

CULTURAL STUDIES '18

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

CULTURAL STUDIES '18 / II. International Conference on Cultural Studies

Conference Proceedings

ISBN: 978-605-9207-97-3

Özgür Öztürk DAKAM YAYINLARI

May 2018, İstanbul.

2nd Edition

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)

II. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CULTURAL STUDIES

CULTURAL STUDIES '18

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

CONTENTS

KEYNOTE LECTURE OF THE CULTURAL STUDIES '18 CONFERENCE: A RELATIONAL ONTOLOGY FOR PEACE	
<i>AYÇA DEMET ATAY</i>	6
CRITICAL ISSUES BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE WHEN APPLIED IN CONSERVATION	
<i>ANDRÉS ARMANDO SÁNCHEZ HERNÁNDEZ, MAURA MARGARITA TEUTLI LEÓN</i>	13
THE REGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF COURTYARD HOUSE OF GENTRY CLASS IN THE SICHUAN AREA, SOUTHWEST CHINA IN 19TH CENTURY: WITH A COURTYARD HOUSE CALLED “HUI LONG ZHUANG” LOCATED IN CHONGQING AS AN EXAMPLE	
<i>GUANLAN XIAO, YUANJIAN LIU, JIDONG LIU</i>	18
UNDERSTANDING ORIENTALISM IN POST-COLONIAL TIMES THROUGH NARRATIVE INQUIRY OF INDIGENOUS CORE OF NAGPUR CITY (INDIA)	
<i>NIVEDITA FADNIS, ANAND WADWEKAR</i>	26
CONVULSIONS IN ROJHAZ AND VIRGINIA’S IDENTITIES IN <i>MARVEL 1602 #2</i>	
<i>AYŞEGÜL YILDIZ</i>	39
KABYLES’ DECISION MAKING PROCESS IN MIGRATING: PUSH-PULL FACTORS AND DESTINATION CHOICE	
<i>IMENE HAMANI</i>	46
FROM IMPERIALISM TO MULTICULTURALISM: A STUDY OF PAUL SCOTT’S <i>THE JEWEL IN THE CROWN</i>	
<i>BHASKAR CHETTRI, DHANANJAY TRIPATHI</i>	58
RELIGION, GLOBALIZATION & CONSUMERISM: THE RISE OF THE HIJABISTA	
<i>YASMEEN ABU TARBUSH</i>	65

UNDERSTANDING ORIENTALISM IN POST-COLONIAL TIMES THROUGH NARRATIVE INQUIRY OF INDIGENOUS CORE OF NAGPUR CITY (INDIA)	
<i>NIVEDITA FADNIS, ANAND WADWEKAR</i>	78
REPRESENTATIONS OF ANDROIDS AS THE ‘OTHERED’ AGENCIES AND QUEERS OF THE FUTURE IN SCIENCE FICTION	
<i>NAILE BERBEROGLU</i>	90
MIGRANTS’ CULTURAL RIGHTS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRATION AND ASYLUM POLICY	
<i>BAHIJA JAMAL</i>	91
ANITA NAIR’S MISTRESS: A REVIVAL/SURVIVAL STRATEGY OF INDIGENOUS CULTURES	
<i>ARPITA GHOSH</i>	92
MINDFULNESS BASED STRESS REDUCTION ACROSS CULTURES AND RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS	
<i>JUSTIN THOMAS</i>	93
CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF POST-CONFLICT KASHMIR; NEGOTIATING IDENTITY IN THE EVERYDAY	
<i>NEELAM RAINA, ZAHRA HUSSAIN</i>	93
TRANSFORMATION OF THE PUBLIC CULTURE THROUGH THE URBAN SPACES IN ISTANBUL	
<i>YEKTA OZGUVEN</i>	95

KEYNOTE LECTURE OF THE CULTURAL STUDIES '18 CONFERENCE:

A RELATIONAL ONTOLOGY FOR PEACE

AYÇA DEMET ATAY

Dear colleagues, distinguished guests,

“Thou shalt not kill”

It is a moral imperative not only of Torah but of many diverse streams of religious and secular thought. Yet there is murder, killing, massacre and war all around the world. Even when we don't kill by swords or guns we kill by words. Peace researcher Johan Galtung differentiates between three different forms of violence: direct, structural and cultural. Galtung later added a fourth category to this typology as that of environmental violence, which is done by the human kind to nature.

Direct violence is obvious, visible to bare eye, whereas structural and cultural violence need more attention. In Galtung's words, “Structural violence is silent, it does not show- it is essentially static, it is the tranquil waters”, which “may be seen as about as natural as the air around us” (1969, p. 173). Structural violence can be understood as a system of political, economic or social relations creating barriers for people that they cannot remove, and that affect their lives negatively. The economic, social or political injustices caused by the capitalist mode of production can be given as examples to structural violence. By cultural violence, Galtung refers to those aspects of culture such as religion, ideology, language, art and science “that can be used to justify or legitimize direct and structural violence” (1990, p. 291). Cultural violence makes direct and structural violence legitimate, right and, hence, invisible. In Galtung's words “Direct violence is an *event*; structural violence is a *process* with ups and down; cultural violence is an *invariant*, a ‘permanence’” (p. 294). He gives the examples of slavery and racism to explain these three forms of violence. Africans were enslaved and brought to Americas to work as slaves. During this process, on the way or in the plantations, thousands of them were killed, which was direct violence. With institutionalized slavery in the United States, violence became structural with white Americans playing the role of “masters” and Africans becoming “slaves”. This was a process, which ended with the abolishment of slavery. Yet, cultural violence against African Americans in the forms of racism and hate speech still continues. We can add other forms of cultural violence to the list such as xenophobia and misogyny.

Galtung talks about two forms of peace: negative and positive peace, with the former referring to the absence of direct violence, and the latter as reaching a peace culture where not only direct violence but also structural and cultural violence are overcome. “Peace” is a polysemic concept. In Jake Lynch's words “peace is notoriously polysemic, to the point where it can sometimes seem to mean all things to all people” (2014, p.46). Defining peace is a political act, which takes place within power relations. For instance, in St. Augustine's words peace is the “tranquillity of order”. But “tranquillity” may result from oppressive power relations that prevail in a society. Tranquillity in Augustinian sense points to a non-egalitarian society, where everyone knows her place and acts accordingly; that is an unjust society, in which cultural violence renders various forms of domination and exploitation natural, and, hence, invisible.

Peace must be “based on attempts to discern and live by peaceful values at every level: from our interiority... to relations within families and workplaces and among communities, nations and civilizations” (Lynch, 2014, p.47).

“Peace” from this perspective is a cultural question. It is about reaching a peace culture, which necessitates a form of self-other relationship based on a relational ontology. What is meant by relational ontology? The dominant modern philosophical heritage rests on some ontological presuppositions, namely, the “atomistic ontology” of Western modernity (Reddekop, 2014) or “euromodernity” (Grossberg, 2010).

Self is a cultural construct and each culture formulates its own definition of what makes a human being. Cross and Gore note (2012) that each culture presents its own meaning system to the individual, which includes “beliefs about the nature of the person, what makes an ideal person, and the person’s purpose in life. These beliefs come together to form presupposed, taken-for-granted cultural models of the world that shape self’s relation with the other. Cross and Gore write that “These widely shared understandings are shaped throughout childhood and beyond by stories, injunctions, morality tales, media, traditions, and everyday practices; over time, they become tacit, “natural” or “obvious” ways of understanding oneself, one’s relationships, and the world” (p. 588)

People in different cultures have different understandings of self and its relationship to the other. In Western cultural traditions “self” is perceived as an independent, unique and complete individual who exists prior to society (p. 588). This conceptualization of independent self is sovereign and self-sufficient whose fabric is not constituted by social relationships and who owes nothing to society. As Dunne writes, this understanding of self has permeated much of modern culture and “has shaped self-image of everyone now living in industrial societies” (1996, p. 137). This independent self enters into social relations as she finds it useful. The social contract theories of Hobbes and Locke, for instance, describe this individual as entering into social relationships for calculative reasons. Hobbesian depiction of the independent self is a Robinson-Crusoe-like “atomistic and solitary” individual (p.138), who enters “into a social contract as a means to maximize his/her own individually considered interests” (Christians, 2010, p. 17). The moral and political obligations of this individual to the common good are dependent on this contract.

This independent self construal reflects the analytical thinking which has its roots in ancient Greek philosophy. As Nisbett and his colleagues note, analytical thinking views the world as a collection of separable discrete objects, and focuses on categories and rules to understand the behavior of objects (Nisbett, Peng, Choi, & Norenzayan, 2001). Analytical thinking involves “detachment of the object from its context” and focuses on categories and rules to understand the behavior of the object independent of its context. The ancient Greeks viewed the world as a collection of discrete objects having stable and universal properties which reside in themselves. For example, Aristotle explained a stone’s falling through the air as being due to the stone having the property of “gravity” (pp. 293-294). The individualism of the modern Western culture rests on this analytical worldview, which defines the person by stable and enduring properties, separate from her context (Cross & Gore, 2012, p. 591).

On the other hand, collectivist cultures view the self and the other as interdependent. Persons are viewed as being constituted within the web of relationships. Priority is given to in-groups rather than the individual. Here, “the socially valued person seeks to fit into or harmonize with relationship partners or ingroups” such as families, work groups and communities (p. 588). Hofstede (1983,2001,2011) claims that collectivist cultures stress belonging. In these societies, people develop “we” consciousness as opposed to the “I” consciousness of individualistic societies. For instance, the word “I” is avoided in languages of collectivist cultures, whereas in individualistic cultures, “I” is indispensable (Hofstede, 2011, p.11). In collectivist cultures, “interaction with others produces a sense of self as connected to, related to, or interdependent with others” (Markus and Kitayama, 2010, p. 423)

Individualism and collectivism do not constitute mutually exclusive categories; rather they can be conceptualized as a spectrum on which societies can be assessed (Hofstede, 1983, 2001; Triandis

2004). Also, individualism and collectivism are not monolithic categories. Triandis (1995, 2004) distinguishes between horizontal and vertical forms of both individualism and collectivism. In horizontally individualistic cultures, people view themselves as equal but independent of one another. Triandis gives Scandinavian countries as examples to horizontal individualism. Vertical individualism refers to cultures, in which people view themselves as unequal but independent. There is an asymmetrical power relation between the self and the other. Triandis writes that “vertical individualism is more common in the US, especially in competitive situations, where people want to be ‘the best’ and to be noticed by others” (p.91). The same notion of hierarchical power relations applies to collectivism as well. In horizontal collectivism the individual sees herself as interdependent and equal with the others members of the community, whereas in vertical collectivism, the self is interdependent within a hierarchically structured community. Triandis gives the example of Israeli kibbutz to horizontal collectivism and rural China or India to vertical collectivism (p.91). I would add traditional Middle Eastern cultures also as examples to vertical collectivism.

Yet, individualism and collectivism are not binary oppositions; they may coexist. A person can have both collectivist and individualist tendencies. Triandis writes that studies suggest that people who are high in both collectivism and individualism are better adjusted and can deal with adversities more successfully (Triandis, 2004, p.89).

Individualism and collectivism are based on different ontologies. Individualism rests on what Reddekop refers to as the atomistic ontology of Western modernity (2014). This ontological view produced capitalism with its consumer society in the Anthropocene or the human epoch denoting the current geological age viewed as the period during which human activity has destructively dominated the environment.

We need to listen to discussions in ecological ethics about the need for relational ontology, and we can pull its strings to culture and peace. We moderns or “liquid” moderns, as Zygmunt Bauman would call us, need to change our ontology, in other words, our mode of being and doing. We need to stop thinking about ourselves as isolated and separated entities, and rather view our relation with the outer world as existing interdependently.

At this point I want to refer to three traditions of non-Western relational ontology: Buddhist doctrine of *paticca samuppāda*, or dependent co-origination, African ethic of *Ubuntu*, and Comanche care ethic.

Buddhist ontology explains existence as a chain of dependent emergence. According to the doctrine of *paticca samuppāda*, or dependent co-origination, the existence of self depends on the existence of the other. In other words, things do not exist on their own, but they are parts of an interdependent whole (Atay, 2016), and they cannot exist apart from the other. In this view, “reality appears as a dynamically interdependent process” with all parts existing within “a web of mutual causal interaction”, where “cause and effect cannot be categorically isolated or traced unidirectionally” (Macy, 1991, pp.18-19). In this understanding of the world “all beings affect others in every action and are responsible for the consequences of those actions” (Peterson, 2001, p. 86).

This relational ontology calls the construct of the independent and sovereign self into question and invites us to a more inclusive and extensive identity, what Harold Coward called as “we-self” (Coward cited in Gross, 1997, p. 338). Awareness of interdependent co-existence leads us to acknowledge that “we do not stop at the borders of our skin” (p.338). Our existence depends on the co-existence of the living and the non-living other. In ecological ethic, the notion of “we-self” leads to “a value system and set of practices through which people come to appreciate the entire matrix of life” (p. 341). From this perspective, nonviolence becomes not a virtue but a matter of life. The extended self acts for the other not out of duty but out of an enlightened self-interest (Peterson, 2001, p. 88). The emphasis in Western ethics on rights and obligations of the individual rests on an understanding of self-interest as being antagonistic to the other’s interest. In this picture, acting for the collective whole is viewed as

“sacrificing one’s own good for another’s benefit” (p.88). Here, the individual is perceived not only as separate from, but antagonistically situated to the community and environment. The relational ontology of *paticca samuppāda* suggests that “humans, like all beings, are inextricably constituted by and caught up in a web of mutual interdependence” (p.88), where the interests of self cannot be separated from the interests of the other.

African ethic of *Ubuntu* (translated as “I am because we are”) is based on a similar relational ontology. Antagonistically situated self-interest is against the ethic of *Ubuntu*, which “defines humans as social beings with human dignity” (Christians, 2011, p. 403). In this relational African ontology, humans are seen as existing interdependently with other humans, their ancestors and the natural environment (Murove, 2005) Humans exist interdependently with everything else in existence. The individual is understood as a communal being as it is articulated in the Zulu proverb, *Umntu ngomuntu ngabantu*, “a person is a person because of other persons” (p.144). This relatedness also encompasses ancestors, those who exist in the present society and those who will exist in the future. “*Ubuntu* implies being human” (p.144). A person is thought to have *Ubuntu* if she has virtues in her character. Thus, pursuing one’s self-interest is seen as lack of *Ubuntu*.

Murove relates *Ubuntu* to the Shona concept of *Ukama*, which he explains in the following way:

... being related and interrelated, whereby human well-being and the well-being of everything that exists is understood in terms of interrelatedness. Relationality is seen as indispensable to the well-being of everything... relationality is a given reality of our existence that cannot be disentangled. Nothing can have any meaningful existence outside relatedness and interrelatedness... In *Ukama*, human identity is not only restricted to fellow human beings... but also to the natural world (2005, p. 151).

A human becomes a human in relation not only to other humans but also to the natural environment as she is mutually bounded with her environment. *Ubuntu* reminds us our interconnectedness not only with our human society, but also with the environment.

Finally, I wish to refer to the collectively oriented Indigenous American ontology, where selves are understood in relation to one another and to all the living and the nonliving, as part of the web of life (Romm, 2018, p.1).

La Donna Harris together with her colleague Jacqueline Wasilewski writes about the “four R’s- relationship, responsibility, reciprocity, and redistribution” of Comanche ethic (2004), which rests on the idea that each person is unique, and, thus, have “the personal responsibility to find a way to contribute one’s uniqueness to society in productive ways so that the *Nuhmuhnuh*, the People, can continue” (p. 491). Harris and Wasilewski explain this in the following way:

Relationship is the kinship obligation, the profound sense that we human beings are related, not only to each other, but to all things, animals, plants, rocks- in fact, the very stuff the stars are made of. This relationship is a kinship relationship. Everyone/ everything is related to us *as if* they were our blood relatives. We, thus, live in a family that includes all creation, and everyone/everything in this extended family is valued and has a valued contribution to make. So, our societal task is to make sure that everyone feels included and feels that they can make their contribution to the common good. This is one reason why we value making decisions by consensus because it allows everyone to make a contribution...

Responsibility is the community obligation. This obligation rests on the understanding that we have a responsibility to care for all of our relatives. Our relatives include everything in our ecological niche, animals and plants, as well as humans, even the stones, since everything that exists is alive. ... Responsible Indigenous leadership is based on an ethos of care, not of coercion...

Reciprocity underscores the fact that in nature things are circular: for example, the cycle of seasons and the cycle of life, as well as the dynamics between any two entities in relationship with each other. Once we have encountered another, we are in relationship with them...

Redistribution is the sharing obligation. Its primary purpose is to balance and rebalance relationships. Comanche society, for example, was an almost totally flat society, socially, politically and economically. It had many, many ways of redistributing material and social good. In principle, one should not own anything [that] one is not willing to give away. Possessions do not own you. The point is not to acquire things. The point is to give them away. Generosity is the most highly valued human quality. The basic principle is to keep everything moving, to keep everything in circulation... This obligation means sharing, not only material wealth, but information, time, talent and energy ... The Indigenous sense of giving/sharing should never, ever, even have a hint of superiority or imposition... 'Charity' creates a status difference between the giver and receiver, with the giver in the higher position. Creating such a status difference devaluates the gift. In Indigenous society every giver and receiver is aware of a larger context in which roles might be reversed in the future. Thus, redistribution interacts with R for reciprocity (pp. 492-93).

This Indigenous relational ontology and care ethic encompass a balance between individualism and collectivism, which points to human existence as being both autonomous and connected, and which fosters respectful and caring relationships of responsibility within the human society and the environment.

Violence in all its forms is based on the separation or the exclusion of the other from self, which finds its most extreme expression in times of war, where the other becomes the enemy, "who deserves any violence perpetrated against it" (Jabri, 1996, p. 134). Here I have focused on cultural aspects of violence, but this does not mean, for instance, that I am turning a blind eye to the structural inequalities caused by capitalism in our global age. And there was violence in ages before capitalism. And I am not saying that peace comes with a change in ontology only. There needs to be a transformation in material conditions, in power structures of domination and exploitation, which are all interconnected.

Dominant ontology of Western modernity, which views self as separate from and independent of the other, and which views the world from the perspective of an antagonistically situated self-interest, has created the ever-profit-hungry capitalist system. As I said in the beginning, peace is a polysemic concept which seems to mean all things to all people, and defining peace is a political act. Peace in all levels of human interactions refers to a certain order of human activity. For what Galtung refers to as "positive peace", this order needs to be a horizontal one with equality and social justice.

Relational ontologies of different cultures point to an alternative view of self-other relations and the notion of self-interest. We need to embrace these ontologies. To reach positive peace, or peace culture, we need to develop a balance between individualism and collectivism, which praises the uniqueness and yet interdependence of ourselves. We need to reach an understanding of "we-selves" with the living and the nonliving, and develop respectful and caring relationships of responsibility within the human society and with our environment.

Turkish poet Nazım Hikmet's following verses point to such balance:

Yaşamak bir ağaç gibi tek ve hür

Ve bir orman gibi kardeşçesine

Bu hasret bizim

which can be translated into English as follows:

Living! Like a tree alone and free

And like forest in fraternity

This longing is ours.

Thank you...

REFERENCES

- Atay, A. D. (2016). Communicating with the Other: Peace Journalism as a Form of Self-Other Relationship. *Journal of Media Ethics*, 31(3), 188-195.
- Christians, C. G. (2010). Non-Violence in Philosophical and Media Ethics. In R. L. Keeble, J. Tulloch, & F. Zollman (Eds.), *Peace Journalism, War and Conflict Resolution* (pp. 15-30). New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.
- Christians, C. G. (2011a). Universalism versus Communitarianism in Media Ethics. In R. S. Fortner, & P. Fackler (Eds.), *The Handbook of Global Communication and Media Ethics* (Vol. 1, pp. 393-414). Malden and Oxford: Wiley and Blackwell.
- Cross, S. E., & Gore, J. S. (2012). Cultural Models of the Self. In M. R. Leary, & J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *Handbook of Self and Identity* (Second ed., pp. 587-614). New York and London: The Guilford Press.
- Dunne, J. (1996). Beyond Sovereignty and Deconstruction: The Storied Self. In R. Kearney (Ed.), *Paul Ricoeur: The Hermeneutics of Action* (pp. 137-158). London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3), 167-191.
- Galtung, J. (1990). Cultural Violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, 27(3), 291-305.
- Gross, R. (1997). Towards a Buddhist Environmental Ethic. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 65(2), 333-354.
- Grossberg, L. (2010). *Cultural Studies in the Future Tense*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Harris, L. D., & Wasilewski, J. (2004). Indigeneity, an Alternative Worldview: Four R's (Relationship, Responsibility, Reciprocity, Redistribution) vs. Two P's (Power and Profit). Sharing the Journey Towards Conscious Evolution. *Systems Research and Behavioral Science*, 21, 489-503.
- Hofstede, G. (1983). National Cultures in Four Dimensions: A Research-Based Theory of Cultural Differences among Nations. *International Studies of Management and Organization*, XIII(1-2), 46-74.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations across Nations* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hofstede, G. (2011). Dimensionalizing Cultures: The Hofstede Model in Context. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 2(1).

- Jabri, V. (1996). *Discourses on Violence: Conflict Analysis Reconsidered*. Manchester nad New York: Manchester University Press .
- Lynch, J. (2014). *A Global Standard for Reporting Conflict*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Macy, J. (1991). *Mutual Causality in Buddhism and General Systems Theory: The Dharma of Natural Systems*. Albany: State University of New York Press .
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (2010). Cultures and Selves: A Cycle of Mutual Constitution. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 5(4), 420-430.
- Murove, M. F. (2005). *The Theory of Self-Interest in Modern Economic Discourse: A Critical Study in the Light of African Humanism and Process Philosophical Anthropology*. Doctoral Thesis, University of South Africa.
- Nisbett, R. E., Peng, K., Choi, I., & Norenzayan, A. (2001). Culture and Systems of Thought: Holistic Versus Analytic Cognition. *Psychological Review*, 108(2), 291-310.
- Peterson, A. L. (2001). *Being Human: Ethics, Environment and Our Place in the World*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Reddekop, J. (2014). *Thinking Across Worlds: Indigenous Thought, Relational Ontology, and the Politics of Nature; Or, If Only Nietzsche Could Meet A Yachaj*. University of Western Ontario- Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository.
- Romm, N. R. (2018). Foregrounding Critical Systemic and Indigenous Ways of Collective Knowing Toward (Re)Directing the Anthropocene. In J. McIntyre-Mills, N. Romm, & Y. Corcoran-Nantes (Eds.), *Balancing Individualism and Collectivism: Social and Environmental Justice* (pp. 1-18). Cham, Switzerland: Springer.
- Triandis, H. C. (1995). *Individualism and Collectivism*. Boulder, CO: West View Press.
- Triandis, H. C. (2004). The Many Dimensions of Culture. *The Academy of Management Executive*, 18(1), 88-93.

CRITICAL ISSUES BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE WHEN APPLIED IN CONSERVATION

ANDRÉS ARMANDO SÁNCHEZ HERNÁNDEZ, MAURA MARGARITA TEUTLI LEÓN

ANDRÉS ARMANDO SÁNCHEZ HERNÁNDEZ*, MAURA MARGARITA TEUTLI LEÓN**

Cuerpo Académico Estudios Territoriales y Urbanos CA-117. Fac. de Arquitectura Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, México Members.

*Architect, Faculty of Architecture, Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla (BUAP)

**Ing. Quimical, Faculty of Ingeniery (BUAP).

Abstract

One of the greatest challenges of the practice of conservation of built heritage is the relationship between the criteria proposed by the theory and its application; this conflict persist even for theories, which currently put a series of definitions to interpret the values, conditions and aspects to be protected in an intervention. Well, in that sense, although there are many issues associated with this discussion, it is true that there are aspects and peculiarities of deterioration and degradation for any cultural object; as well as basic concepts that allow recognizing new aspects and demands of the current situation of society which should be considered under those conditions that do not respond to the specific requirements; among them can be cited the theme of "respect for authenticity", the main aspect of heritage. However, the issue of legality and the new requirements of society, put in "doubt", that continuity or protection of their values.

Theme of authenticity that is subject to "associations" as established by some international documents such as ICOMOS, Nara Charter (International Council on Monuments and sites); in which are expressed ideas that are necessary to link with issues such as legality, the conditions for adaptability of new materials and the needs expressed by contemporary societies, because in some cases it is not well accepted the search for new ways of life.

This relationship between theory and practice is analyzed critically and exemplified with some aspects focused in putting situation and limits in various places and types of heritage in Mexico; plus are references to some interventions that allow a dialogue between disciplines and practices.

Keywords: Theory, practice, conservation, authenticity, discussion.

Introduction

Heritage conservation started during the XIX century and this process brought into the XX and XXI centuries some reflections and worries about how to make valuable most representative icons of monumental architecture either in Europe or in USA. It was during the XX century that concerns about valuable heritage were emphasized because of sequels from the World War I and II; influence of the so called “modernity” also exerted a devastating effect. Under these circumstances, economical structures allowed the appearance of a cultural phenomenon named “cultural tourism”; a movement which is played by the society with high income. This tourism use to visit diverse places to get knowledge about multiple aspects of patrimonial representations, which are present in contrasting aspects like the cities and the towns, as well as the country and the urban sides; people owning the heritage have found an income source by allowing the cultural tourism. But considering that heritage is strongly associated to national identity facts, as well as transforming processes having continuity or break up in its own periods, which is equivalent to being exposed to the collective memory.

Otherwise, worries about preservation and safe keeping have evolved from applying concrete disciplinary perspectives, to interdisciplinary work which allows to know heritage values, their problems and how to face them in practice. In this sense, during the XX century, the main challenge for the heritage conservation professionals has been to formulate preventing actions accounting for each heritage object particularities. Also, professionals should foresee how their studies can be related to the theoretical reflections which have been proposed in the international forums. In this way the optimal conditions for heritage interventions can be identified taking into account the authenticity of each object. It is accepted that materials condition and the constructive systems are inherent to the patrimonial built, but a problem merges when the places no longer satisfy the comfort necessities of the inhabitants, or in extreme cases they represent a risk to them. In this sense, the major challenge for restoration specialists is identifying the practical and theoretical voids, facing the necessity to create an integrating channel by which it is conciliated the original site with the new material and constructive systems. So by exposing the required conditions for assuring preservation of heritage values, and at the same time provide solution to users requirements it is possible to produce a “period seal or brand”

There are many authors and international organisms which have dictated criteria for heritage architectonic intervention based on respecting their value, this has been referred as preservation, restauration, rehabilitation, revitalization, etc.

Fundamental aspects to be accounted in conservation

Once the built cultural heritage conservation guidelines was make official by institutions or international organizations like ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) A organism from UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). It is expected that its application become obvious in several countries, so far is necessary to accept that patrimonial interventions should account for international definitions and criteria, which by itself represents a great challenge to conciliate appreciation theory with real practice. Because there are definitions to assess a value, classify and understand the conditions, generalities and particularities for an specific heritage, also it should be accounted the general criteria for protecting its value and qualities. In this sense, most common criteria for intervention are: respect for authenticity avoiding false historical, creating a mark or seal referring the intervention date, irreversibility; plus accounting for particular historic periods, archaeological values and stratigraphic studies.

Previously mentioned criteria are necessary to formulate a patrimonial intervention for contemporary heritage which is in use, or heritage facing the necessity of functionalize its use in the frame of life quality standards. This fact can be considered a major challenge during the intervention, since many

times the materials and constructive systems require to account for protection to safe guard the original. There are many examples where the heritage conditions should be adequate to incorporate and integrate new materials with longer life periods, these kind of decisions cannot be subjected to radical actions even though these were related to hygiene, security or comfort. This frame of reference should be supported by interdisciplinary studies to make the right decision about interventions.

Status of the question in Conservation Theory

In any intervention one of the main issues to consider and protect is the authenticity, when a right solution is applied it becomes an example of a good practice. About this requirement of authenticity, there are several documents in the international ambit that make reference to it, defining it like a complex debate with associated thematic, cities which have embraced to realize meetings about this subject are the Nara (Japan), the San Antonio (USA), Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic). Formulated conclusions point out that authenticity is a question of interpretation, so far it is related to material, temporal, esthetic associations. Although this subject is only the starting point to assess the cultural object conditions as function of the physical situation, this means if is an archaeological object, maybe with minimal interventions it can be assured its consolidation and stability. A different assessment has to be done for a cultural object, which is in use as consequence of the cultural continuity, which is associated to the actual society and its requirements of space, material security, etc. Not all assessment is around the authenticity subject, also there is the interpretation for providing the right solution through the interventions.

From the XIX to the XX century there have been discussions about any intervention suitability qualifies to be denominated restoration or conservation. At this date, there are some documents containing definitions that questioning their comprehension. Iconic letters like the ICOMOS have been formulated using some significant criteria such as: respect for authenticity, leaving a period mark or seal, the reversibility and integration. Letter formulation is flexible because it considers applicable generalities with special particularities for each case.

Theoretical versus practical actions for Heritage conservation

Reflections about this subject should be based on relevant cases, in order to know the risks, vulnerability and required conditions for adapting new materials and constructive systems. In addition, reflections about the appropriate interdisciplinary participation should be accounted in order to formulate an appropriate intervention for heritage preservation supported by information about its status quo, in this approach, it can be avoid to emit a esthetics based diagnosis and it is possible to formulate one according to different points of view.

There is an example based on a religious complex located at Atlixco, a mexican city. The complex was built by the Franciscan orders at the early times of the Nueva España today Mexico. This complex has been subject of an ongoing research elaborate from diverse interdisciplinary perspectives. From the preliminary studies it has been possible to elaborate an opinion where materials have been associated to constructive systems. Also, the intervention approach has been formulated accounting for research focused on history, science and theory, materials which evolved into authenticity protection.

Observation results indicate that the façade expose a series of stages: the primigenia, with adjoined later elements; about the original aplanados. It was observed that these have been loosen, the remains provide evidence where there are drawings simulating stone chairs painted in gray colors, and the discovered walls allow to get an insight of the original building systems like the “braza” stone placed in diverse materials of the *opus incertum*

Another element characterized was the molding stones and the archivolta located at the main entrance, this element is made of exquisite stereotomy inserted into the plateresque style, from the Isabelle time, and mostly used in the first religious complex. Another detail carved in stone the Alfiz has traces of red calcium paint



Figure 1. Material column. Degradation. Picture/AS/2017



Figure 2. Alfiz of stone with rests of paint to the calium. Picture/AS/2017



Figure 3. Religios conjunct from XVI Century.

A different approach is when the objective is incorporate new materials to old buildings, that are not longer adequate for contemporary society living, but also the owners do not want to keep them, because people wish to live in modern cities. For instance in the town of Metepec, Atlixco, almost 95% of houses have been lost, reasons are multiple, since people does not followed recommendations and during the 2017 seism, the remaining houses has been lost.

Conclusions

The subject of theory and practice for heritage built conservation is not ended, due to the new particularities of cultural buildings have merge from the new habitants necessities. Therefore the right argumentation, without radicalism exposing what can be doing and what cannot be realized, it should be incorporated within a critical interpretation, with dialog of ideas considering the new and the old, without dismissal in quality of life, the permanence of collective memories and society conditions. Therefore it is necessary to integrate professionals from different fields for elaborating an integral interpretation.

References

ICOMOS, Chartes.

<https://www.icomos.org/en/component/search/?searchword=chartes&searchphrase=all&Itemid=465>

Sánchez Hernández Andrés Armando y Hurtado M. Maximiliano. *El Valle de Atlixco. Interdisciplina y complejidad*. México, 2008.

THE REGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF COURTYARD HOUSE OF GENTRY CLASS IN THE SICHUAN AREA, SOUTHWEST CHINA IN 19TH CENTURY: WITH A COURTYARD HOUSE CALLED “HUI LONG ZHUANG” LOCATED IN CHONGQING AS AN EXAMPLE

GUANLAN XIAO, YUANJIAN LIU, JIDONG LIU

Guanlan Xiao, PhD of Architectural history and theory, Associate Researcher, Chongqing Cultural Heritage Research Institute, **Yuanjian Liu**, Research Assistant, Institution, Chongqing Cultural Heritage Research Institute, **Jidong Liu**, Researcher, Institute director, Chongqing Cultural Heritage Research Institute

Abstract

The courtyard house is the typical traditional house in Chinese culture which reflects the spiritual world and the life orders of Chinese. The courtyard house of gentry class is the most important material civilization of the culture.

There are some magnificent traditional courtyard houses built in middle and late Qing Dynasty (Qing Dynasty was the last feudal Dynasty of China last from 1644 to 1912) around 19th century as the residential of the gentry class have fortunately been preserved in the countryside of Sichuan area. (The Sichuan area is a cultural division which usually named Bashu area in Chinese culture. In the administrative division, it mainly refers to the Sichuan Province and Chongqing Municipality in southwest) The sizable courtyard houses in this area witness the developed traditional local society in Qing Dynasty and reflect the regional characters which come from adaptation to both the geographical and cultural environment.

After the war of the end of Ming Dynasty in the middle of 17th century, there was a large-scale immigration trends from Huguang area (Huguang area mainly refers to the Hunan Province and Hubei Province which in the middle reaches of Yangtze River as the Sichuan area is the upper reaches of Yangtze River) lasted more than hundred years from the late of the 17th century. After the steady development of the 18th century, the economy of Sichuan area has been fully revived and the native soil society has been rebuilt also. In 19th century the social wealth has been accumulated to a certain degree, that makes it possible to the gentry class to build the sizable residential with numbers of courtyards. The different courtyards correspond to different functions including performing, ceremonies, living, leisure and defense with different scales and atmosphere which have been organized by the certain rules and orders of Chinese philosophy. That's the basic cultural characters of the large-scale courtyards house of the gentry class in the Sichuan area.

With the geographical condition of the Sichuan area, the courtyard house has some regional features. The most influential geographical factor is the wet, humid and moderate climate. It makes the semi-open space which can shape from the rain and keep ventilation, such as outer corridor, a hallway without walls, a covered courtyard, taking more proportion in the courtyard house in Sichuan area than in the northern area of China. Meanwhile the size of the courtyards became smaller as its main function turns into drainage rather than for outdoor activities.

The Generality of Chinese Traditional Courtyard House

As the architecture is an outcome which is the result of the natural and the social conditions, it is the most efficient perspective to observe a culture. In the architectural perspective, the courtyard house is the most important form of Chinese traditional residence.

Courtyard house is the main and typical form of Chinese traditional residence which could be traced back to at least nearly three thousand years ago, the Western Zhou Dynasty (Western Zhou Dynasty was one of the earliest Dynasty of China lasted from 1046 B.C. to 771 B.C.). (Figure 1) The courtyard house for Chinese is not only a space for dwelling but also a relatively separated inward private space for both material and spiritual level to the outer environment with a symmetric rectangular plan and the closed boundary formed by buildings on each side (Figure 2). Besides the long history, Chinese courtyard house was widely used by all class as residence from civilian to King. The most famous and magnificent courtyard house of China is the palace of the emperors of Ming and Qing Dynasty called Forbidden City in Peking which is almost 600 years old (Figure 3).

Figure 1. the recovery model of the courtyard house in Werstern Zhou Dynasty which was discovered in

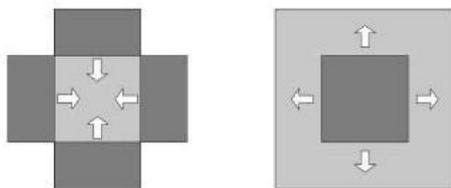


Figure 2. the modes of the inward space of the courtyard house and the extraverted space of the single building.

Figure 3. The plan of the grandest courtyard palace of the emperors called Forbidden City

The General Situation of the Courtyard House Called “Hui Long Zhuang”

The courtyard house called Hui Long Zhuang is located in the mountainous area, named Simianshan mountain, which administratively belongs to the Jiangjin District, Chongqing municipality. On the cultural level, it is in the Sichuan cultural area, also called Bashu cultural area, southwestern China.

Hui Long Zhuang was one of residence of the richest family of landlords in the local area with the surname called Wang which most probably had been built in the middle of 19th century, and latest building, a watch tower of this courtyard house had been built in the 1939.

As the change of the regime and the economic system of China after 1949, the property of the house became public and has been managed by local government for a primary school for decades. And recent years had it been idle as the primary school being moved to the new buildings. So its history as a grand manor of the gentry class was almost forgotten.

The courtyard house is so large in scale and so elegant in structure that it shocked the discoverer and became famous soon in recent year. The site is almost 20000 square meters with the stone bulwark of 3 meters thick around originally which unfortunately had been all ruined, and there are still several sections of the bulwark of the other courtyard house of Wang’s family called Shou Xing Zhuang, which is less than 100 meters far from the southeast of Hui Long Zhuang. (Figure 4, Figure 5)

The area of Hui Long Zhuang is more than 5000 square meters. It is composed by 10 patios in different size and not only for the single living function, but multi-functions, including the spaces for performing and spectating, ceremony, receiving, normally living, leisure and defense.

The Historical Background of Sichuan area in 19th century

Besides Hui Long Zhuang, there are also several such scaled courtyard house of gentry class in the mountainous area of southern Chongqing. And they were constructed mostly in the time around

19th century, the middle and late Qing Dynasty. This is closely related to the history of Sichuan area in the Qing Dynasty from the end of Ming Dynasty, the middle of 17th century .

After the war in late Ming Dynasty, the population of Sichuan area rapidly depressed, and the whole society of Sichuan had been almost broken down. When Qing Dynasty began, there was a large-scale immigration trends from Huguang area (Huguang area mainly refers to the Hunan Province and Hubei Province which in the middle reaches of Yangtze River as the Sichuan area is the upper reaches of Yangtze River) to Sichuan area lasted more than hundred years from the late of the 17th century. After the steady development of the 18th century, the economy of Sichuan area has been fully revived and the native soil society has been rebuilt also. According to the annals of the Jiangjin District, the population of Jiangjin county had been increased 5 times from 1667 to 1843, and till 1880, it was 15 times of the number in 1667. The growth of population represented the growth of the economy. It meant that in 19th century the social wealth of Sichuan area has been accumulated to a certain degree, that makes it possible to the gentry class to build the sizable and elegant courtyard houses.

Dramatically the crisis of the society appeared as well as the accumulation of wealth in 19th century after the 100 year's steady development. The society was in chaos again in the century. There were three main factors of the chaos. One was the rather scaled anti-government activity organized by White Lotus Society (White Lotus Society is a folk religion organization formed from 12th century which always played the role of the anti-government group.) in Sichuan area from 1796 to 1804. The second one was the very influent Taiping Rebellion (Taiping Rebellion is the revolt by a folk organization established by Hong Xiuquan, a man born in Guangdong province, in the name of religion lasted from 1851 to 1864) from 1851-1864. And the last one was the harassment from some roving bandits in the mountainous area.

To facing the unrest, the gentry class, who was the real leader of the soil society, not only constructed the defense facilities such as bulwarks and watch towers to protect their properties, and also built the castle on the site with specific geographic advantages to defense for the local inhabitants.

The Basic and Regional Characteristics of the Courtyard House

The Basic Characteristics

The main features of the courtyard house are the order and rule about the scale and atmosphere of the spatial organization based on the function and organized by patios, and the Chinese spiritual world reflected by this order and rule.

As mentioned above, the courtyard house of the gentry class is always multi-functional with many patios. In this case, there is an axis from northeast to southwest with two patios in the depth

Figure 6. the plan of Hui Long Zhuang. The blue part is the open space for performing and spectating with largest size. The yellow part is the semi-open space for worship and receiving guests with the middle size. The green part is the transitional space from the semi-open space to the private space, the pink part, which is for living with the approachable size for humanization.

Figure 7. The size of the patios. The blue part is the patios of private space and the yellow part is the

direction as the dominated axis, and several smaller patios almost symmetrically on the left and right sides. The highest watch tower stand on the western corner of the plan.

The first patio on the main axis is the space for performing and spectating. The second one is for worship the ancestor and the god. The patios on the both sides is for living and leisure. The watch tower is for defense.

It can be divided to three types of the spaces of these various function. One is the "open space" referring to the patio of performing and spectating which is for the public ceremonies or meetings. The second one is the "semi-open space" referring to the patio of worship which will be used for receiving the relatives and close guests. The last one is "private space" referring to the living space.

The three types of spaces relate to the three levels of the size. The open space for performing and spectating available to the public is a patio closed by the lobby of the house, two spectators building on both sides and a grandest hall in front, with largest size and most luxury decorations with the vivid wood carving elements covered by golden powder. Not only the scale of it should be suitable to meeting the physical requirement of performing but also the atmosphere of this open space should be matched the status and wealthy of the owner as it would be felt by most people.

Crossing the grandest hall, it's the semi-open space. It is a patio in middle sized which balanced the dignity for worship and the function for receiving guests and family meeting. The dignity atmosphere is formed by the perfectly symmetrical space and the appropriate decorations, and the memorial tablets are set in the central place of the central room of the last building on the axis. The roof supported by four columns covering on the patio increases the available half-interior area. That is

Figure 8. The patio for living and leisure with the ingenious design of the stone arch bridge with a pavilion called "Yuan Yang Ting" on it.

rather practical.

Besides the two patios on the main axis there are several patios with the more friendly size to humanization. In these private spaces for daily living, both the building and the patios are approachable and full of the spice of life and the personal taste and interest. For example in the southern corner is a small patio of 6 meters in width and 10 meters in length which was designed as a pool with water remaining in a certain height. It is so ingenious design that a stone arch bridge with an artistic pavilion called "Yuan Yang Ting" (Yuan Yang is mandarin duck. It's metaphorical to the couple in Chinese culture) had been set in the center which cut the patio pool into two symmetrical parts and as well as cut the direct sight of the two part. But how clever the designer is, the two person can get the image of each other through the reflections from the water. It perfectly fits with the Chinese cultural character. In the values of Chinese culture in gentry class, too explicit expression is a little

rude especially in the relation between the lovers, but euphemisms are more elegant and romantic.(Figure6, Figure 7, Figure 8)

The Regional Characteristics

With the geographical condition of the Sichuan area, the courtyard house has some regional features

Figure 9. The small patio as a part of the drainage system of the house and the spacious side corridor.

Figure 10. There are only four caved stone bases of the columns of the roof covering the patios on the

which are obviously compared with the courtyard house in northern China.

The most influential geographical factor is the wet, humid and moderate climate. Accordingly, there are two striking regional characteristics in Hui Long Zhuang as a typical example.

The first one is the size of the patios is much smaller than the normal one in northern China. Because of the drippy and humid climate, the patio is always mossy and hard to take activities on it. So the main function of the patio for living part are not for the outdoor activities but for draining away the water drop from the slopping roofs of the four sides. It became a part of the drainage system of the house. (Figure 9)

The second one is that the semi-open space takes more proportion in the courtyard house in Sichuan area than in northern China. In Sichuan area, it rains nearly half a year, and the climate is relatively gentle in winter. That makes the semi-open area is so effective to apply the convince to the transportation accessibility in rainy days and to increase the utilization rate of the space. So it is very common for the building with spacious side-corridor which connects all buildings of the courtyard house and makes people can easily go to any part of the house in rainy without umbrella. And as mentioned above, a roof supported by four columns covers the last patio between the grand hall and the principle building with the room for the memorial tablets in the main axis which forms a gallery

without wall on the patio. It is also quite popular in this area. Even in some small town in this area, the street is covered by the roof like that to make it possibly to make stalls in rainy day. (Figure 10)

The Conclusion

The courtyard house of the gentry class in Sichuan area in 19th century is the most significant heritages of the regional culture as it is the embodiment of a vivid history and equally it is a part of the broad and profound Chinese culture.

References

Yang Hongxun, 2007. *The Illustrated History of the Habitation in China*. Kunming: The People's Press of Yunnan

Li Yunhe, 2005. *Cathay's Idea: Design Theory of Chinese Classical Architecture*. Tianjin: Press of Tianjin University

Han Baode, 2006. *The Lectures of the Culture of Chinese Architecture*. Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company

UNDERSTANDING ORIENTALISM IN POST-COLONIAL TIMES THROUGH NARRATIVE INQUIRY OF INDIGENOUS CORE OF NAGPUR CITY (INDIA)

NIVEDITA FADNIS, ANAND WADWEKAR

The colonial occupation has been a historical precedent of cities of the Global South. Cities of the Indian subcontinent have been subjects of the orientalist gaze, where the indigenous/native/local was deemed inferior, devoid of modern thoughts and values. This orientalist gaze has been a determinant of urbanism. The colonial spatial occupation subjugated the indigenous landscape, influencing the vitality of indigenous cultural tangible and intangible symbols, thus creating a realm of hybridity in post-colonial times. Indian cities influenced by colonial occupation have become crucible of appropriation of cultures. Orientalism as a concept has morphed into a situation of hybridity which has structurally altered the indigenity; the narratives of the place.

This paper investigates urbanism of indigenous core through memories of cultural practices of people, which become their indigenous narratives, in the post-colonial administrative towns and capitals of India; case example of Nagpur. The investigation is through narrative inquiry, where spectrum of people according to their age has been interviewed exhaustively. The interviews are then analyzed to understand categories in their narratives; the categories that are formative to urbanism. The study reveals that narratives of people of the indigenous core are a result of extant cultural practices vis-à-vis negotiation with modernity. The practices are undergoing slow transformation in the post-colonial times, due to modern forces introduced by colonialism, thus making the Old Core a cultural hybrid.

Keywords: urbanism, orientalism, colonialism/ post-colonialism, culture, narrative inquiry, hybrid

Introduction

In the event of emergence of the Network Society (Castells,2000), where cultural confrontations signify spaces of urban realms, colonialism as a historical precedent, has a major role to play. The cities of the Global North and the Global South (Connell,2008) are the sites of synthesis where cultural influences mobilize identities out of which situations of conflicts arise. The gaze of the dominant becomes a factor that culturally determines the subordinate. This is constitutional to Orientalism (Said,2001) which is an epistemological battlefield of identity. As Said (2001, p.239) argues that 'the Orientalist surveys the Orient from above, with the aim of getting hold of the whole sprawling panorama before him- culture, history, religion, mind, society'. This approach is structural in the form of colonial institutions which helped internalize the epistemological repression. But Bhabha (2014) insists that the discourse triggered by Orientalism through self-representation of the colonized isn't essentially oppositional but one centered around negotiation. The presence of the 'other' as viewed by the 'self' is not a simple dialectical process with polarized forms of existence; but rather a contested one where cultures rub off on each other. Thus, the post-colonial situation is a field of negotiation of identities, which could be explored through the cities that have undergone colonial influence. In the domain of Urban Anthropology, Richard G. Fox (1977, p.10) suggests that cities of the colonized regions have 'orthogenetic' constitution which served as 'centers for the construction and codification of the society's traditions. How the orthogenetic constitution has changed due to colonialism remains to be seen. This paper explores the colonial/ post-colonial discourse of negotiation through anthropological narrative inquiry of the indigenous urban core of Nagpur (India).

On Said's Orientalism

The foundation of Orientalism is rooted in the colonial occupation and proliferation of Eurocentric epistemology at the colonized sites. These sites are apparent in various regions of Australia, Asia, Africa and South America. Edward Said's work *Orientalism* is a hard critique of the Eurocentric knowledge systems. At the outset of conquests led by European regions of England, France, Spain and Portugal, the Europeans saw the world divided into the Occident and the Orient (Fox, 1977). The Occident was the advanced scientific Europe and the Orient was the backward, exotic and superstitious. When colonialism took roots, and the occupied colonies were treated as subjects of the Occident, the Orient was formed; meaning that it is by biased judgment of the Occident that the cultural fate of Orient was decided through the process of colonialism. Said explains the systemic approach of the colonizers and the consequent persecution of the colonized. It is the 'orientalist imagination of both the colonizer and the colonized that creates a notion of culture that is indefinite and uncertain'(Said, 2001, p.183). The structural dominance works to the efficiency that the colonized feels threatened and there arises animosity. In this context, it is important to understand the expressions and the media through which animosity is symbolized. The quest of the Orientalist becomes a journey of self-discovery through various modern disciplines like anthropology and ethno-philosophy which help explore the semantics of dominance. This is when the modern process of defining the native/indigenous/ orient is come full circle: re-discovering the self through media of knowledge of the former colonizer. This is one of the ways that modernity indulges and makes itself apparent in the life of the native through multiple systems of incubation of colonial systems through institutions and media.

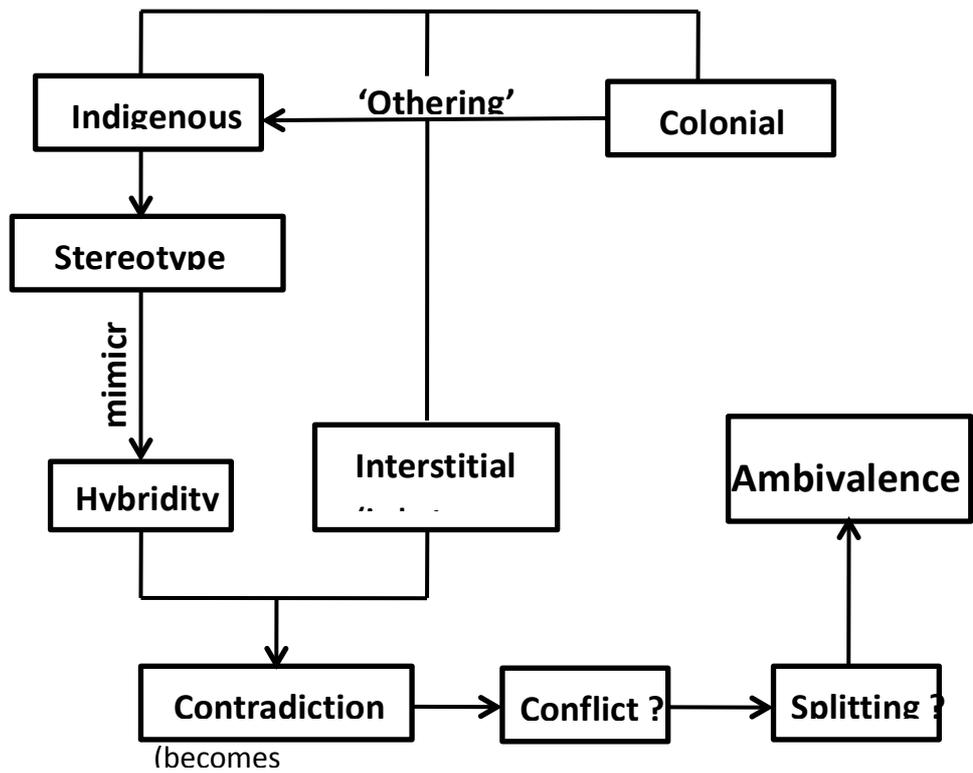
The meaning of cultural geographies constructed by the colonizer and the colonized leads to a set of experiences which define cultural imperialism. The question really is how much can a cultural region be consolidated as a component of an imperial image. And in doing so, whose cultural integrity is compromised? Colonialism hence, is an inherently conflicted process. In maintaining its cultural integrity, the Empire was not inclined to accept the native ontological and epistemological fundamentals as a part of it. Instead, by repeatedly deeming them inferior and irrational, the Empire

drew clear lines of knowledge systems. There are levels at which the native is disregarded, discredited and dismissed over which the superiority of the Empire gets rooted. Said quotes this as 'Pleasures of Imperialism' (Said, 1994, p.159) while the native is under cultural control. When the native cultural essences of institution, philosophy and art are substituted with colonial essences, at the intersection, modernity is encountered. He calls it 'the hallmark of modernist form' with 'strange juxtaposition of comic and tragic, high and low, commonplace and exotic, familiar and alien' (Said, 1994, p.229, Culture and Imperialism). The situation is a theatre where 'spatiality becomes, ironically, the characteristic of an aesthetic rather than of political domination' (Said, 1994, p.229 Culture and Imperialism). Said derives the meaning of 'modernity' in colonial/ post-colonial worlds. The contemporaneity of colonial processes and colonialism as a continued legacy in forms of representations- a process that jumps across boundaries of the past and present can be understood. This is analogical to the fact that cultures do not really have boundaries, and hence cannot be absolutely encapsulated in space and time.

Colonialism/ post-Colonialism

In the contemporary debate on post-modernism, one of the most important topic is that of the post-colonial question of the culture. Homi K. Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* (2014) is one such seminal work which questions the issues of identity representation of the colonized lot in the global context. Post-colonialism encompasses all the psychological spaces on a global level which were influenced/affected/alterd due to the Western Colonizers, such as parts of Africa, the Latin America, the Australian continent and the Asian continent. Although very difficult to generalize, Homi K. Bhabha's work on cultural hybrids throws light on the post-colonial world.

Cultural theories have emerged after global movements of decolonization or conversion of spaces of Imperialism into other forms of polities. It was at this juncture of defining oneself (a nation/a region/a community/an ethnicity/a person) that the identity of the 'self' was pondered into. Since, as stated above, the impact of Colonialism was in every sphere of cultural practice, the issue of identity becomes very complex. The basic structure of Bhabha's theory has been summarized below–



Bhabha, through his understanding and interpretation of psychoanalytical works of Lacan and Fannon, has analysed the colonial situation that gives a clear understanding of the psyche of the colonized. As mentioned above, the colonizers sought to change the indigeneity by ideologically infiltrating the cultural practices. This process begins with the attitude of 'othering' (Bhabha, 2014, p.46); an attitude which has been largely investigated by Edward Said in *Orientalism* (2001). This 'othering' becomes the foremost tool of alienation and is articulated in the space, not of conflict, but one of non-interaction. This space of non-interaction is governed by the stature of superiority of the colonizers. This gap is what is addressed by Bhabha's theory. Hence, by 'othering' the culture, colonizers forge an identity which the colonized comes to terms with in time due to him being a subject of tools of colonial cultural alterations (language, education, art, social practices, etc.) The colonial subject is oversimplified, rather 'stereotyped' (Bhabha, 2014, p.111), which is translated as the representation of the otherness. By nature, a stereotype is a contradictory mode of representation, as it is predominantly a western classification for cognizance. The contradiction is apparent in the post-colonial times of transformed identity—the post-colonial identity. For e.g. – the imposition of industrial society on a non-industrial society—a most relevant case in Indian subcontinent.

The colonized subject; the stereotyped colonial subject thus 'mimics' the colonizer.

'Mimicry' (Bhabha, 2014, p.122) can be understood as the superficial resemblance to the immediate environment for concealment, protection and other such advantage. In the Colonial context, Mimicry is the sign of double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which 'appropriates' the Other as it visualizes power. Mimicry is the double vision which is the result of the partial representation/recognition of the colonial object. Mimicry, through the repetition of partial presence articulates disturbances of cultural, racial and historical differences. For e.g. – the adopted lifestyle of 'babus' in the colonial administration, the adoption of Model Town in New Delhi for planning of residential areas in post-colonial extension of cities and the adoption of spatial structure of institutions for administrative purposes (Khilnani, 2004).

Such mimicry leads to formation of cultural hybrids, the location of which is questionable. 'Hybridity' (Bhabha, 2014, p.159) means having characteristics as a result of blending of two diverse cultures. But Bhabha's hybridity is far removed from such a balanced equilibrium of a blend. Bhabha's hybridity is a 'partial influence of moral improvements which will construct a particularly appropriate form of colonial subjectivity' (Bhabha, 2014, p.124)—a process which consists of inherent grappling of the subject to locate oneself. Hybridity is a problematic of colonial representation, a problematic of continuous process of influence and disavowal. The depth of the spatial acquisition is questionable in hybridity.

Thus, the process of mimicry of the stereotyped to form hybrid leads to contradictory emotional or psychological attitude towards oneself, one attitude inhibiting the expression of another, which is expressed in behaviour by alternating obedience and rebellion, followed by self-reproach. A colonial subject, hence grapples with his identity. A colonial subject is unsure as to which approach of identity should be followed. This is the theoretical point of contradiction that Bhabha has traced which is not only cultural in nature, but is also psychological. The convergence of such contradictions leads to an idea of conflict and 'ambivalence' (Bhabha, 2014, p.161). This ambivalence is a continuous state of flux about representation and identity (what is cultural is the ambivalence of identity).

The investigation of the post-colonial situation of cities can be explored in the concept of the Third Space (Bhabha, 2014, p.55) (Hernandez, 2010, p.89). Although Bhabha himself has not elaborated much about the spatiality of this concept, Hernandez pushes the concept further, breaking away with dialectical polar opposites of self/other or colonizer and colonized. Since a hybrid never climaxes into a definite form but rather is always in between, it is a subject of constant transformation. This concept can be applied to question the difference between the 'Old City' (indigenous core) and the

'New City' (colonial core). The Third Space is equated to hybridity by Bhabha where the production of meaning and identity is mobilized by transformative forces. The problematic of the Third Space is same as the problematic of Indian Urbanism which requires anthropological exploration. Moreover, since the colonial set-up (the intangible and tangible systems of governance) was continued for administrative purposes and has retained its vitality, it is the indigenous core that should be investigated to understand the emergence of Third Space and the existence of 'hybridity'. Based on Bhabha's theoretical construct, it can be supposed that such a conflict of identity is manifested in the spatial form encompassing cultural narratives in cities—one which constantly challenges the cultures by challenging representation and identities in Indian cities. Thus exploration of the Third Space is important.

Colonialism in India and Socio-spatial Structure of Cities

To summarize the history of Indian subcontinent, the most important cultural shift can be said to have occurred under the British rule (from 1857 A.D. onwards when the Crown became the head of occupied territories). With the West's idea of Enlightenment and their advancement in technology (Gillen, Ghosh,2007), the British brought with them a new way of politics of domination. The cultural shift occurred in tangible and intangible practices. The British, through with their objective oriental gaze, created their sites of privilege amongst people of India to galvanize them into the administration. The intention behind such deliberate alteration was to create a bank of English-knowing Indians for administrative inter-operability (Tharoor,2016). This affected the indigenous folk idiom. The colonial spatiality meant ascension of a new form of culture completely alien to the indigenous people. A co-existence of the indigenous spatial forms of cultural practices (which were pre-dominantly religion centered) and the colonial cultural spaces of hierarchical administrative practice emerged, where the orientalist gaze of the British white supremacists looked down upon the indigenous way of life.

The Colonial agenda of Imperial domination and the modern imaginations prevailed as the cultural constructs of Indian people who were structurally re-engineered through the Western education. The socio-cultural hegemony imposed by the British led to the rise of cultural elitism—a class of people Anglicized and conditioned with the Western methods. The distortion was deeply rooted in all cultural forms, which defined the new urban identity of Indians. But the imposition of ideologies at the same time created polarized forms of spatial identities in Indian cities, where one part dealt with manifestation of ancient historical process, extant in nature, and the other was made for Eurocentric modernity project, severing references from the traditional knowledge systems and symbols of identity. The indigenous had his master (the colonizer) in the frame of contested cultural identity which affected both, the colonizer and the colonized equally. As Edward Said in his *Orientalism* (2001) explains that the indefinite and uncertain notion of culture is a resultant of the orientalist imagination of the colonizer and the colonized.

The colonial cities developed in three different types- the port cities, the cantonments and the administrative towns and capitals. While port-cities were developed for commercial extraction, the cantonments were military encampments, and civil governance required erection of administrative towns and capitals (King, A.D,1976). In any case, wherever the British built, they built it in opposition to the existing indigenous fabric of settlements (Khilnani,2004). The location of opposition to the Old Core or the Indigenous Core was symbolic of the distance that the white man wanted to keep from the savage locals. This structure of distance thereby defined the 'otherness' (Bhabha,2014); not only in terms of spatial modulation, but eventually as a project of memory imprinted upon the locals. In no way was it a sensitive extension of the existing indigenous core. By the time Indian subcontinent was declared the sovereign state of the Queen of England, there was an urgency to build socio-cultural institutions as well. Thus the colonial landscape was reinforced with institutions dictating the

essentially British culture which was to be followed by the native. This can be clearly analyzed in the example of administrative capital of the British India- Delhi.

The colonial situation is juxtaposed to the indigenous situation. Since the indigenous city structures were abhorred (Khilnani,2004), the British sought to demonstrate the task of city building by laying out large streets in hexagonal grid. This grid was hierarchical with largest canvas of spaces highlighting the architecture of imperial administration. This is apparent in case of Delhi, where the Kingsway is an axis terminating in the Viceroy's House. The foreground of the Viceroy's House acted a stage for the British Army parade, a grand exhibition of the British power. The Viceroy's house was abutted with administrative buildings and further away was the residential bungalows sector of the civil servants (Khilnani,2004). Along with the residential infrastructure, the layout of New Delhi (Lutyens' Delhi) also had recreational areas like the racecourse and commercial areas. All functional areas were zoned into certain locations. The configuration of the colonial city that was built was a demonstration of formal organization which Khilnani states as a grand drama of 'rational modernity' (Khilnani,2004. p.121).

The colonial grid had logic of formal and grand institutional edifices, which were hallmark of the colonial occupation. Communication of these edifices was nothing short of intimidation for the locals. It had institutions- religious, economic, social and many more such categories which catered the culture of the British. Such institutions acted as incubators and propagators of colonial culture. This culture precipitated in the indigenous population (especially the elites of the subcontinent), thereby, in a sense, subjugating it. The monumental architecture, the lavish recreational spaces of the English culture- like the clubs and racecourse with abundant bungalows, and the presence of institutions in the indigenous fabric all became an imperial epistemological programme of culture forced on the indigenes in the 'state' i.e. a 'power field' (Kaviraj,2012, p.10) by 'legitimizing discourses of their making and sanctioning' (Kaviraj,2012, p.48).

But moreover, the character of colonialism is clearly defined by their extent of penetration in the indigenous fabric. When the British entered Delhi, they overtook the city by ransacking the city of its mechanisms, partially destroying it and inserting modern transportation of railways inside the fabric of the old city, thus asserting their presence and also decimating the infrastructural fabric of the place. New structures, such as library, town hall and clock tower were erected, juxtaposed with the old monuments (Hosagrahar, 2005). The institutional typologies had two-fold functions. Firstly, they were embodiment of colonial cultural occupation on the doorstep of the indigenous patron. The typology of library was a symbol of the Modern Enlightenment (Gillen, Ghosh,2007), an initiative of the British to 'educate' the locals. Such supposition of cultural superiority is an integral part of the colonizers where the essential white man thinks he can teach the savage indigenous (Bhabha,2014). Secondly, the colonial institutional structures in the old core were built in face of the decadence of the indigenous socio-cultural fabric. The structures not only confronted the indigenous milieu of Old City but they were simultaneously communicating a colonial imagery in a permanent form. The intervention of the British inside the indigenous has become a memory project of colonial assertion in the post-colonial times and resulted into Indigenous Moderns (Hosagrahar,2005, p.6). Hosagrahar follows on Bhabha's concept of 'splitting' (Bhabha, 2014, p.130) where the spatiality of the indigenous core under colonial influence is marked by 'formal contradictions and absence of coherence' (Hosagrahar,2005,p.7) which is a 'kitsch version of European modernism or a sullied on of local traditionalism' (Hosagrahar,2005,p.7). In this sense, the colonial project aimed to disband the extant socio-cultural and socio-spatial processes. The extent of the disbandment remains to be assessed in the contemporary post-colonial situation which has been explored in the city of Nagpur (India). Drawing from Richard G. Fox's idea of anthropological approach towards cultural aspects of the city, the method of narrative inquiry has been adopted to explore current nuances of the post-colonial socio-spatial situation.

Post-Colonial narratives (case of Nagpur City)



Figure 1 Location of Nagpur in India, Retrieved February 15, 2018 from <http://www.freeworldmaps.net/asia/india/political.html>

The socio-cultural morphology of the post-colonial Nagpur (which was erstwhile a provincial capital) consists of the Indigenous Core and the Colonial Core. A field of study was demarcated in the Old Core to explore the cultural influence of the colonial period. For a thorough study, the field was an ensemble of neighbourhoods near the royal precinct. This location consists of families that had migrated with the king since the inception of the Old City, and hence, their cultural narratives would provide a deep insight across generations.

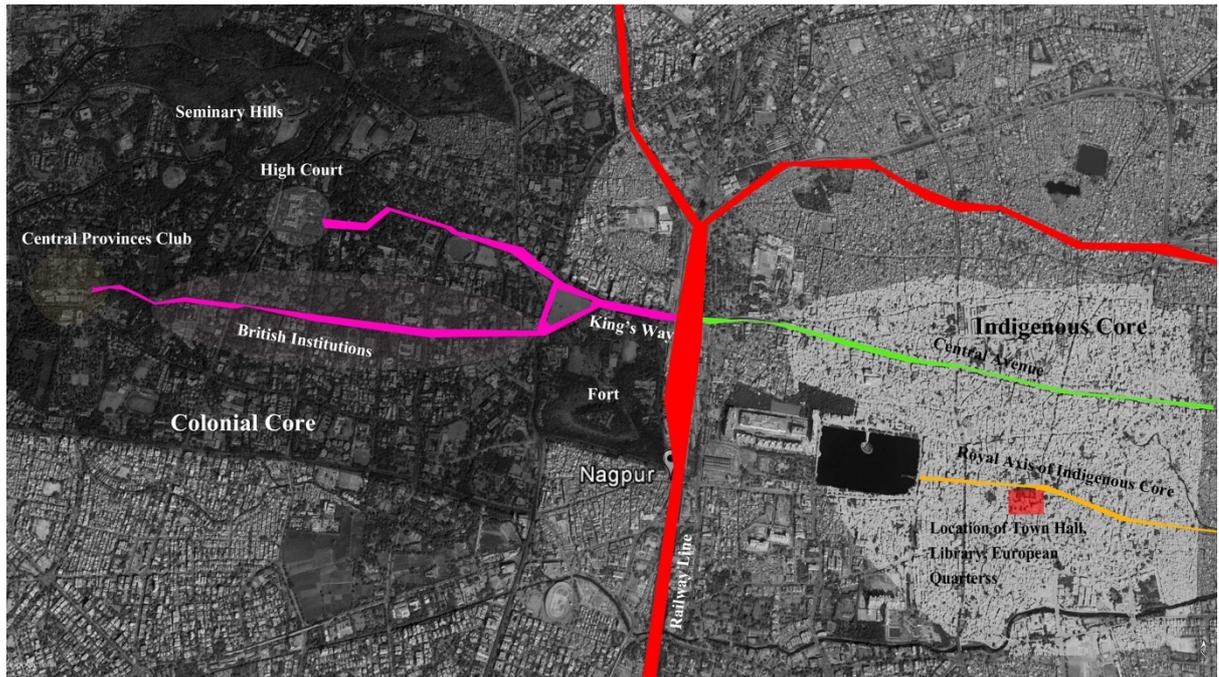


Figure 2 The Colonial Core and Indigenous Core indication. Google earth Pro V16.00 (Aprli 29, 2017). Nagpur, India. 21°09'40.19"N 79°05'51.99"E, Eye alt. 19271 feet. Jabuary 11, 2018.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted so as to give freedom to elaborate on the narratives as they unfold through memories. A small sample size of sixteen people was chosen. Different age group sections were considered for the interview to have multiple experiential and introspective possibilities of interpretations. The narrative inquiry was then subjected to coding and following categories were derived-

a) Temporal experience about socio-cultural dynamics



Figure 4 Temples acting as references in the Indigenous Core signifying socio-cultural practices, Mahal, Nagpur. January 25, 2018.



Figure 3 Temples as aggrndizements in the indigenous modern landscape, Mahal, Nagpur. January 28. 2018.

The narrative inquiry indicated that the concept of time is a derivative of socio-cultural practices i.e. activities which help relate people with the past and imagine the future. The temporal persistence/presence of the 'old' (the extant socio-cultural aspects) is apparent in the post-colonial times. This temporal character of the persistence of the 'old' demarcates the physical boundaries of the 'city', meaning that the physical space of the city is cognitively structured by the governing collective cultural practices. The collective historical cultural practices constitute a 'tribe', not only in the intangible sense but also as a specific structure of a space as a socio-cultural construct. The morphological changes vis-à-vis modernity (either in the public spaces or in the social mores) and the loss of social patronage to indigenous culture creates multiple temporalities which has caused cultural heterogeneity and partialized the orthogenetic constitution (Fox, 1977) of the Indigenous Core.

b) Role of memories in retrospection

Historical recollections of incidences of collective importance are vital to the concept of identity. For example, through the narrative interviews it became evident that the story of the journey of people with their king from a distant land to Nagpur continues to be a reference point of identity. All socio-spatial activities are an extended narration of this. Families across generations who have known the

story have developed close bonds which help to identify themselves as community. Thus the 'Old City' is a socio-spatial construct of collective memories of people.

c) Contestation of place identity

The persistence of socio-cultural patterns is important for the collective experience of the place and identity. The meaning of the city is determined by the cultural cognizance of the place. A change in this cognizance means a change of place. Hence, when enquired about the culture that colonial situation brought about, the indigenes distinguish it from their settlement as 'us and them'. But in the post-colonial situation, the persistence of the socio-cultural milieu of the indigenous is challenged by modern aspects of education (western), lifestyle (weakening of social bonds), incursion of spaces by commerce and non-indigenous citizens (commercialization of space and weakening of communities) and even loss of indigenous architecture (wada systems), thus resulting in decreased social patronage of place-specific ways of living.

d) Indigenous modern spatiality

Residences- The houses (locally known as wadas) are still of cultural significance, for they hold an identity of status and vitality in the Old City. The change in the socio-spatial composition also refers to the physical change that the indigenous houses have undergone in the post-colonial times. Modern living concepts are changing the gendered-centric spatiality and expression. But the narrative inquiry revealed that such re-structured architecture is still addressed as 'wadas'. Despite the altering tangible and intangible aspects and of wadas, the persistence of the concept withholds the indigeneity of people.



Figure 5 A part of wada (residential typology) has been converted into modern housing, Mahal, Nagpur. December 29, 2017.



Figure 6 Traditional spatial element of courtyard which acted as a locus of socio-spatiality in indigenous 'wada' typology, Mahal, Nagpur. February 8, 2018.

Public spaces- The Indigenous Core of Nagpur has its own festival, which clearly sets it apart from the colonial and post-colonial extensions. This adds to the authenticity of indigeneity. Moreover, the erstwhile royal house still gives patronage to celebration of festivals. This suggests that the former King (who retains the royal title) culturally administers people of the Indigenous Core. As quoted by a

subject- 'for them it is a matter of fancy but for us it is a matter of tradition'. This suggests the binary of 'us and them'.

The colonial infrastructure built inside the indigenous fabric (town hall, library, mess and living quarters) has been appropriated as spaces of local activities and also holds a prime cognitive location for public festivities. This implies that in modern times, despite the historic association of such spaces with the British cultural occupation, the colonial urban artifacts have gained a local identity as an intrinsic part of the indigenous fabric leading to hybridization of identity of the indigenous.



Figure 8 Colonial 'Native Library' accompanied with open spaces is an important public place in the indigenous core, Mahal, Nagpur. February 15, 2017.



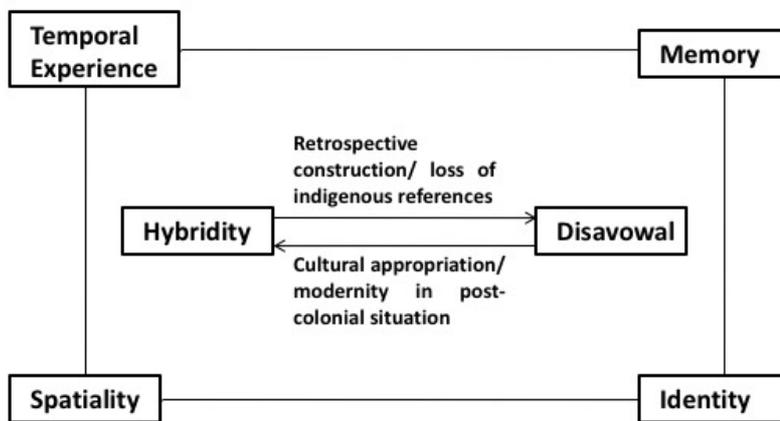
Figure 7 The Gandhi Gate, signifying the royal axis of the indigenous core still functions as a procession pathway for festivals, Mahal, Nagpur. January,25,2018.

e) Post-colonial disavowal

In the post-colonial situation, it is difficult for people outside the Indigenous Core to identify with its culture. The Old City is addressed as a spectacle with cognitive barriers designed by the British that separate socio-cultural urban landscape intact. The cultural differences between the indigenous core, the colonial core and the post-colonial extensions thrive on 'retrospective constructions' (Huddart, 2006, p.124). Thus the post-colonial situation of the Indigenous Core encourages an urbanism of cultural assertion as a means of disavowing the culture of the non-indigenous despite embodying modernity in the same socio-cultural fabric.

Conclusion:

In Indian cities, two distinct cultural narratives and retrospective constructions, - the indigenous and the colonial, have a continuing disagreement upon the authority of narrative which constitutes the memories that determine the place itself. In the post-colonial period, urbanism is determined by the authority and counter-authority of the cultural narratives; it is determined by the disavowal in the form of appropriation of the colonial by the indigenous. The fact that such a disavowal persists vis-à-vis modernity in the post-colonial times is because the vitality is threatened by modernity. Counter-authority suggests that urbanism of the city constitutes of 'hybrids' (Huddart, 2006, p.125)- whereby the 'oriental gaze' has turned upon itself causing ontological disavowal through process of appropriation. The prtialization of indigenous identity and erosion of indigenous references determines the post-colonial situation of Indian cities which have undergone colonial influence. The following diagram explains the same-



The anthropological field of the indigenous core can be understood to be a dynamic between the above mentioned temporal experience, memory, spatiality and identity, all of which are determined by the the process of hybridity. Hybridity itself is governed by retrospective constructions vis-à-vis loss of indigenous references (both tangible and intangible) while cultural appropriation of the colonial symbols continues to be the characteristic feature of modernity in post-colonial times. Epistemologically, the very constructs of the Orientalism have been internalized in the post-colonial times resulting into hybridity.

References

- Bhabha, H.K. (2014). *The Location of Culture*. Routledge Classics.
- Fox, R. G.(1977). *Urban Anthropology:Cities in their cultural settings*. Prentice-Hall International.
- Hosagrahar, J. (2005). *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating architecture and urbanism*. Routledge.
- Huddart, D. (2006). *Homi K. Bhabha*. Routledge.
- Kaviraj, S. (2012). *The Imaginary Institution of India*. Permanent Black.
- Khilnani, S. (2004). *The Idea of India*. Penguin Books India.
- Said, E.W.(1994). *Culture & Imperialism*. Vintage.
- Said, E.W.(2001). *Orientalism.Western Conceptions of the Orient*. Penguin Books.

Bibliography

- Bhabha, H.K. (2014). *The Location of Culture*. Routledge Classics.
- Castells, M. (2000). *The Rise of The Network Society: The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture, Volume I (Information Age Series)*. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Connell, R. (2008). *Southern Theory.The global dynamics of knowledge in social science*. Allen and Unwin.
- Fox, R. G.(1977). *Urban Anthropology:Cities in their cultural settings*. Prentice-Hall International.
- Gillen, P., Ghosh, D. (2007) *Colonialism & Modernity*. UNSW Press.
- Hosagrahar, J. (2005). *Indigenous Modernities. Negotiating architecture and urbanism*. Routledge.
- King, A.D. (1976).*Colonial Urban Development..Culture, social power and environment*. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Khilnani, S. (2004). *The Idea of India*. Penguin Books India.
- Said, E.W.(2001). *Orientalism.Western Conceptions of the Orient*. Penguin Books.
- Tharoor, S. (2016). *An Era of Darkness, the British Empire in India*. Aleph Book Company.

CONVULSIONS IN ROJHAZ AND VIRGINIA'S IDENTITIES IN *MARVEL 1602 #2*

AYŞEGÜL YILDIZ

Abstract

Marvel 1602 is a comic book series based on Marvel super heroes travelling back in time to 1600s' Britain. Along with the Marvel super heroes, the writer of the series, Neil Gaiman has made a decision to include another character with super powers, Virginia Dare, who is a character from an alternative history. She was the first born child in English colony of Roanoke that is known today as the lost colony. In the second issue of the series which shows the unfolding events just before the assassination of Queen Elizabeth I, the readers get to know Rojhaz, Captain America of Marvel universe, and Virginia Dare who is suspected to be at the centre of the events going on throughout the whole series. Although all superheroes in the series could be assumed to have more than one identity, in case of Rojhaz and Virginia, the issue of identity gets more complicated since they are also coming from the American colony of Britain. Therefore, Rojhaz and Virginia have multiple degrees to their identities including the identities of colonizer and the colonized and this is emphasized in the issue by the visual characteristics and the narrative at the same time.

Marvel 1602 (2003) is a comic book series based on Marvel super heroes living in 1600s' Britain. While the series opens with Nick Fury and Dr Strange, by the fourth book of the series we meet nearly all the super heroes that have been adapted to 17th century context. Along with the Marvel super heroes, Neil Gaiman has also made a choice to include another character with super powers, Virginia Dare, who is a character from an alternative history. She was the first born child in English colony of Roanoke that is known today as the lost colony. This paper will concentrate on the second issue of the series which shows the unfolding events just before the assassination of Queen Elizabeth I. There are several different events throughout the issue moving along in different settings. This is the issue in which the readers get to know Roj haz, Captain America of Marvel universe, and Virginia Dare who is suspected to be at the center of the events going on throughout the whole series. Although all superheroes in the series could be assumed to have more than one identity, in case of Roj haz and Virginia, the issue of identity becomes more complicated since they are also coming from the American colony of England. Therefore, Roj haz and Virginia have multiple degrees to their identities including the identities of colonizer and the colonized and this is emphasized in the issue by the visual characteristics and the narrative at the same time.

Comic books are a combination of textual and visual narratives. While we follow the story through the images, the textual narration also helps us to make sense of what is happening in the book. Neil Cohn (2013, p.3) emphasizes that there is a split between these two which is essential as to how each part is studied. Cohn (2013, p.3) suggests that "While 'comics' can be studied in a primarily sociocultural light (literary studies, political science, economics, history, etc.), visual language should be studied in the linguistic and cognitive sciences". Since both the visual language and the narrative are important to analyze the identities of Roj haz and Virginia and how these identities are delineated, both the linguistic and cognitive sciences and literary theory will be used in this paper.

In the first page that Roj haz and Virginia are seen in *Marvel 1602#2* (2003, p.6), the layout of the panels and flow of action immediately reveals a great deal about Roj haz's physical and characteristic features to the readers. Karin Kukkonen (2013, p.19) suggests that "mise en page," the layout of the panels through the page, lets the readers' attention fluctuate between what is happening in each panel and in the entire page which creates a connection between part and the whole and that's why, she says, "why both the unit of the panel and the unit of the page should be considered when analyzing comics" (Kukkonen, 2013, p.19). The page in question follows Kukkonen's idea in that; the actions in the panels follow each other and after seeing the details in each panel, looking as a whole also contributes a lot to the story. Panels in the page are set in "action to action" (Scott McCloud, 2006, p.10) until the last panel in which the focalization of the subject changes. Will Eisner (2000, p.89) suggests that "The primary function of perspective should be to manipulate the reader's orientation for a purpose in accord with the author's narrative plan" and here in this page the reader is able to see all scenes as a whole from a distance until the last panel and this gives the reader the power to observe and judge Roj haz's identity and character. In the first panel, we see a full body shot of Roj haz. About the showing of full figures, Eisner (2000, p.42) argues that it requires no sophistication on the readers' part since the knowledge is readily given. Roj haz's identity is already established as he is Captain America and here the visual language puts him in his new identity without changing his main physical properties. Roj haz is standing by the door. Both this image and the second panel where Peter comes in the scene emphasize his physical enormity by helping the reader compare the two figures. He also has strong muscles that are made obvious by his naked upper body. Therefore we understand that, unlike any other characters, he is huge although visuals of his clothing conform to the stereotypes. He has a feather in his hair and his hair is separated into two sections which look like two braids on each side. However, his white skin and blonde hair gives away to the reader that he is not a typical Native American. Therefore even from the first panel, the visual language gives clues about Roj haz's multiple identities. He is a Native American in this story but also

he is Captain America. Other than his physical appearance, his stance also gives us clues on his character.

Body language is also an important part of narrative as both Eisner (2000) and McCloud (2006) suggest. Even if we do not get a close shot of Rojhaz here, we can understand that he is a solemn and serious figure as can be seen in his body language-crossed arms, looking in front of him, and even when he is asked questions, he does not answer and he only takes action when he is to do his duty, which is to protect Virginia. On page 7 (*Marvel 1602 #2* 2003), in nearly every panel his strength and enormity is emphasized in visual language. In first a few scenes, we are able to see his proportions in comparison to both Peter and Virginia through the distant shots and in the last panel we see a close shot of him from what McCloud (2006, p.21) mentions as worm's eye view which emphasizes the grandeur of the image.

On the same pages (6-7) of *Marvel 1602#2* (2003), Virginia's representation also establishes certain facts about her character. We first see her on fifth panel on page 6 when she opens the door of her room upon hearing the voices. Although this is a very partial view and from afar, the panel that comes immediately after is a close shot of her face emphasizing her facial features. Eisner (2000, p.21) suggests that "facial expressions affecting the narrative require close-ups" and we know that both her facial expression here and more importantly her looks need to be emphasized to understand the further developments in the plot. Obviously her big blue eyes get the readers' attention as the brightest thing on the page along with her whitish hair. Both of these features are important in establishing her character as an English girl and also it is related to her shape shifting since she can change into animals with white fur only. On page 7, we see her full figure in a long white dress which is again an emphasis on her pureness and innocence as an English girl. From the narrative and from her facial expressions on fifth panel, we also get clues about her colonizer identity since even though she is a little child herself, she is commanding to a huge "Indian" who is referred to as her "savage" (*Marvel 1602#2*, 2003, p.7).

The next scene Rojhaz and Virginia are seen is when they are traveling to Hampton Court by boat (*Marvel 1602#2*, 2003, p.15). McCloud (2006, p.23) argues that a detailed established shot gives a strong sense of place to the reader. The established shot in this page likewise does so. They are in the middle of what seems like misty river which also contributes to the story narrated by Virginia. Here the textual narration rather than the visual language furthers the plot while the latter supports the narration. Virginia tells Peter about Rojhaz and his relationship to the colony. We learn that it was Rojhaz who helped her colony survive in "the New World" (*Marvel 1602#2*, 2003, p.15). This story is essential to the plot as it provides the background for the alternate reality the comic book presents. It is essential to Rojhaz's identity. As anthropologist Lee Miller (2007) includes in her book *Roanoke*, British colony in Roanoke was one of the first colonies settled in Americas. However, the colony is told to have disappeared and what happened to the people in the colony is still a mystery today. Only it is known that Virginia was the first born English child in the colony as it is learned from her grandfather John White's notes (Miller, 2007, p.35). By narrating this story here (*Marvel 1602 #2*, 2003, p.15), Gaiman provides the reader with the background on how Virginia comes about in the alternative history of the comic book. This story is as essential to Rojhaz's identity since Rojhaz, who is also Captain America is the savior of the colony and therefore, he is the person who facilitates modern day America's taking roots.

As a character, Captain America was created in 1941 in the middle of a wartime environment and designed as an image of the ultimate American who fights with the evil (Robert G. Weiner 2009). Jason Dittmer (2005) reiterates this point in his article as "Timely Comics (later Marvel Comics) created the character in an attempt to tap into the patriotic consciousness that was awakening in America [...] From its beginning, Captain America helped construct an identity for America and a geopolitical script". Both with his appearance and his character Captain America represents

Americanness as argued by Weiner (2009, p.10), "Superman represents the immigrant who comes to America, and finds the American dream—Captain America is the American dream". Dittmer (2005) also investigates the point deeper in his article observing that "Captain America contributes to the American geopolitical narrative by being ultimately defensive in nature" and with his willingness to die for his country (Dittmer 2005). Captain America is not a hero with super powers but rather an enhanced soldier, which contributes more to his character, as his *humanness* is obvious to the reader yet he is superior both physically and morally. As mentioned above, not only his self-evident American flag costume, but his physical appearance as Steve Rogers (tall white blonde man) is also an emphasis on his American identity. J.M. Coetzee (1992) reads the A on his chest "American" or "Adam" and defines Captain America as a man of duty, "Of course Captain America refers to his mission as simply 'a job'. The Christian hero is humble so is the hero of nation state" (Coetzee, 1992, p.109). As a representation of his high morals, he is duty-driven and aware of his responsibilities.

When these characteristics of Captain America are taken into consideration, Rojhaz's identity gains another aspect and becomes somewhat clearer only to be complicated later on with an emphasis on his colonial identity. Like Captain America who stands for American values and fight against the enemies of the nation, Rojhaz has a very similar role in *Marvel 1602* (2003), which is to save Roanoke colony and therefore be the founder of American nation in a sense. With his looks, he is still a representation of America. Moreover, as we see throughout the comic book what he only cares about is handling his duty. His solemn, serious, and responsible character corresponds to Captain America for that matter. As we have seen in his images on pages 6-7 of *Marvel 1602 #2* (2003) and also later in the comic book, he is a man of a few words which helps her image as a serious figure.

When we come to page 20 of *Marvel 160 #2* (2003), we get the chance to explore Rojhaz and Virginia's identities in relation to colonial politics more deeply. In the first panel, we watch Rojhaz, Virginia, and Peter entering the court. On this page, there is a different order in panels in the way that the second panel is larger than the first one that includes the establishing shot emphasizing the importance of the scene. In the first panel, we see that they are inside the court and once more we can judge Rojhaz's grandeur by comparing him to the soldiers near him. McCloud (2006) mentions seven different possible combinations of word and image in a comic. He argues that scenes may be word-specific while others are picture specific or they can act together in different ways. The layout of the page could best be described as "intersecting" (McCloud, 2006, p.130) as the words and images act together serving to the same purpose and supporting each other in creating a meaning. In the first panel, while Rojhaz is keeping his seriousness and humbleness, the messenger talking to him stands upright with his arms crossed looking arrogant. From the words of the messenger, his feeling of superiority could be heard. He says "The savage Indian. He must leave his knives and arrows, all weapons behind" (*Marvel 1602#2*, 2003, p.20). As it is obvious by his calling Rojhaz as "savage Indian", his position as the one who applies the rules gives him a position of superiority. As an establishing shot, this panel puts Rojhaz and Virginia in a different environment where power structures have changed. When Peter comes to the inn to take them, it was Rojhaz who is in power and questioning Peter; however, now he is the one restricted by the rules. Rojhaz's body language portrays a resentment caused by the changed circumstances.

The second panel (*Marvel 1602#2*, 2003, p.20) is a long shot showing them walk towards the queen. Will Eisner (2000, p.89) suggests that "The primary function of perspective should be to manipulate the reader's orientation for a purpose in accord with the author's narrative plan". This scene gives the reader a sense of detachment by distancing all the characters and also helps the reader understand the environment and size of the place. It also gives the reader the chance to see how the Queen sees her visitors. As we understand from the scene, they are in a huge hall walking towards the Queen. Even though we think they are close to the Queen, we can infer from their conversation that they are not close enough yet for her to hear them. The second and third panels create juxtaposition like a

camera's coming from distance to a close shot. While we see all the characters from afar in the second panel, we suddenly get a very close view of what is happening.

In the third and fourth panel, we witness another side of Virginia's identity as she is not only the first born child in the colonies but also a representative and even embodiment of Britain as she is named after the Queen (*Marvel 1602#2*, 2003, p.20). This statement makes Virginia like a double of the Queen, a representative of British values in foreign soils. However, this gets complicated by what is coming immediately after. On fourth panel, the Queen asks Virginia if the "wild man" was her servant to which she answers "No, majesty. He is my protector and my friend" (*Marvel 1602#2*, 2003, p.20). From this exchange, we gather that even though Virginia comes from a colonizer culture, she is not exactly the stereotypical colonizer figure. This point is complicated further by the text as she can change into animals, a motif that has a very significant place in Native American culture. In his *Location of Culture*, Homi Bhabha (2004) uses the concept "hybridity" to explain the stance of the cultures or the people when two different cultures meet. He suggests that in the event of such a meeting, there happens an interaction between them and this in-between "passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy". Bhabha (2004, p.37) argues that this hybridity opens up new possibilities, "a space that can accept and regulate the differential structure of the moment of intervention without rushing to produce a unity of the social antagonism or contradiction". Hybridity as a phenomenon is inevitable since there are always certain fractures in the social structure through which residues of each culture reach and blend into each other. In that sense, Virginia is a hybrid creature. She was born into the very intersection of two different cultures and she has the identities of both the colonizer and the colonized. We can see that in her words and manners as in the panel mentioned above and it is also articulated through her shape-shifting powers.

At the last panel of *Marvel 1602#2* (2003, p.21), we see an enormous white owl with big blue eyes. Before we see the owl in the last panel, we get several visual clues as to the identity of that owl. In the second panel, we see a helpless Rojhaz, for instance, who has his head in his hand while the assassin lies on the floor with claw marks on his face (*Marvel 1602 #2*, 2003, p.21). In the third, panel we are given a part of what looks like a wing from afar only to see in the last panel that it is a huge owl (*Marvel 1602#2*, 2003, p.1). We get the image along with Peter's question "Where is Virginia?" (*Marvel 160#2* 2003) which gives us the last clue of who we are looking to in the face of the owl. It is also reinstated with the large blue eyes that the owl is actually Virginia. By the end of the series we learn that Virginia can change into white animals, a secret that is known only by Rojhaz. This shape-shifting contributes a great deal to the idea of Virginia's hybrid identity since transforming into animals is a common theme in Native American myth as stated by Dawn Bastian and Judy Mitchell (2004). They note that "Occasionally, evildoers transform themselves into benign creatures in order to facilitate their wicked ways. In other tales, the transformation occurs as the outcome of an event or series of events in which the individual finds himself or herself" (Bastian and Mitchell, 2004, p.203). They also give a lot of different examples of stories including white animals in their book. Thus, a part of Virginia's identity is closely related to Native American culture and this is a very symbolic relationship too, in the sense that she sets the roots of modern day America as the first born immigrant child on that land.

To return to Rojhaz, his identity also gets another more complicated degree to it with the issue of the colonizer and the colonized. We get introduced with his Captain America identity in the beginning; however, from the moment he enters the court, the emphasis is on his identity as the colonized. As mentioned above, when they are entering the palace, he is addressed as "the savage" (*Marvel 1602#2*, 2003, p.20) and the Queen being gentler addressed him as "the wild man" (*Marvel 1602#2*, 2003, p.20). The narrative gets more complicated from there on since Virginia says Rojhaz is "Indian" to which the Queen responds with astonishment saying "We had thought them all black of hair and

red of skin" (*Marvel 1602#2*, 2003, p.20). Rojhaz, seen inferior in terms of social class and named as servant before, now gets another level to his "otherness" with the issue of race. Virginia conveys that her father says that Rojhaz is proof that the Welsh must have visited the New World long before the Spanish and left a little of themselves behind (*Marvel 1602#2*, 2003, p.20). In her words, there is a hint of honor to both Virginia and the Queen since "white men" visited an undiscovered island while Rojhaz turns into a symbol of possible rape since he does not look like a typical Native American and his ancestors are unknown.

There are multiple levels to the issue of colonization seen throughout the comic book. The conversation continues with the stereotypes expected from an "Indian", like to dance. Edward Said (2003) explains his coined term "Orientalism" as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient—"dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient". Actually what Said designates here is a layout of the every colonizer-colonized power structure. As the colonizer always sees itself entitled to define "the colonized" as the Queen does with "Indians". They are meant to be red-skinned, black-haired entertaining figures (*Marvel 1602#2*, 2003, p.20). Rojhaz does not conform to these stereotypes. As Virginia is not a stereotypical colonizer, Rojhaz is not a stereotypical colonized according to the colonizer's definition. In the last panel on page 20 (*Marvel 1602 #2*, 2003), Rojhaz is placed closer to the reader and the figures and expressions of the Queen and Rojhaz are juxtaposed. While Rojhaz stands with his solemn figure, the Queen has an expression of displeasure since Rojhaz is not conforming to her wishes and expectations both by his physical appearance and body language. He towers over the Queen with a grave expression in his face and as a reply to all of the Queen's questions based on the western stereotypes on his identity, the only answer Rojhaz gives is "I...am...Rojhaz...Protect her" (*Marvel 1602#2*, 2003, p.20).

In *Marvel 1602* (2003), different superheroes from Marvel universe have different identities attuned with the age they are in. However, in the case of Rojhaz and Virginia, the issue of identity gets even more complicated as a result of additional colonial concerns. Both Rojhaz and Virginia have multiple levels to their identities which are made clear by both the visual language and the narrative of *Marvel 1602 #2* (2003). While Rojhaz already has an identity as Captain America sent to 1602, with his becoming an "Indian" in this universe his identity gains another aspect as he functions as both the colonized and the colonizer at the same time. As Captain America, he is from the lineage of the colonizer, but as Rojhaz, he is the colonized. However, he still stays true to his identity as Captain America by saving the British colony and letting the roots of America settle. For Virginia, the issue of identity is also complicated as she is a girl with shape-shifting abilities and also she is a representative of the cultures of both the colonized and the colonizer.

References

- Bastian, Dawn E, and Judy K Mitchell, 2004. *Handbook Of Native American Mythology*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO.
- Bhabha, Homi K, 2004. *The Location Of Culture*. New York: Routledge.

- Coetzee, J.M., 1992. Captain America in American Mythology. In: David Attwell, ed. 1992. *Doubling The Point*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. pp.107-115.
- Cohn, Neil, 2013. *The Visual Language Of Comics*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Dittmer, Jason, 2005. Captain America's Empire: Reflections On Identity, Popular Culture, And Post-9/11 Geopolitics. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 95(3), pp.626-643.
- Eisner, Will, 2000. *Comics and Sequential Art*. Florida: Poorhouse Press.
- Gaiman, Neil, 2003. *Marvel 1602*. New York: Marvel Comics. Vol 1 No 2.
- Kukkonen, Karin, 2013. *Studying Comics and Graphic Novels*. West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell.
- McCloud, Scott, 2006. *Making Comics: Storytelling Secrets of Comics, Manga and Graphic Novels*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Miller, Lee, 2007. *Roanoke*. New York: Scholastic Nonfiction.
- Said, Edward W., 2003. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin.
- Weiner, Robert G., 2009. Introduction. In: Robert G. Weiner, ed. 2009. *Captain America and The Struggle Of The Superhero*. Jefferson: McFarland. pp. 9-15.

KABYLES' DECISION MAKING PROCESS IN MIGRATING: PUSH-PULL FACTORS AND DESTINATION CHOICE

IMENE HAMANI

PhD Researcher, The University of Northampton, United Kingdom

Abstract

In a multicultural society, such as the United Kingdom, it is important to explore the reasons that prompted the minority ethnic groups to leave their country of origins. Broadly speaking, the motive behind migration is often to seek a better quality of life (Nesdale et al., 1997). The study of Kabyles' decision in emigrating to the 'UK' known as the host society requires research for understanding their lived experiences in their country of origin 'Algeria'. The current paper aims to understand Kabyles' decision in leaving their homeland, the choice of their country of destination and their lived experiences in both countries Algeria and the UK. An examination of the host society is another important aspect that could determine whether Kabyles have found a new home, where they satisfy their needs and have a sense of belonging. As Georgiades et al. (2007) argue when considering the process which migrants are going through, it is important to consider the countries of origin as well as the host country. Data collected in the current study resulted from retrospective self-completed diaries and in-depth semi-structured interviews with five Algerian Kabyles migrants living in the UK for over 14 years. Kabyles' decision in migrating to the UK is characterised by two important factors (1) push factors such as social and political factors, and (2) pull factors such as human rights, employment and lifestyle. These factors are explored from an interpretive perspective to gain a better insight into the way both countries; Algeria and the UK influence Kabyles' decision making in leaving their homeland. The focus of interpretative approach is to seek to understand a particular context rather than to discover universal rules (Willis, 2007). As the current study seeks to explore the reasons for migration among a specific ethnic group and in specific contexts, this paper explores how the meaning that the participants make of their experiences in relation to the social reality influenced by their country of origin and their society of settlement.

Keywords: Kabyles, migration, push and pull factors.

Introduction

In the study of a specific ethnic group, it is important to provide a brief definition of that group in terms of origins and geographical location. Furthermore, in the study of migration, it is important to consider the author's use of the term 'migration'. Kabyles are a subgroup of Amazigh or Berber ethnic group known as the native inhabitants of North Africa (Michell: 1903; Gallisot: 1994; Maddy-Weitzman: 1996; Hannoum: 2008; Silverstein: 2013; Aitel: 2014; Maddy-Weitzman: 2016). In terms of race, in Morocco and Algeria, they represent 80 percent of the population, more than 60 percent in Tunisia and Libya and 2 percent in Egypt, making more than 50 million people the national boundaries and about 4 million living in Europe. However, many people with Amazigh origins claim to be Arabs due to the Arabisation of the North Africa (the process of making Arabic the national language).

Therefore, in terms of identity, they represent 40 percent in Morocco, 30 percent in Algeria, 5 percent in Tunisia, 10 percent in Libya and 0.5 percent in Egypt. About 2 million of Berbers people living in Europe perceive themselves as Berbers (Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007). According to Michell (1903), there are four subgroups of Imazighen in Algeria who are linguistically and physically distinct; Touareg, Kabyle, Chaouais and Mzab. The Kabyle group, however, is the most influential and the largest Berber group, and they live in the hills on the Mediterranean littoral.

Broadly speaking, migration is the displacement of the individual group from one location to another for different reasons, for example; to seek better employment opportunities or to flee persecution and the migration could be either temporary or permanent (Hanger-Zanker, 2008). Migration can be either within the national borders from rural to urban areas or across the borders from developing to developed countries such as the US and European Union (especially the UK), which are the biggest magnet for foreign students (Kingma, 2001). The term migration in the current paper, however, refers to those individuals who move from their country of origin to the destination country to seek permanent residence. The latter is a phenomenon that is rapidly increasing around the world, particularly in the EU, Australia, and Canada (Kępińska, 2007). For clarifying the terminology, it is important to look briefly at other types of migration to better understand migrants' decision making in migrating. Labour migration, family migration and humanitarian migration are the different types of migration. Labour migration suggests that some individual migrants to go the destination country either temporarily or with the intention of settling permanently. In both cases the aim is to work and earn money, however, in the former the individual migrants have the intention to return home after earning money (Green et al., 2008). Family migration category has four subcategories; family formation, accompanying family for labour, family reunification and international adoption (OECD, 2017a). Humanitarian migration such as asylum seekers and refugees try to escape to the nearest country seeking for safety (Piesse, 2014).

There is no a prior research that has explored the determinants of Kabyle migration into the UK. Therefore, an overview of the migration patterns is important in leading the current study. An in-depth exploration of Kabyles' decision to migrate to the UK is needed to answer my research question; what is the reason or reasons that prompted Kabyles to migrate to the UK? The results will enable an examination of both periods pre-migration and post-migration in order to provide a greater insight of their psychological needs. In addition, it will enable an understanding the selection of the UK as a country of destination.

Overview of Paper

The current paper is organized as follows: the 'The Push-Pull Theory for Migration' section contains a brief overview of the literature discussing the main factors influencing migration. The 'Methodology and Ethics' section contains a description of the methodology of the research, sampling, data analysis procedure and ethical consideration. 'The Political Factors', 'Social Factors', and 'Why is the UK Perceived as a Magnet Destination Country?' sections determine push and pull factors in Kabyle migration respectively. The final sections on 'Conclusion' and 'Limitation and Areas for Further research' summarise the findings and describes the limitations of the current study.

The Push-Pull Theory for Migration

A brief literature review on push and pull theory makes it possible to understand the main determinants that push and/or attract individuals to migrate. In the last 15 years, the labour markets of most OECD countries including the UK have experienced an increased labour market requiring more complex skills relative to manual and routine skills that are not wanted by the native people (D'Amuri and Peri, 2014). Therefore, today the countries of destination are mainly Northern and Western European countries because they offer more opportunities for labour migration and settlement than the previous receiving countries such as the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand or

Argentina. The inflow into the European countries is dominated by different reasons such as labour migration, family reunification, refugees and asylum seekers and permanent settlement (Castles et al., 2014). During the period between 1950 and 1971, the UK migrants came mainly from the new and old commonwealth countries (Hampshire County Council, 2010). However, during the period between 1990 and 2001, the UK has known a different wave of immigrants that come from different parts of the world (Finney and Simpson, 2009). The reasons for migration depend mainly on the migration category and individuals' circumstances. Mejia et al., (1979) argued that migration is the result of different "push" and "pull" factors including political, social, economic, legal, historical, cultural, and educational (Cited in Kline, 2003). Push factors are the bad conditions found in the migrants' country of origin that push them to leave or to flee. Pull factors, however, are the favourable conditions in the destination country that attract immigrants (Piesse, 2014). The socio-economic and political conditions are the main determinants for migration (Kingma, 2001; Piesse, 2014). International migration also known as south-north migration can be due to more economic conditions such as being driven to seek for higher wages, better employment opportunities and, often, to escape the social and political situations of their native country (Kingma: 2001; Kline: 2003; Piesse, 2014). Internal migration also is known as south-south migration resulted from geographical patterns, differential income and the labour demand between the rural agricultural sector and the urban manufacturing sector (Czaika and Kis-katos: 2009; Etzo: 2011; Sridar: 2012; Zhang et al., 2015). Furthermore, in a heterogeneous society, where there may be ethnic, religious, racial, and cultural conflicts can be also classified as major pulling factors (Piesse, 2014). It is important to mention that the migration process is a complicated process in which migrants assess the disadvantages and the benefits of migration. As Hagen-Zanker (2008: 18) states: "it is clear that most migrants *do not take the decision to migrate in a social vacuum and that their family is likely to have some influence ... The migration decision entails weighing up the costs versus the benefits of migration*". Further, during the period of pre-migration individuals compare places and choose areas with the largest benefits but this decision making does not apply for all migration types. For example, in the decision-making process, the pull factors in the host country influence more economic/labour migrant than the humanitarian migrant. The former is more likely to choose a country that accepts their skills and qualifications. However, the latter is more likely to escape from his/her native country to the nearest country seeking for safety (Czaiker and Kis-Katos, 2009).

Methodology and Ethics

This study employs qualitative research. The results of this study are drawn from two in-depth semi-structured interviews and three solicited diaries with Kabyle migrants living in the UK for 14 to 32 years. The interviews lasted approximately for one hour to five hours. All interviews and diaries were conducted and written in English respectively. Although all interviews were digitally recorded, additional reflective notes were taken during the interviews regarding participants' behaviour and facial expression towards certain questions. These notes were helpful during the analysis, which helped me to reconstruct the context in which the participants were recorded.

To understand their reasons of migration among Kabyle ethnic group, a purposive sampling was used to gain an insight of their experiences from the subject-first hand relevant to the objective of the current research study (Smith and Osborn: 2008, Shinebourne: 2011). As it was not easy to access the participants, a snowball sampling was used to approach the participants (Babbie: 2011; Shinebourne: 2011). To achieve a heterogeneity in my sample group, I recruited both men and women with different educational level varying from A level to higher education level and who work in different domains.

In this paper, the transcripts and diaries were analysed by using Interpretative Phenomenological Approach IPA, the analysis follows the stages described in Smith and Osborn (2008). I began by analysing the interview transcripts and diaries case by case. During the analysis, I used the left-hand

margin for writing notes of important data. Then, I transformed the initial notes into emerging themes by formulating concise phrases. Upon the completion of coding, participants' own words and or phrases are used to create the themes to remain grounded in the text. To support those themes quotes are included in this paper. Although the themes were driven from the raw data, they were informed by the author's reading the literature as well. I have chosen to use manual coding in order to have a close interaction with the transcripts because IPA analysis is an interactive process between the reader and the text (Smith and Osborn: 2008, Shinebourne: 2011). Coding was iterative where new themes were added as they emerged from the subsequent interviews. I acknowledge that IPA analysis is time-consuming, however, it encourages in-depth examination of the data. Ethical approval for the current study has been approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the School of Arts and Humanities at the University of Northampton. Informed consent was obtained from all participants for both recorded interviews and retrospective diaries. For ethical consideration, the paper will maintain the confidentiality of the individuals being researched by changing their real names with pseudonyms of their choice.

Results and Discussion

The sample consists of two women namely (Twins Mum and Tamazight2) and three men namely (Painter, Musician and Tutor). Participants' age varies between 46 to 61 years old and all of them are married, except Musician who is single. Twins Mum, Painter, Tutor, and Musician were the main applicants. Three of them were married to non-Algerians; Twins Mum is married to a Welsh man, Tutor is married to an English woman and Painter was married to an English woman, but he divorced. However, Tamazight 2 has joined her husband 'painter', after he divorced. In terms of religion, Painter and Tamazight2 are non-practising Muslims, Tutor and Musician are Muslims and Twin Mums is non-religious. By the time of the interview, Twins Mum and Tutor had acquired British citizenship, while Tamazight2, Painter and Musician have only their permanent residence. At the time of the interviews, participants were either employed in a governmental organisation (Twins Mum and Musician), self-employed (Tutor) retired (Painter) and unemployed (Tamazight2). Excluding the unemployed and the retired participants, Musician works as cleaning supervision, Tutor works as a private tutor of physics and maths and Twins Mum works as Child Care Practitioner. All participants revealed that they came to the UK with no defined period in mind and their period of migration varied between 20 to 32 years. The themes analysed in this paper, focus on the reasons for leaving Algeria and migrating to the UK. As the analysis was progressing, the key themes of interest began to emerge and discussed under the broad categories below. Participants' quotes are used to illustrate their original views.

Rational for Kabyles' Migration: Push and Pull Factors

Social Factors

Participants indicated on the whole that their migration was influenced by Berber ethnonationalism that the Algerian government is undergoing. Most participants referred to the oppression and the cultural tensions between Arabs and Berber that still exists in the Algerian society. Painter who experienced such oppression and discrimination at the workplace, revealed that this is the main push factor for his migration.

"I will tell you the truth, I would never have thought to come here. The reason I came here I was actually sacked in my job in Algeria...when you come from a Kabyle region...and you work in Algiers with the Arab speakers and they see you are a good worker and you manage better than them...they caused me problems until I was sacked ...I came here because again the discrimination I had home".

Other participants felt also that their identity, culture and language have not been valued in their country of origin. This was mainly due to the Berber identity struggle that dated back to the out-group repression of both French colonial government and the post-colonial state, who identified Berbers as different from the majority Arabs and their culture as non-Algerian (Aitel, 2014). The French coloniser

adopted strategy 'divide and conquer' to weaken the Algerians through emphasising the cultural group distinction (Brett and Fentress: 1996; Maddy-Weitzman: 2011). Another strategy is providing Kabyles with separate cultural institutions (Forstag: 2008), which made Berbers better users of French than Arabs (Maddy-Weitzman: 1999; Maddy-Weitzman: 2016). Therefore, Arabs assume that Berbers have received preferential treatment from the coloniser French and reinforced their resentment (Maddy-Weitzman: 1999; Aitel: 2014). The continuity in differentiation between the two groups during the post-war has been felt by Tutor when he says: *"In my country...cultural differences have been used to divide...since the French occupation. After independence, the ruling powers have chosen continuity"*. It has been revealed that the post-colonial repression began in the early 1960s, where Tamazight radio station was limited to 4 hours daily programming and the use of Berber names and public expressions of Amazigh culture were illegal and discouraged by the state (Forstag, 2008). Tamazight 2 revealed that there is a lack of Berber media that is devoted to discovering Kabyle' leader opinions from their first-hand. *"we want the correct media, we don't have Kabyle media...the TV channel that we have they don't disseminate everything... It's limited"* (Tamazight 2). Further, she revealed the importance of Kabyle media for cultural maintenance among the second generation, where she reveals that her daughter learnt Kabyle through Kabyle songs. The acts of oppression and the intolerance of the Berber culture have resulted in resentment of Arab groups. This is expressed in Twins Mum when she goes on to say: *"I hate everything related to Arabic culture...I always felt that in Algeria I have been imposed everything, religion, tradition and the worse of all the Arabs values and language which I hate"*.

As a response to these oppression and cultural differences, Berber movement has emerged in the early years of the independence 1960s-1970s when a new generation of Berbers started to research and work on Amazigh identity (Forstag: 2008; Aitel: 2014). For example, the Amazigh movements including the Front of Socialist Forces (FFS) and the Rally for Culture and Democracy (RCD) have their national and democratic claims that are limited to Berber region. Their strong Berber constituency has prevented the FIS 'an Islamist National Assembly' to realize positive results in the different elections in the Kabylia (Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir: 2007). These cultural activist acts are also expressed among the participants of the current study who still use their Kabyle language and organise cultural events to protect their culture and language either nationally or internationally. For example, Twins Mum wrote: *"I love speaking in Berber with my Berber friends because I know, that the Arabs want to wipe it from the world. To me it is matter of challenging Arabs"*. Painter also revealed the purpose of participating in cultural events in the UK as a response to the Algerian state that tries to hide the Berber culture and also to discover the Kabyle culture to different nationalities; *"the government at home and bloody extremists want to disintegrate us completely, they are trying to brainwash us and make us forget where we come from and so on and we try to not allow them to do that"*. Similarly, Tutor revealed his participation in cultural activities since his teens: *"Back home I have always been a cultural activist as a teenager...I have been a member of the MCB (Berber Cultural Movement) which was born after the Berber Spring of April 1980"*. Songs is another form of protestation among Kabyle signers, such as the famous singer 'Lounes Matoub' who criticized the Algerian' politics and he supported the Kabyle culture through songs, which were often banned from Algerian media (Silverstein, 2003). Similarly, Tutor's privilege of singing enabled him to protest through songs *"At University I was a member of a music band that performed during the 80s at a time when singing in Berber was in itself a form of protest"*.

Berber activism movement aims mainly that the state recognises Berber culture and language. The riots of 1988 (see Silverstein, 2003) and 2001 (see Maddy-Weitzman, 2011), have resulted in recognition of Tamazight as a national language, which in turn has appeased the tensions in the Kabylie region in March 2002 (Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir: 2007; Maddy-Weitzman: 2011). Fourteen years later the Tamazight language became the second official language in the Algerian state. This resulted from the recent activist movements who rejected the idea that the government

did not have the budget to formalise the teaching of Tamazight language in local schools (Language Magazine, 2018).

Political Factors

In addition to social factors that have been reported by the participants discussed above. Other factors such as political and economic factors have an influence on their decision in migrating. It is important to mention that During the 1990s, Algeria had slipped into terrorism and civil war, a period that led to violent conflicts and the crisis of the Algerian regime. (Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir: 2007, Mortimer: 2015). This period mainly resulted when The FIS had forced the president Chadli Benjedid to resign in January 1992. Thus, Mouhamed Boudiaf headed the country in 1991 and he had tried to create a third path between an Islamist republic and a military regime, but the FIS had assassinated him in June 1992 and began to launch a campaign of terrorist attacks on soldiers and policeman (Mortimer, 2015). Although some participants in this study have not experienced this period that is referred to as 'Black Decade' because their migration occurred before the events, others did experience it. In his diary, Musician has reported that one of the main push factors that have influenced his migration is the political trouble *"My migration was voluntary even my country was passing through a tough political and economic conditions We called it the black decade the Berber identity was not officially accepted"*. The exact date of the assassination of Boudiaf has been reported in Musician's diary. This demonstrates the importance of this bitter incident in Algerians' life in general and Kabyle in particular:

"the country was politically in trouble as our president has resigned so five elements of the government took place temporary A new president came in brought from Morocco where he was an asylum for many years took the position he wanted to make changes, unfortunately he lasted only almost six months He was assassinated live in Annaba in 29 June 1992" (Musician).

Further, the migrants were living in the UK during that period of terrorism reported the empathy towards Algeria. This is the case with Painter who also reported during the interview about this period. For him the 'Black Decade' mainly resulted from the Arab leaders who gave the power to the extremists.

"...in the 70s then they started to introduce Arabic they...employed Egyptians to teach Arabic and then when it started...to become and to push toward Islamic system and hmm towards the end of 70s and unfortunately, then it exploded in hmm end of the 80s when the extremists become so strong" (Painter).

After only forty years of its independence, the Algerian economy and foreign policy returned back to its starting point that is brought by the 'Black Decade' consequences. Therefore, during this period, the Algerian diplomacy had little opportunity to rethink of its place in the Maghreb because it was more preoccupied with its internal issues. In addition to the political struggle, Algeria has experienced political transition. Five years after the terrorism, Lamine Zeroual had been elected as a president in November 1995 and resigned in September 1998. During his presidency, Zeroual gave a greater credibility in rescuing Algeria from the Black Decade, however, he did not have an ambition for the foreign policy (Mortimer, 2015). The army who still have a powerful influence in Algerian politics supported the election of Abdelaziz Bouteflika who has been elected the fifth present of Algeria in 1999. Bouteflika's election led to a change in the foreign policy (Mortimer, 2015), however, limitations still exist (Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007). The majority of the participants in this study were of the opinion that Algeria lack of good system governing the country which in consequence results in lack of social unity, employment and education. According to the limitations, Painter expressed his sadness about the fate of Algeria as being not well governed *"Algeria is a very rich country, if it was managed properly, we would live like the kings to tell you the truth but unfortunately, they destroyed the economy you know? Instead of going forward, we go backwards all the time"*. He also expressed the sadness towards the high living costs that could be avoided if there

were good leaders *“Life was much much better for instance in the 70s than it is now, the cost of living is so high, you have to have millions and millions to live”*. In addition, Painter revealed the lack of educational system in Algeria and he criticised the system by providing a comparison with the UK system:

“Here (the UK), you have a big opportunity hmm at any age even now if I want to learn something. I will learn it you know I have the opportunity, they give you the opportunity to learn, to improve yourself by any means... It’s something that you cannot find in Algeria like you know we don’t have the possibilities...For instance, you want to study maths suddenly you find yourself learning arts! So, hmm there is no choice at all! They don’t make it easy, they make it difficult for you ...It’s just trying to distract your life! We don’t have a system, it’s completely hmm no system what so ever”.

The Berber activism claims were not restricted only for state recognition and the inclusion of Berber language and culture (Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir: 2007; Forstag: 2008; Silverstein: 2013) but also, they protest against the lack of economic opportunities in the region and the growth of governmental hostility (Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007). Further, they claim the concrete socio-economic improvements promised by Bouteflika (Silverstein, 2003). Tamazight 2, however, claims for the human rights, she reported that there are no human rights in Algeria and the purpose of Berber cultural events and protests are in reality not limited to Tamazight language only: *“Why humans are not protected? All other countries have human rights but in Algeria, we don’t have! This is what we want really not only Taqbaylit [Kabyle language] Taqbaylit [Kabyle language]”*.

Another issue that Algerians are experiencing is the to freedom of speech that Tamazight 2 expressed during the interview. The rule of a democratic state normally should provide the freedom of expression. However, this is not the case in the democracy of Algeria, in which the Penal Code restricts freedom of speech and takes legal actions against anything that may threaten the state (Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007). In relation to Kabyle migrants, Tamazight 2 has expressed her anger about the lack of communication means that would enable Kabyle group to express freely about their culture and she goes on to say that the UK is the country of free expression:

“In Algeria, we don’t have the means, but this country gives us the means. We have many things to say, we know that we won’t go back to Algeria because our country isn’t ours! But at least here we have the means to talk and say what hurts us, we have freedom of speech, we can talk about the phenomena of this generation. This is a country where I can talk about my language”.

Tamazight 2 refers to the phenomenon that happens in Kabylie region such as crimes without any police investigation: *“Nowadays, it is usual to hear that someone dies like that without any known reason! Why no investigation. In the past, we haven’t had such things in Algeria. Nowadays, there are many crimes in Kabylia!”*. Although the government has a strong authority over the press, many analysts agree that the Algerian media is the most independent in Africa and the Arab world. The journalists and newspapers criticise Bouteflika, the influence of generals in governing the country, corruption of the state and reveal the conflicts that existed between the presidency and the armed force during Bouteflika’s re-election in 2004 (Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007). Religious restriction of the country is another push factor that has been expressed by Twins Mum for her being married to a non-Muslim, during the time when she was without papers she expressed her anxiety whether she could stay in the UK or to go back to Algeria by saying: *“I was pregnant my husband and I refused to have my children in Algeria. I wouldn’t take risk of asking him to go with me to Algeria because I married a non-Muslim”*. Further, she goes on to say that Algeria is becoming strict like the middle east countries: *“I grow up when Algeria was living the French ways and when people were much westernised. Now days I feel like going to Pakistan or backward Middle-east countries”*.

Other significant factors that have not been reported by the participants of this study, however, they have been examined in the literature that could be considered as indirect push factors for migration such as the high level of unemployment among the youth generation (Bardak, 2017) and gender discrimination and unemployment among women (Bouzidi, 2004). Although initiatives have been

taken to protect women from any form of discrimination (Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007) and to encourage them to participate in the parliament, other efforts are still necessary to achieve millennium development goal (United Nations program, 2011).

Why is the UK Perceived as a Magnet Destination Country?

Participants viewed migration to the UK as a path to better life prosperity. The pull factors vary according to specific participant needs. The main pull factor in this study is the fact that the UK is perceived as a multicultural country that accepts diversity and offers a good quality of life for its citizens, features that do not exist in Algeria. *"I have chosen this country (the UK) in this respect of the other cultures and identities, the fact that diversity is a cultural wealth rather than a source of conflict"* (Tutor). Having the same view as Tutor, Twins Mum said: *"UK is stunning country which respects all sort of religions and backgrounds"*. This view is also shared by Musician who revealed that *"As you know no discrimination or difference of ethnicity in the UK It is metropolitan country"*. Further, Musician perceives the UK not only as a multicultural society but also as the country of human rights. In which he says: *"I have chosen UK first of all is the country of Human Rights and it is a free country"*. In relation to his illegal status during his early years of migration, Musician differentiates the UK from other European countries in terms of papers checking *"the UK is really different from other European countries It was the only country where you can work without papers and walk without any checking on the street"*.

Another pull factor that influences Kabyles' migration is working abroad, which is perceived to be the best possible option for gaining higher income that can influence their quality of life. This may act as pull factors in deciding to migrate for economic reasons. During the interview, while recounting his work experiences, Painter talked about the wages that he gained in the UK that he refers to 'a lot of money', while the wages gained in Algeria he referred to as 'peanuts', which means that his salary in Algeria was lower than his UK salary.

"I was working five days, I was getting paid £250 and when I was working four days I was getting paid £200 which was a lot of money...I was paying peanuts in Algeria 1550 Dinar a month equivalent of £100 but at that time the Algerian dinar has the value" (Painter).

According to Pollards et al. (2008) migrants earn more money than to those workers in the highly skilled job in their country of origins, although they are concentrated in the low skilled jobs. Further, Tamazight 2 expressed the view that the UK provides job opportunity and encourages the migrants to integrate the occupational world, although with low language proficiency.

"I haven't had difficulty in my job search because there were a lot of jobs available hmm, in addition, I was working with my Algerian passport, I haven't British... they offered the job for me even though at that time my English was poor...I tell you the truth, in this country, it is not difficult to integrate with others, they understand that English is not our language, they will give you the time to improve and learn and even they help you in your language" (Tamazight 2)

Although participants have revealed that the UK society provides them with a higher salary, offers them job opportunities and encourages them to work, Painter did not deny that his work was difficult and time-consuming. He reported: *"The restaurant...takes much of your time, you work day and night...When you work in the restaurant it was all the time busy, so you have to give hundred percent...I had the problem of six hours sleep sometimes even less"*. According to Pollard et al. (2008), the fulfilment of labour shortage has a positive impact on the host society because the migrants tend to do night-shifts and work long hours, which in turn make an important tax contribution. Further, the migrant workers are unevenly concentrated across sectors depending on their country of origins (Green et al.: 2008b; OECD: 2017). According to this, in her diary, Twins Mum reported that at some points the natives are racists towards migrants in terms of employment. In which she says that: *"The only thing I can say about my work is despite in our policy it says no discrimination or favouritism, it is only on the papers, because if you look at the important jobs such as officer jobs they*

are all given to British Natives. If a foreigner applies for any of these jobs they will never get it no matter how good they are” (Twins Mum).

In addition to the uneven concentration of the migrants in the different sectors, Painter revealed the lack of jobs in comparison to the early years of his migration, in which he says: *“It was easy as I said in the 80s and 90s... now it tends to be more difficult... you have more people who apply for the same job... So, to get a job you have to be at your best”*. The saturation of labour shortage led to the competition between the EU and non-EU nationals. In the early 2000s, the saturation of the low skilled migrants in the Northern European countries led to the migrants from Eastern Europe to fill the medium skilled jobs due to the Eastern enlargement of the European Union, which in turn resulted in restrictions toward third world country nationals (Bardak, 2017).

Another magnet factor that attracts migrants is the social and housing benefits that the host society provide to its citizens. Some participants’ opinion of benefits is viewed as being an advantage. While describing the feature of the host society, Musician mentions the help that the UK government provide to its permanent citizens by saying: *“government can help and provide support Being a permanent resident”*. Similarly, Painter said that *“Britain is being described as a very soft target for benefits, it very easy to get benefits here”*. While others viewed as a disadvantage, the main explanation they offer is: *“They see us as we took everything...we took money but it’s not the same, people are not the same... others see us, emigrants equal benefits. No! We worked hard”* (Tamazight 2). Further, she shows her disagreement for asking for benefits by saying: *“Me for example, I never guide my kids to ask for benefits”*. Similarly, Twins Mum showed her anger towards the host society, which has complicated her settlement due to the fact that she is being married to a Welsh man. She wrote in her diary *“We didn’t need government money we are not scroungers, we had job, and house”*. Although all participants in this study are entitled to social and housing benefits, they did not ask help from the government and they revealed that have been working since they migrated. Both EEA and non-EEA migrants have the right to claim any income-related benefits, once they have worked and made National Insurance contributions (Hampshire County Council, 2010). However, migrants can only be eligible for social housing once they have their British citizenship or permanent residence (CLG, 2008). To gain citizenship in the UK, Citizenship and Immigration Act requires all migrants to contribute to the society, to speak English, support themselves financially, pay taxes and obey the laws (CLG: 2008; CLG, 2009). Further, sometimes migrants who work in hospitality or agricultural field have accommodation provided by their employer (Green et al. 2008).

Conclusion

This paper has presented qualitative results from semi-structured in-depth interviews and self-retrospective diaries with adults Kabyle living in the UK. This study explores the contexts of this research by discussing political and cultural struggles experienced by participants and how these contexts pushed Kabyle migrants to choose the UK as a destination country. The paper suggests that the current findings are primarily results that might be subject to change and examined in-depth in the forthcoming PhD research. The initial analysis that has been made upon the current context shows that the political and social factors have the potential force in influencing their migration. Kabyle migration history is more likely to occur during the war and post-war periods. In which France was the main destination country for Algerians in general, and for Kabyles in particular. The Kabyle groups are considered as being the most important and the oldest foreign community in France and who form clusters in industrial areas of France (Direche-Slimani: 1997; Lacroix: 2013). Their main reasons for migration were to find employment and improve their financial circumstances. Evidence in this paper, however, demonstrates that socio-political factors and seeking for human rights and better life prospect free of ethnic discrimination can be considered as the main push and pull factors for Kabyle migration. The migration type in this study demonstrated to be of two types: economic and family migration, in which men are the predominant main applicant. It has been noted that men

migrants are more likely to be the applicant migrant, while the women migrants are more likely to be a family migrant who accompany or reunify with the principal migrant (Cooke: 2008; OECD, 2017a). This is the case of Tamazight 2 who joined her husband 'Painter' after he has divorced with his ex-English wife. Further, it is important to look at the dominant migration channel into the UK. According to Hampshire County Council (2010), family migration has been found to be the main route for permanent migration, followed by labour migrants and humanitarian migrants. Although in this study the main applicants have entered the UK with different visa types such as tourist visa (Painter), student visa (Twins Mum and Tutor) and illegal entry (Musician), their permanent settlement is granted from their family formation with English spouses. Except for Musician who applied for indefinite leave to remain under the UK Immigration Act 2012 that provided the right to have an indefinite leave to remain for immigrants who overstayed their visa for 14 years or more. However, to be entitled to the permanent residence the applicant should not have committed any offensive act and should have no criminal record. Further, Kabyle migrants' decision choice was mainly influenced by weighing the benefits of migration in terms of employment and better quality of life free of ethnic discrimination.

Limitations and Areas for Further Research

The current study has two main limitations. First, quantitative research would be useful to determine whether the findings can be stable and consistent in other situations and contexts. Second, there is a lack of the relevant literature in the study of Kabyle migrants in the UK, a problem that was somewhat led to a limited access of relevant resources. In addition to this, there were no statistics showing the actual number of Kabyles in the UK, a problem that was mitigated by looking at Algerian population statistics in Europe in general. Due to the sample size, it has been difficult to determine precisely all factors that have influenced Kabyles migration into the UK. Therefore, it would be interesting for future research to compare the findings of this study with the experiences of other Kabyle migrants in countries such as France and Canada where their number is bigger.

References

- Aitel, F., 2014. *We are Imazighen: The development of Algerian Berber identity in twentieth-century literature and culture*. University Press of Florida.
- Babbie, E., 2011. *The basics of social research*. (5th edition). Belmont, CA: Cengage Learning.
- Bardak, U., 2017. Root causes and changing patterns of migration in the Mediterranean. In: Jünemann, A., Scherer, N. and Fromm, N., eds. *Fortress Europe?: Challenges and Failures of Migration and Asylum Policies*. [e-book] Wiesbaden: Springer Gabler. pp. 35-50. Available through the University of Northampton Website Library <<https://nelson.northampton.ac.uk/primo>> [Accessed 14 January 2018]
- Bouzidi, A., 2004. La femme dans l'économie Algérienne: beaucoup reste à faire. *Le Quotidien d'Oran*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.mediterraneas.org/article.php3?id_article=182> [Accessed 27 January 2018].
- Brett, M. and Fentress, E., 1997. *The Berbers*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, pp.350.
- Castles, S., De Haas, H., Miller, M., J. (2014) *The age of international migration: international population movement in the modern world*. 5th ed. Palgrave Macmillan.
- CLG, 2008. *Managing the impacts of migration: Across-Government Approach*. [Online] Available at: <<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120919210802/http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/migrationimpact>> [Accessed 13 December 2017].
- CLG, 2009. *Managing the impacts of migration: Improvement and Innovations*. [Online] Available at: <<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120919164456/http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/migrationimpactupdate>> [Accessed 13 December 2017].
- Cooke, T. J., 2008. Migration in a family way. *Population, Space and Place*, 14(4), pp.255-265.

- Czaika, M. and Kis-Katos, K., 2009. Civil conflict and displacement: village-level determinants of forced migration in Aceh. *Journal of Peace Research*, 46(3), pp.399-418.
- D'Amuri, F. and Peri, G., 2014. Immigration, jobs, and employment protection: evidence from Europe before and during the great recession. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 12(2), pp.432-464.
- Direche-Slimani, K. 1997. *Histoire de l'Emigration Kabyle en France au XXe Siecle*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Dris-Ait-Dris-Ait-Hamadouche, L., and Zoubir, Y., 2007. The Maghreb: Social, political, and economic developments. In: Amineh, M. P., ed. *The greater middle East in global politics: social science perspectives on the changing geography of the world politics*. Leiden: Brill. pp.261-290.
- Etzo, I., 2011. The determinants of the recent interregional migration flows in Italy: a panel data analysis. *Journal of Regional Science*, 51(5), pp.948-966.
- Finney, N., and Simpson, L., 2009. *'Sleeping to segregation'? Challenging myths about race and migration*. The policy Press.
- Forstag, B., 2008. Berber Identity and the Crisis of Algerian Nationalism. *Journal of International Service*
- Gallissot, R., 1994. Minorité ethnique? Les Berbères. *Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps*, 35(1), pp.21-28.
- Georgiades, K., Boyle, M. H. and Duku, E., 2007. Contextual influences on children's mental health and school performance: The moderating effects of family immigrant status. *Child development*, 78(5), pp.1572-1591.
- Green, A.E., Owen, D. and Jones, P., Owen, C., Francis, J., and Proud, R., 2008. Migrant Workers in the South East Regional Economy. Institute for Employment Research (IER) and BMG.
- Green, A.E., Owen, D., and Adam, D., 2008a. A Resource Guide on Local Migration Statistics. Institute for Employment Research (IER) for Local Government Association (LGA).
- Hagen-Zanker, J., 2008. Why do people migrate? A review of the theoretical literature. *Maastricht Graduate School of Governance*.
- Hampshire County Council, 2010. The story of UK migration: a compilation of literature on immigration and emigration in the UK and the implications for Hampshire. Spatial Strategy and Research
- Hannoum, A., 2008. The Historiographic State: How Algeria Once Became French. *History and Anthropology*, 19(2), pp.91-114.
- Kępińska, E., 2007. Recent trends in international migration: The 2007 SOPEMI report for Poland. *Centre of Migration Research Faculty of Economic Sciences, Warsaw University*.
- Kingma, M., 2001. Nursing migration: global treasure hunt or disaster-in-the-making?. *Nursing inquiry*, 8(4), pp.205-212.
- Kline, D.S., 2003. Push and pull factors in international nurse migration. *Journal of nursing scholarship*, 35(2), pp.107-111.
- Lacroix, T., 2013. Collective Remittances and Integration: North African and North Indian Comparative Perspectives. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, pp.1-17.
- Language Magazine, 2018. *Tamazight protests hit Algerian*. Improving Literacy and Communication. [Online] Available at: <<https://www.languagemagazine.com/2018/01/01/tamazight-protests-hit-algeria>> [Accessed 24 January 2018].
- Maddy-Weitzman, B., 1999. The Berber Question in Algeria: Nationalism in the Making? *Minorities and the State in the Arab World*, pp.31-52.
- Maddy-Weitzman, B., 2011. *The Berber identity movement and the challenge to North African states*. University of Texas Press.
- Maddy-Weitzman, B., 2016. "Berbers". *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity and Nationalism*. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Michell, G., B., 1903. The Berbers. *African Affairs*, Volume 2, Issue VI, 1 January 1903, Pages 161-194.

- Nesdale, D., Rooney, R. and Smith, L., 1997. Migrant ethnic identity and psychological distress. *Journal of cross-cultural psychology*, 28(5), pp.569-588.
- Mortimer, R.A., 2015. Algerian foreign policy: from revolution to national interest. *The Journal of North African Studies*, 20(3), pp.466-482.
- OECD, 2017. *International migration outlook 2017*. OECD Publishing, Paris. [Online] Available at: <[http:// dx.doi.org/10.1787/migr_outlook_2017-en](http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/migr_outlook_2017-en)> [Accessed 05 November 2017]
- OECD, 2017a. *Making Integration Work: Family Migrants*, OECD Publishing, Paris. [Online] Available at: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264279520-en>> [Accessed 25 January 2018].
- Piesse, M., 2014. Strategic analysis paper: factors influencing migration and population movements. Independent strategic analysis of Australia's global interests. *Future directions international*.
- Pollard, N., Latorre, M. and Srisandarajah, D., 2008. Floodgates or Turnstiles: Post-EU enlargement migration flows to (and from) the UK. Institute for Public Policy Research, IPPR.
- United Nations Development Program, 2005. *Human Development Program 2005*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations Development Program, 2011. *Draft country programme document for Algeria (2012-2014)*. Executive Board of the United Nations Development. New York: United Nations.
- Silverstein, P. A., 2003. Martyrs and patriots: ethnic, national and transnational dimensions of Kabyle politics, *The Journal of North African Studies*, 8 (1), pp. 87-111.
- Silverstein, P. A., 2013. The pitfalls of transnational consciousness: Amazigh activism as a scalar dilemma. *The Journal of North African Studies*, 18(5), pp.768-778.
- Shinebourne, P., 2011. Interpretative phenomenological analysis. In: Frost, N., ed. *Qualitative research methods in psychology: combining core approaches*. New York, NY: Sage. PP. 44-65.
- Smith, J. A., and Osborn, M., 2008. Interpretative phenomenological analysis. In: Smith, J. A., ed. *Qualitative psychology: a practical guide to research methods*. London: sage. PP. 53-80
- Soulaimani, D., 2016. Writing and rewriting Amazigh/Berber identity: Orthographies and language ideologies. *Writing Systems Research*, 8(1), pp.1-16.
- Sridhar, K. S., Reddy, A.V. and Srinath, P., 2013. Is it push or pull? Recent evidence from migration into Bangalore, India. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 14(2), pp.287-306
- Willis, JW., 2007. *Foundations of qualitative research: interpretive and critical approaches*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc.

FROM IMPERIALISM TO MULTICULTURALISM: A STUDY OF PAUL SCOTT'S *THE JEWEL IN THE CROWN*

BHASKAR CHETTRI, DHANANJAY TRIPATHI

Bhaskar Chettri, Research scholar, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, National Institute of Technology Sikkim, India. **Dhananjay Tripathi**, Assistant Professor, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, National Institute of Technology Sikkim, India

Abstract

The Raj era camouflaged with hyperactive social, political and economic developments bears integral testimony to the history of modern India. Historians and writers captured those tumultuous phase in their writings primarily highlighting the conflicts and tensions of the heyday of the period. The binary polarization of the imperialist British and the native Indians stood as a tumble in the understanding of human life where events mattered more than individual. Paul Scott in his breakthrough novel *The Jewel in the Crown* (1966) depicts the panoramic view of India presenting human life in extraordinary situations and shows the relation between the British and the Indian people in the historical backdrop of the Indian freedom struggle. The paper attempts to study *The Jewel in the Crown* in the light of multicultural vision where it traces the love and respect shared by the people living in India despite cultural differences and political odds. The novel acts as a bridge to multiculturalism from imperialism, addressing multiple voices and lending a desired platform to varied cultures and individuals. The novel, a conglomeration of fact and fiction, is an epic study of British India in its final years. It analyses the Indo-British relationship with its complexities and difficulties. The paper addresses the multiplicity of actions and reactions of the individuals involved in different relationships. The treatment of the author to the characters as equal denying the labels and categories to define individuals makes the novel an embodiment of multiculturalism and a classic of all time.

Keywords: multiculturalism, imperialism, culture, cultural differences, raj-era, binary polarization

The Raj era with all its social, political and economic development bears an integral testimony to the history of modern India. It is characterized by events that overshadows normal human beings and is more a chronological record of the tussles between the ruler and the ruled. It is also termed as a period of crisis, be it the political crisis, the social crisis, the economic crisis or the humanitarian crisis. Historians and writers captured those tumultuous phase in their writings primarily highlighting the conflicts and tensions of the heyday of the period. The result is the popular narrative of the colonizer versus the colonized. However, this important period in the Indian history has something more to contribute in addressing human relations of varied kind. The binary polarization of the imperialist British and the native Indians stood as a tumble in the understanding of human life where events mattered more than individual. The individuals take part in the event and contribute to history; therefore, individuals do need serious addresses before talking about the history of a particular period and drawing generalized conclusions from it. The monolithic representation of history no more finds appropriate mention as Rajan Joseph Barrat writes reviewing the book *Appropriately Indian: Gender and Culture in a New Transnational Class* (2011) by Smitha Radha Krishnan,

To define India from a macro historical perspective will perhaps not be possible in the near future. There seem to be two reasons at least for this, the first being that metahistories have gone out of date with postmodernism coming in, the second being that things are moving too fast in the vast sub-continent after globalization with different people of different cultural backgrounds who still would like to consider themselves Indian pitching in with their notion of Indianness. (2014: 1)

The present paper attempts to study Raj era in the light of Paul Scott's breakthrough novel *The Jewel in the Crown* (1966), where he depicts the real picture of India presenting human life in extraordinary situations and shows the relation between the British and the Indian people, missed by many in the historical backdrop of the Indian freedom struggle. It is always fascinating to study about India, a home to different cultures, languages, religions and communities and Scott did this very enthusiastically in the novel who had a thorough knowledge about the variety that marks being an Indian during his brief stay in India. The novel though set in the colonial period is not only a tale of the imperialist regime rather it is the flag bearer of different culture and can be studied in the view of multiculturalism, assessing the nuances of human relationship transcending the periphery of mere conflicts and divisions, thereby acknowledging a universal humanitarian approach. Many scholars engaged themselves in analyzing the functioning of the Raj, and addressing the action and reaction of the Indian subject to the historical events that loomed large, but in the process they failed to capture the important aspect of humanity and the union that prevailed in the empire for more than two centuries. Francine S. Weinbaum beautifully describes the novel as,

Panoramic in scope and microscopic in detail, the book recreates the events, sights, sounds, and smells of British India in the 1940's. Scott presents a picture, politically, sociologically, and psychologically revealing of how two nations came into tragic confrontation, and how and why British rule ended in failure and in a sense of diminished stature. (1978: 100)

The Jewel in the Crown presents the political and social affairs of pre-independent India by means of the different viewpoints of the individual character. The novel fits into multiple genre be it historical fiction, political fiction, comedy of manners fiction and presents life from different aspects in different circumstances, thereby propagating the idea of multiculturalism much before the term came into academic discourse. Scott beautifully records the changing life patterns of the Indians as well as the British more as a novelist than a historian. This is why the novel is a successful work of art written in the second half of the twentieth century about the first half of the century. The novel is neither the study of the British in India nor the study of Indian in the British regime, but it is a sincere attempt of the study of individuals placed in different social and political positions in the first half of the twentieth century.

Orville Prescott in his 1966 review of Paul Scott's *The Jewel in the Crown* wrote, "It may be one of the finest novels about India since E.M. Forster's *A Passage to India*" (Weinbaum, 1978: 100). The novel is a

...story of a rape, of the events that led up to it and followed it and of the place in which it happened. There are the action, the people, and the place, all of which are interrelated but in their totality incommunicable in isolation from the moral continuum of human affairs (Scott: 1).

Raymond Williams's idea of society and culture remains apparent in dealing with the cultural and historical aspects, where he says,

Our description of our experience comes to compose a network of relationships, and all our communication systems, including the arts, are literally parts of our social organizations....Since our way of seeing is literally our way of living, the process of communication is in fact the process of community: the offering, reception and comparison

of new meanings, leading to the tensions and achievements of growth and change. (1961: 55)

The novel from the very first chapter introduces characters larger than life, who are ready to face challenges and set the living example in appreciating humans and humanity. We are introduced to Miss Edwina Crane who “had lived in India for thirty five year of her fifty seven years” (Scott: 6). She is a missionary teacher in Mayapore and sets the tone of the novel in maintaining a bridge to multiculturalism from imperialism. Born to a middle class parent, she sets to India as a travelling nurse companion once her father died, leaving her to stand all by herself. Her mother died early and her father with whom she did not have a very affectionate relation brought her up. After her brief stay with Nesbitt-Smith family in India, she joined the mission school overpowered with enthusiasm and always felt at home with the students. She thoroughly enjoyed her new job and had a mystical love for India. She loved the company of the Indian women and she had initiated the custom of tea every Tuesday at her bungalow. However, the custom did not last long, Miss Crane was sorry of the affairs, when the Indian women suddenly stopped joining the tea. “What hurt her most was that none of the ladies had bothered to discuss their reasons with her” (Scott: 2). Further, she invited the young British soldiers for tea every Wednesday and enjoyed their company. She also loved her school children and carried a tin of boiled sweets as a gift for them every Thursday when she visited the school in Dibrapur. She was an ardent supporter of India and strongly believed that “India must be independent. When the war’s over, we’ve got to give her up” (Scott: 26).

Scott instead of concentrating on the popular historical events of the period dwells much on the individuals and their personal relationships. Events just shape the attitude of the individuals towards other individual. It in no way addresses the character in a single formula. For instance, the call of “Quit India” by the congress party is less relevant in the novel instead; the action emerged out of the individuals after the call for “Quit India” shapes the further destiny of almost all characters in the novel. None of the characters is concerned about the call for “Quit India”, instead they are worried about how it will shape and reshape their relation with the other characters. The major historical movement definitely leads to conflict and deviation, but Scott has something more serious to deal with. He is engaged in examining the private life affairs of the individuals and in the process, the social-political development becomes the secondary agenda. He is studying human characters in the backdrop of the Indian freedom struggle and not the Indian freedom struggle. Janis Haswell wrote, Scott “carefully placed his characters in various relationships to their environment, to each other, and to the reader” (2002: 65).

Scott found the love that existed among the people who lived in India in the Raj era including the British, Indians, Hindus and Muslims. The characters express their viewpoints, feelings, and thoughts with interpersonal communication and their roles are defined through their respective viewpoints in that turbulent period. The scope of Indo-British relationship through personal connections and individual attributes finds new vista in the novel. This is initiated with the ever-lasting relationship of Edwina Crane and Mr. Chaudhari, the teacher in the Dibrapur School. Class, race, nationality and religion do not in any way shape their relationship, instead circumstances strengthen their relationship and they are committed to serious sacrifices. They understand each other well, they know each other’s position well, and they know their duties well but they also know how to address tough time keeping aside their social position. They are individuals first, they are humans and they are committed to work for humans. On the day of the riots, Mr. Chaudhuri warns Miss Crane of the possible danger and advises her to stay back to Dibrapur. Miss Crane turns down the proposal and sets for the journey back to Mayapore. They hurriedly track down the students safely to their parents and Mr. Chaudhuri accompanies Miss Crane leaving his wife back at Dibrapur. They are meted out with a warm hospitality in the road by the parents of the children. They requested them to stay back and even warned them of the rioters but Miss Crane was determined to go back to Mayapore. Mr.

Chaudhuri could not let go Miss Crane alone so he accompanies her but they were halted down in the middle of the road by the rioters and Mr. Chudhuri was killed in the process. Miss Edwina was helpless, she could do nothing but later she ended her life committing suicide, which is a form of sacrifice in the suttee tradition.

The incident of riot followed by the call for "Quit India" is the crux for understanding difficult human relationships in the novel. Miss Crane who has been in India for several years and who had witnessed similar riots prior to this, failed to understand the intensity of the riot. She also failed to understand the situation and believed herself more than the situation. Her dual identity is revealed by her reaction to the call for "Quit India". Due to her white background, she always had a feeling of superiority deep inside her subconscious mind that is why she did not take the warnings forwarded by Mr. Chaudhuri and the parents of the children seriously. But her affectionate relation with the Indians shows that she can change if the need arises. Her sincerity and loyalty is revealed to its core when the rioters blocked the road while she was driving her car. It was Mr. Chaudhuri, who knowing the volatility of the situation asked her to drive the car in full speed without bothering the call of the rioters. He even says let them be killed if they block the road but don't forget to press the accelerator. Miss Crane tightened her mouth and prepared to obey but she failed and could not drive into a mass of living creatures.

I'm sorry, She cried and began to press on the brake pedal. She stopped the car some twenty yards from the man who was waving his arms, but kept the engine running. They weren't going to move, they'd have died. I'm sorry. (Scott: 63)

She thought her life is in danger than the life of Mr. Chudhuri but the rioters found Mr. Chudhuri to be a traitor who was enjoying the company of a white woman in this crisis. Nevertheless, she does not surrender to the rioters when they started bashing Mr. Chudhuri. She tried her best to help him escape the pangs of the rioters until she was tumbled down the three-foot embankments. When she regained consciousness, she walked where the body of Mr. Chudhuri lay and exclaimed, "Oh God. Oh. God, forgive me, Oh God forgive us all, and then covered her face and wept, which she had not done for years, and continued weeping for some time" (Scott: 66). She was later traced down in the mud at the side of the dead body of Mr. Chudhuri, holding his arms. This heart-rendering episode where an Indian died in a bid to save the English woman and the reaction of an English woman at the death of an Indian shows that political affiliation and political boundaries alone cannot cater to human emotions and human sentiments. They are different in race, colour and class yet they are similar as humans and it is this human trait that makes them equal.

There is again a development of love affair between Daphna Manners, an English girl staying in India and Hari Kumar, an Indian who has acquired English education and has returned to India after his father died bankrupt. He is well versed in English customs and traditions and he is more British than the other British characters in the novel. He likes everything about the British due to his stay and education in England. They hail from different backgrounds, they know their position and status in the society, yet they make an effort to relate as humans. Scott through a serious examination and evaluation of British imperialism, captures the ethos and echoes of the period, and come up with new possibilities and new dimensions. This is why, Crane writes,

Scott, I want to suggest, rather than reinforcing the relative importance of white ruler and brown ruled, as many earlier Anglo-Indian writers had certainly done, is concerned primarily in the Raj Quartet with what might usefully be termed the Index of Whiteness that operates within Anglo-Indian society, and indeed British society as a whole, and necessarily inflects the relationship between British men and women in India and Indians. (2004: 19)

Daphna Manners and Hari Kumar represents the embodiment of multiculturalism, they consider all humans equal and it is their personal trait that defines an individual where race, colour, nationality and class has nothing to do in defining humanity. They started with friendship and ended in love with

a very conscious frame of mind. Daphna is happy when their friendship blossoms into love and feels that they have attained a much-needed unification of races. However, the relationship is short lived, it dies premature. But they do not contribute to its death, the external factors led to the death of their transcendent togetherness. Daphna Manners is raped by a gang of Indian youth in the night of 9th August 1942 and Hari Kumar is arrested on the charges of rape by Ronald Merrick, the English police officer who had proposed her before Daphna fell for Hari Kumar. Later Daphna dies in childbirth as she chooses to go for a natural delivery despite knowing that it will be difficult considering her health. Ronald Merrick represents rigid imperialistic values, he is always aware of his racial superiority and he believes in acting tough with the rules that allow him to go tough. He holds a sense of hatred against Hari Kumar for being better than he in all regards despite being an Indian. He further hates him for being able to win the love of Daphna Manners. Therefore, he prepares for revenge with Hari and books him on the false charge of rape against Daphna Manners on the night of 9th August 1942. He places the bicycle of Daphna Manners outside the house of Hari Kumar and accuses him of being responsible for the rape. He also tries to take sadistic pleasure in the jail by torturing Hari. Scott writes,

Infact such people say, the affair that began on the evening of August 9th, 1942, in Mayapore, ended with the spectacle of two nations in violent oppositions, not for the first time nor as yet for the last because they were then still locked in an imperial embrace of such long standing and subtlety it was no longer possible for them to know whether they hated or loved one another, or what it was that held them together and seemed to have confused the image of their separate destinies. (Scott: 1-2)

The rape scene is important in determining the relation of the two nations as well as the relation of two nationalities. The rape can be explained as a metaphor to the rape of India by the British. But why are the characters reversed in the novel? Instead of an Indian character, being raped by the British there is the rape of an English girl by a gang of Indian youths. Why Daphna Manners asked Hari Kumar to be silent on the issue? Why did she mention that there was one Muslim in the gang? What prompted the youth to rape Daphna Manners who was making love in the Bibighar Gardens? All these questions remained unanswered in the novel. The possible answer may be the failure of mere binary divisions. Differentiations and distinctions mark hatred and can only lead to such evils, which can only harm the possible union of the two nation and nationalities.

We also have non-British characters in the novel like Mrs. Ludmila Smith and Doctor Anna Klaus who seem to possess admiration, love and respect to the culture and tradition of India. They are in awe with the values latent in India and they contribute in the sharing of positive energy with the hungry and the sick. Ludmila Smith distributes money to the beggars and feeds the hungry while Doctor Klaus is touched by the tragedies that she witnesses in the hospital. They treat the Indian characters as equal and they are not proud of their superior position, instead they use their better position to make the life of others better. Their humanitarian attitude to life opened a new dimension in the understanding of human values in the novel and this trait suggests how one should adapt and adjust in the society, contributing to the society as well.

The Indian character Shalini Gupta-Sen, the aunt of Hari Kumar who does not play an influential role in the society is very sensitive and open to the problem of other characters in the novel. After the death of Hari's father, she is the only guardian of Hari and she willfully allows Hari to stay with her in good terms. She is also very open to Daphna Manners, which by her standard is a very liberal approach. She invites Daphna Manners to her house and she does not care whether she is Indian or British. Shalini, in fact has a deep sense of liking and respect for the English language and she is touched by the British education of her brother, the father of Hari. She has also learnt the language from her brother and she regards the English language and western values in high esteem. She is not hesitant to oppose things that she does not approve of. She vehemently rejected the idea of

becoming a suttee when her husband died. Therefore, we can trace the multicultural values latent in her by her appreciation of the positives of others culture and at the same time by her stiff reaction to the odds of her own culture and tradition.

There is Lili Chatterjee, representing the aristocratic Indian class, who lives in the MacGregor house. She is happy to welcome Daphna Manners as a guest in her house and she enjoys her company. She is very vocal and says, "I am not a Hindu but I am an Indian. I don't like violence but I believe in its inevitability" (Scott: 77). She regards the presence of the British and the reaction of the Indians to the British raj as,

I have a feeling that when it was written into our constitution that we should be a secular state we finally put the lid on our Indianness, and admitted the legality of our long years of living in the sin with the English...The only Indians that don't realize that we are now really westerners are our peasants...One day, they'll want to be westerners too, like practically everyone else in the East and Far-East. (Scott: 77-78)

She seems adamant to her tradition but this is obvious as she is the product of colonialism. She is critical of Miss Edwina Crane and doubts her loyalty to India and Indians. But she does not hold any grievances with other characters, in fact she enjoys the presence of both British and Indian characters in her place. Nowhere she comes up with a mission to harm the other but she is very open to all the possibilities. Therefore, her approach is liberal and she does carry the seeds of multicultural ideas in her personal philosophy.

The daughter of Daphna Manners, Parvati, whom Lili Chatterjee believes to be the daughter of Hari Kumar is the new hope that emerges in the novel, a hope that there could be a cordial and a healthy relation between the British and the Indians. She is the torchbearer of the new order that seems to be in vogue after the breakdown of the old order in the land. She marks the end of the imperialistic regime and the independence of the country along with the birth of universal humanitarian approach to the individuals. Therefore, Banerjee rightly says about the novel in her article *Women of Affairs: Contrasting Images of Empire in Paul Scott's The Raj Quartet*,

It is time now to see it not simply as a major work about the end of empire, but also, and much more importantly, as an exploration of the greatest problem we face today how best to live our lives in a multicultural world. (2009: 83)

The novel thus, traces the characteristics of multicultural vision and propagates the idea of multiculturalism embarking the end of imperialism. Scott offers visions that well matches the definition of multiculturalism as given by Bhikhu Parekh in his book *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural diversity and Political Theory* (2000), that "it is neither a political doctrine nor a philosophical issue but actually a perspective on as way of viewing human life" (59). Scott does not hold any political affiliation. He starts with the assessment of characters and ends with one. Nowhere is he concerned with the fate of the Raj or with the fate of India. He is concerned about the characters and the fate of the characters is his concern. He successfully narrates what happens with the characters instead of what should happen to the characters. Here he successfully presents the individual in their respective cultural setup; silently commenting on the role of the individual in the society, he/she lives in. He fits in the definition put up by Edward Said who says while recognizing the interrelationship among culture, society and literature; "Too often literature and culture are presumed to be politically, even historically innocent, it has regularly seemed otherwise to me and certainly my study of orientalism has convinced me that society and culture can only be understood and studied together" (1991: 27).

Scott treats all characters as equal in the novel. He does not categorize or designate labels to the characters. Haswell opines that for Scott, "group alignment, role differentiation, labels of identity and value were the evils of the day. Dignity came from the fact that each individual was an I" (220: 171).

All characters are presented with the different circumstances they are placed in, and this is how he is able to come up with the thorough analysis of the era as well as of the characters entrapped in the cloud of different worldly and national phenomenon. Sometimes, he may seem Pro-British, but he is neither a propagandist nor a historian, so it is obvious that he moulds the presentation of the Raj sometimes left and right but what is important is his sincerity to human emotions and sentiments. He is much ahead of his time to realize union is the aim, his characters aim for unity either with India or Indians. He is also very different from his own British writers like Kipling and Forster, he sees the possibility of the holy union between the East and the West and is very pragmatic in his approach. For him imperialism is not the solution to address the global masses, he never glorifies the white man's burden, but silently he draws the conclusion where he sees the equal recognition to all the individuals is the answer to all the problems. He is hopeful about the unity of the East and the West but nowhere he is didactic, instead he leaves it open to the characters to decide and adorn what best suits them.

References

- Banerjee J., 2009. Women of Affairs: Contrasting Images of Empire in Paul Scott's The Raj Quartet. *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 44 (3), pp. 69-85.
- Barret, R.J., 2014. Appropriately Indian: Gender and Culture in a New Transnational Class. *South Asian Diaspora*. Book Review, pp. 1-2.
- Crane, R.J., 2004. Playing the White Man: Ronald Merrick, Whiteness and Erotic Triangles in Paul Scott's Raj Quartet. *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 39(1), pp. 19-28.
- Haswell, J., 2002. *Paul Scott's Philosophy of Place(s): the Fiction of Relationality (studies in Twentieth – Century British Literature, vol.5*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.
- Parekh, B., 2000. *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. Houndmills: Macmillan.
- Said, E., 1991. *Orientalism*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Scott, P., 2005. *The Jewel in the Crown*. London: Arrow Books.
- Weinbaum, F., 1982. *Paul Scott: A Critical Study*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Weinbaum, F.S., 1978. Paul Scott's India. *Critique: Studies in Contemporary Fiction* 20 (1), pp. 100-110.
- Williams, R., 1961. *The Long Revolution*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

RELIGION, GLOBALIZATION & CONSUMERISM: THE RISE OF THE HIJABISTA

YASMEEN ABU TARBUSH

Abstract

In a world of growing production and massive globalized markets, new types of consumption seem to be constantly emerging. Products and services catering to religious requirements or orientations of their adherents are reshaping the relationship between religious identity and consumption trends. The rise of 'halal', 'hijabi', 'hijabista' and other labels as profitable brands is an example of the growing 'identity-oriented' consumption in what has become to be perceived as a postmodern world. The relationship between religion and consumption is often the focus of several studies, with the seeds of Weber's argument on religious ideas of groups such as the Calvinists which played a role in creating the capitalistic spirit. Rapid developments in technology and communication enabled advertisers, media and brands to tap new markets, including Muslim consumers, leading many scholars to question whether faiths have become brands and symbolic goldmines to boost consumption. This paper addresses the relationship between Islam and consumption in a postmodern, globalized, somewhat complex, pluralist and media-oriented world, in addition to exploring the rise of 'hijabista', a concept that has been coined by merging the words hijab and fashionista and eventually spread with the use of social media applications such as Youtube and Instagram.

Keywords: Islam, hijab, fashion, religion, consumption, postmodernism, media, globalization.

Introduction

The changes brought by the industrial revolution enabled mass production to spread across the globe, which in return lead to mass consumption. Marx, for instance, saw social structures from within the dynamic prevailing in production modes. Later, many social researchers went to explore the parallel growth of advertising, branding, marketing, mass media which affected social behavior, identity, structures and vice versa. In a world where identities are more flexible, consumption patterns became a more central subject. To that end, it was argued that social determinants such as nationality, religion, sexual orientation, education, culture, social and political affiliations tend to influence how individuals and people consume.

Due to the technological advances the world is increasingly witnessing, individuals have easier access to communicating with others from different social and religious backgrounds. The large immigration movements from one place to another and the convenient, more economically-reasonable traveling options among other factors have played a major role in making societies more diverse. Even in the same community, new questions began to emerge regarding the sense of 'identity'. Religion, or the absence of it, can be considered as a key determining factor in distinguishing social identities; even for non-believers, the term 'atheist' or any religion non-conforming views can be considered as a way of defining a 'belief system' to some extent.

Halal, hijabi, hijabster, hijabista, and other labels inspired by so-called Muslim identity, attributed to the religion of Islam, are adapting to the global consumerist culture. The visually-saturated sphere

prompted by social media applications and internet culture provided easier and widespread access to consumers, highlighting new or innovative categories and subcategories for consumption.

In this paper, the relationship between consumption and religion shall be explored in order to build towards the paradoxical relationship that Islam, not as a religion per se but as a visually-presentable identity, enjoys with consumption in a globalized consumerist world. In light of this relationship, this paper shall also explore the rise of the hijabista which refers to social media users who utilize the hijab to promote the consumer behavior that extends to almost any good and service.

Consumption as a Social Activity

The simplest definition of consumption may be perceived as the purchase of goods or services. Such a definition reflects an economic approach to the act of consumption. The theoretical work of Karl Marx in *Das Kapital* views consumption from a similar perspective; as an end to the mean of production. In the *Grundrisse*, Marx states consumption as a part of total economy along with production, circulation, and distribution ([1857] 1973, p.31). Still, the Marxian economic approach of the mid to late nineteenth century perceived consumption solely as a process influenced to a great extent by production.

The theory of the leisure class of Thorstein Veblen in 1899 is often considered the first major theoretical work to take consumption as its primary focus by introducing the term “conspicuous consumption” to refer to action of buying expensive items to display wealth and income rather than to fulfill the real needs of the consumer ([1899]1953).

Sparked by an increasing emphasis on individual economic achievements after the 18th century, the creation of identities became possible via various modes of consumption. The leisure time became a zone where impulses, desires, imagination, and feelings were no longer controlled or limited to a certain mode, but rather released, diversified and consumed. Giddens refers to this change in the term “privatization of passion” as he places huge emphasis on such a notion in the context of modernity which he defines to be “modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence.” (1990, p. 1).

Consumption was considered by Weber as a factor that shapes social statuses of individuals and groups to a large extent ([1922]1978, p.303-310). Moreover, as he studied the relationship between the ethics of ascetic Protestantism and the foundations of the spirit of modern capitalism, he realized an immense impact of religious identities on consumption patterns and attitudes of expenditure. ([1905], 1930)

In the second half of the twentieth century, social research began to explore consumption in depth as the main focus rather than a factor linked to production. Pierre Bourdieu approaches consumption as a possible way of establishing differences between social groups; he analyzes how various goods were used by specific groups to distinguish themselves from others and how these groups had different types of access to goods. According to Bourdieu, goods, material be or cultural, are expressive, thus they play a major role in forming social classes ([1982]1991, p.66-76).

A modern, even an arguably postmodern, global, pluralized age significantly revealed the various ways consumption can serve as a social medium of communication and expression; the selection of goods is sometimes undertaken largely subconsciously or automatically but also based on various social norms, cultural learning, emotional factors, prejudices, facets of identity, taste or style.

Jean Baudrillard’s work is notable in defining the concept of consumption as he views consumption to be always of a symbolic sign, taking a different approach from the Marxian theory and its focus on production, Baudrillard came to recognize the increasing centrality of consumption. He described an

age of affluence in which many people surround themselves with consumer objects; he viewed that consumption has become notably extensive as it covers all aspects of culture. ([1970]1998, p.29-38).

The rise of consumerism and what Ritzer (1999) refers to as “hyperconsumption” highlighted the postmodern social theory with its view that consumption defines postmodern society, as proposed by Mike Featherstone (1991), continues to present a theme in contemporary social research.

The change in consumption phenomena towards establishing identities and mirroring signs through products, services and lifestyle combined with the mobility provided to the individual in a modern world where consumption takes front row and center, meant the emergence of “new means of consumption” which Ritzer proposes to refer to the shift that began in the nineteenth century from innovating new means of production to new means of consumption, which is seen as a broad phenomenon not only related to consumption, but also production, distribution, advertising, marketing, sales, individual taste, style and fashion of products and services (1999, p.8).

In a fast-pace moving world facilitated by new technologies, several theories such as Ritzer (1998) McDonaldization points to the consequence of modernism’s rationality creating effective, calculable, predictable and eventually irrational systems amid an immense focus on consumption as both a lifestyle, a cultural activity and even a ritualistic form of worship. Such systems are not even limited, anymore, to USA or Europe but have spread to become a ‘fixed’ element in capitalism-ruled markets. Having national, religious and other types of identity questioned meant also directing people’s attention to other forms to express their identities such as symbols and lifestyles; thus consuming as a mean of communication, rather than merely an economic activity.

A Globalized Consumerism Induced by Mass Media

The Fordist era of the 1950s relied heavily on the expansion of TV to advertise the mass-produced commodities. Advertising remained relatively stable up until the 1960’s, where it then began to be used for political campaigns. Television advertising began to change in the 1990s with infomercials, huge mergers and ambush marketing. In a contemporary society, where simulation requires no link to reality but based on the hyperreal, culture is produced and reproduced through the media and electronics. At the core of culture is imitation. “Truth claims in today’s society are based more on image than reality tests. Politics, consumerism, even current ideas of personal beauty and individual worth are now a function of representation and advertising.” (Gottdiener, 2000, 19).

Social processes including consumerism witnessed an increasing integration of production, development, and communication among nations in a world moving towards globalization. Economic and political aspects of globalization persisted in social changes in areas of human interaction within cultural communities and the subsequent debate of identity crisis. The media has become even more able to access the homes and eyes of people all over the world, at variable levels. Corresponding to the economic and political processes of globalization, consumption, and syncretization of culture were occurring through a global cultural scene where ideas and symbols were corresponding to the consumer’s identity. (Robertson, 1992).

The societies arising from massive changes in technology and media, resulting from the subsequent ease in mobility of both people and ideas, is often described as a post-industrial society, multinational, capitalist, consumerist and media-driven. Pluralist communities are also faced with new market possibilities and subgroups to be targeted, even consumer resistance can become a profitable tendency to generate consumable products and services.

Therefore, consumerism becomes an attitude where habits define the ‘self’ and its interaction with the other and its value within the social context. As Zygmunt Bauman argues, a consumer society is a type of social organization that results from recycling mundane, permanent and human wants, desires, longings and so into the main operating force of society, utilizing systemic reproduction,

social integration, social stratification and the formation of human identities (2007, p.28). Such identities are fast to change in the postmodern frame of global culture; rather than work, class, or gender, the core of consumer identity is the individual. This aspect of consumerism is further instilled by the representation of individual freedom that is constituted by the choice of consumers in 'fantasy community' where freedom and security can be exhibited to achieve self-assertion. (Bauman, 1988,61-62).

Islam and Consumption

There have been many media, sociology and religion scholars who wrote about the intersection of consumption and religion; Max Weber ([1905]1930), as previously mentioned, has examined the relation between Protestantism, more specifically, Calvinism and capitalism. Later works have paid much more attention to the link between religion and consumption. For Baudrillard, the differences of religion are just as the differences of blood or birth are signs to be exchanged and consumed. (1998, p.93).

The relation between religion and consumption exceeds the previous works which focused on spending patterns that bring religion and consumption so close; an emergence of 'brands' of faith seems to have taken place. While the sacred and secular forces seem to be in conflict, they are intertwined in the frame of modern made culture. The intersection of religion and commercialism is manifested in the example of Christianity, where on one hand religious holidays such as Christmas became central in consumer culture, and on the other in churches who celebrate Christmas preaching simplicity and help of the unfortunate. "Thus while the underlying beliefs are in conflict, the institutions of religion and commercial culture do in fact support each other in staying viable" (Einstein, 2008, p.75-76).

Religions differ in their commandments in regards to consumption, while most of them call for minimal consumption as a way of displaying utmost commitment to the faith, as is the case of Buddhist or Christian monks, not every religion views consumption from the same perspective, nor does every follower observe such perspectives with commitment or to the same degree.

The attitude towards the accumulation of possessions is often disputed by conflicting views from consumerist ideology and religious literature; while the religious attempts to see the world in terms of ideals of their religion as the ultimate moral compass, consumption with its abundance of goods can also constitute a perspective for self-fulfillment. Two important aspects govern the relationship between consumption and religion in general; the first is the commendable simple life of moderation, or in some cases the abstinence from it, as noted in the example of Buddhist and Christian monks, and the second is the commandments that necessitate adhering to specific patterns or choices of consumption such as the case of Jewish and Muslim worshippers who do not eat certain types of meat or the case of consuming specific goods to celebrate religious occasions.

Paul Heelas notes that the relationship between religion and consumption is marked by a shift in authority from the commandments of God that impose limits on consumer activity and redeems some types of consumption to be sinful to a "self-informed authority" to select the components of religious activities that meet their consumer desires. The argument of Heelas focuses on the detraditionalization of religion by adopting Bauman's view of the post-modern consumer culture where novelty and fast changes, to individual and consumer fulfillment reach its climax. This process of detraditionalization is also supported by Featherstone's argument of a culture produced by complex signs and images where previously inherit long-established cultural perceptions are altered or re-contextualized to provide more options to the consumer market. (Heelas, 2003).

Islam, particularly, declares a set of rules on economic dealings. Several scholars have namely highlighted the main concepts through which Islam influence the consumption patterns of its

followers. Chaudhry (1999) asserts that there are three Islamic principles of consumption, derived from the Quran and hadith (record of the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, revered and received as a major source of religious law and moral guidance); the first is that consumption must be of halal (permitted by the teachings of Islam) products and services, the second is the cleanliness and wholesomeness which refers to good things which God has bestowed upon them, particularly in the context of foods and drinks, and the third is the principle of moderation.

Needless to say, not every follower or believer of Islam follows the rules, in the same way, same interpretation or same level; from this perspective consumption is left to some personal assessments under the general rules.

Under no dominant consumer culture, many cultures of consumption exist to cater to the diverse market segment, which eventually play a significant role in the way people interact with their society and define the meanings in various aspects of life. The choices of consumers are influenced by the massive forces of advertising seeping into everyday life, in various forms and means, individuals and groups' self-expression through consumption and status good and services. (Gottdiener, 2000, 16).

While not all Muslims will choose to abide by halal food, hijab or Islam-inspired options because they differ in the preferences, ways, levels, and interpretations of Islamic teachings, such options thrive in a melting-pot of identities, as any other, for those who desire to follow Islamic guidelines or showcase the importance of their faith-based identity. In essence, Islam becomes a set of symbols and signs, a brand even, to promote certain types of products and services and ensuring that no consumer is left out with no options. Islam in the consumerist context, where mass media steers ways to interact and express, seizes to be a mere guideline for living in terms of economic activity. Rather, it becomes a complete set of symbols and practices that can be marketed, propagated and re-contextualized for consumption.

It is no wonder Ritzer names the new means of consumption as "cathedrals of consumption" as to highlight how consumption culture has become a sort of cult or religion in the broader sense (Ritzer, 1999). The effect of religion on consumption is immense, the influence of religious branding in creating new means of consumption is enormous and in return, the convenience and ease created by 'McDonaldized' systems from medicine to tourism has reached religion as well.

The Rise of the Hijabista

The religion of Islam has brought many terms to its adherents, believers, followers and even non-Muslims since its beginning. As Islamic faith spread across the Arabian Peninsula, into the Mediterranean, and across the Indian Ocean as far as Malacca and China (Braudel, 1995, p. 11), Islamic practices and terms have become widely used and customary. It is worth noting, that despite the birth of Islam in the East, it has also spread anciently in Spain. In modern times, there has been a huge number of immigrants of a Muslim faith, whether from Africa or Asia, who moved into the European, American and Australian lands seeking a better life.

After the 9/11 attacks in the US, there has been a growing number of studies investigating Muslim identity, the teachings of Islam and their relation to current social structures prevailing in countries with a Muslim majority or Muslim communities living in non-Muslim countries. Terms such as Jihad, Halal and Sharia have become commonly used, although not necessarily with clarity in their definitions, by both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars as keys to viewing how Islam affects the individual and group mentality, thus leading to many social behaviors and structures.

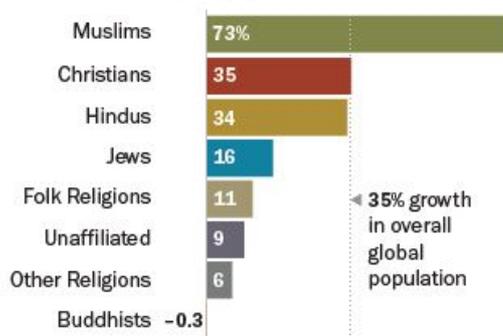
It is worth noting that as of 2010, Christianity has been the world's largest religion, with an estimated 2.2 billion adherents, nearly a third (31%) of all 6.9 billion people on Earth. Islam has come second, with 1.6 billion adherents, or 23% of the global population. According to Pew Research Center, 1 out

of 3 people born between 1990 and 2030 will be Muslim. As a result, the Muslim population could increase to 2.2 billion by 2030 (Pew Research Center, 2015). (See Figure 1).

In addition, the Committee for Economic and Commercial Cooperation of the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation (COMCEC) also notes that the worldwide growth of the Muslim population occurs within the middle class and younger population. (COMCEC Coordination Office, 2016).

The immigration movements of Muslims towards Europe and US, in addition to the previously highlighted growth in Muslim population which exists mainly in the Asian-Pacific, Middle Eastern, North African and Sub-Saharan African countries all means that there is a huge market for Muslim-identity based products including halal foods, tourism and hijab trends. On one hand, the Muslims in non-Muslim countries seek to adapt to both the teachings of their faith and their communities while also facing a post 9-11 sense of Islamophobia, on the other Muslims in countries of Muslim majority also seek to express their religious identity while their communities face globalization.

Estimated change in population size, 2010-2050



Source: The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

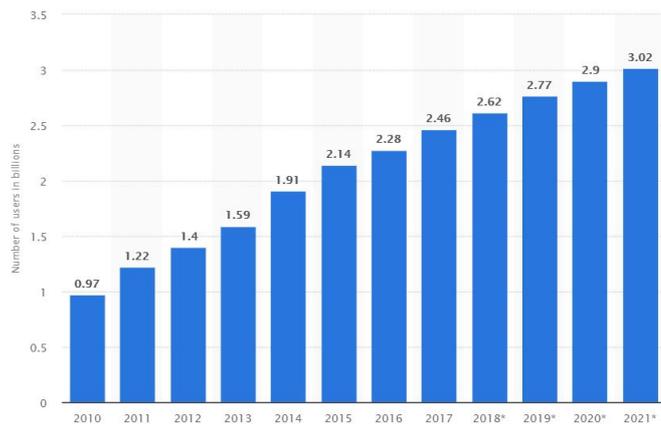
Figure 1. Estimated change in population size according to religion for 2010-2050 (Pew Research Center, 2015).

As discussed earlier in this paper, media gained a central role in directing consumers and becoming itself a medium to be consumed. Nonetheless, the unprecedented boom in social media starting the early 2000s with the use of Web 2.0, contributed to establishing mediums where users who are also consumers were empowered to interact and communicate within and far beyond their communities using a two-way communication rather than being solely recipients of media content produced by others (Van Dijck, 2013). This led to a “convergence culture” as Jenkins (2006) refers to two principal trends: the tendency of modern media creations to attract a much greater degree of audience participation than ever before, to the point that some are actually influenced profoundly by their fan base, becoming almost a form of interactive storytelling; and the phenomenon of a single franchise being distributed through and impacting a range of media delivery methods. These two trends go together, making it very hard to distinguish them apart and examine them separately.

The characteristics of popular social media applications such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube and Snapchat enable users to share visual content and interact with others easily and free of charge via their mobile phones. Due to interaction, functionality and global spread, social media users turn into producers of visual content, promoting products or ideas. Bruns (2008) even argues that even blogging and informational content such as Wikipedia persisted in merging the passive consumption with the actual production into produsage. Hence, users of social media, and internet on the larger scale become producers of sellable content and trends. As Figure 2 shows, the number of

social media users in worldwide currently exceeds two billion and is predicted to increase in the coming years.

The medium of Instagram, as a part of a larger spectrum of social media, offered people, not only celebrities, the platform to promote their content of photos and captions, to gain more followers. This, in return, requires an identity or lifestyle to be innovative in order to cater to the already packed market. Instagram is a mobile/desktop, internet-based photo-sharing application and service that allows users to share pictures and videos either publicly, or privately to pre-approved followers. This application, which was sold to Facebook in 2012, has 800 million users engaging with the service on at least a monthly basis and 500 million using the service on a daily basis (Aslam, 2017).



Data visualized by tableau

© Statista 2018

Additional Information: Worldwide; eMarketer; 2010 to 2017

Source: eMarketer

Figure 2: Number of social media users worldwide from 2010 to 2021 in billions (eMarketer, 2018).

Hijabista, another variation is hijabster, is a word that combines both the words hijab and fashionista to refer to women who rose to fame due to their popularity on social media and were eventually able to gain some promotional or advertising opportunities or female Muslim cultural identities centered on the nontraditional use of the hijab or Muslim headscarf (Williams & Kamaludeen, 2016). The photos shared by hijabistas showcase how the clothing choices of Muslim women are at a crossroad with the demands of popular media and a Western lifestyle. While they wear the hijab as a choice, they also provide a visual account of their daily activities on a public social platform. Thus, they are active selectors who enjoy the ability to select an option from a set of alternatives (Sandıkçı and Ger, 2007).

Seeing that hijab, a debatable concept that will be considered in its broader meaning as the head cover required for women in Islam is fundamentally a visual signifier of religious identity, it is no surprise that it thrives in the context of applications such as Youtube and Instagram work best in promoting visual content.

With many interpretations and styles falling under what is called a Muslim woman's hijab, it might be difficult to specify an authentic identity of Muslim women, if the oriental and traditional concept of hijab is to be considered, late modernity would be at opposing sides. However, the nature of late modernity entails the subjects to constantly be innovated, created, hybridized, and fragmented to form an identity. Therefore, contemporary identities seem to be a combination of different specific objects, where modern hegemonies are replaced by a combination within one individual's life of

several “micro-hegemonies” valid in specific segments of life and social behavior. (Blommaert, et al., 2011).

The concept of hijab in all its variation was not notably visible in the international fashion scene, primarily because it did not seem in line with the Westernized perception of high-end fashion, prior to the neoliberalism and social media providing a platform for Muslim women who were ‘accepted’ by the mainstream media and brands in case they achieve the status of economic actors.

For the purpose of this paper, two Instagram accounts of users who enjoy a large following base and promote what falls under hijabistas; one from a Muslim majority country and the other is based in a non-Muslim country will be explored to gain a clearer understanding of this phenomenon.

The first account is @hijabhills which is used by Afghan-Dutch fashion blogger Ruba Zai who managed to collaborate with luxury brands such as Dolce & Gabbana and YSL Beauty. In her Instagram bio, Ruba Zai writes “living my dream”, 23-year-old blogger. Her public Instagram account gathers 1.1 million followers, in addition, she has a Youtube account (see Figure 3). It is worth noting that the photos Ruba shares vary from photos with her husband, child, and friends in addition to her fashionable attire. Some photos focus on her clicked photos from places where she spends her vacation like of Marrakesh. The captions accompanying the photos are mostly in English and they offer information or set the tone of the image.

In Figure 4, one of Ruba’s posted photos on Instagram where she poses with balloons behind her to celebrate Eid, the Muslim holiday, accompanied with a caption that details the brands and stores she got her outfit from. In Figure 5, she is with her husband where the caption also provides details on the catering and location services she used. In the first, the themes accentuated are love, celebration, joy, tradition, modernism, style, and spontaneity (even if the photo is staged in terms of lighting and position).

The photos shared by Ruba Zai on her Instagram account show a wide array of visual representations; grabbing a cup of pumpkin spice latte from Starbucks, posing with friends or family while on vacation, applying a beauty product or perfume, enjoying a meal, while many photos serve to focus on the attire she chooses. The photos posted combine at times the naturalness, family ties, friendship, socialization, simplicity, daily activities on one hand, and special occasions, luxury, fairy-tale couple, high fashion on the other. However, in the case of either vibe, the image showcases a refined, feminine, modern and sometimes oriental-hinted woman.

In Figure 6, the photo that Ruba shared carries much more than a fashion statement, but also a political/social activist statement. She is posing in a shirt that reads “Free America” as the caption goes “Happy to be a part of @supertrash.hq 's new campaign♥isn't it funny how one of the worlds most powerful country is ruled by a racist, not only towards other religions and races but also hateful and low towards woman? Right now is the time for all women to come together and stand strong! Accept your curves, your hijabs, your color, your ethnicity, your talents, your ambitions and kick some ass! @supertrash.hq#fempowerment”. In this image, the postmodern melting pot of identity is on display with a combination of woman empowerment, hijab, fashion, political activity, social media, promotion and overall pluralism.



Figure 3: Ruba Zai’s (@Hijabhills) account on Instagram



Figure 4: Ruba Zai (@hijabhills) posted photo on Instagram celebrating Eid



Figure 5: Ruba Zai (@hijabhills) posted photo on Instagram celebrating a baby shower



Figure 6: Ruba Zai (@hijabhills) posted photo on Instagram as part of a campaign against president Trump's 'racist and sexist' remarks

The second account is Dalal AlDoub's @dalalid from Kuwait, whose Instagram account bio states that she is interested in fashion and beauty. She has around 2.2 million followers, as she shares her photos posing on a street with her handbag, having a meal or drinking coffee, endorsing products or brands or attending parties and store openings, or promoting make-up tutorials or tips, taking photos with celebrities or photos of her enjoying a trip abroad. As is the case of Ruba, Dalal's images seem to look candid but the setting, posing, and lighting indicate otherwise.



Figure 7: Dalal AlDoub's (@dalalid) Account on Instagram

In Figure 8, Dalal posted a photo of her eating lunch. The caption reads “lunch was @joeskw’ both in English and Arabic. Comments of her followers focused on wishing her a great meal or complementing her attire, while some described the food to be healthy. In Figure 9, a full shot of Dalal is shared as the caption reads ‘Finally Charlotte Tilbury in Kuwait 🇰🇼 You are all invited to launch party of CHARLOTTE TILBURY’S brand new beauty wonderland in the AVENUES MALL WEDNESDAY 18TH OCTOBER 5-7PM THE AVENUES MALL Come and meet the one and only Charlotte 🇰🇼’.

As a caption of a photo taken in the city of New York, Dalal writes “Peace 🇺🇸 Wearing Zara! 🇰🇼 #dalalidxusa #bbgirlcrush #bbgirlcrush #connectingbrains” in English and Arabic. The photo showcases a modern outfit of jeans and casual shirt with a white hijab, combining elements of Western street casual fashion, modernism, global symbols and humanist message of peace (see Figure 10).



Figure 8: Dalal AlDoub (@dalalid) posted a photo of her having lunch



Figure 9: Dalal AlDoub (@dalalid) posted a photo to invite followers to the opening of a Charlotte Tilbury Store



Figure 10: Dalal AlDoub (@dalalid) posted a photo of her in New York standing in front of a ‘Peace’ mural.

In the previous two accounts, the hijabistas were able to gain so many followers from different countries (and receive comments in several languages) after they shared their photos on Instagram and similar videos on Youtube. By achieving such a reach, brands became part of their accounts to promote their products. There are, however, similar accounts of fashion designers who utilized this trend to encourage a lifestyle via sharing similar photos of social activism, family ties, product collaborations, dining and so on to advertise their own brands.

The hijabista accounts may be several but some of them succeed in gathering more followers and attention than others. It is also important to note that each of these hijabistas has a predominant style, trait or specialty to stand out and cater to the market; some are feminine with their pastel dresses, others are directed towards the younger followers of casual fashion, whereas many choose a hybrid of traditional and avant-garde fashion. However, sometimes the accounts may show a combination of all these traits or a change to follow the rapid requirements of social media and fashion. Furthermore, the rise of the hijabista accounts comes simultaneously with the wide-spread uploads of fashionable and beauty-oriented users of different countries and identities. Instead of being left out of this market, this profitable tool is recontextualized with a head cover and Muslim themes at times.

Conclusion

While religion enjoys a paradoxical relationship with consumption, on one hand, religion calls for restricting consumption and on the other hand, it is used a social identifier that fuels consumption desires and needs to express, validate and label themselves in an understandable way for others to communicate with. Social media provided a very strong medium for consumers to first build a pluralist identity that caters to both the re-traditionalized head cover and the modern trends in social media, eventually to gain momentum and become profitable as labels and brands of themselves. In the case of hijabistas, there are multiple themes that are combined, among which religious attachment showcased by wearing the headscarf or cover, in addition to celebrating Muslim occasions and Islam-inspired messages, an individual sense of style, and a lifestyle that boasts Western consumerism, to establish a user that is both a medium for companies and a visual product to be consumed at the same time.

It is important to explore hijabistas not only from the perspective of Islamic teachings or inspiration, but even more the rapid changes that are enabling social media users, particularly visually-focused applications such as Instagram and Youtube, from making products, venues, special occasions, family ties, religious holidays, personal leisure choices and every aspect of their life a consumable product or

service. Moreover, brands are also being attentive to such trends that they are also promoting their products through these hijabistas since the advertising scene has become inclined towards consumer participation.

Hijab, which became to be summed as a head cover, does not, in essence, meet with fashion and the self-promotional nature of social media applications. Nonetheless, the neoliberal consumerist atmosphere boosted by mass media enabled some women to gain a large base of followings as people who combine many overall in-demand themes such as success, profitability, activity, self-expression and embrace in addition to reachability.

Under a globalized influence of mass media, hijabistas thrive on a variety of international phenomena and tendencies; they correspond to the bigger market but with a twist to assert that products and services are also available for those who share a sense of identity with them. Basically, understanding consumerism as a whole, its utilization of religion and the innovative means of media can contribute to examining how a hijab goes from being a symbol of religious and orientalist depiction to a form of pluralistic identity of the feminine, modest, Muslim, fashionable and stylish in a modern, Westernized, neoliberal and consumerist.

Despite the difficulty of studying numerous hijabista accounts and analyzing the enormous data of posts and comments, this phenomenon affirms that in a postmodern consumer world there will be constantly means to communicate both a sense of individuality and a belonging that strikes with religious, sexual, intellectual choices. Islam, like any other faith, has become, in the context of the consumer market, a system of profitable signs and symbols to be incorporated into a lifestyle for the purpose of consumption that might serve a portion of a huge global market where a consumer religion penetrates all areas of life.

References

- Aslam, S., 2017. Instagram by the numbers: stats, demographics & fun facts. *Omnicores*. January, 23.
- Baudrillard, J., (1970). 1998. *The consumer society: Myths and structures*. Trans. Chris Turner. London: Sage Publications.
- Bauman, Z., 1988. *Freedom*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Bauman, Z., 2007. *Consuming life*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bergeaud-Blackler, F., Fischer, J., and Lever, J. eds., 2015. *Halal matters: Islam, politics and markets in global perspective*. Routledge.
- Blommaert, J. and Varis, P., 2011. Enough is enough: The heuristics of authenticity in superdiversity. *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies*, 2, 1-13.
- Bourdieu, P., (1982). 1991. *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Braudel, F., 1995. *A history of civilizations*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Bruns, A., 2008. *Blogs, Wikipedia, second Life, and beyond: From production to produsage*. Peter Lang.
- Chaudhry, M.S., 1999. Fundamentals of Islamic economic system. *Burhan Education and Welfare Trust*, 198.
- COMCEC Coordination Office. 2016. *Muslim friendly tourism: Understanding the demand and supply Sides in the OIC Member Countries*.
- Coşgel, M.M., and Minkler, L., 2004. Religious identity and consumption. *Review of Social Economy*, 62(3), 339-350.
- Einstein, M., 2008. *Brands of faith. Marketing religion in a commercial age*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Emarketer., 2018., Worldwide Social Network Users Update: eMarketer's Estimates and Forecast for 2016–2021.
- Featherstone, M., 1991. *Consumer culture and postmodernism*. London: Sage Publications.
- Giddens, A., 1990. *The consequences of modernity*. Stanford University Press.
- Gottdiener, M. ed., 2000. *New forms of consumption: Consumers, culture, and commodification*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Heelas, P., 2003. The limits of consumption and the post modern 'religion' of the New Age. In: Abercrombie, N., Keat, R., & Whiteley, N, eds.2003. *The Authority of the Consumer*. Routledge.
- Jenkins, H., 2006. *Convergence culture: Where old and new media collide*. NYU press.
- Marx, K., 1857. *Grundrisse: Foundations of the critique of political economy*. Translated by Martin Nicolaus., 1973. London: Penguin Books.
- Pew Research Center. 2015. *The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections 2010-2050*.
- Ritzer, G., 1998. *The McDonaldization thesis: Exploration and extensions*. London: Sage Publication.
- Ritzer, G., 1999. *Enchanting a disenchanted world: Revolutionizing the means of consumption*. Pine Forge Press.
- Robertson, R., 1992. *Globalization: Social theory and global culture* (Vol. 16). Sage.
- Sandıkçı, Ö. and Ger, G., 2007. Constructing and representing the Islamic consumer in Turkey. *Fashion Theory*, 11(2-3), pp.189-210.
- Van Dijck, J., 2013. *The culture of connectivity: A critical history of social media*. Oxford University Press.
- Veblen, T., (1899). 1953. *The theory of the leisure class: An economic study of institutions*. New York: New American Library.
- Weber, M., (1905). 1930. *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*. Translated from the German by Talcott Parsons.
- Weber, M., (1922). 1978. *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology*.
- Williams, J.P., and Nasir, K.M., 2016. Muslim girl culture and social control in Southeast Asia: Exploring the hijabista and hijabster phenomena. *Crime Media Culture*, 1, p.18.

UNDERSTANDING ORIENTALISM IN POST-COLONIAL TIMES THROUGH NARRATIVE INQUIRY OF INDIGENOUS CORE OF NAGPUR CITY (INDIA)

NIVEDITA FADNIS, ANAND WADWEKAR

The colonial occupation has been a historical precedent of cities of the Global South. Cities of the Indian subcontinent have been subjects of the orientalist gaze, where the indigenous/native/local was deemed inferior, devoid of modern thoughts and values. This orientalist gaze has been a determinant of urbanism. The colonial spatial occupation subjugated the indigenous landscape, influencing the vitality of indigenous cultural tangible and intangible symbols, thus creating a realm of hybridity in post-colonial times. Indian cities influenced by colonial occupation have become crucible of appropriation of cultures. Orientalism as a concept has morphed into a situation of hybridity which has structurally altered the indigeneity; the narratives of the place.

This paper investigates urbanism of indigenous core through memories of cultural practices of people, which become their indigenous narratives, in the post-colonial administrative towns and capitals of India; case example of Nagpur. The investigation is through narrative inquiry, where spectrum of people according to their age has been interviewed exhaustively. The interviews are then analyzed to understand categories in their narratives; the categories that are formative to urbanism. The study reveals that narratives of people of the indigenous core are a result of extant cultural practices vis-à-vis negotiation with modernity. The practices are undergoing slow transformation in the post-colonial times, due to modern forces introduced by colonialism, thus making the Old Core a cultural hybrid.

Key words- urbanism, orientalism, colonialism/ post-colonialism, culture, narrative inquiry, hybrid

Introduction

In the event of emergence of the Network Society (Castells,2000), where cultural confrontations signify spaces of urban realms, colonialism as a historical precedent, has a major role to play. The cities of the Global North and the Global South (Connell,2008) are the sites of synthesis where cultural influences mobilize identities out of which situations of conflicts arise. The gaze of the dominant becomes a factor that culturally determines the subordinate. This is constitutional to Orientalism (Said,2001) which is an epistemological battlefield of identity. As Said (2001, p.239) argues that 'the Orientalist surveys the Orient from above, with the aim of getting hold of the whole sprawling panorama before him- culture, history, religion, mind, society'. This approach is structural in the form of colonial institutions which helped internalize the epistemological repression. But Bhabha (2014) insists that the discourse triggered by Orientalism through self-representation of the colonized isn't essentially oppositional but one centered around negotiation. The presence of the 'other' as viewed by the 'self' is not a simple dialectical process with polarized forms of existence; but rather a contested one where cultures rub off on each other. Thus, the post-colonial situation is a field of negotiation of identities, which could be explored through the cities that have undergone colonial influence. In the domain of Urban Anthropology, Richard G. Fox (1977, p.10) suggests that cities of the

colonized regions have 'orthogenetic' constitution which served as 'centers for the construction and codification of the society's traditions. How the orthogenetic constitution has changed due to colonialism remains to be seen. This paper explores the colonial/ post-colonial discourse of negotiation through anthropological narrative inquiry of the indigenous urban core of Nagpur (India).

On Said's Orientalism

The foundation of Orientalism is rooted in the colonial occupation and proliferation of Eurocentric epistemology at the colonized sites. These sites are apparent in various regions of Australia, Asia, Africa and South America. Edward Said's work *Orientalism* is a hard critique of the Eurocentric knowledge systems. At the outset of conquests led by European regions of England, France, Spain and Portugal, the Europeans saw the world divided into the Occident and the Orient (Fox, 1977). The Occident was the advanced scientific Europe and the Orient was the backward, exotic and superstitious. When colonialism took roots, and the occupied colonies were treated as subjects of the Occident, the Orient was formed; meaning that it is by biased judgment of the Occident that the cultural fate of Orient was decided through the process of colonialism. Said explains the systemic approach of the colonizers and the consequent persecution of the colonized. It is the 'orientalist imagination of both the colonizer and the colonized that creates a notion of culture that is indefinite and uncertain' (Said, 2001, p.183). The structural dominance works to the efficiency that the colonized feels threatened and there arises animosity. In this context, it is important to understand the expressions and the media through which animosity is symbolized. The quest of the Orientalist becomes a journey of self-discovery through various modern disciplines like anthropology and ethno-philosophy which help explore the semantics of dominance. This is when the modern process of defining the native/indigenous/ orient is come full circle: re-discovering the self through media of knowledge of the former colonizer. This is one of the ways that modernity indulges and makes itself apparent in the life of the native through multiple systems of incubation of colonial systems through institutions and media.

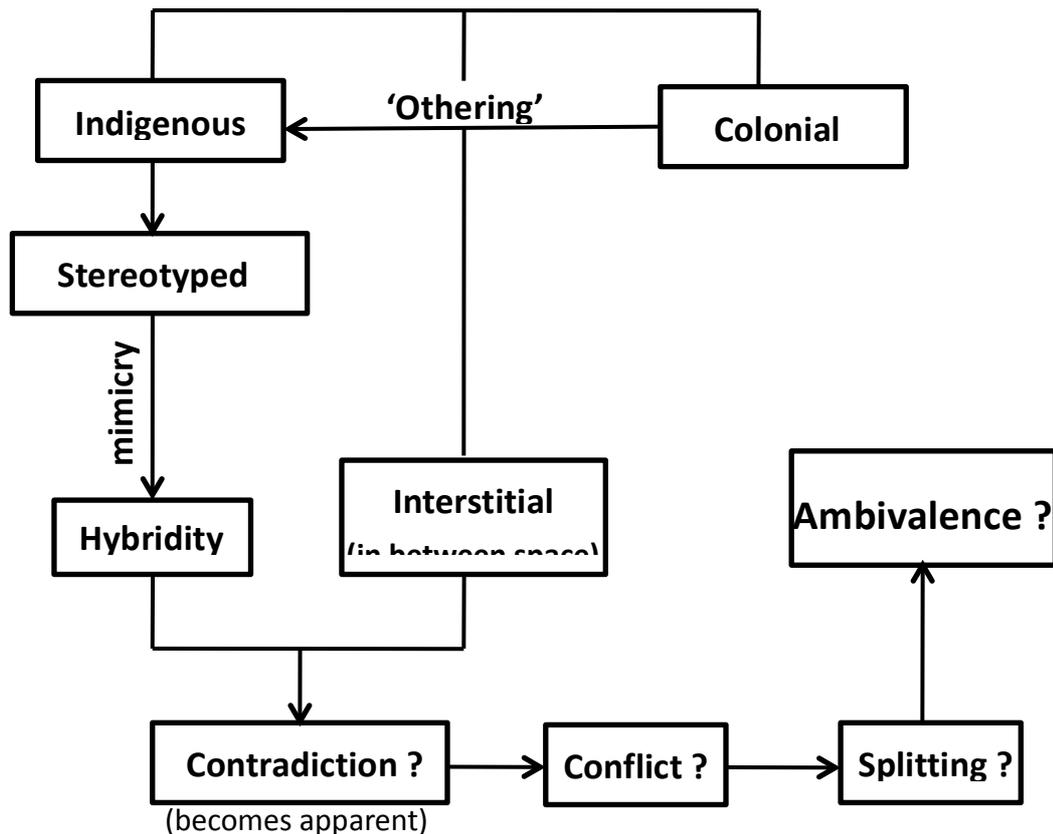
The meaning of cultural geographies constructed by the colonizer and the colonized leads to a set of experiences which define cultural imperialism. The question really is how much can a cultural region be consolidated as a component of an imperial image. And in doing so, whose cultural integrity is compromised? Colonialism hence, is an inherently conflicted process. In maintaining its cultural integrity, the Empire was not inclined to accept the native ontological and epistemological fundamentals as a part of it. Instead, by repeatedly deeming them inferior and irrational, the Empire drew clear lines of knowledge systems. There are levels at which the native is disregarded, discredited and dismissed over which the superiority of the Empire gets rooted. Said quotes this as 'Pleasures of Imperialism' (Said, 1994, p.159) while the native is under cultural control. When the native cultural essences of institution, philosophy and art are substituted with colonial essences, at the intersection, modernity is encountered. He calls it 'the hallmark of modernist form' with 'strange juxtaposition of comic and tragic, high and low, commonplace and exotic, familiar and alien' (Said, 1994, p.229, Culture and Imperialism). The situation is a theatre where 'spatiality becomes, ironically, the characteristic of an aesthetic rather than of political domination' (Said, 1994, p.229 Culture and Imperialism). Said derives the meaning of 'modernity' in colonial/ post-colonial worlds. The contemporaneity of colonial processes and colonialism as a continued legacy in forms of representations- a process that jumps across boundaries of the past and present can be understood. This is analogical to the fact that cultures do not really have boundaries, and hence cannot be absolutely encapsulated in space and time.

Colonialism/ post-Colonialism

In the contemporary debate on post-modernism, one of the most important topic is that of the post-colonial question of the culture. Homi K. Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* (2014) is one such seminal

work which questions the issues of identity representation of the colonized lot in the global context. Post-colonialism encompasses all the psychological spaces on a global level which were influenced/affected/alterd due to the Western Colonizers, such as parts of Africa, the Latin America, the Australian continent and the Asian continent. Although very difficult to generalize, Homi K. Bhabha's work on cultural hybrids throws light on the post-colonial world.

Cultural theories have emerged after global movements of decolonization or conversion of spaces of Imperialism into other forms of polities. It was at this juncture of defining oneself (a nation/a region/a community/an ethnicity/a person) that the identity of the 'self' was pondered into. Since, as stated above, the impact of Colonialism was in every sphere of cultural practice, the issue of identity becomes very complex. The basic structure of Bhabha's theory has been summarized below—



Bhabha, through his understanding and interpretation of psychoanalytical works of Lacan and Fannon, has analysed the colonial situation that gives a clear understanding of the psyche of the colonized. As mentioned above, the colonizers sought to change the indigeneity by ideologically infiltrating the cultural practices. This process begins with the attitude of 'othering'(Bhabha,2014, p.46); an attitude which has been largely investigated by Edward Said in *Orientalism* (2001). This 'othering' becomes the foremost tool of alienation and is articulated in the space, not of conflict, but one of non-interaction. This space of non-interaction is governed by the stature of superiority of the colonizers. This gap is what is addressed by Bhabha's theory. Hence, by 'othering' the culture, colonizers forge an identity which the colonized comes to terms with in time due to him being a subject of tools of colonial cultural alterations (language, education, art, social practices, etc.) The colonial subject is oversimplified, rather 'stereotyped'(Bhabha,2014, p.111), which is translated as the representation of the otherness. By nature, a stereotype is a contradictory mode of representation, as it is predominantly a western classification for cognizance. The contradiction is apparent in the post-colonial times of transformed identity—the post-colonial identity. For e.g. – the imposition of industrial society on a non-industrial society—a most relevant case in Indian subcontinent.

The colonized subject; the stereotyped colonial subject thus 'mimics' the colonizer. 'Mimicry' (Bhabha, 2014, p.122) can be understood as the superficial resemblance to the immediate environment for concealment, protection and other such advantage. In the Colonial context, Mimicry is the sign of double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which 'appropriates' the Other as it visualizes power. Mimicry is the double vision which is the result of the partial representation/recognition of the colonial object. Mimicry, through the repetition of partial presence articulates disturbances of cultural, racial and historical differences. For e.g. – the adopted lifestyle of 'babus' in the colonial administration, the adoption of Model Town in New Delhi for planning of residential areas in post-colonial extension of cities and the adoption of spatial structure of institutions for administrative purposes (Khilnani, 2004).

Such mimicry leads to formation of cultural hybrids, the location of which is questionable. 'Hybridity' (Bhabha, 2014, p.159) means having characteristics as a result of blending of two diverse cultures. But Bhabha's hybridity is far removed from such a balanced equilibrium of a blend. Bhabha's hybridity is a 'partial influence of moral improvements which will construct a particularly appropriate form of colonial subjectivity' (Bhabha, 2014, p.124)—a process which consists of inherent grappling of the subject to locate oneself. Hybridity is a problematic of colonial representation, a problematic of continuous process of influence and disavowal. The depth of the spatial acquisition is questionable in hybridity.

Thus, the process of mimicry of the stereotyped to form hybrid leads to contradictory emotional or psychological attitude towards oneself, one attitude inhibiting the expression of another, which is expressed in behaviour by alternating obedience and rebellion, followed by self-reproach. A colonial subject, hence grapples with his identity. A colonial subject is unsure as to which approach of identity should be followed. This is the theoretical point of contradiction that Bhabha has traced which is not only cultural in nature, but is also psychological. The convergence of such contradictions leads to an idea of conflict and 'ambivalence' (Bhabha, 2014, p.161). This ambivalence is a continuous state of flux about representation and identity (what is cultural is the ambivalence of identity).

The investigation of the post-colonial situation of cities can be explored in the concept of the Third Space (Bhabha, 2014, p.55) (Hernandez, 2010, p.89). Although Bhabha himself has not elaborated much about the spatiality of this concept, Hernandez pushes the concept further, breaking away with dialectical polar opposites of self/other or colonizer and colonized. Since a hybrid never climaxes into a definite form but rather is always in between, it is a subject of constant transformation. This concept can be applied to question the difference between the 'Old City' (indigenous core) and the 'New City' (colonial core). The Third Space is equated to hybridity by Bhabha where the production of meaning and identity is mobilized by transformative forces. The problematic of the Third Space is same as the problematic of Indian Urbanism which requires anthropological exploration. Moreover, since the colonial set-up (the intangible and tangible systems of governance) was continued for administrative purposes and has retained its vitality, it is the indigenous core that should be investigated to understand the emergence of Third Space and the existence of 'hybridity'. Based on Bhabha's theoretical construct, it can be supposed that such a conflict of identity is manifested in the spatial form encompassing cultural narratives in cities—one which constantly challenges the cultures by challenging representation and identities in Indian cities. Thus exploration of the Third Space is important.

Colonialism in India and Socio-spatial Structure of Cities

To summarize the history of Indian subcontinent, the most important cultural shift can be said to have occurred under the British rule (from 1857 A.D. onwards when the Crown became the head of occupied territories). With the West's idea of Enlightenment and their advancement in technology (Gillen, Ghosh, 2007), the British brought with them a new way of politics of domination. The cultural shift occurred in tangible and intangible practices. The British, through with their objective oriental

gaze, created their sites of privilege amongst people of India to galvanize them into the administration. The intention behind such deliberate alteration was to create a bank of English-knowing Indians for administrative inter-operability (Tharoor,2016). This affected the indigenous folk idiom. The colonial spatiality meant ascension of a new form of culture completely alien to the indigenous people. A co-existence of the indigenous spatial forms of cultural practices (which were pre-dominantly religion centered) and the colonial cultural spaces of hierarchical administrative practice emerged, where the orientalist gaze of the British white supremacists looked down upon the indigenous way of life.

The Colonial agenda of Imperial domination and the modern imaginations prevailed as the cultural constructs of Indian people who were structurally re-engineered through the Western education. The socio-cultural hegemony imposed by the British led to the rise of cultural elitism—a class of people Anglicized and conditioned with the Western methods. The distortion was deeply rooted in all cultural forms, which defined the new urban identity of Indians. But the imposition of ideologies at the same time created polarized forms of spatial identities in Indian cities, where one part dealt with manifestation of ancient historical process, extant in nature, and the other was made for Eurocentric modernity project, severing references from the traditional knowledge systems and symbols of identity. The indigenous had his master (the colonizer) in the frame of contested cultural identity which affected both, the colonizer and the colonized equally. As Edward Said in his *Orientalism* (2001) explains that the indefinite and uncertain notion of culture is a resultant of the orientalist imagination of the colonizer and the colonized.

The colonial cities developed in three different types- the port cities, the cantonments and the administrative towns and capitals. While port-cities were developed for commercial extraction, the cantonments were military encampments, and civil governance required erection of administrative towns and capitals (King, A.D,1976). In any case, wherever the British built, they built it in opposition to the existing indigenous fabric of settlements (Khilnani,2004). The location of opposition to the Old Core or the Indigenous Core was symbolic of the distance that the white man wanted to keep from the savage locals. This structure of distance thereby defined the 'otherness' (Bhabha,2014); not only in terms of spatial modulation, but eventually as a project of memory imprinted upon the locals. In no way was it a sensitive extension of the existing indigenous core. By the time Indian subcontinent was declared the sovereign state of the Queen of England, there was an urgency to build socio-cultural institutions as well. Thus the colonial landscape was reinforced with institutions dictating the essentially British culture which was to be followed by the native. This can be clearly analyzed in the example of administrative capital of the British India- Delhi.

The colonial situation is juxtaposed to the indigenous situation. Since the indigenous city structures were abhorred (Khilnani,2004), the British sought to demonstrate the task of city building by laying out large streets in hexagonal grid. This grid was hierarchical with largest canvas of spaces highlighting the architecture of imperial administration. This is apparent in case of Delhi, where the Kingsway is an axis terminating in the Viceroy's House. The foreground of the Viceroy's House acted a stage for the British Army parade, a grand exhibition of the British power. The Viceroy's house was abutted with administrative buildings and further away was the residential bungalows sector of the civil servants (Khilnani,2004). Along with the residential infrastructure, the layout of New Delhi (Lutyens' Delhi) also had recreational areas like the racecourse and commercial areas. All functional areas were zoned into certain locations. The configuration of the colonial city that was built was a demonstration of formal organization which Khilnani states as a grand drama of 'rational modernity' (Khilnani,2004. p.121).

The colonial grid had logic of formal and grand institutional edifices, which were hallmark of the colonial occupation. Communication of these edifices was nothing short of intimidation for the locals. It had institutions- religious, economic, social and many more such categories which catered the culture of the British. Such institutions acted as incubators and propagators of colonial culture. This

culture precipitated in the indigenous population (especially the elites of the subcontinent), thereby, in a sense, subjugating it. The monumental architecture, the lavish recreational spaces of the English culture- like the clubs and racecourse with abundant bungalows, and the presence of institutions in the indigenous fabric all became an imperial epistemological programme of culture forced on the indigenes in the 'state' i.e. a 'power field' (Kaviraj,2012, p.10) by 'legitimizing discourses of their making and sanctioning' (Kaviraj,2012, p.48).

But moreover, the character of colonialism is clearly defined by their extent of penetration in the indigenous fabric. When the British entered Delhi, they overtook the city by ransacking the city of its mechanisms, partially destroying it and inserting modern transportation of railways inside the fabric of the old city, thus asserting their presence and also decimating the infrastructural fabric of the place. New structures, such as library, town hall and clock tower were erected, juxtaposed with the old monuments (Hosagrahar, 2005). The institutional typologies had two-fold functions. Firstly, they were embodiment of colonial cultural occupation on the doorstep of the indigenous patron. The typology of library was a symbol of the Modern Enlightenment (Gillen, Ghosh,2007), an initiative of the British to 'educate' the locals. Such supposition of cultural superiority is an integral part of the colonizers where the essential white man thinks he can teach the savage indigenous (Bhabha,2014). Secondly, the colonial institutional structures in the old core were built in face of the decadence of the indigenous socio-cultural fabric. The structures not only confronted the indigenous milieu of Old City but they were simultaneously communicating a colonial imagery in a permanent form. The intervention of the British inside the indigenous has become a memory project of colonial assertion in the post-colonial times and resulted into Indigenous Moderns (Hosagrahar,2005, p.6). Hosagrahar follows on Bhabha's concept of 'splitting' (Bhabha, 2014, p.130) where the spatiality of the indigenous core under colonial influence is marked by 'formal contradictions and absence of coherence' (Hosagrahar,2005,p.7) which is a 'kitsch version of European modernism or a sullied on of local traditionalism' (Hosagrahar,2005,p.7). In this sense, the colonial project aimed to disband the extant socio-cultural and socio-spatial processes. The extent of the disbandment remains to be assessed in the contemporary post-colonial situation which has been explored in the city of Nagpur (India). Drawing from Richard G. Fox's idea of anthropological approach towards cultural aspects of the city, the method of narrative inquiry has been adopted to explore current nuances of the post-colonial socio-spatial situation.

Post-Colonial narratives (case of Nagpur City)



The socio-cultural morphology of the post-colonial Nagpur (which was erstwhile a provincial capital) consists of the Indigenous Core and the Colonial Core. A field of study was demarcated in the Old Core to explore the cultural influence of the colonial period. For a thorough study, the field

●

was an ensemble of neighbourhoods near the royal precinct. This location consists of families that had migrated with the king since the inception of the Old City, and hence, their cultural narratives would provide a deep insight across generations.

Figure 9 Location of Nagpur in India, Retrieved February 15, 2018 from <http://www.freeworldmaps.net/asia/india/political.html>

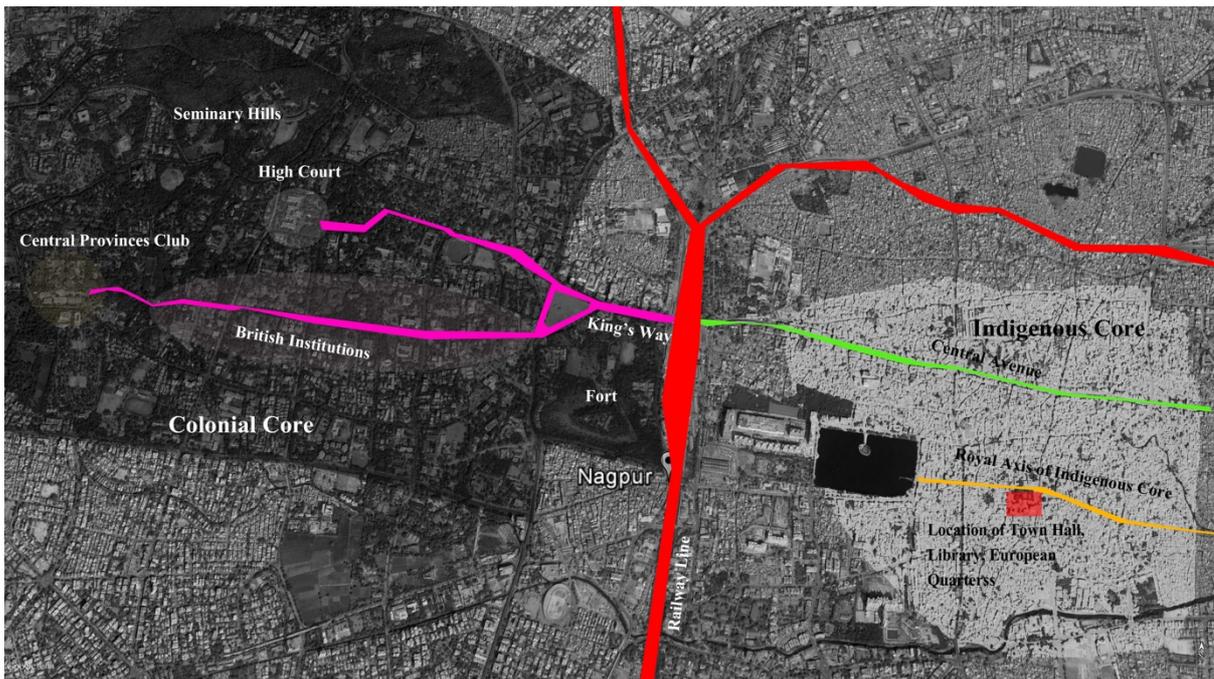


Figure 10 The Colonial Core and Indigenous Core indication. Google earth Pro V16.00 (Aprli 29, 2017). Nagpur, India. 21°09'40.19"N 79°05'51.99"E, Eye alt. 19271 feet. Jabuary 11, 2018.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted so as to give freedom to elaborate on the narratives as they unfold through memories. A small sample size of sixteen people was chosen. Different age group sections were considered for the interview to have multiple experiential and introspective possibilities of interpretations. The narrative inquiry was then subjected to coding and following categories were derived-

a) Temporal experience about socio-cultural dynamics

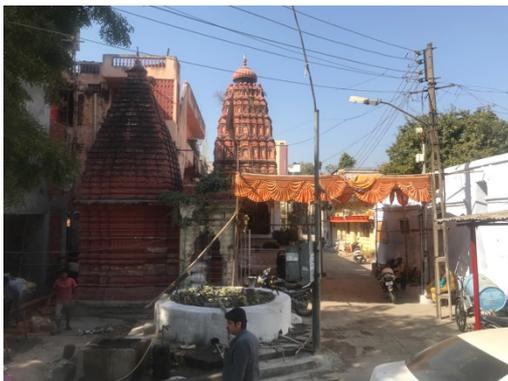


Figure 11 Temples as agrndizements in the indigenous modern landscape, Mahal, Nagpur. January 28. 2018.



Figure 12 Temples acting as references in the Indigenous Core signifying socio-cultural practices, Mahal, Nagpur. January 25,2018.

The narrative inquiry indicated that the concept of time is a derivative of socio-cultural practices i.e. activities which help relate people with the past and imagine the future. The temporal persistence/ presence of the 'old' (the extant socio-cultural aspects) is apparent in the post-colonial times. This temporal character of the persistence of the 'old' demarcates the physical boundaries of the 'city', meaning that the physical space of the city is cognitively structured by the governing collective cultural practices. The collective historical cultural practices constitute a 'tribe', not only in the intangible sense but also as a specific structure of a space as a socio-cultural construct. The morphological changes vis-à-vis modernity (either in the public spaces or in the social mores) and the loss of social patronage to indigenous culture creates multiple temporalities which has caused cultural heterogeneity and partialized the orthogenetic constitution (Fox,1977) of the Indigenous Core.

b) Role of memories in retrospection

Historical recollections of incidences of collective importance are vital to the concept of identity. For example, through the narrative interviews it became evident that the story of the journey of people with their king from a distant land to Nagpur continues to be a reference point of identity. All socio-spatial activities are an extended narration of this. Families across generations who have known the story have developed close bonds which help to identify themselves as community. Thus the 'Old City' is a socio-spatial construct of collective memories of people.

c) Contestation of place identity

The persistence of socio-cultural patterns is important for the collective experience of the place and identity. The meaning of the city is determined by the cultural cognizance of the place. A change in this cognizance means a change of place. Hence, when enquired about the culture that colonial situation brought about, the indigenes distinguish it from their settlement as 'us and them'. But in the post-colonial situation, the persistence of the socio-cultural milieu of the indigenous is challenged by modern aspects of education (western), lifestyle (weakening of social bonds), incursion of spaces by commerce and non-indigenous citizens (commercialization of space and weakening of communities) and even loss of indigenous architecture (wada systems), thus resulting in decreased social patronage of place-specific ways of living.

d) Indigenous modern spatiality

Residences- The houses (locally known as wadas) are still of cultural significance, for they hold an identity of status and vitality in the Old City. The change in the socio-spatial composition also refers to the physical change that the indigenous houses have undergone in the post-colonial times. Modern living concepts are changing the gendered-centric spatiality and expression. But the narrative inquiry revealed that such re-structured architecture is still addressed as 'wadas'. Despite the altering tangible and intangible aspects and of wadas, the persistence of the concept withholds the indigeneity of people.



Figure 13 A part of wada (residential typology) has been converted into modern housing, Mahal, Nagpur. December 29, 2017.



Figure 14 Traditional spatial element of courtyard which acted as a locus of socio-spatiality in indigenous 'wada' typology, Mahal, Nagpur. February 8, 2018.

Public spaces- The Indigenous Core of Nagpur has its own festival, which clearly sets it apart from the colonial and post-colonial extensions. This adds to the authenticity of indigeneity. Moreover, the erstwhile royal house still gives patronage to celebration of festivals. This suggests that the former King (who retains the royal title) culturally administers people of the Indigenous Core. As quoted by a subject- 'for them it is a matter of fancy but for us it is a matter of tradition'. This suggests the binary of 'us and them'.

The colonial infrastructure built inside the indigenous fabric (town hall, library, mess and living quarters) has been appropriated as spaces of local activities and also holds a prime cognitive location for public festivities. This implies that in modern times, despite the historic association of such spaces with the British cultural occupation, the colonial urban artifacts have gained a local identity as an intrinsic part of the indigenous fabric leading to hybridization of identity of the indigenous.



Figure 15 Colonial 'Native Library' accompanied with open spaces is an important public place in the indigenous core, Mahal, Nagpur. February 15, 2017.



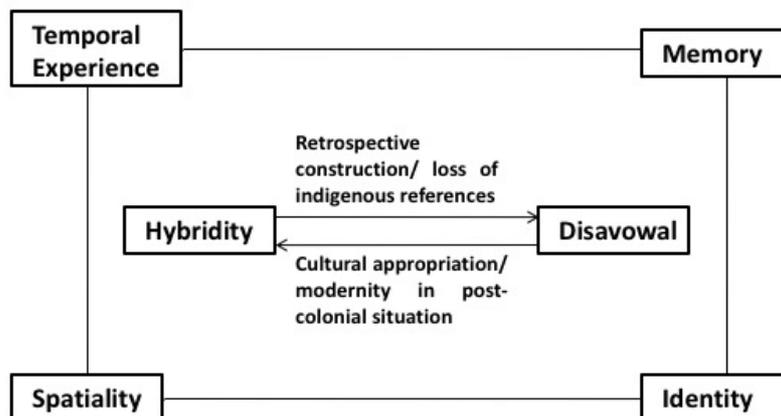
Figure 16 The Gandhi Gate, signifying the royal axis of the indigenous core still functions as a procession pathway for festivals, Mahal, Nagpur. & January, 25, 2018.

e) Post-colonial disavowal

In the post-colonial situation, it is difficult for people outside the Indigenous Core to identify with its culture. The Old City is addressed as a spectacle with cognitive barriers designed by the British that separate socio-cultural urban landscape intact. The cultural differences between the indigenous core, the colonial core and the post-colonial extensions thrive on 'retrospective constructions' (Huddart, 2006, p.124). Thus the post-colonial situation of the Indigenous Core encourages an urbanism of cultural assertion as a means of disavowing the culture of the non-indigenous despite embodying modernity in the same socio-cultural fabric.

Conclusion

In Indian cities, two distinct cultural narratives and retrospective constructions, - the indigenous and the colonial, have a continuing disagreement upon the authority of narrative which constitutes the memories that determine the place itself. In the post-colonial period, urbanism is determined by the authority and counter-authority of the cultural narratives; it is determined by the disavowal in the form of appropriation of the colonial by the indigenous. The fact that such a disavowal persists vis-à-vis modernity in the post-colonial times is because the vitality is threatened by modernity. Counter-authority suggests that urbanism of the city constitutes of 'hybrids' (Huddart, 2006, p.125)- whereby the 'oriental gaze' has turned upon itself causing ontological disavowal through process of appropriation. The partialization of indigenous identity and erosion of indigenous references determines the post-colonial situation of Indian cities which have undergone colonial influence. The following diagram explains the same-



The anthropological field of the indigenous core can be understood to be a dynamic between the above mentioned temporal experience, memory, spatiality and identity, all of which are determined by the the process of hybridity. Hybridity itself is governed by retrospective constructions vis-à-vis loss

of indigenous references (both tangible and intangible) while cultural appropriation of the colonial symbols continues to be the characteristic feature of modernity in post-colonial times. Epistemologically, the very constructs of the Orientalism have been internalized in the post-colonial times resulting into hybridity.

References

- Bhabha, H.K. (2014). *The Location of Culture*. Routledge Classics.
- Fox, R. G.(1977). *Urban Anthropology:Cities in their cultural settings*. Prentice-Hall International.
- Hosagrahar, J. (2005). *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating architecture and urbanism*. Routledge.
- Huddart, D. (2006). *Homi K. Bhabha*. Routledge.
- Kaviraj, S. (2012). *The Imaginary Institution of India*. Permanent Black.
- Khilnani, S. (2004). *The Idea of India*. Penguin Books India.
- Said, E.W.(1994). *Culture & Imperialism*. Vintage.
- Said, E.W.(2001). *Orientalism.Western Conceptions of the Orient*. Penguin Books.

Bibliography

- Bhabha, H.K. (2014). *The Location of Culture*. Routledge Classics.
- Castells, M. (2000). *The Rise of The Network Society: The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture, Volume I (Information Age Series)*. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Connell, R. (2008). *Southern Theory.The global dynamics of knowledge in social science*. Allen and Unwin.
- Fox, R. G.(1977). *Urban Anthropology:Cities in their cultural settings*. Prentice-Hall International.
- Gillen, P., Ghosh, D. (2007) *Colonialism & Modernity*. UNSW Press.
- Hosagrahar, J. (2005). *Indigenous Modernities. Negotiating architecture and urbanism*. Routledge.
- King, A.D. (1976).*Colonial Urban Development..Culture, social power and environment*. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Khilnani, S. (2004). *The Idea of India*. Penguin Books India.
- Said, E.W.(2001). *Orientalism.Western Conceptions of the Orient*. Penguin Books.
- Tharoor, S. (2016). *An Era of Darkness, the British Empire in India*. Aleph Book Company.

REPRESENTATIONS OF ANDROIDS AS THE 'OTHERED' AGENCIES AND QUEERS OF THE FUTURE IN SCIENCE FICTION

NAILE BERBEROGLU

This paper offers an invitation to consider identities from a perspective that involves the historical and present constitutions of different forms of discrimination by relying on the narratives on Androids offered by a sample of science fiction movies. With reference to contemporary theories on identity and the queer theory, and through an examination of the narratives of the science fiction films, two Blade Runners, AI and District 9, this paper questions the capacity of the 'other' for finding space for practicing its agency. The practices of the dominant self in refusing to accept the agency of the 'other' does not point to a lack of agency. This paper argues, like Bauman, Spivak and Minh-ha, that the mechanisms with which the dominant discourses are maintained needs to be scrutinized. This argument has little to do with recognising Androids as having agency, but rather it helps considering the fact that the working class, the displaced, the misplaced and the queer encounter similar if not the same forms of social discrimination in regard to exercising their agency. Therefore, this paper invites the reader to view the subjugation Androids face in their relationship with human beings and the resistance, the struggle or tussle with which they hold on to their lives, their agency and dreams as represented in the aforementioned movies in similar terms to subjugated people of our time.

MIGRANTS' CULTURAL RIGHTS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CURRENT MOROCCAN MIGRATION AND ASYLUM POLICY

BAHIJA JAMAL

For centuries, Morocco's geographical location attracted migratory flows. Today Morocco is a land of emigration, immigration, return migration and transit. It hosts many regular immigrant workers, a relatively large number of foreign students, but also many asylum seekers and refugees and irregular migrants who remain "in transit" often for years. September 2013 was a turning point in Morocco's view towards the human rights of irregular migrants. In response to a report on the situation of migrants and refugees in Morocco, Morocco has adopted a new global, integrated and humane migration and asylum policy, in accordance with its international human rights commitments. In line with other Moroccan efforts' in the reform process for structural human rights, the Moroccan Government has undertaken numerous measures to implement a new public migration policy. For example, in 2014, large numbers of undocumented immigrants were regularized. Moreover, three draft laws on asylum, migration, and human trafficking have been elaborated, and a number of bilateral agreements have been signed with key governmental stakeholders (related to immigrants' access to basic civil, social and economic rights). In 2014, the Moroccan Government has adopted a National Strategy for Immigration and Asylum that aims at ensuring better integration of immigrants and better management of migration flows as part of a coherent, comprehensive, humane and responsible policy. The National Strategy includes 11 programs affecting fundamental areas such as education and culture, youth and sports, health, housing, social and humanitarian assistance, access to vocational training and facilitating access to employment. The cultural integration of migrants is at the core of the National Strategy for Immigration and Asylum. Education and Culture for instance is one of prominent programs. It aims at developing (formal and non-formal) education, promoting cultural diversity and Moroccan languages and culture learning. Education and Culture program consists of three specific objectives and 12 actions: ? Specific objective 1 : Integrating immigrants into the formal and non-formal school system (divided into 5 actions); ? Specific objective 2 : Promoting the diversity of cultural expressions forms (divided into 6 actions); ? Specific objective 3: Training Moroccan Language and Culture immigrants (1 action). Three years after the implementation of the National Strategy for Immigration and Asylum, to which extent the Moroccan Government has protected on the ground cultural rights of migrants and refugees. Thus, the aim of this article is to explore to which extent migrants and refugees are benefiting from the National Strategy for Immigration and Asylum. In particular, to assess the achievement and actions taken to guarantee the respect of migrants and refugee rights, in particular the cultural rights? As well, the article objective is to highlight the remaining challenges that the Moroccan government has to tackle to guarantee an effective protection to migrants and refugees in Morocco?

ANITA NAIR'S MISTRESS: A REVIVAL/SURVIVAL STRATEGY OF INDIGENOUS CULTURES

ARPITA GHOSH

The term 'culture' derives from Latin cultura originating from colere meaning 'to cultivate', 'to honour' and 'to protect'. Thus, culture is about the meanings a community, a society or a country generates to cultivate, honour and protect. As we can conclude that culture is not something which comes naturally, instead it is 'produced'. In turn, the production and consumption of cultural artifacts defines one's identity. Hence, recognition of a nation is sought by means of past achievements which have stood the test of time. For ages, India has been the hub of variegated cultural activities. As a matter of fact, India presents a synthesis of several cultural aspects which include language, literature, sculpture, painting, performing arts, mythology, folklore and storytelling, science and technology, values and practices et al. In my paper, I have taken resort to Anita Nair's acclaimed novel *Mistress* to illustrate my views on how one form of art is inter-related with another in the process of reviving the extant cultural heritage of India. Nair has adeptly strung together the essences of Kathakali, a classical dance form of Kerala, delves into the Navarasas of Natya Shastra, Indian mythology and folklores along with the art of storytelling. She has deftly merged a cluster of cultural activities in a single genre of literary culture where the colonial language turned out to be her forte. My primary concern is to elaborate and deduce that an artifact alone possesses the potential to revive and represent multiple art-forms at one go. Hence, in this contemporary age of fragmentation and disintegration, cultural heritages need to maintain a symbiotic relationship in align with other art forms so as to survive and sustain their pristine and aesthetic charms. In the process, they will survive the onslaught of cultural materialism and once again be transported to the next generation symbolizing India's inherent cultural heritage.

MINDFULNESS BASED STRESS REDUCTION ACROSS CULTURES AND RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

JUSTIN THOMAS

Mindfulness-based interventions have grown in prominence over the past decade. Evidence of their efficacy has been an important driver of their widespread acceptance and proliferation. Although secularised, these mindfulness-based interventions are derived from and influenced by Eastern spiritual and cultural traditions, particularly Buddhism. For this reason, there is a need to explore the acceptability of such approaches among individuals firmly committed to theistic traditions such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam. This presentation examines the rise of mindfulness-based interventions, exploring the sparse literature concerning the cultural acceptability of such approaches among individuals with theistic perspectives divergent from both secular worldviews and Buddhist narratives. Finally, the article proposes several bridging concepts that might help practitioners of mindfulness-based approaches communicate key aspects of these interventions in a manner more culturally attuned and religiously resonant with the worldviews of Muslim clients.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF POST-CONFLICT KASHMIR; NEGOTIATING IDENTITY IN THE EVERYDAY

NEELAM RAINA, ZAHRA HUSSAIN

While material culture and heritage is generally understood to be threatened in a conflict area (Unesco, 2016), this paper on the contrary explores how post conflict areas can become instances for potential degradation of the cultural landscape. It aims to discuss how easy 'access', to/from post conflict zones, triggers transformation of material culture and practices of every life of communities. This paper presents cross cutting research about the cultural landscape of the region of Kashmir (both Indian and Pakistani). It presents an intersectional examination of the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relationships and subject formations (McCall 2005) across this conflict region. The politics of the region, dominates the conversation about the region, preventing socially valued, economically useful and culturally significant approaches to livelihood generation from being recognized by policy makers, government and non-government bodies. This research therefore straddles the Line of Control and compares, contrasts and presents a consolidated approach to the value of culture to the women of Kashmir. This paper is part of a longitudinal study of material and cultural practices in Indian and Pakistani Kashmir across the Line of Control in Neelum Valley region (Pakistan) and in the Srinagar region (India). It explores forms of fragility and its lived realities experienced by the local communities depending on the socio-political and economic conditions. The paper shall therefore deconstruct the notions of identity performed through place, gender and religion and juxtapose those with the constructs of power, knowledge, development and access to these.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE PUBLIC CULTURE THROUGH THE URBAN SPACES IN ISTANBUL

YEKTA ÖZGÜVEN

Assist. Prof. Dr., Maltepe University Faculty of Architecture and Design

Abstract

The culture includes perceptual and abstract phenomena as living habits, beliefs, ideas, attitudes, values, arts, etc. of a society. Being the entire of social behaviour, it determines within the society and the common life of the society. This commonality is given by the interaction and socialization practices of the public patterns. Although these practices are abstract actions, they need a physical space on the urban context. Therefore, the culture also indicates the entire physical and built environment including architectural and urban works, buildings, squares etc.

As being the focal point of two concepts, –culture and publicity–, the daily life practices on the urban space, which constitute both, are based on time, spatial and societal phenomenon. Considering the fact that the city is public and societal as a whole, the changes and developments on the society by time, have obviously transformed the culture and public life. Therefore, the transformation of the public life accompanies the conversion of the urbanites, urban life, and the cities. In this context, all of the socio-cultural conversions are reflected immediately on the urban space and daily life, especially in metropolises as in Istanbul.

After 1980s, these changes have accelerated by the globalization, and the urban culture has gained a new axis. Being the major areas of this global culture; metropolises, which could be explained by modernity and modern life practices are dynamic spaces, which evolve, transform and develop continuously. This dynamism of the cities generates the temporal character of all urban facts including culture, space, daily life, and urbanites. It means that the new living way in metropolises depends on the temporality, temporary habits, needs, perceptions, usages, and spaces. This temporality also creates a new urban culture, called metropolitan culture, which has changed the urban space, spatial use, functions as much as the social attitudes, habits, interaction, dialogue and communication rituals, and above all, the urbanites through focusing on consumption practices. These modern consumption practices have created social and spatial segregations on the public life and urban space; thus, the concept of publicity has gained a new meaning and the public spaces has transformed to a new character in metropolises.

The new public life is referred to individualism rather than commonality; the metropolitan man has become “the stranger” in the urban life. The individuals are not in any common and random interactions with each other, or in any intersections, socialization activities, and publicity. The daily urban life is in consumption spaces like shopping malls/districts or coffee shops, defined as the new public spaces of metropolitan life, although they were private spaces before. In these spaces, they interact and communicate with only the other individuals like themselves, who have the same life style and socio-cultural status.

In this context, the paper aims to examine the transformation of the culture of the society in Istanbul through the public spaces by a historical view. The transformation of public spaces and urban culture in Istanbul are revealed due to the turning points of the period of Ottomans, early Republican and nowadays. In order to discuss the present public culture, primarily it is needed to understand the collectivism and the space where the culture is generated in. From the point of view that the space is not a consistent phenomenon like the culture itself, it is significant to have interdisciplinary studies on the intersections of the culture and space. Thus it is possible to raise awareness about continuous involvement of the society from past to present and to future by reading the close relations of public culture and the daily urban life.

The Culture and the City as a Cultural Phenomenon

The term culture includes all of the abstract and physical phenomenon entirely; as the beliefs, ideas, attitudes, knowledge, etc, arts, literature, dress, food, traditions, morals, values, living habits, and, architecture etc. of a society. The culture could be considered in different approaches; such “as a way of life typical of a group, as a system of symbols, meanings and cognitive schemata transmitted through symbolic codes, as a set of adaptive strategies for survival related to ecology and resources” (Rapoport, 1980, pp. 9). Therefore, it has an immense conceptual meaning, understanding, and usage of term linguistically.

Culture is “a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (Güvenç, 1985, pp. 22). This definition points out two different facts about the context of culture. One is that culture is an artefact that is acquired by the people as being in some social group, learned or created by the individuals within the life style of the society, and also produced and transmitted from past generations to present and future in time. Hence, “culture may be said to be about a group of people who have a set of values and beliefs which embody ideals, and are transmitted to members of the group through enculturation.” (Rapoport, 1980, pp. 9). Second is that culture is a complex entity. This entity consist the whole of various concepts such as society, human, cultural content, and learning process (Güvenç, 1985, pp. 22). Thereby, as “an organization of phenomena-material objects, bodily acts, ideas, and sentiments-which consists of or is dependent upon the use of symbols.” (White, 1943, pp. 335); it is a kind of behaviour which is continuous, temporal and evolutionary; so that it could only progress with the evolution of the society and have a realm of existence (Güvenç, 1985, pp. 75).

Culture, which could be arrayed on an evolutionary continuum, varies from one society or one group to another, one civilization to another; because it emphasizes the uniqueness of the many and varied cultures of different peoples or societies. Culture has variable factors, which differ in accordance with the society, time, and space; but this variability does not prevent culture to be a complex and an organic whole. Consisting a conversion process, culture, which is an abstract and conceptual structure, or a construction of relations, needs to be on an environment and in a relation with the environment (Güvenç, 1985, pp. 22-23). All of the variables and relations, living and observed phenomena, which are indicated by the culture needs an environment to be in existence. Then, the various organizations and relations would be a part of the cultural system (Güvenç, 1985, pp. 64). In this context, Rapoport emphasizes that the mutual relation between the culture and the environment. According to him, “both environments and also life styles are shaped by cultural templates” and “the variety of environments reflects the complexity of culture” (Rapoport, 1980, pp. 7-8). Considering the fact that culture is variable, then the environment is also variable; furthermore, the designed environments are the responses of variable needs and priorities of the society (Rapoport, 1980, pp. 7).

As the entire of the social behaviour, culture determines within the society and the common life of the society. This commonality is given by the interaction and socialization practices of the public patterns. Although these practices are abstract actions, they need a physical space on the urban context. Therefore, the culture also indicates the entire physical and built environment including architectural and urban works, buildings, squares etc. The built environments are not only physical objects or constructions, but also the devices of establishing meanings and identities, which are belonged to individuals or groups (Rapoport, 1980, pp. 8). The urban life is the focal point of the culture, which is produced by public relationships and mutual interactions of the society as a social phenomenon. The cities and the urban space, which are the centres of the socialization practices, are the physical arena of the cultural system. At this point, the term culture also refers to another concept, –the civilization. Keleş notices the close relationship between the terms culture, civilization, and city etymologically. According to him, there are many similarities between the terms civilization and city in several languages. In Latin originated languages the term civilization and city or *civitas* have the same origins. It could also be seen the same relation in Arabic originated languages by the term *medeniyet* (civilization), *medeni* (civilized) and *medine* (city) (Keleş, 2005, pp. 10). Therefore, the city as being the product of time, where is “the issues of civilization are focused” (Mumford, 1970, pp. 3).

As the centre of economic, political, social, and cultural life and institutional organizations of the people, the city is the permanent settlement of heterogeneous individuals (Wirth, 1938, pp. 9); but not only “a congeries of individual men” (Park and Burgess, 1967, pp. 1). The city is a social institution, which constitutes “the form and symbol of an integrated social relationship” (Mumford, 1970, pp. 3),

more than “a physical mechanism and an artificial construction” (Park and Burgess, 1967, pp. 1). Although space is a physical thing, it also comprises the relationships between people and people, people and things, things and things. To this respect, to design an environment means that to organize not only the space; but also the meaning, communication and time as well (Rapoport, 1980, pp. 11). Therefore, cities are the related collections of primary groups and purposive associations like family and neighbourhood, and urban life (Mumford, 2004, pp. 29). With Park’s words “the city is, rather, a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of the organized attitudes and sentiments that inhere in these customs and are transmitted with this tradition.” (Park and Burgess, 1967, pp. 1). It features the awareness of people to own the urban, environmental, cultural, and social values (Keleş, 2005, pp. 10).

Hence, the cities –as designed and built environments– are the spaces of a particular life style of a group, which serves to distinguish the group from the others (Rapoport, 1980, pp. 9). They are, of course, a population based physical structure, but also “a system of social organization involving a characteristic of social structure, a series of social institutions, and a typical pattern of social relationships; and a set of attitudes and ideas, and a constellation of personalities engaging in typical forms of collective behavior and subject to characteristic mechanisms of social control.” (Wirth, 1938, 18-19). Being a theatre of social actions and collective unity, the cities are where “human experience is transformed into viable signs, symbols, patterns of conduct, systems of order” (Mumford, 1970, pp. 3). The urban experience is a holistic phenomenon, by means of the development of human behaviour and public culture. These experiences including the mutual activities and interactions of the society, also effect the organization of space for different purposes and ways, according to the different life styles of the group. Moreover, these activity systems of the group offer “a most useful entry point into relating culture and environments via human behavior” (Rapoport, 1980, pp. 10).

The Public Space in the Urban Context

The space, furthermore the cities, have been one of the major aspects, in regard to understand and identify then progress the society. Even if the cities constitute an artificial space and physical environment, they are mostly characterized by the social structures and their relations, and they acquire the continuity within these relations. Besides, Sassen emphasizes that, “to study the city is not simply studying urban; but also about studying the major social processes of an era” due to the “industrialization, urbanization, alienation, a new cultural formation they called urbanity.” (Sassen, 2012, pp.3).

Especially the modern cities, which are characterized by the daily urban life practices, indicate the public life of urbanites more than the spatial features. On that sense, the cities are the centres of social and public life; moreover, the city is the public itself. According to the fact that the city is defined within the public patterns such as the social relations, activities, and interactions of the individuals; all of the urban space could be considered as the public space entirely. As being the focal point of two concepts, –culture and publicity–, the daily life practices on the urban space, which constitute both, are based on temporal, spatial, and societal phenomena. In a city, which is a public and societal whole, the changes and developments on the society by time, have obviously transformed the culture and public life too. Therefore, the transformation of the public life accompanies the transformation of the urbanites, urban life, and the cities. In this context, all of the socio-cultural conversions are reflected immediately on the urban space and daily life, especially in metropolises as in Istanbul.

Related to the public life generated by the socialization practices, the city consists of public and private spaces, which are both constituted social relations. In this context, Sennet notices that although the usage of the terms public and vice versa private is dated to earlier times (both words have been used in the ancient Rome), the terms of public and private have gained the similar meaning to the present one in the 17th century. According to that meaning, the term public indicates the space where is open to control and use of all people, and the private one indicates the living space limited to one’s family and friends (Sennet, 2016, pp. 31). In a similar way, Habermas states that, the origins of the term public and public sphere go back to historical phases; the term public is generated in analogy with the words *publicité* and publicity in the 18th century. Parallel with Sennet, he emphasizes that there was no need to use the term public sphere before the 18th century and it was the first time in Germany that it emerged and took the function. But, he also remarks that one could find the traces of which is public and not public, in other words private, in the past (Habermas, 1991, pp. 2-3). In ancient Greek cities, the *koine*, the sphere of the *polis*, which was used by the free citizens

for common actions; and the *idia*, the sphere of *oikos*, which was belonged to individuals have been separated from each other strictly. Although the public life was in the agora, –the bazaar, and market area–, the private sphere depended on the house, indeed attached. The public sphere was the realm of permanence and freedom on the contrary to the private one. The problems of the city and the people were discussed among the citizens and everything could be visible; moreover, the citizens could have dialogue and interaction with each other as equal individuals there, –in the public sphere (Habermas, 1991, pp. 3-4). The French term *Le public* emerged in the Renaissance period to state the political community; but in time, the meaning has transformed to take in the socialization practices. Especially it –the term public– has begun to use to indicate the audience of the theatres in the mid-17th century in France (Sennet, 2016, pp. 32). In the 18th century, the term had the modern understanding and meaning, especially in the initially modernized cities as Paris and London. Since then it has begun to indicate the public sphere, which comprises various people, such as the familiar individuals and the strangers; not only the common life, which includes the individuals who are not family members or friends (Sennet, 2016, pp. 32).

In this context, the public is the common life of the individuals who have unavoidable and random connections and interactions as being the members of different social groups. This common life is formed with the dialogue apart from the ones between family members and close friends. These kinds of common practices need a space where complicated socialization practices between various individuals could be exist in there. Hence, the diversity on the social structure and their interrelations could be possible only in the cities and so the urban life is the central point of that publicity (Sennet, 2016, pp. 33). By the rapid development and enlargement of the cities as the centres of industrialism, the social structure of the urbanites and their social practices has begun to vary as well as the socialization spaces. These are the meeting places of the pedestrian individuals such as big boulevards, cafes next to them, passages, and parks, which are used as promenades. It is the period of some interventions and transformations on the urban space, the period of the usage of the urban space by all different citizens.

The Transformation of Public Spaces in Istanbul

The public spaces are open to usage of all people and are belong to all people; and not belong to anyone. Various individuals, who have different social, cultural, economic, political, ethnical characteristics, nationality, gender, age, opinion etc., would be in and share the public environment without any borders socially or physically. These are the urban spaces of different common activities, interactions, and socialization practices, which are formed by the urban society. However, one can see that these public spaces have differed due to the societies, life styles, traditions, behaviours, dialogue, habits etc. This variability is determined by the different cultural phenomena over time. For instance, from a historical perspective it could be followed that agora in the ancient Greek and forum in ancient Roman cities, squares next to important religious or commercial big buildings and palaces of Renaissance and Baroque period cities, parks and boulevards of industrialized cites of the 19th century etc. These differences on the public spaces present that the public spaces are a product of social, cultural, spatial, and temporal relations. They are the main spaces of the cultural life and behaviours in the cities.

The public spaces of different societies and cultures have divergent characteristics due to the different public life practices. Hence, the development of the public spaces in Istanbul differs from the others due to the different meanings of public and publicity, –from the ones that Habermas stated. Indeed, the diversity of the public spaces and the public practices in Istanbul has been arisen from the different conceptual understanding of the public sphere in the Ottoman world. The public spaces of Ottomans have differed from the pioneers and contemporary ones in the Western world. According to Tanyeli, the architectural and urban realm of the terms of ‘public and private’ has never been existed in Ottoman world until the 19th century. The one, which is public, is also private as much as it is public; and also, the private one is public as much as it is private in the Ottoman daily urban life. But, it has begun to transform to another perception in the 19th century, due to the modernization attempts including urban cultural life; but spatially the public space and private ones would appear about in the early 20th century (Tanyeli, 2007, pp. 59) in the Western meanings. In Ottomans, the physical and urban environment have not been read and perceived through the public and private concepts; but through more complicated cultural, and social codes (Tanyeli, 2007, pp. 60).



Figure 1: A street in Ottoman Istanbul (Kuban, 2000, pp. 195).

The urban public life in Istanbul is in the courtyards of mosques, bazaar area, *mesire* (a kind of green recreational area), coffee houses, barbershops, *hamam* (Turkish public baths) etc., which are locally the places of Ottomans' own cultural dynamics. Moreover, these *mesire*, coffee houses, courtyards, small squares (*meydancık* in Turkish; *-meydan* means square in Turkish), and the un-functioned empty urban spaces determined by a fountain in the middle have the major urban interaction and socialization practices, whereas the cultural and public references differ from the Western cities. In this context, the bordered and designed squares have never been existed in Ottoman cities, also in Istanbul until the 19th century (Figure 1). The spaces called *meydan* (square) also exist in Ottoman cities; but they are only empty and un-functioned urban voids. These squares have been always existed randomly in urban patterns and do not have any specific function. One of these squares in Istanbul is *Atmeydanı* (*At* means horse in Turkish), which is today known as Sultanahmet Square in Historical Peninsula. It gets the name from the horseracing and *cirit* plays (a special old Turkish horseman competition with javelin) on the area. The square in front of the Topkapı Palace is not a specifically designed space; it is an only urban void used for that kind of horse competitions and plays (Cerasi, 1999, pp. 197).

Kuban explains that difference of public spaces based on the major characteristics of Ottoman and Islamic city, and urban life. According to him, the concept of designed urban environment is dismissed in the Ottoman thought. The public spaces in the Western world, which are surrounded by monumental and public buildings, were designed to constitute some spatial and urban symbol. Instead of that, Ottomans decided the enclosed urban spaces such as courtyards for socialization practices; hence, the courtyards of the mosques are the main gathering places of the social life (Kuban, 2000, pp. 249). One of the major urban spaces is the *külliye* (Islamic-Ottoman social building complex) centred on a mosque as the main building. The complex, *-külliye-*, refers more than only a religious centre. It is also the urban centre of the other public services including a mosque, *medrese* (religious school), *arasta* (bazaar), *imarethane* (public kitchen), *şifahane* (traditional hospital), *hamam*, caravansary etc. (Figure 2). On that sense, these complexes are the centres of daily urban life through the various social activities; so they are the main public spaces of Ottoman cities, indeed.



Figure 3: Women in Sadabad, Enderuni Fazıl Bey (Kuban, 2000, pp. 311).

All of these urban spaces and socialization activities are for only men in the traditional Istanbul. The streets and bazaar areas are not for the women, so that it is impossible to see women outside the house in daily urban life, except the ones going to baths rarely. Most of the wealthy people build baths in their houses, and then, there is no need to go outside for them (Kuban, 2000, pp. 286-287). It means that the public interaction and all of these activities include men and women are excluded from the public patterns, in traditional Istanbul. But at the early 18th century, by the modernization attempts of the period, –Tulip Era–, some new urban spaces have been ‘designed’ in Istanbul, which would define the new public patterns for women, –even if just the women in the harem. The Kağıthane Grounds have been designed with a Western perspective of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi, –the French ambassador of the Ottoman Empire. The arrangement and the design of the gardens of palaces in Paris has affected him; and after he returned to Istanbul, he suggested to create the same atmosphere, with the design of a recreational area via the integration of green areas with water such as decorative pools and fountains, next to Kağıthane River. By the re-organization of the natural environment including tulip gardens, colourful flowers, enormous plane and trees, and by the re-construction of the river as a channel, and the building of a mosque, palaces and pavilions next to it (Cerasi, 1999, pp. 203-204); a new designed green area have appeared in Istanbul for the first time. These wonderful gardens called Sadabad are for the entertainments and enjoyments such as *cirit* plays and horse races etc. of the sultan, and then the women in the harem under the patronage of the sultan. However, the Sadabad has noticed more than a royal palace; it is one of the major steps of the socialization practices of women (Figure 3). The women and small children with them would take a walk, have joyful hours as having picnics, playing music and games, chatting etc. (Kuban, 2000, pp. 315). It refers the social interaction of the women just with the other women in a public space, like city parks, and other recreational areas, –in modern terms.

This public culture, daily urban life and the connection of the individuals of the traditional world have begun to transform sharply at the beginning of the 20th century. By considering the modernity as a form of organization and social life conceptually, the main factor is the rapid improvement and development socially, economically, physically etc. (Giddens, 1996, pp. 9-13). By the attempts for the construction of modern society and modern life style in the early Republican years, all of these public practices have re-defined again, –also the public spaces. Bozdoğan notices that the modernization practices were an official program due to the wish to show how begin to have contemporary and modern civilization. So that, the recognizable symbols and exterior forms of modernity rapidly became the primary facts of all architectural and urban works (Bozdoğan, 2001, pp. 57-58). Moreover, the major symbol of the modernity would be the modern urban life, which is determined by the modern individuals and the modern interactions of the individuals. The new one, –hence the modern one–, which is conceptualized with “the idealized qualities of being young and healthy”, have led to construct new urban spaces for this purpose, firstly in new capital Ankara as the symbol of modern public culture, and then in Istanbul. In Ankara, the new places such as Gençlik Parkı (Youth Park) that is “conceived as a large urban park with an artificial lake”, Atatürk Orman Çiftliği (Atatürk Forest Farm) that is “conceived as a popular place for recreation, picnicking, and family entertainment”, and the picnic ground of the Çubuk Barajı (Çubuk Dam) “was a stage set for weekend outings of Ankara families who could sit in the tea gardens, stroll in the park, or enjoy the artificial lake in small rowboats” are the new public spaces of modern culture, and urban life in the 1930s (Bozdoğan, 2001,

pp. 75-77). These kinds of modern common spaces and the modern socialization facilities of urbanites on there are one of the accustomed urban images in Western cities; but for the first time in here. This new public form, based on the usage of recreational areas such as city parks by men and women together and the families with children, represents the visual image of newly constructed modern culture. So that this modernity and modern life practices state the fact that all of the individuals have integrated to modern urban life and experienced the physical urban space through public interrelations with each other.



Figure 4: İnönü Esplanade, Taksim (Bilsel, 2010, pp. 358).

Following the modernity process in Ankara, Istanbul is also incorporated to these new attempts rapidly which aimed to create modern urban space socially, economically, physically etc. These attempts to constitute the modern urban patterns and modern public life are realized after the 1930s in Istanbul through the plans of Prost. To have healthy cities, various public spaces such as parks, promenades, esplanades, panoramic terraces, boulevards, sport areas, and squares are designed in different urban areas in Istanbul. The main aim is to sustain a modern urban way of life, which is a part of modern and contemporary urban culture (Bilsel, 2010, pp. 349-350), based on the idea that the organization of space “also reflects ideal images, representing the congruence between physical space and social, conceptual, or other kinds of spaces.” (Rapoport, 1980, pp. 11). One of these public spaces in Prost’s city plans of Istanbul, which are prepared during the 1930s and 1940s, is the large city park area (Park No. 1) in Yenibahçe, “the valley stretching from the Land Walls to Aksaray along Bayrampaşa Creek”. The park includes a botanical garden, a zoo, museums of natural history and natural science like the contemporaries in Paris (Bilsel, 2010, pp. 350-351).

Besides these parks, one of the other new public spaces in Istanbul is determined through the construction of squares, as the ones in Western cities for centuries, but not in Ottoman Istanbul until these urban interventions. The design of the new city square, Taksim Cumhuriyet Square (*Cumhuriyet* means Republic in Turkish) as a ceremonial venue, and the valley next to it as Park No. 2 including İnönü Esplanade have generated the urban centre of the new modern city and also the most public urban life around (Figure 4). The improvement of these public spaces aims both to create the physical space of the contemporary and modern public interaction, and to represent the values of the Republic in the public realm (Bilsel, 2010, pp. 354). Thus, by the construction of the modern spaces of the new modern public life in Istanbul, it could be created the image of contemporary urban culture. Indeed, the design of İnönü Esplanade involves “a terrace opening up to Taksim Square and an esplanade in its continuation.” The stepped wide terrace of esplanade is designed for the public to view the ceremonies at the square (Bilsel, 2010, pp. 357). Although it was planned to construct some buildings along the two sides of the park as a conference and concert hall, galleries for “national and regional product displays, fine arts, decorative arts and fashion etc. exhibitions”, the social clubs; they were not mentioned in the re-arrangement of the esplanade in 1942-1943 (Bilsel, 2010, pp. 359). Through these plans, also it was decided to have a public life in the area where people could easily access and participate in the cultural activities or exhibitions, and walk around the green area. Taksim Gazinosu (Municipal Club), which provides a possibility to interact and socialize in a contemporary way for urbanites, is built on the corner of the esplanade (Bilsel, 2010, pp. 360). Park No. 2, which is in the valley between Dolmabahçe, Maçka, and Harbiye, and next to İnönü Esplanade, spreads on a large urban area and identifies a recreation centre for the new settlements around. The park is a

green belt on the urban fabric including an amphitheatre, exhibition areas, an amusement park, as well as a green promenade (Bilsel, 2010, pp. 364-365). The Dolmabahçe Stadium, Sports and Exhibition Hall, the Amphitheatre, İnönü Esplanade, which were built according to the Prost plan have been the main public spaces, also identify the way of cultural, public and social life in Istanbul.



Figure 5: Modern daily life in İnönü Esplanade (Bilsel, 2010, pp. 361).

These contemporary practices of urban life and also the public spaces, have no relations with the former urban culture and life style; due to the fact that “the routinisation of daily life has no intrinsic connections with the past at all in modernity” (Giddens, 1996, pp. 38). They have identified something most significant, the transformation of the public from traditional habits to contemporary behaviours (Figure 5). According to Wirth, “The distinctive feature of the mode of living of man in the modern age is his concentration into gigantic aggregations around which cluster lesser centers and from which radiate the ideas and practices that we call civilization” (Wirth, 1938, pp. 2). At this point, these newly spaces in Istanbul designed by Prost are not only the spatial interventions on the urban patterns; but also symbolizing the conceptual approach of the early Republican period to the urban public space as well as the modernity and common life of women and men together in the public (Akpınar, 2010, pp. 110, 117).

After 1980s, these changes have accelerated by the globalization, and the urban culture has gained a new axis. Being the major areas of this global culture, metropolises explained by modernity and modern life practices are dynamic spaces, which evolve, transform, and develop continuously. This dynamism of the metropolises generates the temporal character of all urban facts including culture, space, daily life, and urbanites. It means that the new living way in metropolises depends on the temporality, temporary habits, needs, perceptions, uses, and spaces as in Istanbul. The temporality also creates a new urban culture, called metropolitan culture, which has changed the urban space, spatial use, functions as much as the social attitudes, habits, interaction, dialogue and communication rituals and above all the urbanites by focusing on consumption practices.

These modern consumption practices have created social and spatial segregations on the public life and urban space; thus, the concept of publicity has gained a new meaning and the public spaces has transformed to a new character. The rapidity of the new metropolitan way of daily life also transforms the socialization and interaction practices. In this context, shopping malls and coffee shops stand out as the most popular objects of the consumption culture in Istanbul, as it is all over the world. Now, the new public life refers to individualism rather than commonality; the metropolitan man has become “the stranger” in the urban life, with Simmel’s words. The individuals are not in any common and random interactions with each other, or in any intersections, socialization, and publicity practices anymore. The daily urban life is in consumption spaces like shopping malls or districts and coffee shops, which are defined as the new public spaces of metropolitan life, although they were private spaces. In these spaces, the individuals interact and communicate with only the other individuals like themselves, who have the same life style and socio-cultural status etc.

The individuals consider the rest of the individuals as ‘the others’, the stranger ones in the crowd; and so they do not have any enthusiasm to interact with others. In some mandatory situations, they only have temporary relations weakly (Simmel, 2009, pp. 152-153). These instant relations are due to only supplement of the obligatory needs; not for the communication or socialization activities.

Metropolitan men construct abstract and invisible borders around and isolate themselves from the rest of the society, and only focus on the monotonous daily life between the office and home (Alver, 2007, pp. 116). The individuals only interact with the familiar ones, and get socialization activities only with a few people around them such as family members or close friends.

At this point, the consumption based places such as shopping malls or coffee shops get importance to satisfy the needs of daily life, sometimes for short breaks and sometimes for display themselves in the public. They use these private places for meeting with the friends, study or work together, read newspapers, surf on the internet etc., as the place of new socialization practices. It means that they are the spaces of the new way of public life as well as they serve for them. The consumption places become the major interaction space of the urbanites where they come together and experience the urban culture deeply. Nevertheless, these public spaces do not have the same social characteristics with the former ones where random interactions and dialogue could be possible in. The social life and relations of the metropolitan men are limited to the friends known from the sports centre, office, or school except the family members (Alver, 2007, pp. 122). Therefore, the globalization and the consumption culture re-define the life style, behaviours, attitudes and habits as well as the spaces. Moreover, it transforms the variable public cultures to a homogenous one. In a global context, now, one can see these new public life and public spaces everywhere, such as in Istanbul or in New York, etc.

After all, it has to be mentioned that the public spaces could be defined as the common spaces, which are open to access of all urbanites to interact and socialize in all periods. The characteristics of being public are identified by the public activities and cultural behaviours of the society. These cultural attitudes and habits are not constant phenomena; they could vary and transform to another form due to the lots of facts within the public. Therefore, the public spaces, which are characterized not only physically but also culturally, change over time and have different usages as a response to the ideas and understandings of the society. Considering the fact that the space is not limited to an architectural product, the public space is also included in the cultural context, and moreover, one of the factors determines the continuity of the culture.

REFERENCES

- Akpınar, İ., 2010, "İstanbul'u (yeniden) İnşa Etmek: 1937 Henri Prost Planı", *Cumhuriyet'in Mekânları Zamanları İnsanları*, Altan Turgut E., İmamoğlu B. (ed.), Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları, pp. 107-124.
- Alver, K. 2007, "Yirminci Yüzyıl Sosyolojisinde Kentsel Yaşam", *Balıkesir Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, vol. 10, no. 18, pp. 111-126.
- Bilsel, F. C., 2010, "Serbest Sahalar: Parklar, Geziler, Meydanlar.../Espaces Libres: Parks, Promenades, Public Squares...", *İmparatorluk Başkentinden Cumhuriyet'in Modern Kentine: Henri Prost'un İstanbul Planlaması (1936-1951) / From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul (1936-1951)*, İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırma Enstitüsü, pp. 349-380.
- Bozdoğan, S. 2001, *Modernism and Nation Building*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.
- Cerasi, M. M., 1999, *Osmanlı Kenti*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Giddens, A., 1996, *The Consequences of Modernity*, Great Britain: Polity Press.
- Güvenç, B., 1985, *Kültür Konusu ve Sorunlarımız*, İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi.
- Habermas, J., 1991, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Keleş, R., 2005, "Kent ve Kültür Üzerine", *Mülkiye Dergisi*, vol. 29, no. 246, Ankara, pp. 9-18.
- Kuban, D. 2000, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.
- Mumford, L. 1970, *The Culture of Cities*, San Diego, New York, London: HBJ.
- Mumford, L. 2004, "What is a city?", *The City Cultures Reader*, Miles M., Hall T., Borden I. (ed.), London & New York: Routledge, pp. 28-32.
- Park, R. E., Burgess, E. W., 1967, *The City: Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 1-46.
- Rapoport, A., 1980, "Cross-Cultural Aspects of Environmental Design", *Human Behavior and Environment, Advances in Theory and Research*, Altman I., Rapoport A., Wohlwill J. F. (ed.), vol. 4, New York: Springer Science+Business Media LLC.
- Sassen, S., 2012, "Cities: a Window to into Larger and Smaller Worlds", *European Educational Research Journal*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 1-15.

- Sennet, R., 2016, *Kamusal İnsanın Çöküşü*, İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.
- Simmel, G., 2009, *Bireysellik ve Kültür*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Tanyeli, U. 2007, "Kamusal Mekan- Özel Mekan: Türkiye'de Bir Kavram Çiftinin İcadı", *Arredamento Mimarlık*, no. 2, İstanbul: Boyut Yayın Grubu, pp. 58-64.
- Wirth, L., 1938, "Urbanism as a Way of Life", *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 44, no. 1, pp. 1-24.
- White, L. A., 1943, "Energy and The Evolution of Culture", *American Anthropologist*, vol. 45, no.3, pp.335-356.