October 2020).

Agier, M. (2002) 'Between war and city: Towards an urban anthropology of refugee camps', *Ethnography*, 3, pp. 317–341.

Al-Ghad (2020) 'Azl madinat Sahab an baqi manateq el-Mamlakah [Isolation of the city of Sahab from the rest of the Kingdom]', *Alghad*, 24 August. Available at: <https://alghad.com/-عزل-مدينة-سحاب-عن-باقي-عزل-مناطق-المملكة> (Accessed: 23 October 2020).

Arnoldus, M., Dukes, T. and Musterd, S. (2003) 'Dispersal policies in the Netherlands', in Robinson, V., Andersson, R., and Musterd, S. (eds) *Spreading the 'Burden'? A Review of Policies to Disperse Asylum Seekers and Refugees*. Bristol: Policy Press, pp. 25–64.

Better Work (2018) 'Better Work Jordan Annual Report 2018: An Industry And Compliance Review – Better Work'. Available at: <https://betterwork.org/portfolio/better-work-jordan-annual-report-2018-an-industry-and-compliance-review/> (Accessed: 11 October 2020).

Bseiso, N. (2014) *Photos: Garment Factory Workers in Jordan, 7iber | حبر*. Available at: <https://www.7iber.com/2014/05/photos-garment-factory-workers/> (Accessed: 10 October 2020).

CCG (2009) *Master Plan Study for the Amman Development Corridor, Consolidated Consultant Group CCG*.

Darling, J. (2017) 'Forced migration and the city: Irregularity, informality, and the politics of presence', *Progress in Human Geography*, 41(2), pp. 178–198. doi: 10.1177/0309132516629004.

Department of Statistics (2015) *Population Projections*. Available at: [http://www.dos.gov.jo/dos\\_home\\_e/main/Demography/2017/POP\\_PROJECTIONS\(2015-2050\).pdf](http://www.dos.gov.jo/dos_home_e/main/Demography/2017/POP_PROJECTIONS(2015-2050).pdf) (Accessed: 10 October 2020).

Department of Statistics (2018) *Jordanian Statistical Yearbook 2018*. Available at: [http://dosweb.dos.gov.jo/databank/yearbook/YearBook\\_2018.pdf](http://dosweb.dos.gov.jo/databank/yearbook/YearBook_2018.pdf) (Accessed: 10 October 2020).

Department of Statistics (2020) *Population of the Kingdom 1952-2019*. Available at: [http://jorinfo.dos.gov.jo/Databank/pxweb/en/Demographi\\_Statistics/-/Table6.px/table/tableViewLayout2/](http://jorinfo.dos.gov.jo/Databank/pxweb/en/Demographi_Statistics/-/Table6.px/table/tableViewLayout2/) (Accessed: 22 October 2020).

GAM (2008) *Greater Amman Municipality Masterplan: 2008-2020*.

Giddens, A. (2013) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. John Wiley & Sons.

Guant, A. (2016) *UNHCR Cash Assistance: Improving Refugee Lives and Supporting Local Economies*. Amman: UNHCR.

Hassouneh, H. (2018) 'Sahab Municipality: Current refugee crisis in Jordan and Sahab Municipality with practical examples of innovative actions and programs', in *Mediterranean Refugees and Migrants. Mediterranean Refugees and Host Communities Knowledge Action Program*.

ILO (2015) *Access to work for Syrian refugees in Jordan: a discussion paper on labour and refugee laws and policies*. Beirut: ILO. Available at: <http://www.ilo.org/public/libdoc/ilo/2015/488214.pdf> (Accessed: 23 October 2020).

ILO (2017) *Work permits and employment of Syrian refugees in Jordan: towards formalising the work of Syrian refugees*. International Labour Organization. Available at: [https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---arabstates/---ro-beirut/documents/publication/wcms\\_559151.pdf](https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---arabstates/---ro-beirut/documents/publication/wcms_559151.pdf).

Kuttab, D. (2020) *Egyptian Laborers in Jordan: forgotten during Covid-19 | Heinrich Böll Stiftung | Brussels office - European Union, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung*. Available at: <https://eu.boell.org/en/2020/04/30/egyptian-laborers-jordan-forgotten-during-covid-19> (Accessed: 23 October 2020).

Lefebvre, H. (1992) *The Production of Space*. Wiley.

Malkki, L. (1995) 'Refugees and exile: From "refugee studies" to the national order of things', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, pp. 495–523.

Mheisen, M. (2017) *Al-amaleh el-Souriyyeh tunafisou el-mahalliyeh fi souq mahdood el-furas [Syrian labor is competing with local labor in a market of limited opportunities]*. Available at: <https://assabeel.net/news/2017/3/12/العمالة-السورية-تنافس-المحلية-في-سوق-محدود-الفرص> (Accessed: 23 October 2020).

MoMA/ MoLA (2019) 'Wasf el-Waqe' al-Iqtisadi wel-Ijtima'i la-Baladiyyet Sahab 2019 [Description of the socio-economic reality of Sahab Municipality 2019]'. Ministry of Municipal Affairs.

ODI (2017) *Syrian women refugees in Jordan. Opportunity in the gig economy?* Overseas Development Institute. Available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/5a2a630b4.html>.

Razzaz, S. (2017) *A challenging market becomes more challenging: Jordanian workers, migrant workers and refugees in the Jordanian labour market*. International Labour Organization. Available at: [https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---arabstates/---ro-beirut/documents/publication/wcms\\_556931.pdf](https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---arabstates/---ro-beirut/documents/publication/wcms_556931.pdf) (Accessed: 10 October 2020).

UNHCR (2017) *Child Labour within the Syrian Refugee Response: A Regional Strategic Framework for Action*. Available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/5a74728d4.html> (Accessed: 10 October 2020).

UNHCR (2020a) *Situation Syria Regional Refugee Response*. Available at: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria/location/36> (Accessed: 22 October 2020).

UNHCR (2020b) *UNHCR Jordan Fact Sheet | Global Focus*. Available at: <https://reporting.unhcr.org/node/20888> (Accessed: 23 October 2020).

# EXPLORING THE ROLE OF ENVIRONMENTAL PERCEPTION IN SHAPING HUMAN BEHAVIOR: A CASE STUDY OF MOORE SQUARE, AN URBAN PUBLIC PLACE IN DOWNTOWN RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

RAAGA BHANDARI

Raaga Bhandari, PhD Student, College of Design, North Carolina State University

## Abstract

This research is part of an ongoing study that focuses on understanding the natural tendency of people to segregate themselves within public places, in particular urban parks. To study this it was necessary to understand how the environment shapes peoples' interactions within these spaces, while also considering how their *perception* of the environment leads to a behavioral output. This particular aspect of the research attempted to analyze the physicality of a park environment and the elements that have shaped it. Secondly, it was concerned with observation of the interactions and behavior of people within the environment. This phase of the research focused on Moore Square, a civic park located in downtown Raleigh, NC. Moore Square was a particularly good case study in that it was recently redesigned and renovated by a lead US landscape architecture firm, is positioned between downtown Raleigh and a rapidly gentrifying neighborhood, and was formerly the site of an outdoor soup kitchen. The design team had explicit objectives geared towards fostering social interaction among diverse groups of users. This research attempted to establish if, and how well, those objectives have been met.

Ethnographic research methods such as in field observations, field notes, and interviews were utilized. The collected data was documented and then analyzed to come to an understanding of how people were interacting and behaving within Moore Square. The lead landscape architect involved in the re-design and a representative from the City of Raleigh Parks and Recreation Department were separately interviewed to gain insight into the design process behind the new Moore Square. Their knowledge of the design process was an essential layer of information that provided a deeper understanding of design intentions that resulted in the new configuration of the park. This post-occupancy research aimed to examine the relationship between the objectives of the design team, the resultant physical setting, and how that setting is actually used by people.

**Keywords:** Public space Design, Design process, Landscape architecture, and Human Behavior.

## History of the Park

The capital city of Raleigh, North Carolina, was originally created by surveyor and state senator William Christmas in 1792. Raleigh was laid out in a grid across 400 acres of land; Christmas allocated four parcels of open space which were strategically placed in each quadrant of the city. These parcels were intended for public use and were meant to serve the residential neighborhoods. Later, each of these 4-acre parcels were named after prominent state officials, where Moore Square was named in the honor of the State Attorney General Alfred E. Moore (1782 – 1791) (CIRCA and AGILE Design Studios (ADS), 2009). Despite the evolving city fabric over the years Moore Square managed to retain its purpose as a public gathering space. Although Moore square consistently functioned as a public space, the character of the square experienced several transformations over time. Here the character of the square refers to its material landscape, which was modified to respond and support the changing urban context that surrounds the square, in addition to the individuals “shifting patterns of use” (Deland and Trouille, 2018 pp.40).

In the beginning Moore Square lacked formal design, which enabled it to correspond to the needs of the users. For many years, the Square did not have defined spaces, hardscapes, or any structures within it, which led to a flexible-use space that was shaped by users over time. This characteristic of the Square played an essential role in its legacy, as it established a sense of cultural relationship to the space. From the start, Moore Square hosted users that varied by class, gender, and ethnicity (CIRCA and ADS, 2009). A detailed description of the evolution of Moore Square in terms of its context and its use is stated below:

Year	Description
<b>1792-1812</b>	Moore Square was located in the center of the city’s southeastern district and it was surrounded by residential neighborhoods. The Square consisted of oak trees, areas covered with grass and informal walking paths. Accordingly, the Square supported leisure activities such as walking, group gatherings, and picnics.
<b>1812-1866</b>	There was a rise in the population of the city, during this time a Christian chapel (i.e. small wooden structure) and a district school was present in the Square. Correspondingly, the Square was primarily utilized for religious group gatherings as well as for educational purposes.
<b>1866-1914</b>	As an effort to expand the central business district there was a rise in the number of commercial buildings surrounding the Square. Moore Square gained popularity as a public park due to its proximity to all the retail businesses. The city market building opened in 1914 brought an influx of commercial activity to the district, so much so that the commercial use of the market often encroached on the Square.
<b>1914-1964</b>	The square no longer served as a commercial hub as the surrounding residential population along with the retail businesses decreased.
<b>1964-2009</b>	In the early 1980s the Moore Square Art District was formed in efforts to revitalize the city. The relevance of the Square remains as it persisted in being a core public place with historic and

cultural significance. Several additions such as Marbles kids Museum, IMAX along with reopened City Market building contribute to activating the Square.

**2009-2020** Moore Square has been redesigned to better fit the criteria of a 21st century urban green space. There have been recent additions to its context specifically, residential buildings with retail at the bottom. These new developments act as anchors for sustaining and activating the Square.

Table 1: Timeline of the development of Moore Square.

### Context

Moore Square underwent many changes from when it was created to the present day. Subsequently, the Square's surrounding context experienced various changes over time. The initial masterplan of the city of Raleigh located these squares as a central communal space for the surrounding residential neighborhoods. Moore Square was surrounded by residential neighborhoods for a long period of time, until the late late-nineteenth to early-twentieth century when Raleigh was experiencing rapid population growth which provided an opportunity to not only improve the city but also expand its commercial sector (CIRCA and ADS, 2009). In an effort to boost the economic vitality of the city, retail business opened up in the close vicinity of the Square, specifically along Hargett Street which is adjacent to the Square. However, it was the City Market, which was constructed in 1910, that added value to the Square in terms of bringing in city-wide users and introducing new programming. For instance, the city market activities often used to encroach on the Square. Soon after World War II the fame of Moore Square as a successful public space had declined as many people were relocating to suburbs, leaving behind few inhabitants in the city core. In the 1980s the Moore Square Art District was formed to aid in revitalizing the downtown. Vacant buildings were allocated to the artists, and Moore Square served as a platform for conducting art shows and festivals (CIRCA and ADS, 2009). Eventually, several additions were made to the immediate surrounding area which includes the Marbles kids Museum, IMAX theatre, Go Raleigh Bus station, and couple of well-established restaurants. These facilities added to the Square's advantage in bringing in more users as well as enabling the square to provide an open urban green space in the core of the city.



Figure 1. Graphic representation of the current Moore Square plan (Sasaki, 2019).

### Social Context

One important point to note would be that Moore Square managed to sustain its identity as a public space despite many changes to its surroundings solely because it was always valued as a space for collective congregation among the people. Even though the uses differed from time to time, Moore Square was a communal space for the people who were seeking to strengthen their bond as a society through social gatherings. In fact, just as the city needed to boost its commercial district, it was also crucial for the city to provide a space where people could congregate and collectively establish their identity as a community. The programming of Moore Square was mostly dependent on its users, where the Square's potential to accommodate certain activities often was dictated by the needs of the users. For instance, in the 1820s a small wooden church was moved to Moore Square, during which the square accommodated a Baptist congregation. In 1868, when the City Market building burned down, a temporary farmer's market was located in Moore Square (CIRCA and ADS, 2009). The ability of Moore Square to facilitate diverse uses over the years increased its desirability as a shared public space. For this reason, during the recent redesigning of Moore Square it was crucial to include the opinions of users in the design process. The extent to which the public was involved and influenced the current design of Moore Square will be elaborated in the upcoming section.

## **Redesign of Moore Square**

In recent years downtown Raleigh has undergone many changes, specifically, the opening of Red Hat Amphitheater along with the Raleigh Convention Center. To add on, as Fayetteville Street was reconverted from a failed pedestrian mall back to a vehicular street the area in front of the Civic Center was transformed to become the new City Plaza. These changes motivated the City Council to initiate the Moore Square Master Plan process, where their primary objectives were to create a distinct urban green space that is fit for the 21st century, and to include public opinion in the design process. Although the planning process for the Moore Square Master Plan began in 2009, it was not until 2011 that the City Council considered moving forward with the plan that was developed by an extensive public engagement process. This process established a strong premise for developing and redesigning Moore Square as it incorporated input from not only Raleigh residents but also from other stakeholders such as business leaders and elected officials (Sasaki, 2015). Going forward in 2014, the Parks, Recreation and Cultural Resources Department expressed that their top priority was to implement the Moore Square Master Plan. But before doing so they wanted to add more objectives to the plan, for instance, the plan had to also integrate connections to both the Marbles Kids Museum as well as to the Raleigh Transit Station. To add on, the City of Raleigh adopted a Public Art Policy which provides funds for placing public art in urban spaces. Consequently, in an effort to create a coherent vision for the Square a public artist became part of the design team and worked with the team from the initial stages of design.

### **Moore Square Master Plan Process - 2009 Moore Square Design Competition**

The Moore Square Master Plan process spanned over five years, it began with a design competition that was initiated when new civic spaces such as the Raleigh Convention Center and City Plaza were opened in downtown Raleigh. Prior to the competition, Raleigh City Council sent out an open call for ideas. The intention behind the open call was to engage the public in the design process as well as to inform the design requirements for the competition. From the received comments they were able to identify the main values: usability of space, lighting and structures, walkways and landscape, and events (Christopher Counts Studio (CCS), 2011). The participants valued creating inclusive spaces which promote diversity among the users. In terms of programming and use of space they prioritized visibility, accessibility, and multifunctional spaces. The participants indicated that providing adequate lighting is important as they associated it with safety. Since the Square is framed by streets there was concern to provide some kind of buffer space between the streets and the Square. Among others the participants emphasized retaining the existing oak trees and the layout of the pathways as they had historic significance within the site. Lastly, the participants preferred to have flexible spaces which would serve small groups of people as well as accommodate large communal gatherings. The competition included a jury of five members who were well versed with the value and objectives of the project, these jurors along with the City Council members were responsible for selecting the winner of the competition. Christopher Counts Studio was the winning design team and was given the opportunity to lead in the Moore Square master plan process. The resultant Master Plan (fig. 2) process resulted from extensive public engagement events coupled with the concept design development.



Figure 2. Graphical representation of the finalized Moore Square Master Plan (CCS, 2011).

### Moore Square Design development by Sasaki

After conducting the design competition and finalizing on a master plan (Fig. 2) the City of Raleigh could not go forward with implementing the design as there was not enough funding to support the project. After a few years, the City of Raleigh was able to prioritize the redesigning of Moore Square as downtown Raleigh was experiencing rapid development and the idea was for Moore Square to serve as a public civic space for city-wide users. In an effort to do that they approached one of the top Landscape Architecture Firms Sasaki to work on the redesign of Moore Square which would better fit the 21st century image of a park and encourage people to use the Square. To gain familiarity with the design process of Moore Square from a designer's point of view I interviewed the principal landscape architect (PLA) from Sasaki, and a park planner/project manager (PM) for the Moore Square project. These interviews included a structured format of questions that focused on the design process, and specifically the project objectives, challenges, outcomes, and collaborations. The notes gathered from the interviews were categorized into six themes: the experience of working in the Moore Square project; the challenges; the design objectives; the elements that promote social interaction; collaboration; and the importance of post occupancy evaluation. Under each theme a paragraph that summarizes the interviewees' thoughts in relation to the theme is provided below.

**Experience - (PLA):** Moore Square was not a typical project as it is not a blank slate and has a significant historic and cultural background (Ford, 2020). The relationship between the Square and its surrounding context is a unique condition to have and it aids in providing an opportunity for the Square to be part of the urban fabric of Downtown Raleigh. As a result of the analysis done on the downtown plan Moore

Square emerged as a critical part of the city of Raleigh’s evolution. However, it was serving a symbolic purpose as the Square was mostly empty and occasionally it would be overwhelmed by large scale events that negatively impacted the Square. Lastly, the design progress needed to be strategic in order to accommodate the existing trees while maintaining the Square’s historic and cultural values.

**(PM):** As a project manager of Moore Square some of the responsibilities included leading the process of recruiting a design team for Moore square, also, being a part of creating the priorities report which involved engaging the public in the design process as well as to reconfirm their expectations for the Square (Maughan, 2020). Additionally, the PM was part of the permitting associated with the different stages of design development.

**Challenges - (PLA):** Overall the big part of the challenge was to edit out the objects that were accumulated in the Square over many years. Apart from that there were three major challenges to this project, the first challenge was to retain the ‘X’ shaped circulation pathways that connect the corners of the Square while strategically allocating space for the open lawn and the central plaza. The second challenge was to protect the heritage oaks and ensure its health by designing spaces around them while acknowledging their contribution towards enhancing the character of the Square. The third challenge was to create flexible spaces that would serve for not only large scale gathers but also bring back the daily use of the Square.

**(PM):** One of the challenges was to address the perception of homeless activity which was dominating the park use. Secondly, protecting the oak trees by limiting the circulation path that would go around the trees.



Figure 3. Diagrams showing the circulation paths for both old Moore Square design (left) and the New Moore Square design (right) (Sasaki, 2018).

**Design objectives - (PLA):** The primary objective was to preserve the cultural fabric of the Square by introducing flexible spaces that cater to the current user’s needs as well as provide opportunity to aid future uses. The intention was to bring back the civic purpose of the Square to serve as a place for

community gatherings. Additionally, the programming of the space and the uses were derived from the public input. Throughout the design process several public engagement events were held that informed the needs of the users and were able to identify various community groups that would benefit from the redesign of the Square. The Square was programmed in a way to maximize the potential for everyday small-scale events to happen. Lastly, to retain the historic axis connection between the City Market Building and the Square.

**(PM):** One of the priorities was to activate the Square by introducing programming that welcomes people into the square while avoiding events that restrict the users from being in the Square. Also, Safety and comfort of the users was another aspect that was considered. Visibility throughout the park was preferred, as a result having clear sightlines aided towards the users' comfort and perception of the Square. Lastly, the idea of providing 'play' that was intended to cater to all ages. Although the treehouse area and the water fountain is mainly used by children, other spaces in the Square enable users of different age groups to play for instance, the open lawn is often used for conducting yoga classes. Additionally, design considerations were made to potentially accommodate the farmers' market. As a result, the south edge of the Square is intentionally widened to serve as a place to set up stalls or food trucks.



*Figure 4. Children playing in the central lawn area in Moore Square (Sasaki, 2018).*

**Elements that Promote Social Interaction - (PLA):** Moore Square has multiple layers of function beginning with the frame of architecture that surrounds it such as City Market and Marbles Kids Museum. The idea was to have gracious and comfortable edges that draw the pedestrians in to the Square in addition to welcoming the urban connections. The heritage oaks serve as the next layer that frames the park, these oak trees' survival and health was prioritized as they are a critical part of the Square. These trees were protected by controlling the flow of circulation accomplished by providing seat walls and protected rails along the walkways. At the center, an open lawn along with a central plaza were configured with the intention to serve as a flexible space where these spaces could function together and if needed cater to different uses.

**(PM):** The City of Raleigh Parks and Recreation Department had specifically hired staff to run and activate Moore Square. They were responsible to provide programming and organizing events within the Square. There was effort made to embed and recognize the cultural landscape of that southeast Raleigh community within the park. One of the components that is reflective of this idea is the South park heritage walk. The programming of the Square was curated to appeal to the all the population of users. Bryant Park was one of the main precedents that was considered as a model for designing Moore Square. Additionally, the connections were made to the surrounding context such as the Marbles kids Museum in order to establish a relationship while expecting to have programming opportunities within the Square.



*Figure 5. Outdoor Movie Series held at Moore Square (City of Raleigh, 2020).*

**Collaboration - (PLA):** The artist who worked on this project, made the sitting spaces in the Square which inclined more towards the functionality that the spaces can provide rather than focusing solely on appearance. Christine Dunn designed the concession building which houses the Square Burger restaurant. Both of these collaborators were part of the design team and were involved in the design process from the beginning. In terms of programming and activation of the Square there was a strong effort to collaborate with the surrounding context such as the Marble kids Museum along with City of Raleigh Parks and Recreation Department and HR&A team that was responsible for curating both large scale events as well as daily small scale events. These collaborations were meant to enhance the public life experience for the Moore Square users.

**(PM):** The Moore Square project had lots of entities that contributed towards its final implementation. In this process as the PM she had to collaborate with the office of Raleigh arts early in the process to include public art in Moore Square as part of the City's percentage for public art program (Maughan, 2020). For example, the stones which were incorporated with text and placed at the thresholds of the Square were considered part of the public art component. Since Moore Square is owned by the state of North Carolina and not by the City of Raleigh, there was an added level of coordination with the state to approve the design before implementation. Considering Moore Square is part of the historic district

it was required to arrange meetings with the Raleigh Historic District Commission and the State Historic Preservation Office.



Figure 6. One of the stones which is integrated into the paving located on the north end of Moore Square.

**Importance of Post Occupancy Evaluation - (PLA):** It is important to go back and visit the space after the completion of the project. As it helps identify what components of it worked and what requires rethinking.

**(PM):** After the completion of the Moore Square project her involvement with Moore Square reduced, however, being a user of the Square she stated that it was successful in meeting their expectations in terms of activating the space and Moore Square's role in contributing to the cultural fabric of downtown Raleigh.



Figure 7. People passing through Moore Square with masks on post the pandemic.

## **Moore Square Today**

I visited Moore Square around 8 times over a ten-month period, conducted observational mapping and took field notes on how people were using the space. Prior to my visit to the Square I had the opportunity to familiarize myself with the Moore Square's design process and the intentionality of the implemented design. Since Moore Square was redesigned and newly open to the public, it presented an opportunity to do a post-occupancy evaluation of the Square with respect to the users' behavior. Specifically, the field research focused on what activities the users were engaged in; how are users interacting with their environment; and whether the design objectives were met. In addition, I attempted to identify affordances that facilitated interaction among the users. I adopted Post Occupancy Evaluation (POE) as my research method to analyze the performance of the built environment. As part of the POE process an observational study was conducted that aimed to address the research questions as well as to indicate whether intended design aligns with how the Square is actually used by people.

One set of observations was conducted pre-covid 19 pandemic, where I gathered field notes on how people were interacting both with the environment as well as with other users. Further sets of observations were conducted post-covid 19 pandemic where the activities of the users were recorded via observational mapping. To gain a close to accurate understanding of how users engage in Moore Square the days and duration of the observational study were planned to cover divergent times, for instance, Tuesday afternoon (i.e. weekday lunch time), Friday evening, and Saturday morning (i.e. weekend). In the process of analyzing the gathered data I identified a few overarching points which are stated below:

### **Primary uses and user groups of Moore square**

As part of the POE process I was able to identify the primary users to be the residents that live in close proximity to the Square, children from a school located adjacent to the Square as well as people who appear to be homeless. Additionally, there was an increase in the flux of families visiting the Square, especially in the evenings. It is unclear as to where these families reside, as many of them arrived in a car and parked close to the Square. It is possible that these families visit Moore Square as it provides good play spaces for the children. The activities that were most common among the users were dog walking, children's playing, cycling, sitting, eating, and passing through the Square.

### **Role of affordances in facilitating interaction**

A very big part of redesigning Moore Square was to provide spaces that would attract a more diverse range of users as well as cater to a wide range of activities. As a result, Moore Square has elements like benches along the walkways throughout the park which face into the Square. The benches are intentionally oriented to face the central lawn as this promotes the "folk sociology" of people-watching (Anderson 2011). The intention was to provide various elements throughout the park that would encourage people to linger. Likewise, there are several typologies of seating that are spread across the square. For example, picnic tables are conveniently placed in the central plaza space adjacent to the Square Burger restaurant, that serves as a place for people to sit and eat in the Square. Furthermore, some of the other types of seating that are present in the Square are seat walls along the edge of the walkways, moveable seating, fixed benches, and grouped seating, all of which are favorable for maximizing the chances of interaction.

Further, during my pre-pandemic observations there were three pianos placed within the Square as part of the City Art program. These pianos were present to support interactive engagement among the users and were one of the key elements in terms of serving as not only a piece of art but also an object that initiates activity. However, because of the pandemic these pianos were removed as per the safety guidelines enforced by the state. Lastly, the walkways within the Square were deliberately made wider, specifically the path that connects the northeast corner to the southwest corner of the Square. This was done for multiple reasons. Most people use this path to get across the square to the other side of the block, so widening the path would allow for that to happen along with creating a buffer between other activities such as skating, children playing, or even people who sit on the seat walls bordering the walkway.



*Figure 8. Various types of seating are placed throughout Moore Square.*

### **Role of programming to activate Moore Square and encourage users to visit repeatedly**

Activation and participation of people within the Square were highlighted as the core design objectives. One of the ways in which the activation was done is by collaborating with the HR & A team that organizes events that aim to enhance the public life of the Square. Besides this, Moore Square had the added advantage of being in close proximity to the Marbles Kids Museum and the Moore Square Magnet Middle School. This presented an opportunity to collaborate with them and come up with events that bring the users from those places into the Square. This link between the Square and its surrounding context was intended to establish the ability of the Square to serve as an extended platform for these activities to take place. For instance, during the screening of the movie “Frozen”, Marbles Kids Museum partnered with Moore Square to host a Frozen themed event. Similarly, ‘Square roots history tour’ is held on Saturday mornings with talks about the historic heritage of Moore Square.

Bryant Park, being a successful urban public space located in New York City, served as a model for Moore square. The design team that worked on Moore Square adopted many ideas relating to programming and activation of space from Bryant Park. For example, a game cart was provided in Moore Square which consisted of games, books, and chinks. The game cart alone supported many possibilities for a wide range of activities to occur among the users. Unfortunately, due to the pandemic the game cart was also taken away to minimize the risk of being in contact with multiple park users. Interestingly enough I noticed that this didn't stop people from engaging in activities within the Square, in fact it motivated the users to bring their own play equipment (i.e. corn hole set, hula hoops, and soccer balls).



*Figure 9. Moore Square game cart*

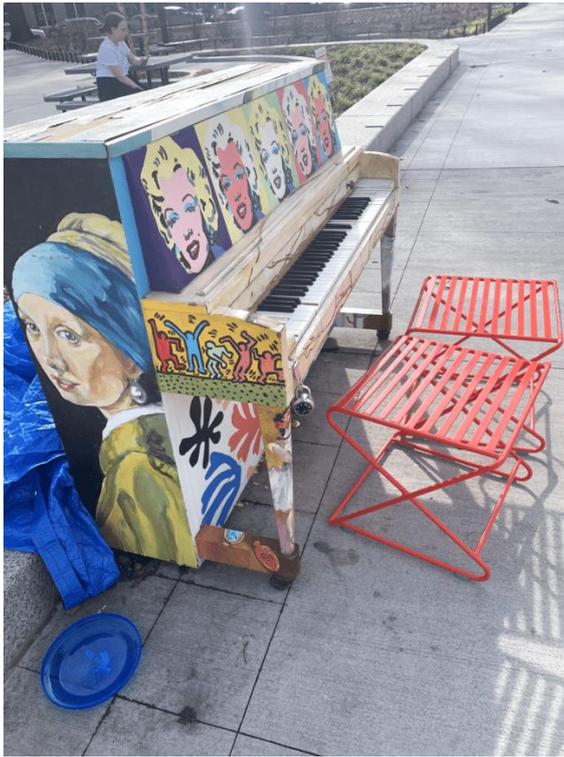


Figure 10. Piano installed in Moore Square

### **The co-presence of having people who are experiencing homelessness alongside users with a higher socio-economic status in Moore Square**

One of the biggest challenges for public spaces is to cater to a wide range of users which involves the possibility of there being groups of users with conflicting interests. In the case of Moore Square there is a significant presence of homeless people. This was identified during the design process, which led to discussions about how to justly design the square to accommodate these users while still being attractive to other user groups. Moore Square was designed with an underlying notion to serve all user groups regardless of their socio-economic status, or ethnicity by providing inclusive spaces for all. As a result, there is an evident presence of the homeless population in and around the Square. Through my observations I was able to identify the pattern of their use of space within the Square. For instance, in the mornings the homeless people tend to gather in a group and engage in conversations among themselves. Towards noon they were dispersing some of them into different corners of the Square whereas some of them were headed into Downtown Raleigh to take advantage of soup kitchens offered by downtown churches. It was interesting to see as the day goes by there is an increase in the number of park users in the Square during which a large group of Homeless people prefer to stay in the periphery of the Square, and as there the park users reduce in quantity the homeless people tend to come back into the Square. This indicates that the use of park space by the homeless people is affected by the number of park users present in the Square.

### **Discussion**

The design process of Moore square involved several entities that provided valuable information on how to activate the space and function as a successful urban public space. Among many, creating

multifunctional and flexible spaces that would serve diverse range of users was a priority. As explained in the previous sections of this paper there is sufficient evidence to believe that the design objectives were met in terms of how the designers were intending the space would be used and how the users are interacting in the Square. Although the design of Moore Square may be read as being simple, the design process behind it was complex, and not only included the public feedback but also coordination among several organizations: Sasaki, the City of Raleigh Parks and Recreation, and the City Council.

A central design goal for Moore Square was to bring back the daily life aspect by creating spaces for users to not only visit the Square for large events but also expect the Square to aid in performing everyday activities such as dog walking, running, children's play time etc. There are several components that are strategically arranged throughout the park which present opportunities to interact with other users as well as interact with the environment. These components bring various types of seating, amenities like a restaurant and restrooms being present in the Square, Children's play area, central lawn space, heritage oaks, and recurring events. These components are dynamic in nature, in other words these components not only serve their purpose but also cater to unanticipated uses. For instance, the seat walls provide a place to sit, part of children's play, acts as barriers that define the circulation. Additionally, the central lawn area performs as a large platform where it often hosts multiple activities that take place at the same time. For example, you would find a person lying on the lawn and reading a book, simultaneously you can spot another group of users who are having a picnic, while there are children playing soccer alongside them. The size, shape and location of the central lawn makes these activities possible and provides the users with several possibilities of activities that can occur concurrently. The Heritage oaks that frame Moore Square not only have historic and cultural significance, but they also have a functional purpose. The layer of oaks acts as a visual buffer for the users in the Square from the surrounding streets. They provide a delicate balance between providing visibility between the trunks (i.e. streetscape) and creating a more human scale in comparison to the scale of the buildings that surround it.

### **Precedence and Limitations of this study**

POE can be an effective tool to evaluate the design of a space after being implemented. This pilot study primarily focused on participant observation as part of POE. Documenting what is being observed can lead to making connections and aiding in identifying behavioral patterns. The data collected through observations when paired with other data collected through various methods like interviews, surveys and case studies has the potential to surface unexpected findings (which otherwise might not be evident) related to the phenomenon under study. In this case, we begin to recognize participant observation as a reliable research instrument that could produce consistency among findings.

On the other side there were limitations to conducting a participant observation. The timing for conducting observations need to be strategically planned as the observations that were conducted only accounts for specific times and specific days which may provide a general idea of how people use the Square but might not fully account for other variables at play. Also, this study does not delve into other factors such as age, race, gender which has an effect on how people use the public space. The data gathered through observations was analyzed for recurring patterns that aided in understanding the behavior of users in relation to their perceived environment.

Because of limitations on this study due to Covid-19, personal interviews were not possible. During the period when this study took place, the university was not in a position to grant research approval for interacting directly with park users.

Lastly, as this study focused on Moore Square the findings of this study are specific to Moore Square and similar studies should be conducted to generalize the findings to other public parks.

## Conclusion

The aim of this study was not only to examine the relationship between design intent and how a space is actually used but also to begin to formulate a framework for evaluating the performance of design in light of input from users during the design process. In the case of Moore Square, there was a conscious effort by the design team to incorporate community input during the design process. The research findings indicate that Moore Square is recognized as an active urban public space that successfully accommodates a diverse range of uses and user groups. Furthermore, it validates the reassessments to the design that resulted from additional public input and made it possible for Moore Square to achieve the design objectives.

Going forward, this study raises a few questions. From this pilot study there seems to be a link between including people's opinions during the design process and creating a successful public space. However, if we were to create a template of design principles and objectives that are taken from a successful public space such as Bryant Park, and apply them to any other public space without an extensive participation process, would it still perform successfully?

## References

- Anderson, E., 2011. *The Cosmopolitan Canopy: Race and Civility in Everyday Life*. New York: Norton.
- Christopher Counts Studio, 2011. *Moore Square Master Plan*. [pdf] Available at: <<https://cityofraleigh0drupal.blob.core.usgovcloudapi.net/drupal-prod/COR24/moore-square-master-plan.pdf>> [Accessed 19 September 2020].
- Christopher Counts Studio, 2011. *Moore Square Master Plan*. [image online] Available at: <<https://cityofraleigh0drupal.blob.core.usgovcloudapi.net/drupal-prod/COR24/moore-square-master-plan.pdf>> [Accessed 19 September 2020].
- CIRCA, & AGILE Design Studios, 2009. *Common Beauty: History of the Physical Form and Uses of Moore Square*. [pdf]. Raleigh Historic Districts Commission, Inc. Available at: <<https://cityofraleigh0drupal.blob.core.usgovcloudapi.net/drupal-prod/COR24/common-beauty-moore-square.pdf>> [Accessed 17 September 2020].
- City of Raleigh, 2020. n.d. [image online] Available at: <https://raleighnc.gov/sites/default/files/2020-03/moore-square-programs2.jpg> [Accessed 18 October 2020].
- Deland, M., and Trouille, D., 2018. *Going Out: A Sociology of Public Outings*. *Sociological Theory*, [e-journal] 36(1), pp.27-47. 10.1177/0735275118759149.
- Ford, G., 2020. *Inquiry about the Design Process of Moore Square project*. Interviewed by Raaga Bhandari. [Zoom meeting] 23 September 2020, 03:00 PM.
- Maughan, G., 2020. *Inquiry about the Design Process of Moore Square project*. Interviewed by Raaga Bhandari. [Zoom meeting] 22 September 2020, 03:00 PM.
- Sasaki, 2015. *Moore Square park implementation priorities report*. [pdf] Raleigh: Sasaki. Available at: <<https://cityofraleigh0drupal.blob.core.usgovcloudapi.net/drupal-prod/COR24/moore-square-park-implementation-report.pdf>> [Accessed 18 September 2020].

Sasaki, 2018. n.d. [image online] Available at: <https://agencylp.com/projects/moore-square/> [Accessed 18 October 2020].

Sasaki, 2019. *The park is surrounded by massive oak trees, some of which are over 200 years old.* [image online] Available at: <https://www.sasaki.com/projects/moore-square/> [Accessed 17 September 2020].

# THE CRISIS OF INFORMAL WELFARE IN GREECE

THEODOROS KARYOTIS

PhD Researcher, Department of Conflict and Development Studies, Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, University of Ghent

## Abstract

Owing to its particular sociopolitical history and its status as a semi-peripheral country, Greece has followed a pattern of economic and urban development radically different to that of most northern European countries. A main characteristic of that pattern is informality. This paper consists of two parts. In the first part, I examine the origins of informality and its functions in recent Greek history: sustaining a high rate of growth with minimal costs for the state and employers, and maintaining social peace in the context of the familistic welfare system. Parting from an understanding of informality not as spontaneity or absence of state control, but as an alternative normativity that stems from deliberate state action or inaction, I approach informality not as an anomaly peculiar to the Greek political formation, but as an extra-institutional mechanism of redistribution, which has served to incorporate the population in the mainstream of social life. In this light, I examine the four main pillars of informal welfare in Greece: clientelism, the informal sector, familialism and homeownership. In the second part of the paper, I offer an interpretation of the institutional reforms that followed the sovereign debt crisis and the concomitant bailout programs starting in 2010 as a concerted attempt to dismantle this informal system of redistribution and to extend the reach of the state in previously informalized areas of social and economic life, without, however, reinforcing a formal system of guarantees, such as the welfare state.

There is a long-standing debate among Greek political economists in regard to the evolution and character of the Greek capitalist formation. On the one hand, some scholars propose an “underdevelopment” thesis and posit that Greek capitalism has maintained a relationship of dependence with other industrialised nations (see, e.g. Mouzelis 1978). For these thinkers, the Greek capitalist class has been predominantly a *comprador* class, more interested in promoting the interests of foreign investors and multinational corporations, than in developing the productive forces within the country. The result is a belated industrialisation, which affects all institutional aspects. On the other hand, there are those that reject the delayed industrialisation thesis and minimize the differences with other developed countries. These theorists focus on class relations within Greece rather than the relation of Greek capitalism with the West and stress Greek capitalism’s own hegemonic position within the Balkan peninsula (see, e.g. Μηλιός 2010, 2000).

In this paper, I will borrow elements from both sets of approaches, to propose a specific differentiated mode of development for Greek capitalism, without however espousing the underdevelopment thesis. Rather, I will argue that the informal practices that are a constitutive element of the Greek sociopolitical formation are not a precapitalist remnant or a sign of underdevelopment, but rather, stemming from a specific sociohistorical context, they constitute patterns of dynamic adaptation, which have allowed the country to integrate into and compete within European and global economies.

This paper consists of two parts. In the first part, I examine the origins of informality and its functions in recent Greek history: sustaining a high rate of growth with minimal costs for the state and employers, and maintaining social peace in the context of the familistic welfare system. Parting from an understanding of informality not as spontaneity or absence of state control, but as an alternative normativity that stems from deliberate state action or inaction, I approach informality not as an anomaly peculiar to the Greek political formation, but as an extra-institutional mechanism of redistribution, which has served to incorporate the population in the mainstream of social life. In this light, I examine the four main pillars of informal welfare in Greece: clientelism, the informal sector, familialism and homeownership.

In the second part of the paper, I offer an interpretation of the institutional reforms that followed the sovereign debt crisis and the concomitant bailout programs starting in 2010 as a concerted attempt to dismantle this informal system of redistribution and to extend the reach of the state in previously informalized areas of social and economic life, without, however, reinforcing a formal system of guarantees, such as the welfare state.

## **PART I**

### **The origins and functions of informality**

A prominent characteristic of the Greek social formation is the continued existence of a sizable petit-bourgeois class. The emergence of a “middle” class in Greece can be seen as the result of deliberate state policies, and specifically the land redistribution schemes of successive governments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Λύτρας 2010). The class of small peasants emerging out of the redistribution and sustained through protectionist policies, gave way to an urban petit-bourgeois class of professionals and merchants in the second half of the twentieth century, which has had a central role in Greek politics. Small family businesses have constituted the backbone of the Greek economy until recent times.

According to some accounts, the presence of a sizable “middle” class and the concomitant fragmentation and individualization of the subservient classes prevented the transformation of the

state into an effective site of class antagonism. Although the parliamentary system is one of the oldest in Europe, it was not the product of a class struggle to formalize and institutionalize rights and privileges. Rather, it was a vehicle to translate the local power and influence of notables into votes, thus ensuring their capture of the state apparatus. This laid the foundations of the clientelist system (Χαραλάμπης 1996).

In this view, rules and democratic procedures have not been as important as familial ties, personal acquaintances and networks of patronage, resulting in individualistic attitudes and a weak civil society, where notions of the common good are secondary to the maximization of benefit for oneself and one's family. This individualism, along with the lack of a homogenous working class as an agent of struggle and change, has prevented the full development of a formal system of guarantees, such as the welfare states of northern Europe. The necessary consensus of the subservient classes was not created within the institutions of the state as a field of political and class struggle, but extra-institutionally, in the networks of patronage and personal relationships (Χαραλάμπης 1996).

In this line of reasoning, then, the state has remained lopsided in its operation: it has not so much been an arbiter of class struggle and a mechanism of redistribution, as it has been an instrument of authoritarian imposition. Indeed, since the victory of the nationalist side in the Civil War, a "feeble" democratic regime was imposed (Νικολακόπουλος 2001), which aimed to prevent all working-class demands from being institutionalised. When sectors of the subservient classes rose dangerously close to political power in 1967, the regime did not hesitate to abolish the Constitution and switch to outright military dictatorship.

Throughout this period, as integration of the working classes through formal avenues was out of the question, redistribution had been taking place in an arbitrary manner through a spoils system, whereby the resources of the state – notably, public sector jobs – were the spoils to be distributed among the patronage networks of the elite that was victorious in the polls at any time (Allen et al. 2004 : 105). The state only had a marginal role in ensuring social reproduction, mainly through a corporatist pension system.

Although it has empirical grounding, this conception of clientelism easily lends itself to a "developmentalist" worldview, according to which Greek capitalism only has to shed its pre-capitalist vestiges (clientelism, informality, etc.) in order to "catch up" with the advanced capitalisms of northern Europe. Contrary to that view, I propose here that informality, rather than being a remnant of the past, has been precisely a strategy of adaptation that has allowed Greek capitalism to develop and compete within its specific historical context.

### **The pillars of informal welfare**

It is important to note that informality in this sense is not the same as spontaneity. It does not denote the absence of planning or regulation on behalf of the state; rather, informality constitutes an alternative normativity that is also a product of state action or inaction: "The planning and legal apparatus of the state has the power to determine when to enact [the] suspension [of its own sovereignty], to determine what is informal and what is not, and to determine which forms of informality will thrive and which will disappear" (Roy 2005 : 149). Informality may be seen as a deliberate strategy of development that is chosen by the dominant elites when it confers some competitive advantage. Rather than denoting a failure of the state, informality has been a tool at the state's disposal, contributing to many of its successes.

The idea of “informal welfare” builds on the debate about the existence of a separate southern European welfare state model, to complement Esping-Andersen’s (1990) typology of three welfare regime types: liberal, conservative and social-democratic. While some theorists have described the welfare system of Spain, Portugal and Greece as a “discount edition of the continental model” (Katrougalos 1996 : 43), which differs from other conservative welfare regimes in quantity but not in quality, there is a broad body of literature supporting the existence of a separate southern European model (Ferrera 1996; Papadopoulos and Roumpakis 2013; Hespanha et al. 2018). This literature parts from a criticism of Esping-Andersen’s conceptualisation of the three regimes, particularly of his narrow definition of welfare as state-sponsored income maintenance schemes and of his exclusive focus on state – market interaction, which sidelines other agents of welfare, especially the family. For Allen et al. (2004 : 103 ff) welfare provision within the southern European welfare system is shaped by three features: clientelism in the context of civil administration, a large informal sector, and familialism.

As mentioned above, *clientelism* is a particularistic and highly inequitable system of redistribution, in which access to privileges relating to the civil administration are exchanged for political support. In Greece, it has acted as a central mechanism of legitimation of state power, allowing common citizens some degree of influence on political matters through their patrons. Moreover, in a context of perpetual scarcity of well-remunerated jobs in the private sector and of a corporatist welfare state that afforded public servants good pensions and other privileges, a job in the public sector obtained through university education and/or clientelist relations became a central mechanism of social mobility (Bratsis 2010).

A large *informal sector* is generally characteristic of corporatist welfare models, in which the traditional privileges of specific core sectors are safeguarded at the expense of precarious and underpaid sectors in a dualistic labour market. Employers and workers have incentives to establish informal labour relations, and thus circumvent social security contributions and other costs (Allen et al. 2004 : 108). Furthermore, in Greece, given the prevalence of small family firms and self-employment, tax evasion can be seen as an informal avenue of redistribution for families, in the absence of other welfare provision schemes (Lyberaki and Tinios 2014 : 196; Papadopoulos and Roumpakis 2020 : 186). Similarly, low barriers to market entry for the self-employed, afforded by tax and contribution evasion or by circumvention of other overhead costs, can be seen as a mechanism to counteract the inadequacy of formal protection against unemployment (\*\*\*). In its turn, the existence of a large informal labour sector is a factor that promotes investment in homeownership as an alternative pension scheme, as formal pension privileges do not apply to uninsured informal sector workers (Allen et al. 2004 : 111).

Finally, while all welfare regimes may be conceived as “qualitatively different arrangements between state, market, and the family” (Esping-Andersen 1990 : 26), in the southern European context, *familialism* is a way to conceptualise the prevalence of primary solidarities in the provision of social protection. In Greece, the family – defined as the extended kinship group composed of various generations and spread across many households – plays a central role in providing welfare to its members and constitutes the main cell of social, political and economic reproduction (Papadopoulos and Roumpakis 2013 : 204). To achieve this, the extended family acts as an agent of de-commodification – a safe haven from the vicissitudes of the market – by pooling monetary resources, non-market goods and services, employment opportunities, favours, political patronage connections, and, importantly, real estate assets, and redistributing them among its members according to custom or need. This model presupposes the existence of at least one, typically male, breadwinner employed in the formal sector, with all the associated benefits and advantages, with women doing extensive unpaid care work at home or seeking employment in the informal sector (Papadopoulos and Roumpakis 2013 : 206–208).

The above three pillars of informal welfare operate alongside a rudimentary corporatist welfare state, whose main mechanisms of redistribution are the pension system and an incompletely implemented

universalist healthcare system. It is important to note that not only are formal welfare mechanisms layered on top of informal and familialist ones, but they also largely take their continuous operation for granted, in the context of a “hybrid” welfare state (Lyberaki and Tinios 2014 : 195). For Papadopoulos and Roumpakis, informal and familialist practices “were not exemptions or idiosyncratic problems of the Greek political economy but norms that were in accordance with the reproduction of the Greek familistic political economy and its corresponding welfare regime” (2013 : 206). That is, they were specific adaptations of a semi-peripheral economy largely dependent on a “low-wage, low-productivity, and low-investment in skills and technologies economic strategy” whose “economic competitiveness was politically translated in a continuous attempt, on behalf of both employers and the state, to minimise their responsibility for social reproduction” (2013 : 209). The largely informal welfare model was not a manifestation of dysfunction or lack of development, but an outcome of the Greek economy’s insertion into and competition within European and global economies.

There is another important element of informal welfare in Greece, which has to be added to the abovementioned three pillars: homeownership, promoted by the state through a specific mode of urbanism.

### **Informal urbanism**

After WWII and the ensuing Civil War, internal migration and a damaged housing stock aggravated housing problems. Contrary to the strategy of northern European states, the Greek state did not take an active part in reconstruction through public urban development schemes and housing policies. Rather, as part of the Marshall plan and under the supervision of US consultants, it fomented informal urbanization through self-construction, or “Assisted Self-Help Housing”. This consisted in aiding residents to construct their own house, with the state providing the blueprints and/or raw materials (Κάλλφα 2019).

The aims of the state and its foreign consultants were largely political/pedagogical: they aimed to infuse new values and attitudes, such as individualism and self-reliance, in a population still scarred by the civil conflict, and to avoid the emergence of a universalist welfare state, which appeared to them socialist in its forms and functions. The prevalence of small property in Greece should be examined within this context.

Self-constructed houses were completed through the mobilization of family and friends, usually designed and erected by unqualified contractors. This strategy required a lax enforcement of planning regulations, as most homes were built on land designated as agricultural, and irregularly used for residential settlements. However, in contrast to informal urbanism in the Global South, in Mediterranean cities self-construction was based “on illegal use, not illegal occupation, of land. Houses are built on land illegally subdivided into plots, but duly sold to the settlers” (Leontidou 1990). Despite the housing emergency and the informality and illegality of construction, the sanctity of property rights was not violated, and squatting was a marginal or temporary phenomenon. Illegally built homes were later legalized by a series of relevant laws that reach to the present. Legalization of illegally built homes was leveraged by political parties to gain sympathy and votes among the population.

Informality in urbanization, therefore, rather than denoting the absence of regulation, signifies a parallel system of unwritten norms that governs the use of space and makes possible new forms of social and political power.

The system of assisted self-construction later evolved into the land-for-flats swap system (*antiparochi*), whereby property owners would swap their plot of land or their old house for a number of apartments

in a multi-story building (*polykatoikia*) built by small-scale contractors. Eventually, the construction sector became not only a basic pillar of the economy, creating jobs and growth over several decades, but also the main agent of spatial planning and administration (Dragonas 2014).

The first two comprehensive pieces of urban policy came in the late 1970s and early 1980s respectively, when the aforementioned informal development model had run its course and had all but determined the character of Greek cities (Hastaoglou et al. 1987). The incursion of banks and large constructors in the housing sector in the 1990s weakened but did not fully eliminate informal urbanism.

While it may be enticing to theorise this model of urbanisation as spontaneous and informal, taking place despite the state or in its margins, some scholars insist that this kind of development is in fact “the result of a meticulously detailed regulatory structure that evolved strategically through time” (Issaias 2014 : xxii). Scholars such as Issaias (2014) and Dragonas (2014) argue that the ruling classes used informal access to the property ladder as a way to contain and appease the burgeoning working class in post-War years.

In this view, the construction of the home-owning subject through the promotion of the ideology of property and its attendant social values was integral to the operation of Greek capitalism. Proletarians were thus integrated into the social mainstream by being turned into small property owners. Real estate property was reasserted as a central social imaginary signification: it signified at the same time a ticket to the middle class, a factor of egalitarianism and a means of value accumulation. Real estate assets become a guarantee of welfare and financial security for the family unit, to compensate for the precarity of the labour market and the absence of state welfare. Out of the class strife of the previous decades, a new “middle-class” subject was born, hard-working, self-reliant and disciplined, demanding not collective social change, but individual – or rather, familial – social mobility.

We can thus argue that informal welfare administered through its four pillars – clientelism, the informal sector, familialism and homeownership – was not a side-effect or a malfunction, but a constitutive element in the evolution of Greek capitalism. Informal provision allowed Greek capitalism to maintain its competitiveness by keeping wages low, while the state could avoid the fiscal pressures of welfare provision and safely ignore calls for reform without jeopardizing social peace (Lyberaki and Tinios 2014 : 199). This arrangement permitted the Greek “economic miracle” of the 1950s and 1960, with rates of growth higher than most OECD countries.

## **PART II**

### **The dismantling of informal welfare**

Three broad periods can be distinguished in the development of informal welfare in Greece (Papadopoulos and Roumpakis 2013 : 209 ff). In the first period, from the 1950s until the early 1990s, Greek families used the four informal welfare pillars described above along with prudent, low-risk, low-debt economic management to maximise family wealth and real estate assets, which were passed along to the next generations. Social mobility was pursued through homeownership and university education for younger family members. To ensure social peace, the state allowed the benefits of clientelism to trickle down to the lower strata and turned a blind eye to many informal and semi-formal practices, such as tax evasion, building without a planning permission, and an extensive submerged economy sector.

In the second period, starting in the mid-1990s all the way to 2010, the goal of joining the European Monetary Union imposed fiscal discipline on the Greek state, and thus the spoils to be distributed by

clientelist networks were significantly reduced. The incipient adjustment programme dictated economic deregulation, labour flexibilisation and a restructuring of pensions and welfare provision. The Greek family saw its model of wealth accumulation entering a period of instability, and turned to market mechanisms to maintain its standard of living, namely by using bank loans to maintain its consumption levels and by investing in high-risk financial products. Rising indebtedness and labour precarity started to threaten the role of the family unit as a source of welfare for its members.

In the third period, following the eruption of the sovereign debt crisis in 2010, through successive waves of austerity measures linked to three major bailout agreements, wages, benefits and pensions were drastically cut, the labour market was further flexibilised, and a series of regressive taxes were imposed. A recessionary spiral brought down the GDP by about 30% and pushed unemployment up. To reduce government deficit, the state further retreated from its obligation to provide welfare and externalised the costs of the crisis to the family. Increased social needs and limited resources caused the formal welfare mechanisms to overflow, but their residual could not anymore be attended by the informal welfare system, as all of its pillars has been undermined: *Clientelist networks* were dismantled, not only because fiscal consolidation meant there was no spoils to distribute, but also because a profound political legitimisation crisis destabilised the two-party system (Teperoglou and Tsatsanis 2014). In the context of the restructuring, there was a strong drive for *formalisation of labour* and curbing of tax evasion, especially for the self-employed, in order to enlarge the tax base and increase state revenue (Koutsogeorgopoulou et al. 2014 : 38). The capacity of the *family* to mobilise and redistribute resources was drastically curtailed by reduced incomes, unemployment, odious taxation and unsustainable levels of private debt (Papadopoulos and Roumpakis 2013 : 215). Finally, *homeownership* was challenged, as non-performing mortgages shot through the roof, and property taxes sextupled over the course of a few years, thus turning real estate from an asset into a liability (Alexandri and Janoschka 2018). This shift caused the hybrid system to collapse, thus signalling a welfare crisis. Austerity policies served as “an abrupt attempt at formalization, which Greece’s society cannot afford” (Rakopoulos 2015 : 97).

### **The logic of economic restructuring**

The relationship of informal welfare provision with neoliberal restructuring is contradictory. It is well documented that the family is seen as an inexpensive provider of welfare that can absorb the externalities of neoliberal cuts in social spending. Even in countries without a familialist tradition, such as the USA, through private debt and asset-based welfare, the family is increasingly burdened with maintaining the standard of living of its members while stimulating demand in the wider economy. This expanded function for the family is accompanied by a resurgence of conservative family values (Cooper 2017).

The formal justification for Greece’s radical restructuring program is to address four structural problems of the Greek economy: increase its competitiveness, curb the rise in external debt, flexibilise labour and product markets and strengthen the banking sector (European Commission, Directorate General for Economic and Financial Affairs 2010). By all accounts, the adjustment program has failed in bringing about the desired changes (Papadatos 2014; Pagoulatos 2018). Specifically, not only the internal devaluation did not increase competitiveness, but falling domestic demand destroyed small capitals and thus exacerbated unemployment, in a vicious circle that shrunk the tax base and state revenue, rendering fiscal consolidation impossible and leading to an increase in external debt.

What we have seen in the case of Greece is a complete disconnection of the reproduction of capital from the reproduction of society. While the restructuring aimed to increase the competitiveness of the Greek economy and facilitate investment, no attention was paid to the immense increase in poverty

and the drastic drop in the population's standard of living. In effect, the welfare state, while overall retaining its corporatist structure, it residualised all welfare provisions addressed at the lower strata, thereby aiming not to ensure general welfare, but to prevent the most extreme and visible forms of poverty (Papanastasiou and Papatheodorou 2019). However, as I argue above, the decisive factor in social collapse was the dismantling of informal welfare.

The social collapse was accompanied by a delegitimation of the post-dictatorship political consensus and the two-party system (Teperoglou and Tsatsanis 2014), and engendered a period of prolonged political instability and unrest. The response of the Greek state was largely authoritarian, with the systematic violent suppression of all expressions of popular outrage and further disciplining of workers (Doulos 2020). It is reasonable to ask, why would the Greek political class and its European allies put in motion such a plan, that would not only have disastrous economic effects, but would also undermine their own legitimacy and credibility, and erode their hegemony?

One possible answer is that this was a miscalculation of on the part of political elites, which misread the situation and destabilised the whole political system and thus their own hegemony. Repeated errors on the part of the IMF in predicting the magnitude of the GDP drop brought about by public spending cuts (Pagoulatos 2018 : 15) would throw the country into a destructive recessionary spiral. Moreover, a deficient conceptualisation of the welfare system in Greece, whereby the weight of informal social security provision was all but overlooked (see, e.g., Katrougalos and Lazaridis 2003) would allow the adoption of a modernisation discourse that ended up dismantling all sources of welfare.

However, I will argue here that the disastrous social effects of austerity were not simply the result of miscalculations, but the direct outcome of the logic of neoliberal restructuring. The strategic goals of the adjustment were only secondary to the wider objectives of the project of European integration.

To grasp the nature of neoliberal reforms, let us here engage with the thought of Loic Wacquant on neoliberalism as a quintessentially political project. Wacquant (2012) criticises neo-Marxist approaches that conceive neoliberalism as "market rule", a combination of deregulation, privatisation and withdrawal of the state. He also rejects neo-Foucauldian "governmentality" approaches that conceive neoliberalism as a "generalised normativity", and focus on the micro-level reshaping of institutions and subjects along the lines of competition, efficiency and utility. Rather, he proposes that neoliberalism entails not the dismantling but the reengineering of the state: its penal and repressive functions are reinforced, while its redistributive functions are curtailed, resulting in what he calls a "centaur state", which "purports to enshrine markets and embrace liberty, but in reality reserves liberalism and its benefits for those at the top while it enforces punitive paternalism upon those at the bottom" (2012 : 76).

I believe that Wacquant's conceptualisation of neoliberalism as "an articulation of state, market, and citizenship that harnesses the first to impose the stamp of the second onto the third" (2012 : 71) does not invalidate the "marketization" and "governmentality" approaches, but it adds a very important additional layer, which helps explicate the increased and transformed powers afforded to the state by neoliberal structural adjustment. This is in line with Werner Bonefeld's (2013) conception of political authority as a central element in ordoliberal thought, and thus in the project of European Integration, which is a political, rather than an economic, project: "ordo-liberal social policy presupposes an ever-vigilant state that governs with strong state authority to secure the capacity of society to cope with economic shocks in the manner of the entrepreneur" (Bonefeld 2013 : 109). The neoliberal state thus, is not the non-interventionist state, but the state that actively suppresses the politicization of the lower classes and imposes "order" on the system.

We can thus approach the dismantling of informality in Greece. The concern of the institutions was not that the state was too strong, but rather that the state was too weak, too vulnerable to the influence of special interests, and thus not wholeheartedly dedicated to facilitating the penetration of capital. To exemplify this, we can turn to the analysis that Bratsis (2003) offers of the fight against corruption in Greece. This was framed in the language of “transparency”, that is, it was not an attempt to disentangle private interests from public matters, but to make their entanglement more predictable and calculable. That is, informal clientelist networks articulating small and medium-sized players would have to be dismantled to give way to a formal lobbying system that favours international capital.

Informality, then, is conceived as an encroachment of the masses on the state and by extension on the market mentality that the latter tries to impose on society. The decommodification and informal redistribution afforded by informal welfare are seen as hurdles in the effort to discipline workers and imprint a mentality of competitiveness and self-sufficiency in them. Moreover, a system relying on extra-institutional arrangements and particularistic rules is obscure and incomprehensible for foreign capital, and thus uncondusive for investment.

## **Conclusion**

It is important to stress that in this paper I do not take a normative stance regarding the operation of the Greek welfare state and the necessity of its reform. Concluding that the structural adjustment has produced social collapse does not constitute a defence of the pre-crisis welfare system in Greece. The lopsidedly informal welfare system was lacking in universalism and served to perpetuate traditional inequalities, including patriarchal power and labour abuses. At the same time, however, it constituted the Greek economy’s own path to modernity, and it permitted the social inclusion of large parts of the population in a context of minimal state welfare.

My argument, rather, is that the conception of informal practices as hurdles to capitalist expansion or as signs of underdevelopment, rather than as elements of welfare, has permitted the outright dismantling of informal welfare without its substitution with a formal system of guarantees, and has thus exacerbated inequality and created a sizable surplus population with dismal life prospects.

This stems from a conceptualisation of the Greek social system as a “deviation” from the norm set by northern European states, which rests on a “quasi-orientalist” discourse (Leontidou 2014) that treats Mediterranean cultures as underdeveloped “others” in Europe, and thus legitimates violent restructuring policies that aim to help these countries “catch up” with their northern counterparts. Greece’s “different, and spatially unequal, development path is most probably one of the reasons why austerity policies and memoranda provisions since 2010 have proven so utterly destructive not only in economic terms but, perhaps more importantly, socially and culturally” (Vaïou 2018).

*This paper was written in the context the project “Property and Democratic Citizenship”, funded by the European Research Council.*

## **References**

Alexandri, G. and Janoschka, M. (2018) Who Loses and Who Wins in a Housing Crisis? Lessons From Spain and Greece for a Nuanced Understanding of Dispossession. *Housing Policy Debate* 28 (1), 117–134.

- Allen, J., James Barlow, Jesus Leal, Thomas Maloutas and Liliana Padovani (editors) (2004) *Housing and welfare in Southern Europe*. Oxford ; Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.
- Bonefeld, W. (2013) Human economy and social policy: On ordo-liberalism and political authority. *History of the Human Sciences* 26 (2), 106–125.
- Bratsis, P. (2003) *Corrupt Compared to What? Greece, Capitalist Interests, and the Specular Purity of the State*. The Hellenic Observatory, London School of Economics and Political Science 56.
- Bratsis, P. (2010) Legitimation Crisis and the Greek Explosion: Debates and Developments. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 34 (1), 190–196.
- Cooper, M. (2017) *Family values: between neoliberalism and the new social conservatism*. New York: Zone Books.
- Doulos, P. in J Holloway, K Nasioka & P Doulos (editors), (2020) Crisis, State, and Violence: The Example of Greece. *Beyond Crisis: After the Collapse of Institutional Hope in Greece, What?* PM Press. .
- Dragonas, P. (2014) An Obituary for the Greek City of Repetition. *MAS Context* (21), .
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990) *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- European Commission, Directorate General for Economic and Financial Affairs (2010) *The Economic Adjustment Programme for Greece*. LU: Publications Office.
- Ferrera, M. (1996) The 'Southern Model' of Welfare in Social Europe. *Journal of European Social Policy* 6 (1), 17–37.
- Hastaoğlu, V., Hadjimichalis, C., Kalogirou, N. and Papamichos, N. (1987) Urbanisation, Crisis and Urban Policy in Greece. *Antipode* 19 (2), 154–177.
- Hespanha, P., Ferreira, C. and Portugal, S. in M Roche & R van Berkel (editors), (2018) The Welfare Society and the Welfare State. *European Citizenship and Social Exclusion* 1st Edition. Routledge. 169–183.
- Issaias, P. (2014) *Beyond the informal city: Athens and the possibility of an urban common*. Delft, The Netherlands: Technische Universiteit Delft.
- Katrougalos, G. and Lazaridis, G. (2003) *Southern European welfare states: problems, challenges, and prospects*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Katrougalos, G.S. (1996) The South European Welfare Model: the Greek Welfare State, in Search of an Identity. *Journal of European Social Policy* 6 (1), 39–60.
- Koutsogeorgopoulou, V., Matsaganis, M., Leventi, C. and Schneider, J.-D. (2014) *Fairly Sharing the Social Impact of the Crisis in Greece*. OECD Economics Department Working Papers.
- Leontidou, L. (2014) The crisis and its discourses: Quasi-Orientalist attacks on Mediterranean urban spontaneity, informality and *joie de vivre*. *City* 18 (4–5), 551–562.
- Leontidou, L. (1990) *The Mediterranean city in transition: social change and urban development*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyberaki, A. and Tinios, P. (2014) The Informal Welfare State and the Family: Invisible Actors in the Greek Drama. *Political Studies Review* 12 (2), 193–208.

- Mouzelis, N.P. (1978) *Modern Greece: Facets of Underdevelopment*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Pagoulatos, G. (2018) *Greece after the Bailouts: Assessment of a Qualified Failure*. London, UK: Hellenic Observatory, European Institute30.
- Papadatos, D. in S Mavroudeas (editor), (2014) The Greek EU–IMF Memoranda: A problematic strategy for Greek capitalism. *Greek capitalism in crisis: Marxist analyses* New York: Routledge. .
- Papadopoulos, T. and Roumpakis, A. (2013) Familistic welfare capitalism in crisis: social reproduction and anti-social policy in Greece. *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy* 29 (3), 204–224.
- Papadopoulos, T. and Roumpakis, A. in N Ellison & T Haux (editors), (2020) Southern Europe. *Handbook on society and social policy* Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishin. .
- Papanastasiou, S. and Papatheodorou, C. in S Blum, J Kuhlmann & K Schubert (editors), (2019) ‘Liberalising’ social protection amid austerity in Greece. *Routledge Handbook of European Welfare Systems* 2nd Edition. Second edition. | Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, 2020. | Series: Routledge international handbooks | Earlier edition published in 2009 as: The handbook of European welfare systems.: Routledge. 220–236.
- Rakopoulos, T. (2015) Solidarity’s Tensions: Informality, Sociality, and the Greek Crisis. *Social Analysis* 59 (3), .
- Roy, A. (2005) Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 71 (2), 147–158.
- Teperoglou, E. and Tsatsanis, E. (2014) Dealignment, De-legitimation and the Implosion of the Two-Party System in Greece: The Earthquake Election of 6 May 2012. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 24 (2), 222–242.
- Vaiou, D. (2018) Rethinking Greece: Dina Vaiou on Greek feminist movements, austerity, the city of Athens and the ‘otherness’ of Greece. .
- Wacquant, L. (2012) Three steps to a historical anthropology of actually existing neoliberalism: A HISTORICAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF ACTUALLY EXISTING NEOLIBERALISM. *Social Anthropology* 20 (1), 66–79.
- Κάλφα, Κ. (2019) *Αυτοστέγαση, τώρα! Η αθέατη πλευρά της αμερικανικής βοήθειας στην Ελλάδα*. Αθήνα: Futura.
- Λύτρας, Α. (2010) *ΜΙΚΡΟ-ΑΣΤΙΚΗ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΟΡΓΑΝΩΣΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ*. .
- Μηλιός, Γ. in Σπύρος Σακελλαρόπουλος & Αντώνης Μωυσίδης (editors), (2010) Η ελληνική οικονομία κατά τον 20ο αιώνα. *Η Ελλάδα στον 19ο & 20ο αιώνα: Εισαγωγή στην Ελληνική Κοινωνία* Αθήνα: Τόπος, 259–288.
- Μηλιός, Γ. (2000) *Ο Ελληνικός Κοινωνικός Σχηματισμός: Από τον επεκτατισμό στην καπιταλιστική ανάπτυξη*. Εκδόσεις Κριτική.
- Νικολακόπουλος, Η. (2001) *Η καχεκτική δημοκρατία: κόμματα και εκλογές, 1946-1967 / Ηλίας Νικολακόπουλος*. Πατάκης.
- Χαραλάμπης, Δ. (1996) *Πελατειακές σχέσεις και λαϊκισμός: Η εξωθεσμική συναίνεση στο ελληνικό πολιτικό σύστημα*. Αθήνα: Εξάντας.

# TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR HOUSING OF SOCIAL INTEREST: PROCESSES FOR THE QUALITY OF SELF-CONSTRUCTION IN THE CITY OF RECIFE, BRAZIL.

**YURI DA COSTA, CARMEN CAVALCANTI, ANDRÉA STORCH, MARIA HELENA BARROS.**

**Yuri da Costa**, Undergraduate Student of Architecture and Urbanism Course, Catholic University of Pernambuco, **Carmen Cavalcanti**, Master in Development and Environment, Federal University of Pernambuco, Professor and Researcher at the Catholic University of Pernambuco, **Andréa Storch**, PhD in Urban Development, Federal University of Pernambuco, Professor and Researcher at the Catholic University of Pernambuco, **Maria Helena Barros**, Undergraduate Student of Architecture and Urbanism, Catholic University of Pernambuco.

## **Abstract**

The self-construction processes guided by architects and urban planners in Brazil is not a recent phenomenon in the country's history. The first moments of this type were recorded in the 1930s and in the years that followed these processes were erratic: they survived the dictatorial regime, but they barely resisted the effects of neoliberalism in Latin America. Currently in Brazil, the self-construction process guided by architects and urban planners has sought new paths, both in the edition of new laws that regulate this action, as well as initiatives in local governments, in the third sector of the economy and in universities. In this sense, the objective of this research is to verify which are the new ways that self-construction guided by architects and urban planners has found for low-income settlements in the city of Recife (Brazil), as this policy has helped in the process of more sustainable, democratic and resilient cities. In order to reach our objectives, we will base our studies on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG-UN), in addition to the studies of more collective cities by Richard Rogers (2015) and more democratic cities by Henry Lefebvre (2011). The research will also use the qualitative methodology of a descriptive character, according to Serra's guidelines (2006), this type of research allows to know and describe a study object in more depth, seeking to exhaust the knowledge on the themes chosen for the research. We will also use the analysis of the technical assistance processes performed by the Brazilian office of social architecture called Arquitetura Aberta, responsible for technical assistance for social housing in low-income settlements in the city of Recife (Brazil). As a result of this research, we hope to enrich the debate on the issue of self-construction and housing rights for the low-income population, to verify that the technical assistance processes for social housing can contribute to the formation of an environmental awareness, related to the concepts of sustainable development. With this, we will be able to verify that it is possible for the architect and urban planner to assist in the process of removing people from areas of extreme poverty and the lack of minimum living conditions and also contribute to the growth of cities in a peaceful way with the environment.

## Introduction

The last major Brazilian census (IBGE) released in 2011, brings disconcerting data: the city of Recife, capital of the state of Pernambuco in northeastern Brazil, has the 5th largest concentration of favelas in the country. A total of 852 thousand people live in housing with little structure and having to deal with low income and poor urban infrastructure. The census also reveals that about 102,271 dwellings are irregular, that is, they have been built or renovated in violation of city building laws. Studies by Miranda and Moraes (2006, pp.414) also point out that the city of Recife concentrates almost half of the housing needs of the large metropolitan area called the Metropolitan Region of Recife (RMR) and in 2000, about 592 thousand inhabitants (42 % of the population of Recife) lived in 150 thousand households located in areas of low income and precarious urbanization.

Despite all the numbers that indicate a need for professionals in architecture, engineering and urbanism, focused on the housing issue in the city of Recife, about 92% of the city's population performs construction and renovations in their homes without professional guidance, these are data from Regional Council of Architecture of the State of Pernambuco (CAU-PE, 2015). These two realities: on the one hand, people who are informally living in the favelas and, on the other, insufficient access by the population to the technical services of architects, urban planners and engineers, demonstrate that new paths are urgent for issues of informality and social housing.

It is in this direction that Technical Assistance for Housing of Social Interest (TAHSI), technical services in architecture and urbanism and engineering, which are necessary to guarantee the Right to Dignified Housing for low-income families, appear in the investigation. Technical Assistance is currently guaranteed by the Brazilian federal law number 11,888 (2008) and guarantees specialized help from architects, urban planners and engineers for families with monthly income of up to three minimum wages (about R \$ 3,135.00 - Brazilian Real or U \$ 560.00 - Dollar).

Although the law that regulates Technical Assistance is recent, strategies and public policies aimed at the production of informal housing are not recent in the history of Brazil, since the mid-1930s, Brazilian cities have sought answers to the growing population density, which demonstrates that the issue is profound and needs further scientific discussions about it.

Once we established the level of the problem in the city of Recife, and we realized that public policies for guaranteeing housing for the low-income population have not had the desired effect since the 1930s, some questions must be asked: how does Technical Assistance for Housing of Social Interest (TAHSI) can contribute to a new path in housing policies in the city of Recife? If cities have laws that guarantee the services of architects, urban planners and engineers, why is the percentage of population using technical services so low?

To answer these questions, we will follow the following steps: 1st to identify the trajectory of the Brazilian Social Housing Policies and to identify positive and negative aspects, 2nd To understand the application of Technical Assistance for Social Interest Housing (TAHSI) seeking to understand what are the obstacles that this instrument of housing policies in the city of Recife, 3 ° Analyze the action of an architecture office in the city of Recife called Arquitetura Aberta, and verify its contributions to the issue of social housing in the city of Recife.

## Trajectory of Social Housing in Brazil

To understand the theme of Social Housing in Brazil, it is necessary to go back to the period when the country was a Portuguese colony, between the years 1530 to 1822, as it is in this period that ideals of slave, elitist and landowning society are responsible for shaping a large part of Brazilian urban and land legislation over the centuries.

The Royal Law of 1536 already implemented a land division system in accordance with the interests of Portuguese elites who intended to explore and populate Brazilian lands, in the following years, several documents shape conceptions of the prevalence of private property under collective interests.

It was only after the promulgation of the Federal Constitution in 1934 that some values started to be incorporated by the Brazilian legal system and public policies. During this period, Brazil was undergoing important political changes under the Getúlio Vargas government. Some social achievements were decisive for the formation of housing policies in the country. The 1934 Constitution brings innovations such as: Federative Republic as a form of Government, Female Vote, Free and compulsory education, in addition to conquests for workers' rights. The 1930s is responsible for the consolidation of a pattern of urban-industrial accumulation in Brazilian cities to be supported by the Government of Brazil, guaranteeing a strong public expansion in the subsequent decades (Melo, 1990, pp.01).

In this scenario, we can find the first actions in Brazilian Social Housing. The first news we have is with the IAPs (Retirement and Pension Institutes), where the Brazilian State is concerned with producing housing of social interest (Baron, 2011). The IAPs were responsible for guaranteeing retirement and pensions for workers and their dependents, providing health care and producing and financing housing for their members. The housing projects of IAPs were aimed at various population levels from housing popular upscale housing, for richer populations.



*Figure 1. Example of Social Housing Production sponsored by IAPs in the city of Rio de Janeiro in 1950. Seafarers' Housing Complex. (Bonduki, 2014).*



*Figure 2. Example of Social Housing Production sponsored by IAPs in the city of Recife in 1950. Jóia Building. (Baron, 2011).*

Another important moment in the history of social housing in Brazil was the Casa Popular Foundation, founded in 1964, it was the first Government Institution in Brazil specifically focused on the housing issue and, in addition to the construction of popular houses, was responsible for: financing of urban infrastructure works, social service actions, financing for the purchase of construction materials and equipment and support for research and construction processes on low-income housing for each region of Brazil.

According to Melo (1990) the Casa Popular Foundation was a response of the State to the strong national housing crisis that hit the big cities of Brazil (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Brasília, Belo Horizonte, were cities that received projects and studies at that time). The Foundation had a short duration, ended up not consolidating itself in the face of political crises and abrupt changes of Brazilian Governments (Melo, 1990, pp.41), for this reason it had an insignificant production (only 20 thousand units were built, 202 housing units in 141 municipalities).



Figure 3. Example of Social Housing Production by Casa Popular Foundation. Pedregulho Housing Complex by Brazilian architect Affonso Reidy, Rio de Janeiro, 1947 (Bonduki, 2014).

Positive experiences of social interest housing were recorded in Cajueiro Seco, located in the State of Pernambuco - northeastern Brazil - in 1962 under the direction of the analyzes of the architect and urban planner Acácio Gil Borsoi, where the project took into account origins of assisted self-construction and assistance contemporary collective work programs (Inglez de Souza, 2009). The experience of the architect Acácio Gil Borsoi in Cajueiro Seco (region close to the capital of the State of Pernambuco, Recife) is considered as one of the first movements of Technical Assistance for Housing of Social Interest (TAHSI), once an important system was created: technical design architects and urban planners, popular participation in the process and financing from the public authorities.

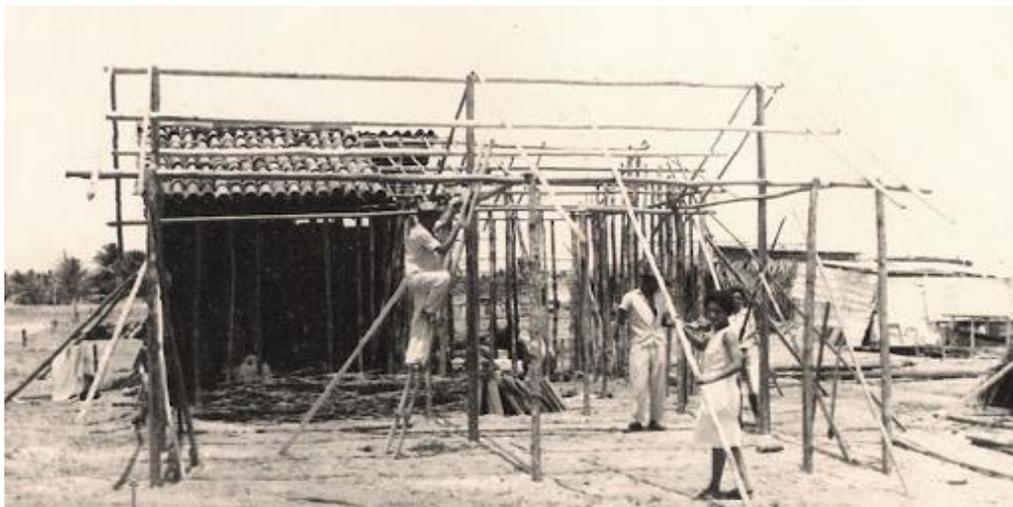


Figure 4. Example of Social Housing Production in the State of Pernambuco (Brazil). Cajueiro Seco Project by architect Acácio Gil Borsoi, 1962 (Bonduki, 2014).

Borsoi's work takes place in what is considered an intermediate period between the democratic regime and the beginning of the dictatorship period and it was a period marked by proposals aimed at creating new structures and strategies for the housing area, however, the actions did not last. . The

establishment of the military government has disrupted all policies and actions in progress, especially those with a more social objective (for low-income settlements).

Housing policies only started to be intensified after the emergence of the National Housing Bank in the 1960s, a period in which the country also faced a dictatorial regime (1964-1986), at this moment a policy of constant investment of resources was created to guarantee long-term housing finance and massive housing production.

According to Azevedo (1988, pp.109) the main motivation for the creation of the National Housing Bank was a new political order. According to the Bank's creators, the remarkable performance in the production of popular houses should allow the emerging military regime to obtain the sympathy of large sectors of the Brazilian population, already very concerned and affected by the lack of housing and infrastructure conditions.

Despite the need, the trajectory of the National Housing Bank's policies did not guarantee the satisfaction of the needs of the low-income population, this period was marked by the construction of standardized projects, without any concern with the social, geographical and climatic context, often in areas environmental fragility. For Silva and Tourinho (2015), the reasons for this behavior are in the way of interpreting Brazilian soil, as a financial product where lands located in areas with infrastructure, therefore more valued, present more expensive values when compared to other lands, where the value land is cheaper.

This model is directly connected to capitalist and neoliberalist values, where those individuals who are the owners of urban means of production (real estate market, elites, landowners, private agents, Real State) despoil / exploit people who are not urban producers ( low income population), the result is processes of expulsion, gentrification, creation of urban voids, degradation of urban centers, in addition to the precariousness of housing and emptying of housing policies.

The policy of the National Housing Bank also benefits from some instruments created by the Former Government of Getúlio Vargas (President of Brazil at the time), such as, for example, the creation of permanent financing policies for the purchase and reform of housing, creation of the Fund Guarantee for Working Time (called FGTS, financial contribution of employers for working time of the working class), in addition to encouraging family savings. Despite the massive production of housing (never before in the history of Brazil has so much housing been built), the period was also marked by embezzlement and political and financial corruption hidden under the secrecy of the power of the military that commanded the country at that time.

At that time, the production of social housing for the low-income population was focused on areas far from urban centers, without infrastructure, in more peripheral areas, or even rural areas, precariously occupying these areas (Silva and Tourinho, 2015).

Currently, the issue of social housing finds support in important legal instruments conquered from the introduction of the right to housing as a social right provided for in Article 6 of the Federal Constitution of 1988, such as the City Statute (2001) and the Law on Technical Assistance for Social Interest Housing (2008), however its effectiveness is far from the reality of low-income populations.

Data from the Brazilian census in 2010 reveal that there are more than 5.1 million households in precarious conditions in Brazil and that they are part of more than 13.1 thousand "Subnormal Agglomerates", which are forms of irregular land occupation, characterized by an irregular urban pattern, lack of essential public services and location in areas with restrictions on occupation. Statistics show that despite the history of social housing, little progress has been made to resolve the issue,

populations remain without water supply, energy supply, basic sanitation and garbage collection, for example.

The strengthening of policies that privilege social housing is essential to improve this scenario, even because, according to Iacovini (2014), the right to housing is the gateway to other social rights, such as the right to health, education, equality, justice, among others. Therefore, social housing is aligned with the values of the Sustainable Development Goals in Brazil, it can be responsible for actions that combat the eradication of poverty, that guarantee drinking water and sanitation, as well as the generation of health, well-being and reduction inequalities.

### **Technical Assistance For Housing of Social Interest (TAHSI)**

Among the possible ways to create more resilient, sustainable and healthy places, TAHSI also needs to be taken into account. The population increase in large Brazilian cities that originated from the Industrialization process with low wages brought with it a series of housing problems and public initiatives created in response to this problem never managed to solve it satisfactorily (Santos and Gonçalves, 2015).

The battle for the creation of free technical assistance, aimed at the homes of the poorest families, has a long way to go. It started in the mid-1970s, through the actions of a group of architects in southern Brazil, including Carlos Maximiliano Fayet. Fayet was responsible for the creation of ATME - Technical Assistance to Economic Housing (Santos and Gonçalves, 2015).

In the following decades, Clóvis Ilgenfritz, a Brazilian politician and architect, initiated a first law project that made the City Statute certify free technical assistance as one of the ways to properly apply the social functions of cities and urban properties (Santos and Gonçalves, 2015).

In 2006, the law project was approved by Brazilian deputies and senators and promulgated in 2008, constituting the Federal Law 11.888, known as the Public Technical Assistance Act and is free of charge for the Design and Construction of Social Housing. It came into force the following year and today it is an achievement towards more dignified housing in Brazil.

According to the law, TAHSI is responsible for creating popular housing projects, improving existing properties and land regularization. Beneficiary families can live in both urban and rural areas, but need to earn less than three minimum wages.

It is a policy that ensures adequate and sustainable housing for the low-income population, in addition to being responsible for creating new economic cycles in local commerce, generating income and work fields in the construction area. Technical Assistance also fits perfectly into the concepts of sustainability and the objectives of the UN, since it directly influences the improvement of the quality of life and reduces the expenses with public health associated with the health conditions of the housing.

To support TAHSI actions is to remove Brazil from an unpleasant position, since the country currently ranks 112th in the ranking of Basic Sanitation worldwide. A worrying fact, aggravated by the health crisis caused by Covid19. The idea of a sustainable city must, therefore, first of all pass through concepts of quality of housing, housing, urbanization, with basic sanitation being a fundamental instrument.

Free Technical Assistance also needs to be interpreted as a fundamental triangle where there is a mandatory presence of 3 actors: the government (represented by the municipality), technical assistance (a body qualified to prepare the projects, we can include architects and urban planners, engineers, lawyers, surveyors, social service agents, psychologists and other professionals who fit the

needs of residents) and the population (represented by social movements, community and residents' associations, etc.). Once this triangle is constituted, TAHSI will always materialize and the housing improvement process will complete its cycle without major obstacles.

The work with Free Technical Assistance involves the work of several professionals in addition to the architect, urban planner and engineer, and can also be developed within a larger global ecological scale, with research, education and technical assistance from environmental science professionals. In line with issues of use of local raw material, reuse of construction materials, restoration of objects and passive strategies for climatic comfort.

The implementation of the Social Assistance Technical Assistance policy can be an important tool in solving the housing conditions of the low-income population, since it seeks to assist in an already existing process of self-construction. Technical assistance conducts interviews with families in need of a project to improve their homes, investigates the profile of the inhabitants, their wishes, tastes, and needs. TAHSI can also be responsible for assisting the land regularization process, it is also able to guide improvements in infrastructure, sewage and drinking water distribution.

These values of improving the housing conditions of low-income populations in large cities can also be a sustainable development strategy, since according to Rogers (2015, pp. 14) "half of the world's population lives in cities and within 30 years, this proportion could reach up to three quarters of the inhabitants on the planet".

The issue of improving housing for the low-income population in large cities in Latin America is a challenge for sustainable development, since it is necessary to find ways to remove citizens from the condition of extreme poverty and at the same time to provide them with decent housing, possibility of development without degrading the environment. For Rogers (2015, pp.15) we must "meet our current needs without compromising future generations and actively drive our development in favor of the majority of the world - the poorest".

The current conditions of a society in a pandemic realize that housing is no longer limited to a singularity. Human habitation is not just a home, a shelter. The idea of human housing takes on a collective meaning, it must be interpreted as issues of urban planning, infrastructure, health, education, leisure, social assistance and ecological awareness. The city can only be understood as a work associated with social relations, a production and reproduction of human beings by humans, it is the work of a story, composed of urban phenomena generated through its composition and its functioning with its constituent elements (Lefebvre, 2001).

This will become the contemporary concept for housing. Free technical assistance, therefore, is a social right of the population and not a mere provision of the State when it suits it, nor much less the responsibility of entities or the real estate market. It is a constitutional guarantee for the Brazilian citizen and must be protected by everyone.

### **Arquitetura Aberta Experience: Technical Assistance and Sustainability in the context of Recife (Brazil)**

The Arquitetura Aberta office was conceived by architect and professor Msc Carmen Cavalcanti, acquired through various works developed for the low-income population. The office is part of the Social Architecture Laboratory of the Catholic University of Pernambuco (UNICAP, Brazil), and is also related to the University's extension project with support from the Antônio Santo Branches Foundation (FASA). Arquitetura Aberta is a social architecture office that was driven by a survey

conducted by the Council of Architecture and Urbanism, (CAU-PE, 2015) that reveals worrying data from the Brazilian reality, only 7% (seven percent) of Brazilian families already used the services of an architect and another 70% (seventy percent) said that they would hire a professional in the area, such data reveal the need for the dissemination of architectural service and an alternative to work in the labor market. As already discussed before, the rates in the city of Recife are even worse, about 92% of the population does not use the services of architects and urban planners to renovate and build their homes.

This result highlights the urgency for social architecture programs in the country, whether due to real demand or mandatory compliance with Federal Law No. 11888 of 2008 (Law of Technical Assistance for Social Interest Housing), which ensures the right of families of low-income public and free technical assistance.

Arquitetura Aberta came on the scene at a culminating moment, as an impact project for low-income communities and aimed at quality of life, aiming to serve the disadvantaged population in terms of architectural service and offering the opportunity to develop skills for their own execution project, like "do it yourself". The Arquitetura Aberta program took place in two areas of the city of Recife, where low-income populations live: Padre José Edwaldo Housing Complex and João de Barros Low-Income Community.

Arquitetura Aberta Office is coordinated by professors from the Catholic University of Pernambuco (UNICAP), which makes teaching, research and practice inseparable. UNICAP assimilated Arquitetura Aberta Office as an opportunity for University Extension, which understands that "it is an interdisciplinary educational, cultural, scientific and political process that promotes transformative interaction between universities and other sectors of society.

Arquitetura Aberta Office is also formed by a process in tune with sustainability and citizenship, which impacts on low-income communities, it is also geared towards new forms of economic and political awareness arising from debates on the global ecological crisis. Arquitetura Aberta actions also include scientific research within the UNICAP Social Architecture Laboratory, where teachers and students investigate, study and analyze social housing and self-construction projects carried out by inhabitants of low-income settlements.

The starting point of this process is compliance with Brazilian Federal Law 11.888 (2008), which ensures the right of low-income families to free public technical assistance for the design and construction of social housing, as an integral part of the right social housing. The legislation provides the parameters for the Arquitetura Aberta firm to act, it is that which allows the technical assistance work to cover topics such as recycling, reuse of materials, environmental education and passive strategies to reduce energy consumption, for example.

The legislation is also responsible for describing the main attributions of each of the actors involved in the tripod of the formation of a TAHSI, and is also responsible for detailing the practical aspects such as: rights and duties, forms of financing, competences, target audience and areas preferred activities of free technical assistance projects for low-income people.

Another important point for the beginning of the Arquitetura Aberta process is the individualized service to provide the architectural project, making it possible to access a qualified and more efficient technical service, since it is directly directed to the needs of that group of people. This is important, because traditionally in Brazil, social housing productions are mass projects, which do not have typological wealth and much less care for the interests of the families who will inhabit those spaces,

the long-term result is projects that are bound to undergo irregular reforms, advancement of public space and compromise of urban infrastructure.



*Figure 5. Assistance to families in low-income communities, an essential part of the Arquitetura Aberta process. (The authors, 2020).*

The third step in the process of the Arquitetura Aberta office concerns the development of skills of the inhabitants involved in the actions of TAHSI in order to strengthen their human and social capital, through thematic workshops for the reuse of waste, extending the useful life of material goods and making products for own use or business opportunity. The primary intention is to empower the people in the transformation process provided by TAHSI, to make the process natural, respecting the traditions and interests of the community, in accordance with the United Nations' sustainable cities precepts.



*Figure 6. Skills development of the inhabitants of low-income communities, in this photo a workshop to create recycled plastic panels for use in the bathroom and kitchen walls. (The authors, 2020).*



*Figure 7. Skills development of the inhabitants of low-income communities, in this photo a workshop for the reuse of wood and the manufacture of furniture for their homes. (The authors, 2020.)*

The fourth step in the office process is the mobilization to integrate a community through all those involved (adults, youth and children) through what we call Communication Agents, at this moment communication skills are developed for young people from low-income communities, in order to make the process more humanized and narrated by the protagonists themselves.

The idea is that the residents themselves are actors and producers of their history, who through this incentive become critics of the reality and the relations of hegemony and power that often surround their daily problems, that it is possible to create a collective conscience focused to the struggle of your interests.

The experiences of the Arquitetura Aberta as a Technical Assistance office indicate that it is possible to improve the housing conditions of the low-income population of the city of Recife and, at the same time, to form an ecological awareness among the inhabitants. The workshops held with recycled materials, with non-polluting techniques, prove that the population is ready to introduce more sustainable practices in their daily lives, however, it must be said that specific actions will not solve the issues as a whole. It is necessary that local governments are more involved in the process of improving the housing of the low-income population, that they consider decent housing as the primary cell of urban development, but that they also carry out larger infrastructure projects, basic sanitation, sewage, mobility, accessibility, landscaping and restoration of damaged environmental areas.

One of the results that we can observe from the Arquitetura Aberta process is the indication of a possible path within the planning of large cities: that future social housing policies involve the inhabitants, carry out investigation of the profile of families and customize the architectural projects according to the mapped needs, that the inhabitants are also encouraged to develop sustainable development skills, as the growth of these areas is something urgent and can generate greater environmental impacts in the big cities of Latin America.

Another important result confirmed by the Arquitetura Aberta process is the need to engage inhabitants to benefit from the Technical Assistance project. It is this popular participation that ensures better efficiency in the process, since the suggested architectural changes are in line with the needs of the residents and will avoid situations of renovation and irregular construction, which can further compromise the quality of life of the inhabitants of low-income settlements. .

With the objectives of the SDG-UN always as an element in the Technical Assistance process, it will be possible to expand the idea that Rogers (2015) talks about, “a redefinition of wealth to include natural capital: clean air, drinking water, ozone layer effective, unpolluted sea, fertile land and species diversity”, the ultimate goal must always be sustainable economic and urban development, leaving for future generations a reserve of natural capital equal to or greater than our own heritage.

### **Final Remarks**

The objective of this research was to portray the evolution of Social Housing and Technical Assistance policies for self-construction processes in low-income settlements in the city of Recife (Brazil), with the history of this evolution we were able to demonstrate the difficulties that the low-income population has to deal with in having access to specialized services from architects, engineers and urban planners.

This trajectory of Social Housing and Technical Assistance reveals an urgent situation in Recife: a need to change paradigms and attitudes in housing policies and the need to invest in actions aimed at improving housing conditions in low-income settlements. For this, we need to define Technical Assistance for Social Interest Housing as an important policy instrument for decent housing, it was also necessary to understand its regulation through law 11888 (2008).

However, just being in the field of theory could not be enough to point out new paths for social housing, it is at this moment that we bring the experience of the Social Architecture office called Arquitetura Aberta.

With the process implemented by the Arquitetura Aberta, it was possible to verify that in order for TAHSI to be effective, it is necessary to fulfill three requirements: professional assistance from architects, engineers and urban planners, participation of the inhabitants of low-income settlements and participation and financing by the public authorities, the lack one of these elements undermines the ultimate goal - improving the quality of housing.

With this process it was also possible to verify that it is necessary not only to individualize the care of the families benefited by the Technical Assistance, but also to allow the inhabitants to be responsible for the registration, narrative of the process, as a way of empowering the whole situation. For this, involving children, youth and adults with thematic workshops on skills development proved to be an excellent strategy.

Finally, another result obtained through the research was the finding that it is possible to remove people from unsafe housing conditions and, at the same time, reduce impacts on the environment. Thus, workshops, lectures, skills development and the use of recycled materials also function as important instruments for social housing policies.

We believe that this can be an important contribution to future projects of Technical Assistance for Housing of Social Interest, assisting inhabitants of low-income settlements in the process of improving minimum housing conditions and at the same time guaranteeing the preservation of the environment for future generations.

### **References**

Azevedo, S. 1988. Vinte e dois anos de políticas de habitação popular (1964-86): criação, trajetória e extinção do BNH. *Revista de Administração Pública*, [online]. Available at:

<<http://bibliotecadigital.fgv.br/ojs/index.php/rap/article/view/9391/8458> > [Accessed in 17 September 2020].

Baron, C.M.P., 2011. A produção da habitação e os conjuntos habitacionais dos institutos de aposentadorias e pensões – IAP. *Revista Tópos*, [online]. Available at: <<https://revista.fct.unesp.br/index.php/topos/issue/view/185> > [Accessed in 28 September 2020].

Bonduki, N. 2014. *Pioneiros da habitação social*. 1st ed. São Paulo: Editora Unesp.

Iacovini, R.F.G., 2014. *Os significados do direito à moradia como porta de entrada para outros direitos*. São Paulo: Revista Contraste.

Inglez de Souza, D.B., 2009. *Reconstruindo Cajueiro Seco: arquitetura, política social e cultura popular em Pernambuco (1960-64)*. Msc: Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, Universidade de São Paulo.

Lefebvre, H. 2011. *Direito à cidade*. 3rd ed. São Paulo: Centauro.

Melo, M.A.B.C. 1990. Política de habitação e populismo: o caso da fundação da casa popular. *Revista de Urbanismo e Arquitetura*, [online] Available at: <<https://portalseer.ufba.br/index.php/rua/article/view/3105/2222>> [Accessed in 20 September 2020].

Miranda, L., Moraes, D., 2007. O plano de regularização das zonas especiais de interesse social (PREZEIS) do Recife. In: A.L. Cardoso, ed. 2007. *Habitação social nas metrópoles brasileiras: uma avaliação das políticas habitacionais em Belém, Belo Horizonte, Porto Alegre, Recife, Rio de Janeiro e São Paulo no final do século XX*. Porto Alegre: ANTAC. pp.414-435.

Pernambuco State Council of Architecture and Urbanism. 2015. *Society's perceptions of Architecture and Urbanism*. [online] Recife: Pernambuco State Council of Architecture and Urbanism, CAU-PE (Published in 2015) Available at: < <https://www.caupe.gov.br/pesquisa-inedita-percepcoes-da-sociedade-sobre-arquitetura-e-urbanismo/>> [Accessed in 7 October 2020].

Presidency of the Brazilian Republic. 2008. *Technical Assistance Law*. [online] Brasília: Federal government (Published in 2008) Available at: < [http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/ato2007-2010/2008/lei/l11888.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ato2007-2010/2008/lei/l11888.htm) > [Accessed in 10 September 2020].

Rogers, R., 2015. *Cidades para um pequeno planeta*. 1st ed. 8th rep. São Paulo: Gustavo Gilli.

Santos, J.S.S., Gonçalves, T.S. 2015. Assistência técnica como política pública: o caso do escritório público de Salvador. *Revista Campo do Saber*, [online] Available at: < <http://periodicos.iesp.edu.br/index.php/campodosaber/article/view/11> > [Accessed in 18 September 2020].

Serra, G., 2006. *Pesquisa em arquitetura e urbanismo: guia prático para o trabalho de pesquisadores em pós-graduação*. São Paulo: Edusp/Mandarim.

Silva, M.L., Tourinho, H.L.Z., 2015. O Banco Nacional de Habitação e o Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida: duas políticas habitacionais e uma mesma lógica locacional. *Cadernos Metrópole* [online]. Available at: <[https://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S2236-99962015000200401&script=sci\\_arttext](https://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S2236-99962015000200401&script=sci_arttext) > [Accessed in 25 September 2020].