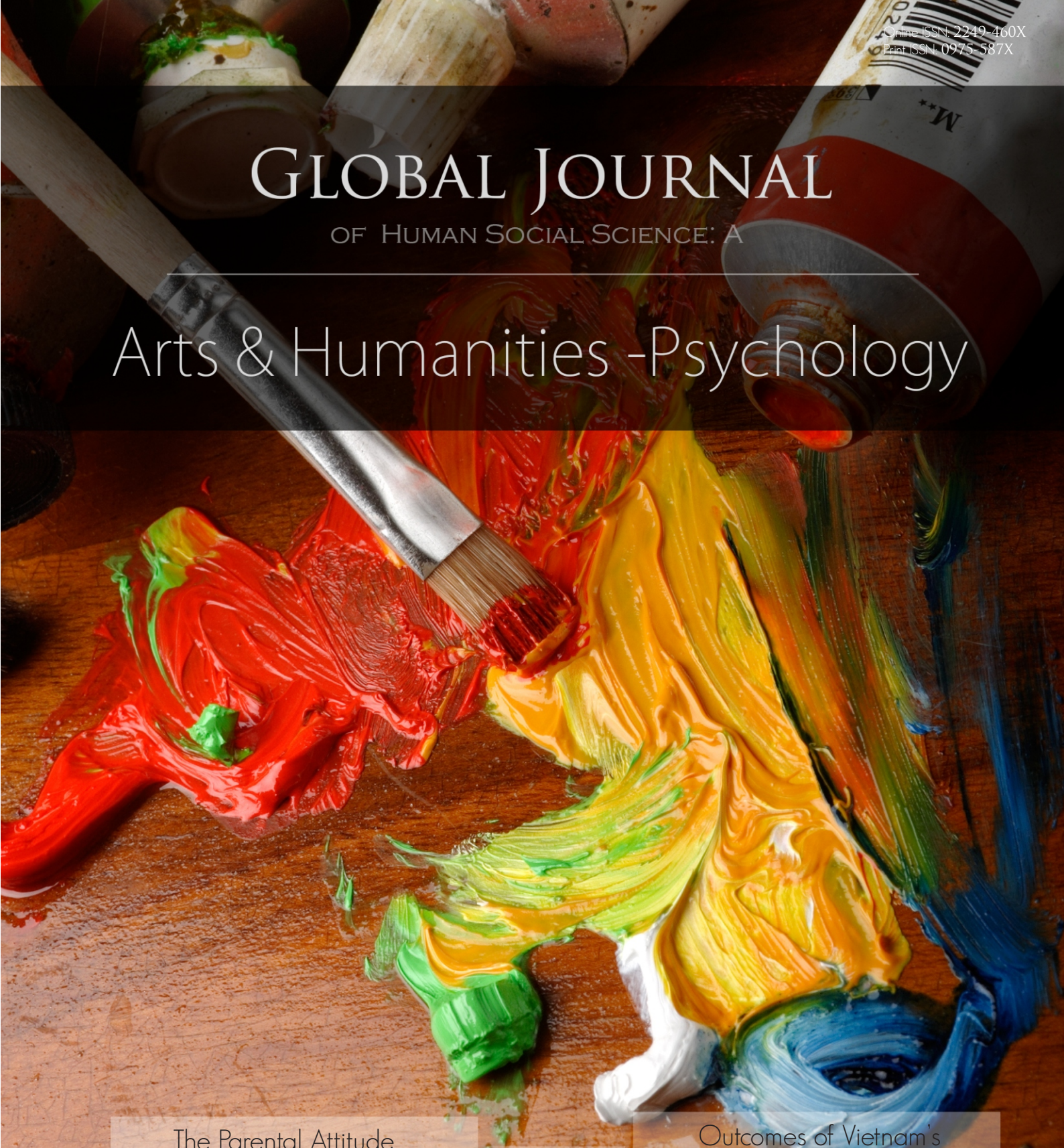
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The Parental Attitude

Wisdom of Indonesian

Highlights

Outcomes of Vietnam's

Intensification and Diversification

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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The Parental Attitude of Mentally Retarded Children

By Dr. Sribas Goswami

Serampore College, India

Abstract- Mental retardation is a worldwide problem and in India it is a shocking and alarming fact that approximately 2.5 to 3% of the total populations are mentally retarded. Mental retardation is not only a biological, educational or psychological problem but it is a multi-dimensional problem of a mixture of psycho-social, biological and educational factor. But the public and professional interest in the etiology of mental retardation and their in the problems faced by retarded children and their families has been at best meager and sporadic. This apathy has persisted despite the high incidence of mental subnormal threats the world, a problem which no society can avoid. This study aims to find out the Parental Attitude of Mentally Retarded children in Kolkata. The study reveals that 27 out of 30 parents have shown their favorable parental attitude which is above 50 % of the total. Rest 3 have shown unfavorable parental attitude, which is below 50 % of the total. But those who are even above 50% do not have 100% positive attitude. As the problem is not a biological, social worker should play a significant role in solving this social problem. Therefore this research study is taken.

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The Parental Attitude of Mentally Retarded Children

Dr. Sribas Goswami

Abstract- Mental retardation is a worldwide problem and in India it is a shocking and alarming fact that approximately 2.5 to 3% of the total populations are mentally retarded. Mental retardation is not only a biological, educational or psychological problem but it is a multi-dimensional problem of a mixture of psycho-social, biological and educational factor. But the public and professional interest in the etiology of mental retardation and their in the problems faced by retarded children and their families has been at best meager and sporadic. This apathy has persisted despite the high incidence of mental subnormal threats the world, a problem which no society can avoid. This study aims to find out the Parental Attitude of Mentally Retarded children in Kolkata. The study reveals that 27 out of 30 parents have shown their favorable parental attitude which is above 50 % of the total. Rest 3 have shown unfavorable parental attitude, which is below 50 % of the total. But those who are even above 50% do not have 100% positive attitude. As the problem is not a biological, social worker should play a significant role in solving this social problem. Therefore this research study is taken.

I. Introduction

Human Being is endowed with numerous abilities, mental, intellectual, social temperamental, motivational, attitudinal. But still some person is found deficient in some of the abilities. Sociological, biological and various environmental factors are responsible for the deficiency of the children. They suffer even from prenatal stage as a result of which they are born with several disabilities in mental and even in physical aspects. Though these deficiencies are not expected in the society, but it is the reality that these deficient children exist and they cannot be thrown out of the society. The society has the responsibility to take care of the specific deficiencies from which they suffer, and should render maximum effort to consider them sympathetically and provide them the service so that they can utilize their capacity is the maximum and be a part of the mainstream society.

Attitude towards disabled as well as origin and development of welfare and rehabilitation services for these special groups of people are not so clear. Familial structure and family conditions of the disabled, particularly of mentally retarded people are not so clear as research activities in this area have not undertaken sufficiently so far in India and particularly in Kolkata.

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II. Discourse on Mentally Retarded

There are several definitions about mentally retarded. Luria (1963) defined mental retardation on the basis of essential cause of mental retardation. According to him "Mental Retarded Children… suffer from a severe brain disease while in the uterus of early childhood, and this has disturbed the normal development of the brain and produced serious anomalies in the mental development …. The mentally retarded children are sharply distinguished from the normal by the range of ideas he can comprehend and by the character of his perception of reality." Therefore According to Luria any type of brain damage is essential for being mentally retarded. But there are several cases where mentally retarded individual have no damage in the central nervous system. Therefore the definition of Luria is not accepted by all.

According to Mental Health Act 1983, " Severe mental impairment means a state arrested or incomplete development of mind which include severe impairment of intelligence and social functioning and is associated with abnormally aggressive or seriously irresponsible conduct on the part of the person concern."

This legal definition also is accepted neither by the educationist nor by sociologist.

In 1983, the latest and the most accepted definition mentally retarded was published by American Association of Mental Deficiency (AAMD). According to this definition, "Mentally retarded refers to significantly sub average general intellectual functioning result in, or associated with concurrent impairment in adoptive behavior and manifested during development period."

Sociologist defines mentally retarded based on failure in social adjustment. According to Tregold (1937), "Mental deficiency is a state of complete mental development of such a kind and degree that the individual is incapable of adapting himself to the normal environment of fellows in such a way as to maintain existence independently of supervisor, control or external support."

III. Classification of Mentally Retarded

According to Grossman (1983), Hobb (1975), Warren (1984), "Classification (of mentally retarded) is

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necessary to the provision of quality service delivery as well as to direct prescription as research efforts."

The primary aims are directed towards –

1. Assisting in the use of an acceptable, uniform system throughout the world.
2. Helping in diagnostic, therapeutic and research purpose.
3. Facilitating efforts at prevention.

According to Grossman, Terjan (1987) the functions of classification of mentally retarded are as follows-

1. It is used in various policy making activities.
2. It is clinically useful for communication and research.

Psychologist classified mentally retarded on the basis of I.Q.

They are as follows –

- Profound mentally retarded (I.Q – 20 and below)
- Severe mentally retarded (I.Q – 20-35)
- Moderate mentally retarded (I.Q – 35-50)
- Mild mentally retarded (I.Q – 50-70).

They are again classified into following sub groups –

a. Educable mentally retarded
b. Learning disabled
c. Behaviourely disabled

Educationist/ special educators classified mentally retarded into three groups (Macmillan 1982):

a. Educable mentally retarded – They can be educated with help of special education, special designed curriculum and teaching methods.
b. Trainable mentally retarded – They can be trained on some vocation with the help of special educators.
c. Severely and profoundly retarded – They are also known as custodial mentally retarded.

American Association of Mental Deficiency Manual List (1983), classified mentally retarded on the basis of etiology of retardation.

Mental retardation is considered under the following criteria:

A. Clinical Criteria – Pathological type along with social and intellectual handicap such as Downs Syndrome' and other rare conditions.
B. Legal Criteria – According to English Mental Health Act (1959), "A patient is subnormal by reason of arrested or incomplete development of mind which includes sub normality of intelligence. He requires or is susceptible to medical treatment or other kind of special care or training.
C. Psychometric Criteria – Intelligence score is the measure of general ability if the intelligent is lower than two standard deviation below the normal person is said to have retarded intelligence. People scoring less than 70 points are retarded (According to a standardized IQ Test).
D. Educational and Social Criteria – Mentally sub normal people are socially inadequate. They cannot adopt themselves to the social order prevailing in the country. They are educationally sub normal or retarded. They are enabling to derive any benefit from education in the ordinary school.

IV. Etiology of Mental retardation

1. The causes of mental retardation may be due to chromosomal abnormality or genetic problem.
2. Any kind of medical error either in the--- prenatal, perinatal or postnatal period.
3. Socio - cultural factors – Although the tiny foetus seems to have been protected and remote from the society in which he will be born, his mother is by no means impervious to her social surroundings and therefore her baby cannot be impervious either. Social factors can influence development of the foetus in many indirect ways. They can affect the nutrition of the mother, medical supervision she received during pregnancy amount of rest she obtains and the degree to which family planning is achieved. All these factors are related to the incidence of complication during pregnancy or prematurity and of brain damage both before and during birth.

The overwhelming majority of mentally retarded children come from low socio economic group (Passamanick 1959). The estimate of frequency of mentally retarded in this segment of population range between 10% and 30% in contrast with about 3% in the total population (Biswas 1980). Many factors contribute to the said picture.

1. Role of the family – Delay in the early closeness between mother and mentally retarded child often induces parental inner turmoil, grief, a sense of disappointment and a feelings of guilt and failure, these feelings of guilt and failure these feelings of parents make a child mentally retarded.
2. Influence of community – Because of inability the retarded child is frequently excluded from his neighbourhood and peers leading to further frustration and feeling of inadequacy.
3. Maternal deprivation – The mentally retarded child needs some more amounts of motherly affection and stimulation. Denial of this leads to loss of resources read inner capability of the child whatever he possess. This matter is of particular importance in the problem of early institutionalization.
4. In – different maternal care – Rejection from parents and institutionalization makes a border line case to mild mentally retarded.
5. Increased family size is also a factor for retardation, as each child receives a smaller amount of attention from their parents.

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6. Socio economic statuses of the parents are also related with the retardation of the parents are also related with the retardation of the child. It was found that parents from lower socio economic class usually give birth of mildly retarded child (Passmanick 1959).
7. Emotional and Social problem – Environmental deprivation and cultural deprivation are closely related with the birth of a retarded child.

V. Parental Attitudes

Parental attitudes influence the way parents treat their children and their treatment of the children, in turn, influences their children's attitudes toward them and the way they behave. Fundamentally therefore, the parent-child relationship is dependent on the parents' attitudes.

If parental attitudes are favorable, the relationship of parents and children will be far better than when parental attitudes are unfavorable.

VI. Sources of Parental Attitudes

Like all attitudes, the attitudes of parents toward their children are a product of learning. Many factors help to determine what attitudes will be learned, the most common of these are as follows—

1. Dream child
2. Early experience with children color parental attitudes toward their own children.
3. Cultural values about the best way to treat children.
4. Parents who enjoy the parental role and are happy and well adjusted to marriage, reflect their favourable attitudes towards their children.
5. When they feel inadequate and unsure of how to bring up their children that reflects towards the unfavourable behavior.
6. Satisfaction of the parents about their child.
7. Broken relationship also makes unfavourable attitudes towards children.
8. React of a child also differ.

VII. Some Typical Parental Attitudes

These are –

- Over protectiveness
- Permissiveness
- Indulgence
- Rejection
- Acceptance
- Domination
- Submission to child
- Favoritism
- Parental ambitions.

VIII. From Alliance With Devil to Welfare

Historical Survey: It is hard to structure the history of special education and welfare for the mentally retarded in the West are obtained either in form of pictorial or as social attitude towards them, because it might be that the subject was not of much interest either to the writers or to those concerned with societal health. Perhaps the earliest written documents about mentally retarded were that of Papyrus of Thebes (552 B.C) which discussed the treatment of intellectually deficient people. Kolstoe and Frey (1965) characterized the period of treatment of (Retarded Person) in ancient Greek and Roman civilization "as the era of extermination" a reaction they attribute to society's quest for survival. Both Greek (452 B.C.), Roman (439 B.C.), recorded official references to the condition of mentally retarded.

According to L'Abate and Cartis (1975), early Greece used to term 'idiot' to all type of deviancy to the norms. In Greeks deform children were removed from the society and left to die, although some less retarded person survived as slaves of physicians or as prostitute of Sentinel(Keramidas 1976). "The legal system of Athenian and Spartan city state dealt seriously with mental defectives because societal interest was in developing nations free of defectives. The mentally retarded were thought of as an essentially non human and treated accordingly. The laws of Lycurgus called for deliberate abandonment of 'idiots and fools' (mentally retarded) and as a result such persons were thrown off mountains, drowned in the river or simply left to elements to die. They were considered incapable of human compassion. Extermination was generally accepted practice." (Gearheart 1980)

"Rome continued Greece's programme of genocide and the practice of leaving children in open sewers were common." (Kaufman, Payne 1975).

The only concerned for treatment of mentally retarded appears to have been suggested in the East by Confusius (500 B.C) and Zoroaster (400 B.C), who advocated tender care for retarded person. Justianian who's often ignored code suggest some care and treatment (Repp 1983). The movement of protection for mentally retarded started in this period. Until 1500 A.D. there were little change occurred in the attitude towards the mentally retarded. Christianity provided the first real hope for the mentally retarded members of the society. The teaching of Christ, with the Catholic Church developing sympathy and compassion for the mentally retarded resulted in isolated instances where society recognized its responsibility.

First educational as well as social acceptance in real sense was first started by Dr. Jean Mare Gaspard Itard, Chief Medical Officer at National Institute of Deaf & Dumb in Paris through working for Victor (a wild boy of

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Aveyron, France in 1798). The 1835 Edward Seguin, Itard's pupil developed. "Physiological Method "as a new teaching approach for the retarded. He succeeds in sense training for the retarded. His success led to the formation of first experimental class for retarded in an asylum in Paris. By 1846 Institution for Retarded had been founded in France, Germany and England and in U.S.A, by 1848. After a century in 1950 the residential status of retarded persons changed today school status and now to integrated education.

In British India first description of mentally retarded child was found in the writings of Green (1856-57), who was a jungle boy found in a jungle near Nogaon in Assam &was admitted to Dacca Lunatic Asylum on26th Feb,1842 at an age of 14 years.

In India first Asylum for mentally retarded was first established in Madras in 1841(Crowford 1914).

The first school in West Bengal was established for mentally retarded at Jhargram (1933-34) in Midnapur district. This institute, Bodha Naniketan was later shifted to Belghoria near Kolkata (1936-37).

Attitudes towards mentally retarded in India was not negative like that of Rome and Greece. In ancient India the intellectually weak persons are identified by various terms and was first reported in 'Rig Veda'. According to the laws of Manu disability was the result of misfortune sent by deity, fate, 'Karma', often associated with parental or personal sin.

But Manu, specified that the head of the family will be bound to look after the retarded member.

In the Pauranic age about 1600 years ago, first scientific thinking developed to train the mentally retarded children in India. As a result World's first special education text named ' Panchatantra' was deviced by an eighty years old scholar, Bishnu Sharma (Bassom 1954).

In the modern era some researchers tried to seek the parental attitude of traditional Hindu family towards their mentally retarded child and found that – that most parents accepted their retarded child with philosophical attitude (Kamath 1951).

IX. Objectives of the Study

1. To review the parental attitude towards their Mentally Retarded Child
2. To give valid suggestion as to how such differently able children can rehabilitate themselves from their marginalized position by winning that their sincere, love, affection and confidence of their parents.

X. Methods and Procedure of the Study

a) Nature of the Study

It is a survey study of involvement of family of Mentally Retarded Children.

b) Population & Sample Size

In the present study all the parents of MR Child of Kolkata to special schools and psychiatric clinics are taken as population.

The sample consisted of 30 parents (father, mother or other) of Mentally Retarded Children. Subjects were randomly selected from 2 Special Schools situated in Kolkata and Dr. Soumitra Basu's clinics. The specials schools are – (i) Kishalay, Sachin Mitra Lane, Baghbazar, (ii) Alokendu Bodh Niketan, Kankurgachi. Parental age group was 30-60 years and their MR Children were from both genders. Further they were selected from Urban and belonged to different religions and had different income levels.

c) Rationale

The main aim of the present work is to find out the parental attitude of Mentally Retarded going Children in a metropolis like Kolkata. It has been observed by many doctors practicing in the field of psychiatry and many NGOs and GOs working in field of Mental Retardation, in the major cities of India like Kolkata that most of the parents have an altogether hostile attitude towards a Mentally Retarded child. Those parents consider them as a perpetual burden, whom they will have to carry throughout their life. They are very much pessimistic about the future of these children. When they think about the future of these Mentally Retarded children they become more anxious and nervous. They always have the habit to discriminate, not positive discrimination, those children with respect to their normal siblings.

This type of attitude and behaviour that they exhibit towards their own flesh and blood not only is bizarre in nature but also very very pathetic in approach. It is the parents who should be the main support of these differently able children and if they totally shun and reject them. Then where would they go? Who will act as a prop to them?

Well, in order to find answers to these significant questions this particular study has been conducted. It is hoped that this study will definitely give valid reason as to why, do they behave in such a manner with their Mentally Retarded Children. Those reasons might be taken into consideration by the therapist, and programme developers, while rectifying this type of negative attitude of the parents with respect to their Mentally Retarded offsprings and developing programmes for the sound rehabilitation of the children.

XI. Scales For Parental Attitude Towards Mental Retardates

This scale is used to measure the attitude of parents towards Mentally Retarded Children. The scale consists of 36 questions which were suitable to elicit responses of the parent's attitude towards their Mentally Retarded Child.

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a) Procedure

i. *Construction of the Scale*

The 36 items scale interview schedule was prepared from 53 items expressing parental attitude towards Mentally Retarded Children.

While constructing the items care was taken on the following points:

1. The items covered the important structural and functional features of parental attitude towards MR Children.
2. They expressed an opinion rather than a matter of fact.
3. They referred directly to the attitude object in question.
4. They were simple and unambiguous.
5. They covered the entire continuum of attitude towards religion from extreme favorableness to extreme unfavourableness.

Each statement was written down on a paper. The judges were asked to give their judgments on 5 point scale. The 1st point was defined as the place for items expressing extreme unfavorable parental attitudes towards MR Children. The 5th point was defined as the place for extremely favorable attitude. The other points expressed equal interval varying degrees of parental attitudes towards MR Children. The judges were informed that those points were equally placed.

When the classifications of items were completed the median of the scale values given by the judges were determined. The median position was taken for the score value for an item. Finally from 53 statements, 36 were retained which have the median value more than or equal 3. In the process of final selection of statements care was taken such that all the 5 scale points were covered by the final items. Cut off point of selection is determined of 3.

XII. Administration of the Scale to Measure the Parental Attitude Toward MR Children of the Subject

After the scale was prepared it was administered to the subjects whose attitudes to be measured. They were asked to say 'Yes' those items in the scale with which they agreed and say 'No' those items to which they disagreed.

a) Scoring

The subjects' attitudes score is the sum of the positive responses which they answered. After percentage (%) of the responses are taken out.

Information received from the parents (target group) were critically examined, cleaned, quantified as far as possible and tabulated systematically.

XIII. Findings from the Study

Table 1 : Judgment of the Judges

Statement	Judge 1	Judge 2	Judge 3	Median
1	4	5	4	4
2	3	4	5	4
3	3	5	5	5
4	2	6	4	3
5	1	4	3	3
6	1	5	4	4
7	1	2	4	2
8	5	5	4	5
9	5	5	5	5
10	5	5	5	5
11	3	4	2	3
12	2	4	2	2
13	5	3	1	3
14	5	2	1	2
15	5	2	1	2
16	1	4	5	4
Statement	Judge 1	Judge 2	Judge 3	Median
17	2	5	4	4
18	3	1	4	3
19	5	3	4	4
20	4	2	4	4
21	3	5	3	3

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22	4	5	4	4
23	4	5	4	4
24	1	1	1	1
25	1	1	2	1
26	5	5	5	5
27	2	3	3	3
28	1	2	2	2
29	3	4	2	3
30	1	1	3	1
31	1	4	4	4
32	4	3	3	3
33	5	2	3	3
34	5	2	2	2
35	5	1	1	1
36	5	5	1	5
37	1	5	2	2
38	3	1	3	3
39	1	3	3	3
40	5	5	5	5
Statement	Judge 1	Judge 2	Judge 3	Median
41	1	3	2	2
42	2	3	2	2
43	1	1	2	1
44	5	5	3	5
45	1	3	2	2
46	5	5	4	5
47	5	2	2	2
48	1	4	3	3
49	5	5	5	5
50	4	5	3	4
51	5	5	3	5
52	1	5	4	4
53	5	2	2	2

Source personal survey- 2012

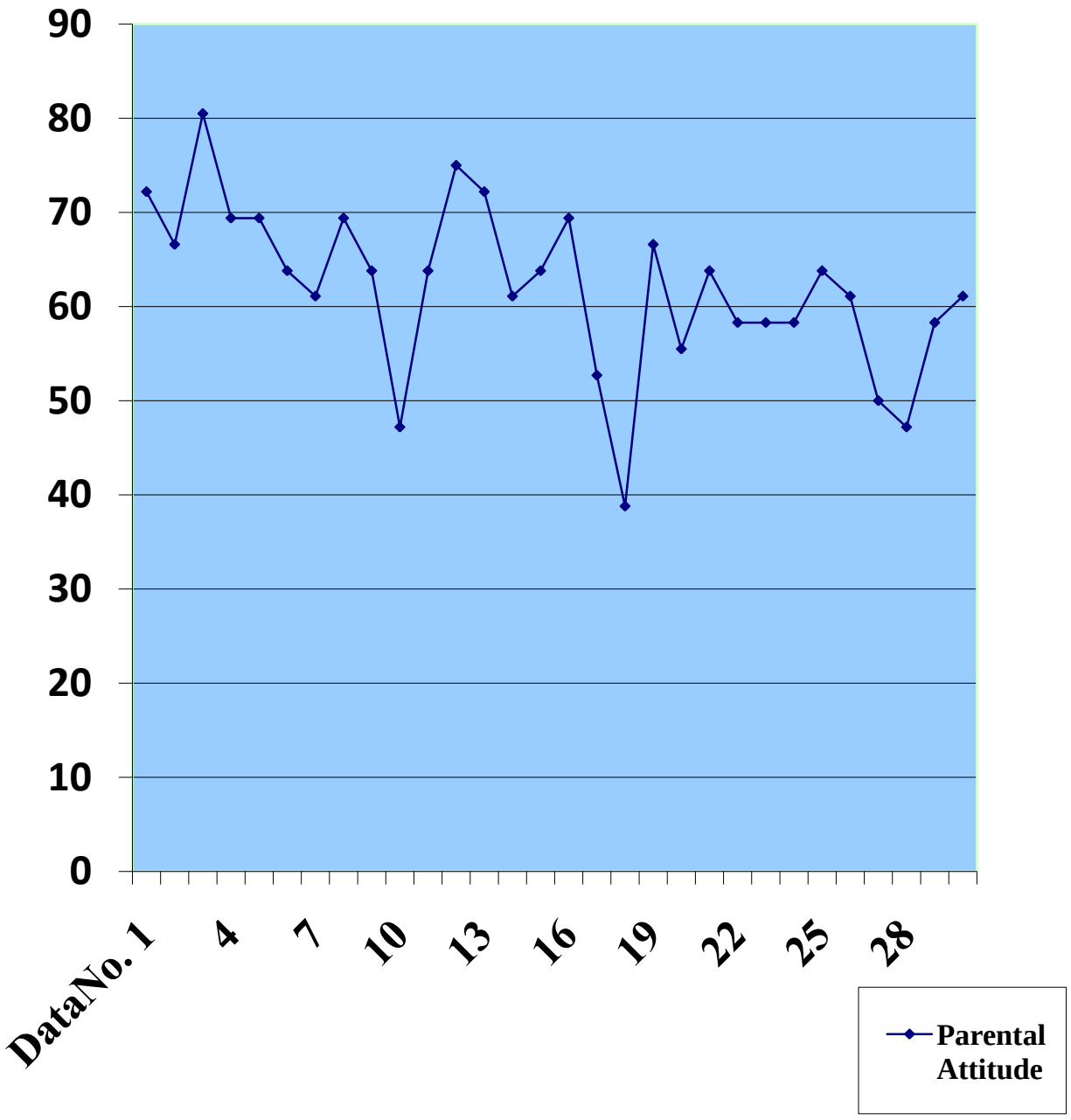
Table 2 : Percentage of Positive Response

Data No.	No of Positive Response	Percentage
1	26	72.2
2	24	66.6
3	29	80.5
4	25	69.4
5	25	69.4
6	23	63.8
7	22	61.1
8	25	69.4
9	23	63.8
10	17	47.2
11	23	63.8
12	27	75
13	26	72.2
14	22	61.1
15	23	63.8
16	25	69.4
17	19	52.7
18	14	38.8
19	24	66.4
20	20	55.5
21	23	63.8
22	21	58.3

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23	21	58.3
Data No.	No of Positive Response	Percentage
24	21	58.3
25	23	63.8
26	22	61.1
27	18	50
29	21	58.3
30	22	61.1

Source personal survey-2012



Graph 1: Graphical Representation of Parental Attitude of Mentally Retarded Children

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XIV. Interpretation & Analysis of the Data

While doing this study the researcher has taken into consideration the urban population, of a metropolis like Kolkata, belonging to middle income group and has interpreted the significant aspects related to the study which were observed during tabulation and analysis of the data.

During the last 40 years, our society has shown an increasing concern with respect to mental – illness as major social problem. But still today most of the people of this country cannot make out the differences between mentally retarded and mental – illness. Medical, social sciences have made a substantial beginning in the form of researches towards this direction. It has been observed that interest is growing rapidly with respect to the problem of mental retardation. Such rapid growth in interest is involving more and more researchers doing studies on mental retardation which is in terms producing a large accumulation of data on the general condition with which mentally retarded individuals are associated.

In this study it is observed that 27 out of 30 parents have shown their favourable parental attitude which is above 50 % of the total score set for this study. Rest of the 3 have shown unfavourable parental attitude, which is below 50 % of the total score set for the study. Those parents who have scored above 50% do not have 100% positive parental attitude. And one of the reasons of such unfavourable parental attitude is that they are always malcontent about their economic condition. They are of the opinion that if they had more money they could have spend more on their mentally retarded children.

As far as treatment of a mentally retarded child is concerned, either they are receiving special treatment in comparison to their siblings. Apart from this the parents are also seen to be over protective in nature with respect to them. In that case it is considered as a negative parental attitude expressed towards them, in the field of psychiatry.

In a study by Reference V. Ravindranadan and Raju, S. University of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, Adjustment and Attitude of Parents of Children with Mental Retardation mentioned that some parents may still feel ashamed of their wards with retardation and consider them as a burden. Others may consider it as their duty to take care of such children. In this particular study it is also observed that the parents of MR Children in an around of the city of Kolkata also consider their children to be burden. In normal scenario we find the vice versa taking place.

With respect to hopelessness exhibited by the parents it is to be taken into consideration that hopelessness of the parents is dangerous for the parents as well as for the children. Due to hopelessness they have a tendency to exhibit negative feeling or indifferent attitude.

It is also found that parents withdraw from the society due to insulting and unpleasant comments made by the so called well-wishers regarding their differently able child & which are not like the comments made to their normal counterparts.

Again it is seen that, at the back of the mind, of those parents of the mentally retarder children, that their expectations regarding their children would never be fulfilled. The frustrations resulting in the un-fulfillment of their expectations is due to the "demolition of expectancies" rather than being disabled. It is not difficult to imagine the extreme shock and disappointment that almost all the parents experienced when they are informed that their child is disabled. As this throw a cold blanket over the hopes and dreams of the parents and the parents have to rebuild their world in the light of this tragic situation.

From this study it is observed that many of them do not have any care save their own mothers. So it is quite comprehensive that, it is not possible for mothers to take care of their children in the way an expert caregiver does. That is why when there is a caregiver the child is reared up properly and scientifically.

One of the significant findings is that the parents are usually worried about their child's future. No change is noticed with this respect if we compare their attitude with respect to their normal child. Again the researcher found that the parents are not in a usual habit to save money for their MR Child, which makes their future much more insecure.

One of the significant facts of this study is that a disciplined life should be led by the mentally retarded children by following a specific routine ,but unfortunately it is noticed to be absent in the life of a MR Child. At the present moment it is observed that most of the parents have a positive view towards their MR Child. Though some of them harbour negative feeling with respect to their flesh and blood, they say that they will even not be able to do the last rituals of their parents. In Indian social system from the very ancient times we expect for a son because he will fulfill all the rituals in last days and will help us to attain the peace of eternal life after death.

Since, these data are collected from special schools, and psychiatric chambers, the parents are mostly aware of the facts related to mental retardation. Expect for few of them who incorporate certain negative attitudes with respect to their MR Child.

It is to be noted that this interpretations does not correspond to the commonly held view. Due to limitation of samples, methods used and also short span of time within which the study is conducted. If it would have been possible then the schedules for the study could have been administered to the parents of the normal children who would have enabled the

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researcher to come to a convincing conclusion by means of doing a comparative study. Such comparative study would have helped in the mainstreaming of the MR Children much more scientifically. And their mainstreaming would be more comprehensive and sustainable.

The stigma, stereotype concepts which are in the human beings with respect to disabled children can be wiped out. Disabled children are curse or burden, they cannot do any kind of work, which in terms disappoints their parents and the parents incorporate no hope about their safe and secured feature.

This is totally a negative and biased attitude which is shown on behalf of the parents. It is high time that these types of negative feelings should be wiped out from the parents by showing them the light of hope for their bright and secure future.

XV. Concluding Remarks

This particular study which is dealing with the parental attitude towards the MR Children brought out several significant aspects. Indeed, the parental attitudes with respect to a MR Child are not fully perfect or typical in nature as identified by the researcher. It has to be mended. Here in lies the significance of individual counseling, awareness generating programmes, group counseling, supportive therapy, psycho guidance etc. Through means of the above mentioned activities parents can develop more favorable attitudes towards their wards.

Furthermore, it is to be taken into consideration that this research study is not a complete one in any respects and there are ample opportunities for doing further studies in this particular sphere. So the steps to be taken for mending or rectifying the attitude of those parents of MR Children as proposed by the researcher in the concluding part, are nothing but certain valid suggestions. They are not concrete steps or strategies which should definitely be followed by the parents and stakeholders or other institution. But if they are followed then they will at least yield to a positive result if not mend the negative attitudes of the parents of MR Children fully and completely.

XVI. Recommendation /Suggestion

Those who are not fully sensitized about the phenomenon called Mental Retardation and cannot accept to be the parents of a Mentally Retarded Child, for them counseling is mandatory.

Sensitized and well aware parents of the MR Children should from groups and will have to work with respect to sensitizing the community people who are naïve and prejudiced about this particular type of mental disability. Even the social workers should have a profound role to play in such types of sensitization: they should act ancillary to such groups and aid them to find out the community resources which could be used for (i) sensitizing the stakeholders and the community people with respect to mental retardation. (ii) for the sound rehabilitation of the MR Children.

Then only we can find a society in which the birth of an MR Child would not be considered as a curse. He / She then would be accepted in the family very much like a normal child.

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Appendix -1

Interview Schedule

The Parental Attitude of Mentally Retarded Children

I) General Information

A) Name of the Respondent –

B) Address –

C) Sex - M ☐ F ☐

D) Age-

E) Religion - Hindu ☐ Muslim ☐ Christian ☐ Others ☐

F) Mother Tongue - Bengali ☐ Hindi ☐ Urdu ☐ Others ☐

G) Caste - General ☐ SC ☐ ST ☐ OBC ☐ Others ☐

H) Type of Family - Joint ☐ Nuclear ☐ Extended ☐

I) Educational Qualification of Respondent –

Secondary ☐ H.S. ☐ Graduate ☐ Post Graduate ☐ Others ☐

J) (i) Occupation of the Father of the MR Child –

Service Man ☐ Businessman ☐ Others ☐

(ii) Family Income (in Rs.)- Below 5000 ☐ Below 10000 ☐ Above 10000 ☐

K) Relationship with the MR Child of the Respondent –

Mother ☐ Father ☐ Others ☐

L) Name of the Child -

M) Age of the Child - 3 – 5 years ☐ 5 – 8 years ☐ 9 – 12 years ☐ Above 13 years ☐

N) Sex - M ☐ F ☐

O) Level of Retardation - Mild ☐ Moderate ☐ Severe ☐

P) Whether other types of disability exists -

Blind ☐ Low Vision ☐ Deaf ☐ Dumb ☐ C.P. ☐ Autism ☐ Hyperactivity ☐

Others ☐

Q) Cause of Disability - Genetic ☐ Other (mention) ☐

R) Age in which disability was first recognized –

S) Community from which the MR Child is coming - Rural ☐ Urban ☐

T) Position of the Mentally Retarded Child within the family –

Elder Child ☐ Middle Child ☐ Younger Child ☐

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II. History of the Child (Prenatal & Postnatal)

a) There is any history of mental disorder in your child's family –
b) You got injured during your pregnancy –
c) Type of delivery- Pre mature Normal
d) Type of Baby—Normal Caesarean Forceps Other
e) Your Child got injured in his head during infancy –
f) You did not get proper nutrition during your pregnancy –
g) Your Child get proper nutritious food –
h) Your Child can maintain basic Hygiene –

III. Parental Attitude Towards the Mentally Retarded Children

Yes (Y) No (N)

1. Upbringing of MR Child is affected by family's economical condition.
2. MR Child should be send to special school.
3. Learning from special school is helpful for MR Child to lead his/her daily life activities.
4. MR Child should be treated specially rather than his/her siblings.
5. MR Child is discriminated rather than other siblings.
6. MR Child's birth is considered as a curse for his/her parents.
7. MR Children should not be confined at home.
8. MR Children should get similar benefits as other children.
9. MR Child should get proper entertainment as others.
10. MR Child's parents become overprotective about their child.
11. MR Child's mother gets support from her husband.
12. MR Child's is considered as a burden for his/her mother.
13. MR Child's mother often feels hopeless.
14. MR Child's mother sometime wishes to die.
15. Parents often experience unpleasant comments about their children from outsider.
16. MR Child can function independently sometime.
17. MR Child always needs mother's support.

Yes(Y) No (N)

18. MR Child's mother often worried future of their children.
19. MR Child's parents should plan some special savings for their child's future.
20. MR Child should attend festivals or social occasion.
21. MR Child can have other caregivers.
22. MR Child is often dominated by his/her parents.
23. MR Child's parents' ambitions are not fulfilled about their Child.
24. MR Child's parents wish their child will get economic independency in future.
25. MR Child's parents hope their child will get proper establishment in his/her life.
26. MR Child shares a healthy bonding with his/her mother.
27. Parents of these children are happy with their parenthood.
28. MR Child's mother has differences with her husband regarding her child.
29. MR Child should get proper medical facilities.
30. MR Child's parents express their love properly.
31. If informed about retardation the prenatal should be aborted in pregnancy.
32. It is irritating for parents when all other mothers can talk about their 'normal' children.
33. MR Child's parents should be consistent in their treatment with the children.
34. A noisy home is bad for a MR Child.
35. MR parents want their children to socialize with peers.
36. It is important for a MR Child to have a fixed routine.

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Is the Termination of Parental Rights the Termination of Parental Responsibility?

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Abstract- Traditionally at common law a termination of parental rights to a child resulted in the corresponding and simultaneous termination of parental responsibilities for that child. However, a jurisdictional survey of the responsibilities remaining after the termination of parental rights revealed that while not a majority, some jurisdictions sever this dyadic coupling: Parental financial responsibility remained after the termination of parental rights. While perhaps serving the immediate financial needs of the child, this study suggests that severing the two results in unacceptable consequences for the child, as well as for the parent.

Keywords: parental rights, parental responsibilities, parental duty, termination of parental rights.

GJHSS-A Classification : FOR Code: 220104



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Is the Termination of Parental Rights the Termination of Parental Responsibility?

Theresa M. Pelfrey

Abstract- **Traditionally at common law a termination of parental rights to a child resulted in the corresponding and simultaneous termination of parental responsibilities for that child. However, a jurisdictional survey of the responsibilities remaining after the termination of parental rights revealed that while not a majority, some jurisdictions sever this dyadic coupling: Parental financial responsibility remained after the termination of parental rights. While perhaps serving the immediate financial needs of the child, this study suggests that severing the two results in unacceptable consequences for the child, as well as for the parent.**

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I. Introduction

At common law, rights resulted in reciprocal duties; consequently, the loss of rights simultaneously resulted in the loss of the duties arising from those rights (Foss v. Hartwellat 412, 1897; cited in Cimini at 30, 2009;State v. Dyerat 720, 1953;cited inEx parte M.D.C. at 1134, 2009) (Murdock, J. dissenting), support of children ("Support of children in the absence of provision therefore in degree awarding custody to divorced wife," 1908).The New Hampshire Supreme court,emphasizing the reciprocal nature of rights and responsibilities, stated that the two "must go hand in hand" and separating the two would "destroy both" (Dye, at 720; cited inEx parte M.D.C. at 1134).

Similarly, the Massachusetts Supreme Court, refusing to order child support from a father abandoned by his child, reasoned that a parent's legal obligation for a child rested on the father's rights to that child—the entitlement to the "custody, society, and services of the child" (Fossat 412, 1897; cited in Cimini at 30, 2009).Relying upon thistraditional coupling of parental rights with reciprocal parental duties, the South Carolina court in Coffey v. Valquez(1996) refused to order financial support after the termination of parental rights. Confirming the nonexistence of a parental obligation for financial support absent parental rights "in and to the child," the court stated emphatically that parental obligations do "not exist where the parent's reciprocal rights in and to the child have been terminated."(Id.at 350).

While a majority of jurisdictions adhere to this traditional view, a minority of jurisdictions determines that parental rights and parental responsibilities are not reciprocal: The termination of parental rights does not terminate parental responsibilities (Aeda v. Aedaat 11, 2013).This note explores the jurisdictional interpretations of the responsibilities remaining after thetermination of parental rights and suggests that severing the traditional coupling of parental rights and responsibilities would lead to unacceptable consequences for not only the parent, but also for the child, thereby compromising the best interests of the child.

II. Termination of Parental Rights

A terminations of parental rights action, described as "the most draconian of measures taken by the civil law"by Kindregan and Crittenden, is a remedy of last resort(2008; cited in Ex parte M.D.C, at 1143, 2009, Maddox, J., dissenting). This statement is true irrespective of the nature of the termination, voluntary or involuntary. However, to be sure, the description is no more poignantly true than in the cases of the involuntary termination of parental rights. The Court in Santosky v. Kramer (1982) recognized and addressed the severity and finality of a termination of parental rights. The Court emphasized that the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, provides protection of "[t]he fundamental liberty interest of natural parents in the care, custody, and management of their child. . .and does not evaporate simply because they have not been model parents or have lost temporary custody of their child to the State." (Id.at 753, U.S. Const. amend. XIV, §1).Therefore, a termination of a parent's rights to his or her child is appropriate only when clear and convincing evidence, using a bifurcated analysis, establishes first that the parent is "unfit," followed by a second determination establishing that the child's best interest is served by a termination of parental rights (Santosky at 761).

III. Termination of Parental Responsibilities

a) State Statutory Differences

All states statutorily provide for the termination of parental rights based on unfitness of the parent due to abuse, neglect, abandonment, or disability (Grounds for involuntary termination, 2013). However, states' statutory provisions relating to the termination of

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parental responsibilities differ significantly from state to state. Specifically,statutory language ranges: (1) from explicitly stating the termination of parental rights terminates parental responsibilities, (O.C.G.A. § 15-11-93, 2002; Neb. Rev. Stat. § 43-293, 2013);(2) to enumerating only specific responsibilities remaining after the termination of parental rights (A.R.S. § 8-539, 2001); and, finally, (3) to no mention of the responsibilities remaining after termination (Va. Code Ann. § 16.1 – 228, 2006).

For example, the Georgia statute expressly provides that a termination of parental rights terminates both the rights and obligations to the child (O.C.G.A. § 15-11-93, 2002) (see Dept. Human Resources v. Ammons, 1992; Neb. Rev. Stat. § 43-293, 2013) (see also State, Welfare Div. Dep't of Human Resources, v. Vine, 1983). Likewise, the Florida Statute expressly provides that the term "parent" excludes individuals whose "parental relationship" havebeen terminated (§ 39.01, 2011) (see Col. Rev. Stat. § 19-1-103(82)(b): "'[P]arent'" does not include individuals whose parental rights have been terminated"). The court in Ponton v. Tabares, defined "parental relationship" to include both parental rights and parental responsibilities in determining that a sexually abusive parent's financial responsibility for child support ended when his parental rights were terminated (Ponton at 126, 1998). The court emphasized only "one conclusion" could be drawn from the "clear and unambiguous language of the statute": A sexually abusive father ceased being a "parent" when his "parental relationship" was terminated (1998, Fla. Stat. § 39.01(48), Supp. 1996;amended &renumbered by Fla. Stat. § 39.01(49), 2011; Ponton,at 126).

Whereas, the current Arizona statute provides that all "legal rights, privileges, duties and obligations" are terminated, except the child's right to parental support and inheritance (A.R.S. § 8-539, 2001). Only a "final order of adoption" severs these two parental responsibilities (Id.). The Tennessee statute terminates all obligations except the child's right to inherit from the parent until adoption is finalized (Tenn. Code Ann. § 36-1-113(l)(1), 2010); In re T.K.Y. 205 S.W.3d 343, 354, 2006). In the Connecticut statute, the "termination of parental rights" completely severs the "legal relationship with all its rights and responsibilities," except the child's right to inheritance and religious affiliation (Conn. Gen. Stat. § 45a-707(8), 2011; In re Bruce R., 662 A.2d 107, 111, 1995).

In addition to preserving the child's right to inheritance and the continuation of third party support to which the child is entitled from the parent, the Maine statute provides for a lump sum order of support due for the future support of the child when a parent, prior to the termination, commitsa crime against the child (Me. Rev. Stat. Ann. tit. 22, § 4056, 2011). The Texas statute requires payment of child support until the earlier of adoption, the later of age 18 or graduation from high school, emancipation, the child's death, or if the child is disabled, indefinitely (Tex. Fam.Code Ann. § 154.001,1995).

Contrastingly, the Virginia statute is silent on the parental responsibilities remaining after termination of parental rights (Va. Code Ann. § 16.1 – 228, 2006; Va. Code Ann. § 16.1 – 283, 2006; Commonwealth v. Fletcher, at 328, 2002). Therefore, in a case of first impression, the Virginia court determined,based on its construction of related statutory provisions and a review of Virginia case law, as well as similar holdings from other jurisdictions, that the termination of parental rights terminates reciprocal parental responsibilities (Commonwealthat 327-329). The court reasoned that viewing the termination of parental rights as a complete severance, sufficient to render the parent and child "legal strangers," that the complete severance would terminate parental responsibilities, as well as "correlative rights" (Id. at 329).

However, even statutes that appear facially clear and unambiguous may be determined unclear and ambiguous upon closer scrutiny and require judicial construction. For example, although the Oklahoma statute, mirroring the Texas statutory provisions expressly providesthat child support continues after the termination of parental rights, the Oklahoma Supreme Court determined that the termination of parental rights also terminated parental responsibilities (Tex. Fam.Code Ann. § 154.001, 1995;Okl. Stat.Ann.tit. 10A, § 1-4-906, 2011; Over street v. Over street,2003). The court reasoned that since prior statutory language in effect at the time of the commencement of the action remained in the revised statute, the retained language,"termination of parental rights terminates the parent-child relationship,"was a "determinative phrase" in holding that a termination of parental rights simultaneously terminated parental responsibility(Okl. Stat. Ann. tit. 10A, § 1-4-906;2011,Overstreetat 955-956, 2003). Finding persuasive traditional interpretations by a number of states reviewing similar statutes, the court determined that "parent-child relationship" encompassed "parental responsibility" (Overstreet at 955-956).

b) Predictability: Voluntary Terminations

Voluntary terminations of parental rights, absent statutory language to the contrary, provide state courts with the opportunity for agreement and predictability in relation to continued financial responsibility. Consequently, the termination of parental responsibilities issue is rendered moot. When determining that a parent was not "ipso facto" relieved of child support responsibility upon the voluntary termination of child support, the Rhode Island court reasoned that voluntary terminations to "avoid or evade child support obligations" should be denied, most particularly when "no adoption is contemplated" (State v. Fritzat 685, 2001).

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Ex parte Brooks. Similarly, the Alabama court refused a mother's non-contested request for termination of the father's parental rights(Ex parte Brookat 1114-1115, 1987). The father, gainfully employed, had provided neither emotional nor financial support for the child (Id.at 616). He did not visit with the child, and his sole contribution was $100 toward the hospital bill for the child's birth (Id.at 615). The father disagreed with the mother's raising the child in her Jewish faith, and the mother found dealing with the father burdensome (Id. at 616). The court reasoned that termination based upon parental "inconvenience," thereby depriving the child of not only his father's financial support, but also the loss of any possible "parental affiliation," as well as inheritance,was not in the child's best interest (Id. at 617).

In re Adoption of Mariano. In addition to meeting the child's best interest, a Massachusetts courtreasoned that refusing an involuntary termination satisfies an important state interest (In re Adoption of Mariano at719, 2010). Denying a mother's petition for the adoption of her child under a Massachusetts statute, which would have simultaneously terminated the father's parental rights and financial responsibilities, the court emphasized that "the child support scheme in Massachusetts furthers two important goals: '(1) providing for the best interests of the children, and (2) ensuring that the taxpayers are secondary to the parents in meeting the financial needs of dependent children'" (Id.at 683, 2010; quoted,In re Adoption ofMarlene at 501, 2005; quoting from Department of Rev. v. Mason M., 2003; Mass. Gen. Laws ch. 119-A § 1, 2012).

Extrajudicial Agreements, Unenforceable. Similarly, although termination of rights was not at issue, in an uncontested request by both parents that the father's child support responsibility be terminated, the Hawaii court in Napoleon v. Napoleon (1987) refused to terminate the obligation based upon their agreement which the court determined was unenforceable. The court reasoned that such an agreement to terminate parental support was against public policy (Id. at 1274). Citing Napoleon (1987), the Montana court, also not addressing a termination of parental rights, refused to enforce a parental agreement because terminating support was not in the child's best interest (In re Marriage of Ness at 1024, 1987). The court emphatically stated that "children are not to be denied support by extra-judicial agreements. Similarly, the court refused to enforce an agreement between two parents. These agreements may please the parents, but ignore the children's need for support" (Nessat 1024-1025, 1987).The Idaho court in InInterest of D.W.K. emphatically stated that even if statutorily warranted, a voluntary termination will not be allowed if it is not in the child's best interest (D.K.W. at 34-35, 1985). "[A] parent may not voluntarily avoid a duty to support his or her child (Id. at 35; Iowa Code, 2012; cited, Husband (K) v. Wife (K) at 599, Del. 1975; cited, Byers v. Byers at 933, Okla. 1980; cited, Commonwealth v. Woolf at 537, Pa. Supp. 1980; cited, Kiesel v. Kiesel at 1377, Utah 1980; cited, In re Marriage of Curran at 1351, Wash. App. 1980; cited also,Mitchell v. Mitchell at 497, D.C. 1969).

Evink v. Evink. Moreover, despite a prior termination of a parent's rights expressly to avoid child support responsibilities, a Michigan court refused to terminate a father's child support responsibilities,(Evink v. Evinkat 330-331, 1995). The court emphasized that per the controlling statute, a natural father's obligation to pay child support continued until a child was adopted (Evink at 330; Mich. Comp. Laws Ann. § 722.3(1), 1979). The court reasoned that absent "a clear legislative directive" voluntary relinquishment of parental rights did not terminate parental obligations (Evinkat 331, 1995). The court's reasoning has been cited extensively supporting the position that child support obligations should not terminate with termination of parental rights.

Conversely, the Mississippi court in Beasnet v. Arledgedetermined that a voluntary termination of a father's parental rights simultaneously terminated parental child support responsibility as long as the child's best interest was preserved when rights were terminated(Beasnetat 348-350, 350 n.1, 2006). Evidence of best interestwas evidence by both the father's and child's guardian ad litem agreeing that the termination served the child's best interest (Id.). Noting very little Mississippi statutory or caselaw as a guide, the court reasoned that as long as the child's best interest was preserved, "it is an inherent aspect of voluntary termination of parental rights that, just as the entire parent-child relationship terminates, so too does the responsibility to pay child support" (Id. at 350). However, the court reiterated that a termination of parental rights could "not be used as a mechanism" to avoid child support obligations (Id. at 350 n.1).

c) Uncertainty: Majority and Minority Views

Majority view. The majority of state courts adheres to the traditional view and simultaneously terminates parental responsibilities when parental rights are terminated (Aeda v. Aeda at 11, 2013). Recently, in a case of first impression, determining that a termination of parental rights simultaneously ended a father's responsibility for payment of child support, a New Mexico court concluded that the majority or jurisdictions continues to follow the traditional view (Id.). However, state statutory variations limit the helpfulness of out-of state holdings: "With those [statutory] limitations in mind, we do note that the great majority of out-of-state cases agree that almost as a matter of definition termination of parental rights-or more accurately the parent-child relationship—works to end the parental support obligation." (Id.; see State v. Vine 1983).

Roelfs v. Sam P. Wallingford, Inc. The Kansas court in Roelfs v. Sam P. Wallingford, Inc., construing

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"parental rights" to include all rights, parent and child, determined that a termination of parental rights included also the termination of parental obligations, including third party benefits (Roelfsat 1376, 1971). The court stressed that termination of parental rights was not intended as a temporary or intermediate action, but "rather a final and permanent settlement of all problems of a custody and supervision by a complete and final divestment of all legal rights, privileges, duties, and obligations of the parent and child with respect of each other" (Id.; cited, Legislative guides, pp. 2-4, 9-10, 10-20, 1961; see State v. Smith, 571 So. 2d 746, 748-749, La. Ct. App. 1990; see alsoIn re HS at 745-746, Iowa 2011).

State v. Vine. Likewise, relying upon the rationale in Roelfs (1971) the Nevada court determined that the statute terminating parental rights respectively terminated responsibilities (State v. Vine, 1983;Nev. Rev. Stat. § 128.110, 2011). The court reasoned that the legislature's failure to address "responsibilities" in the termination statute, combined with a statute expressly defining "'parent and child relationship'" as including obligations as well as rights (Id. at 297-298; Nev. Rev. Stat. §§ 128.110, 128.005, 2011).

Minority view. Conversely, in the absence of express statutory language to the contrary, a minority of jurisdictions determine that parental rights and parental responsibilities are distinct and non reciprocal: Parental financial responsibility remains after the termination of parental rights(Vine at 297-298).

In re Ryan.In West Virginia a father voluntarily terminated his parental rights after the initiation of an abuse and neglect petition (In re Ryan, 2009). Emphasizing the legislative intent to protect the child's best interest and fundamental rights when construing the controlling statute, the court determined that despite a change in language from "guardianship rights and/or responsibilities" to "guardianship rights and responsibilities," the statute was never intended by the legislature to relieve a parent of responsibilities when rights were terminated in an abuse and neglect proceeding. (Id. at 606; W. Va. Code, 2012).

State v. Fritz. The Rhode Island statute applicable to termination of parental rights was silent regarding parental responsibilities or to the child's rights (State v. Fritz, 2002; R.I. Gen. Laws § 15-7-7(a)). After a couple's divorce, the court awarded the mother sole custody of their two children, and ordered the father to pay child support (Fritzat 681). Subsequently, the father voluntarily agreed to the termination of his parental rights upon petition of the Rhode Island Department of Children, Youth, and Family Services (DCYF) with the Department named as guardian for the children "'for all purposes as to [defendant's] rights'" (Id.; brackets added by court). The mother obtained medical assistance for the children through Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) (Id.). The trial court determined that the termination of rights terminated the father's child support obligations (Id.).

On appeal, the state successfully argued that if the legislature had intended that parental rights and responsibilities would be terminated, it would have expressly stated that fact in the applicable statute as it had in the statute specifically related to adoption (State v. Fritz at 685; R.I. Gen. Laws §§ 15-7-7(a), 15-7.2-2). The court also found persuasive the language in an inheritance statute that specified the terminated parent's financial responsibilities to his child did not terminate, even with adoption (Fritz at 686). In determining that the termination of parental rights did not relieve the father of his duty to pay child support for his children, the court noted, absent adoption, that the full weight of financial support for the children fell on the other parent, and often with assistance from the state (Fritz at 684-685). When adoption was not contemplated, the court reasoned that a parent should not be able to voluntarily terminate his parental rights and simultaneously rid himself of his child support responsibility to his children (Id.). The court refused to expand "parental rights" to include the rights of the child to the parent (Fritz at 686). Moreover, as per the termination of parental rights statute, the court emphasized a termination of support should be ordered only after a specific determination that a termination of support would serve the child's best interest (Fritz at 686-687).

A passionate dissent explained that Rhode Island, unlike most states, did not statutorily allow a voluntary termination of parental rights; a voluntary termination was not possible absent a pending adoption petition (Frisk at 690; Goldberg, J., dissenting). Rather, all terminations were the result of a petition from the Department of Children, Youth, and Family Services alleging abuse by the parent (Id.) Therefore, a voluntary termination of parental rights upon petition of a parent wishing to evade child support responsibilities would not be possible under Rhode Island law (Id.).

Ex parte M.D.C.Similarly, in the absence of express statutory language, the Alabama court in Ex parte M.D.C, reached a conclusion echoing the majority opinion in Fritz(2002): A termination of parental rights did not terminate responsibility (Ex parte M.D.C.,2009; cited,M.D.C. v. K.D., 2008, Moore, J., dissenting; 1984 Alabama Child Protection Act). Prior to a divorce granting custody of the couple's two minor children to the children's mother and ordering child support payments from the father, the fatherplead guilty to three counts of second-degree rape involving the child's minor stepsister who also had resided in the family's home (M.D.C.at 1119). The father was sentenced to prison and at the time of the decision, had been released (Id.). On the mother's petition, the father's parental rights had been terminated to their two children.(Id.). Later the state, on behalf of the mother, sought child support for the two children, and the father

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argued that since his parental rights had been terminated, his responsibility for child support had terminated, as well. (Id.).

The Court of Civil Appeals ruled in favor of the father in the absence of statutory language addressing the termination of parental responsibility in the 1984 Child Protection Act. (Ex parte M.D.C. at 1119-1120; cited,M.D.C. v. K.D., 2008, Moore, J., dissenting). Adopting the dissent's rationale in M.D.C. v. K.D., the court, construing legislative intent, found persuasive the"'[r]eading [of] the definitions of parental rights and responsibilities found in § 12-15-1 into § 26-18-7 [now § 12-15-319, as amended]'" (Ex parte M.D.C. at 1125; cited, M.D.C. v. K.D., 2008,Moore, J., dissenting; 1984 Child Protection Act; Juvenile Act, 1997; Juvenile Act, 2009). Relying on the express termination of parental obligations as well as rights in an adoption statuethe, the court found dispositive the fact that the wording in the new act, excluded "'parental responsibility,'" when itexpressly enumerated those parental rights included when describing "'parents' rights,'" to read: "'. . . it may terminate the parents' rights, including the rights to custody, to visitation, to control the child's education, training, discipline, and religious affiliation, and to consent to adoption.'"(Ex parte M.D.C. at 1125; cited, M.D.C. v. K.D., 2008, Moore, J., dissenting; Ala. Code § 26-10A-29(b), 1979; Juvenile Act, 1997; Juvenile Act, 2009). The court reasoned that the legislature would have included "parental responsibility" in the enumerated list of terminated rights if the legislature had intended to terminate parental responsibility (Ex parte M.D.C. at 1125; cited, M.D.C. v. K.D., 2008, Moore, J., dissenting; 1984 Act; Juvenile Act, 1997; Juvenile Act, 2009). The court determined that the termination of parental rights did not terminate the father's parental responsibility to pay child support for his children(Ex parte M.D.C.at 1132). The court emphasized that "´parental rights' should not be construed to encompass the responsibility for child support" (Id.; 1984 Act; Alabama Juvenile Justice Act, 1997; referencing Alabama Juvenile Justice Act, 2009). The child would be protected from the parent's future harm by severing parental rights, but the "beneficial aspects," of the relationship would remain(M.D.C.at 1127-1129,1133).

Conversely, the dissent in M.D.C. argued that the termination of parental rights also terminated the father's parental responsibility for child support (M.D.C. at 1134-1145, Murdock, J., dissenting). The dissent emphasized the historic, reciprocal nature of rights and responsibilities, and that the termination of parental rights had always "terminated the parental relationship" in Alabama (Id.at 1133, 1134-1136). Further, the dissent stressed that this traditional understanding, repeatedly upheld in case law, was well known to the legislature. The fact that the legislature passed subsequent legislation, without amending the statutory language to expressly provide parental responsibility language, suggested that the legislature had no desire to change the long-held, traditional view (Id.at 1136-1139). Moreover, in addition to addressing the majority's statutory construction, the dissent found helpful language in the recent amendments and commentary of the Alabama Uniform Parentage Act: Section 201(1) was expressly provided to "'make clear"' that a mother "is not a parent once her parental rights are terminated" (Id.; citing Parentage Act, 2008, added emphasis). Similarly, the dissent found inappropriate the majority's analogizing state law requiring child support payments irrespective of visitation to requiring child support from parents whose parental rights had been terminated (M.D.C. at 1135; cited,M.D.C. v. K.D. at 1129, 2008).

Additionally, the dissent found unpersuasive the majority's belief that continuing to enforce child support responsibilities would result in more adoptions. (M.D.C. at 1131, 1144). Conversely, the dissent reasoned that the majority opinion "could increase contested termination proceedings, because, absent termination of child support responsibility, "'deadbeat'" parents be more inclined to fight termination proceedings and, thereby slow adoption proceedings" (Id.at 1143-1144). Additionally, more parents might use termination proceedings against each other (Id. at 1143). The Department of Human Resources might be more inclined to initiate termination proceedings without a foreseeable adoption placement, as well (Id.).

Further, the dissent suggested the fundamental unfairness of a determination which requiredthe payment of child support after the permanent termination of parental rights--when the parent could never affiliate with his or her child (Id. at 1135).Illustrating, the court found particularly troubling the situation in which a rehabilitated parent, "a model citizen and parent," whose rights had been terminated due to drug abuse, must continue to pay child support, despite permanently losing all rights to the child (Id.). Concluding a discussion of possible "unintended consequences" of the majority holding, the dissent questioned whether parental responsibilities would be expanded to require more than the payment of child support (Id. at 1143).

The dissent advocated exploring alternatives to the termination of parental rights (Id. at 1140, n.13). Specifically, the dissent suggested remedial measures that would protect a child from "'bad custody circumstances, [e]specially when a meaningful parent-child bond has formed'" (Id.). For example, the dissent reasoned that awarding permanent custody to a child's relative or other custodian, giving preference to individuals already a part of the child's life and who can provide a "'loving and nurturing environment,'"while allowing "'supervised or other visitation'" with the parent,would protect the child while allowing the child to continue a relationship with the parent (Id.).

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Alternative Proposals. Recognizing the hardships faced by a non-offending, custodial parent andchild when the termination of parental rights simultaneously results in the termination of parental duties, Merrill (2008) and Taylor (2010) offer two proposals which allow parental financial responsibility to continue post parental rights determinations. Each approach proposes an alternative to the traditional, majority view which severs parental financial support with parental rights.

To alleviate the financial hardship on the non-offending, custodial parent and child, ensuring the child's protection and well-being, while at the same time protecting the child's standard of living, Merrill (2008), advocated the judge's performing a separate "Totality of the Circumstances Test" after a determination of dependency and that termination of parental rights is in the child's best interest (pp.212-213). Specifically, the test would determine whether financial support should survive the termination of parental rights based upon a review of financial support resources available to the child and whether the loss of parental financial support would negatively impact his or her quality of life (pp.212-213).While noting that a discharge of the financial responsibility might be inappropriate when a parent is "mentally ill or otherwise disabled" or when a child enters foster care or an adoptive home, Merrill's test would consider, prior to the discharge of parental duty to support the child, other financial support available to the child from the custodial parent, state, stepparent, and, since the test would allow the responsibilities to survive adoption, the financial support provided by adoptive parents (pp. 212-213).

Also concerned with the child's well-being and financial hardship resulting from the termination of parental responsibilities simultaneously with the termination of parental rights, Taylor (2010) suggested that a "Temporary Termination of Parental Rights," which would continue parental financial support since parental rights would not be permanently severed, would address the issue of the termination of parental financial support resulting simultaneously with the termination of parental rights. He noted that a number of states, including Hawaii, California, Nevada, Washington, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Illinois, had enacted statues which would allow permanently terminated parental rights orders to be revisited in some instances, and he discussed the various legal vehicles open to disenfranchised parents (pp. 332-348).However, this intermediate, temporary measure, requiring the same clear and convincing evidence required in irrevocable termination, would allow for the reinstatement of parental rights more efficiently without the legal battles currently required of parents who are often financially unable to fight for the reinstatement of their parental rights (Taylor, 2010).The temporary order would remain in effect absent the child's leaving the foster care system by adoption, emancipation, or some other circumstance, or the determination that a child's best interest would be served by lifting the temporary order (pp. 349-352). Emphasizing the growing numbers of "legal orphans" who leave foster care without adoptive parents, the process would ensure that children would have legal parents when leaving foster care while the temporary order is in effect (pp. 351-352). A petition by the child protection agency or the child, supported by clear and convincing evidence of a "substantial and material" change in circumstances sufficient to prove that the child's best interest would be served by modifying or dismissing the temporary order, would result in the modification or dismissal of the Temporary Termination of Parental Rights order (pp. 351-352), thereby "resurrecting" parental rights (p. 319).

IV. Findings

While reviewing the case law and statutes, many of which were not cited because they parroted information previously cited, so added little to the review, while others were not added because courts had not addressed specifically the issue of the responsibilities remaining after the termination of parental rights. In conducting the review of the minority position, most of those courts ordering a continuance of financial support relied on express statutory language. Moreover, as the court opined in Aeda, the minority courts have relied "unduly on statutory provisions other than their termination section for definitional guidance" (Aeda at par. 40, 2013). Specifically, courts consistently relied on adoption statutory provisions (State v. Friskat 685, 2002; M.D.C. at 1125, 2009). Additionally, many of those cases addressed involuntary terminations on which few courtsdisagreed (In re Adoption of Mariano at 662, 2010).

All rationales for holding parents financially responsible for their children held one idea in common, a resolve that, like the reciprocal nature of rights and responsibilities,also permeates our traditional system of law: Individuals should not profit from their wrongs. Absent adoption, courts do not want "dead beat" (M.D.C. at 1144; Murdock, J., dissenting) parents to easily dismiss financial responsibility for their children, thereby severing all possibility for current as well as future support. Particularly in the case of extremely abusive and neglectful parents, courts are loath to terminate the responsibility for parental support, hence the statutory interpretation by the Alabama court in Ex parte M.D.C. (2009) where in the court reasoned that "To hold otherwise would reward the most egregious cases of abuse and neglect by that parent's not having the burden of paying child support" (Id, at 1133, 2009). In the absence of clear, statutory language to the contrary, as suggested by the court in Aeda(2013),the minority state courts that hold "parents" accountable for

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parental responsibilities have not "address[ed] the function, purpose, and seriousness of a termination of parental rights" (Aedaat par. 40).

If clear and convincing evidence establishes that a termination of parent's rights to his or her child is the only way a child can be protected from a parent's physical or emotional harm, there is no foreseeable hope for improvement given the full benefit of available intervention services, and the child's best interest can only be met by termination of parental rights, then a parent's rights should be terminated. A third income availability analysis, the "Totality of the Circumstances Analysis," suggested by Merrill (2008)could address the issue of child's further victimization due to the loss of the parent's continuing financial responsibility. However, the alternative analysis must contemplate the outcome when, after the termination of parental responsibility based upon alternative support for the child, whether from the custodial parent, the state, a step parent, or an adoptive family, ends for some unanticipated reason. Would a parent be hauled back into court to face once again parental financial responsibility? If so, what difficulty might the child face by such a circumstance?

It is fundamentally unfair to children that their parents, individuals charged with their care,refuse support, hurt them either emotionally or physically, abandon them, or neglect them. However, one would suggest an action which holds a legally determined non parent, a "legal stranger" to the child (Commonwealth v. Fletcher at 112, 2002), responsible for the "parental" financial support of a child that he or she has no hope of ever parenting, does not right the wrong—assuming the "parent" is capable of financially supporting the child, which sadly was not the case in many of the decisions reviewed. Absent a state statute or legal maneuvering that many terminated parents could ill afford, as explored in Taylor's (2010) proposal of a "Temporary Termination of Parental Rights," the situation of rehabilitated parents who must financially support children with whom they can never be reconciled exemplifies also a fundamental unfairness, as suggested by Justice Murdock in his M.D.C. dissent (2009).

Taylor's (2010) "Temporary Termination" could benefit those parents who do rehabilitate themselves and are capable of successfully parenting their children. However, what harm to the child would result if the state welfare department and judge agree that the child's best interest would be served by reconciliation, but the child does not desire a reconciliation? Even if the child desired reconciliation, significant emotional distress would result from the fears the child would face in once again trusting his or her parent, while at the same time perhaps disrupting a stable, nurturingenvironment, school, and friends—possibly the only stability and sense of permanence the child has ever known.Granted, for the many children in less than desirable situations, it is likely that any hope of a different life would be welcomed. However, an unfortunate change in circumstances resulting in a parent's inability to the meet the child's needs and necessitating once again the child's separation from the parent could do irreparable harm to the child, a child who trusted the parent would remain in his or her life, to speak nothing of thedifficulty the child would face in transitioning to yet another a new home. The resulting re-victimization coulddevastate a child once again. Moreover, could the parent be given an additional chance for redemption? Both Merrill (2008) and Taylor (2010) offer innovative alternatives. No doubt, upon adoption of the proposals, the authors would readily address in detail and resolve all remaining questions.

V. Conclusion

Assuming a child's best interest is served, likely no one, save the individual parent(s) positioned to benefit from the termination of parental rights, would argue that continuing a parent's parental responsibilities after the termination of parental rights is the morally correct course of action. However, after the termination of parental rights, by legal order the individual no longer enjoys the status of legal parent, but rather is a "legal stranger" to the child (Commonwealth v. Fletcherat 112, 2002). One must question whether requiring residual responsibilities of a legal non-parent, "legal stranger" after the termination of parental rights is also the legally correct course of action. A reading of residual parental responsibility owed by a legally declared non parent appears at odds with the language in Santosky v. Kramer which stresses the finality and irrevocability of a termination of parental rights (Santosky at 759, 1982). Reason would suggest that an individual is either a legal parent, or no. The legal status of quasi-parent does not exist; however, holding an individual responsible for parental responsibilities after the termination of parental rights effectively creates a legal status of quasi-parent wherein the individual possess no parental rights, but must adhere to parental responsibilities.

In those circumstances in which a child cannot be protected from physical or emotional harm, at some point, for the child's benefit, as well as for the "parent," and other affected individuals, all parental connections to the child, including financial support, must cease, assuming the parent is capable of financially supporting the child. The termination of parental rights was never envisioned as a partial measure.

One would suggest that forcing a "parent" to continue financial support, in circumstances where the "parent" poses no threat of physical or emotional harm to the child, could result in unacceptable consequences for the child, as well as the parent. For example, forcing a financial support obligation could damage any familial interaction and bonding that could possibly have

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developed between the child and the "parent." The "parent" could resent the child, and the child, sensing resentment, would be inclined to assess self-blame and feel even further alienated from the "parent." Moreover, the child's paternal extended family also might resent and shun the child along with the individuals who enforced or received the payment of child support. The child would lose not only his or her "parent," but also any familial connection his or her paternal extended family. Further, for the child, the realization that he or she no longer has either a father or mother, could be particularly devastating for the child's self-identity and sense of self-worth.

Unfortunately, at an alarming frequency, as evidenced in news headlines, circumstances, including the depraved, inhumane treatment of innocent children,occur thatleave courts no alternative except the termination of parental rights. If circumstances are so dire that a parent and child must be severed each from the other, from the most fundamental of all human relationships, an "irrevocable" severance, then those same circumstances must be sufficient also to warrant a truly irrevocable severance of all rights and responsibilities. If not, if after the termination of parental rights state courts would determine that it is in the child's best interest to receive continuing financial support and, beyond that, the continued affiliation with the terminated "parent," one would suggest that a termination of parental rights would notbe the course of action meeting the child's best interest. As suggested by the New Mexico court in Avea(2013) courts should reconsider the function, purpose, and seriousness of a termination of parental rights (Id. at par. 40). Otherwise, the fundamental fairness required in termination procedures appears absent in the final analysis.

More importantly, the child, as well as the parent and the child's family, in those dire circumstances warranting the termination of parental rights,deservesthe peace of mind and repose only available from the complete finality of the severance. Justice Maddox said it best, "bad facts make for bad law." (M.D.C. at 1145, 2009; Maddox, J., dissenting).

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Theatre Management in a Developing Nation: An appraisal of National Theatre and MUSON Centre, Lagos

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Abstract- A national theatre embodies the performing treasures of the nation's inheritance for a glorious cause. The theatre brings the best not just to its people but also to the world and further deals with artistic and creative imaginations. It then beholds on Government to encourage the theatre as a body that preserves and promotes the cultural values of the nation. As a cultural Institution, this study explores the management constraints on the National Arts Theatre as well as that of the MUSON Centre, Lagos. Personal Observation and interview techniques were adopted. At the end, it was observed that government policies, funding and organisational bottle-neck that encourages bureaucracy are some major challenges against effective management of a theatre in a developing country.

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I. Introduction

A national theatre embodies the performing treasures of the nation's inheritance for a glorious cause. The theatre brings the best not just to its people but also to the world and further deals with artistic and creative imaginations. It then beholds on Government to encourage the theatre as a body that preserves and promotes the cultural values of the nation rather than see it as a commercial industry. It is to this effect that the Scottish National Theatre idea comes as an art/culture commissioning body and not just one mount of architectural edifice. To preserve a culture then, it must be taken care of and mostly by funding. This may have been implied by Stewart Steven in his closing remark at the English Equity Theatre Conference, when he says that "if you want to destroy a people, the first thing you do is destroy its culture".

A functioning and producing theatre is something that provides a heart to the nature of a nation. This is in terms of identity, focus and sometimes-diverse opinions. It is to this effect that the Social Democratic Government of Sweden in the 1930s initiated the establishment of a nation-wide organization for a touring theatre. A theatre that packages the national identity. This theatre called Riksteatern is the third theatre financed by government funds in Sweden. Riksteatern produces about 1,500 performances of (national) drama, music and dance a year. In addition, it has a special department that produces children's theatre called Ungariks. During the 1960s, riksteatern became an important moulder of public opinion through its performance.

The National Theatre of Bulgaria Ivan Vazouis financed by Bulgaria's Ministry of Culture. Varying a spectrum of repertoire from classical drama to contemporary plays, the theatre stages about ten major productions yearly. With between 450 and 500 performances presented per season, the theatre company has made an extensive tour of Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America showcasing Bulgaria's identity. Recently with King Stag, it received most of the major awards at the Raduga Festival in St. Petersburg in Russia. In each of these cases cited, the country's image is marketed. This marketing in the opinion of this paper, is made possible due to a focused managerial body at play.

This paper therefore, tries to explore the theatre as an art institution saddled with the responsibility of marketing a culture using the National Art Theatre, Lagos and MUSON centre as focus points. Though the MUSON centre is a private art centre, its management is a pointer in the opinion of this paper. First, we look at some important terms.

Culture, as the totality of identity factors, natural endowments, not excluding people in whom and through whom a nation is presented, is harnessed, preserved and exported through distinct and defined institution(s). Developing country in the context of this paper denotes a country whose cultural institutions do not, to a reasonable extent, contribute to national development. It could be due to inability of the country to make the cultural institutions function or refusal of the institutions to optimally live up to designated tasks. Nigeria, as a country, is in this case classified as a developing country.

Theatre is chosen here because it is not justdrama, dance or music. It also embraces all arts that have to do with human experience. Soyinka (1997:13) re-echoes this fact when he posits that "theatre, despite its many masks, is the unending rendition of the human experience, in totality, and its excitement lies indeed in

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its very unpredictability." Theatre is in a cultural sense,the "coming together of human beings who have agreed in a place, a time, a story and who take roles and wear costumes in order to act for one another tales from and of existence" (Tansi, 1997:46).Theatre management becomes then, not just a blending touch, but a tool to grease and make the theatre achieve the desired objectives.

II. Review

Culture is the aggregate of concepts and values which characterize a community. This makes people and culture quite inseparable. It then follows that a people without culture are in themselves not in full existence (Obasanjo, 1977:6). Theatre is one institution which ensures this unity towards a greater development of a nation. One wonders then the rationale behind the neglect of the theatre, which propagates cultural values of a nation. Looking at Government's interest on culture and arts in general, Ohenhen (2004.21) argues that "the decision of government to classify the culture ministry as a non-core ministry really culminated in the under-funding and under development of the ministry" and arts in general.

With the increased abandonment of the theatre, it has become paramount that an art administrator who can co-ordinate theatre organisation effectively is engaged. Akomolafe (1981:427) notes this when he observes that the "problem of administrative co-ordination within and among theatre demands great attention. It implies then that properly trained theatre administrative directors who will relief artistic directors of routine administrative duties" be engaged for an effective daily management of art institutions. To this effect, Langley (1980:10) emphasises that:

In short, it has become apparent to laymen and professionals- and urgently so to both incipient and established arts organizations themselves-that the business of organizing, funding, managing and sustaining almost any given artistic enterprise requires executive leadership of a special kind.

As a response to this "special kind" of leadership, it becomes imperative that:

The arts manager today must be a person of taste, sensitivity and erudition whose inclinations and education enable him to search out, recognize and develop the genius of artistic originality in whatever guise it may appear. Because the guise is likely to be unusual, if not startling, he must also posses a lion's share of courage to support and promote it. He must be a facilitator of fantasies, a mover and a shaker…. Administrative, financial and promotional know-how in the arts are wasted when not modified by such qualities (Reid 1983:22).

Very tangent to the point stated above as it regards problem of theatre management in a developing country is lack of defined goals and objectives. Often, theatre organizations from the beginning do not have clear objective(s) to aid effective management. It sounds logical that "when an idea for theatre can be clearly articulated and understood, when the primary motivation for activating the idea is also clear, then an appropriate type of theatre organization must be found in which the concept may be produced in manner consonant with the goals at hand" Langley (1980:10). In a personal interview, Osofisan, a former General manager of the National Theatre sees policy problem as an excruciating management handicap when he laments thus:

The first thing is that the government should make up its mind about what it wants to do with the place. Until that is done, you can't do much. If the government's philosophy is not really in favour of cultural expression, … then the decisions to be taken will be different. Talking in the abstract is okay but the concrete thing is: let's have a policy. Let's know what the policy is, whether the place is to showcase Nigerian culture, the best of Nigerian culture and all that, or it is meant to run as a commercial business. That is the thing.

Langley sees a solution to this problem in a harmonious blend in the goals/objectives of both the theatre and that of the administrative executives when he observes that "unless agreement about the philosophy and objectives behind a project is reached and especially well understood between the artistic and administrative elements, at least half the organization will labour under false or wrongly construed assumptions or under none at all" (1980:9). Langley sees good communication as key to a successful management and posits that in an organization, even though an idea may be a brain child of a particular person, it should "be discussed and subscribed to by others who will play leading roles in the project". When hiring a managing director, Langley also advises that this is the point when either side defines or harmonizes his objective(s). Langley (1980:23) opines that the manager

Should be cross-examined by both the institution and by himself as to whether his personality, experience and philosophy are in accord with the task at hand. Only if this is true will he be able to function as translator for goals and policies between the organization and the public and between factions within the organization itself.

The growth of the organization lies not on the manager alone, but on the entire staff. The administrative staff should be a reflection of the overall aims and policies of the theatre organisation. Supportive personnel including administrators, stagehands, ushers and doormen, are not hired simply to follow orders. They are, like the artists, hired to support the ideas, goals and objectives of a troupe. When optimal output is not

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achieved, Akinboye J.O. et al (2002:95) identify fourteen malaises which include management technique that may be at work.

III. Methodology

A study of this nature requires a method or combined research methods that would effectively mid-wife productive result. To this effect, personal interviews and visits were employed. The study was carefully carried out in a six-year span (2001-2006) within which this researcher got himself acquainted with the institutions (National Arts Theatre and MUSON centre) and other cultural centres around the country. These centres include but not limited to Mbari cultural centre, Owerri, Imo State; Ogun State Council for Arts and Culture, Kuto, Abeokuta; Cross River Council for Arts and Culture, Calabar and Oyo State Council for Arts and Culture, Mokola, Ibadan, built to complement the National Arts Theatre, Lagos during the FESTAC "77. During the period, performances (including command performances) and other functions hosted in and by these centres were witnessed. Personal interviews were held with principal management officers of the centres to elicit information on management and administrative challenges. The interviewees, as it concerns the primary case studies here, include: Prof. Femi Osofisan, then General Manager, National Arts Theatre, Lagos, Mrs NgoziNlekwuwa, Chief Public Relations officer, National Arts Theatre, Lagos, and Mr IwalesoAlabisepo, Assistant Manager, Operations, MUSON Centre, Lagos.

IV. History of the National Theatre of Nigeria

The National Theatre idea was initiated by the general Yakubu Gowon (Military Head of State, July 29, 1966 – July 29, 1975) administration. This idea was conceived for the provision of a suitable venue for the second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture in 1977 tagged FESTAC '77. The first of this festival called the World Festival of Negro Arts had earlier been held in Dakar, Senegal in 1966. On the accountof political situation in the country, Nigeria could not host this festival in the first stipulated years of 1970 and 1975. Beyond the provision of a befitting venue for FESTAC '77, the vision of the National Theatre embraced the preservation, presentation and promotion of arts and culture in Nigeria.

The notable and concrete arrangements for the establishment of the National Arts Theatre Lagos, started in 1973. This year, the federal government of Nigeria appointed a twenty-nine member Theatre Consultative Committee to advise and give report on the concept and organisational structure of a theatre. A landmark proposal of the committee was the establishment of a National Theatre which will also be home of a National Troupe.

The National Theatre edifice, which its construction lasted about five years is modelled from the Palace of Culture and Sports in Varna, Bulgaria. Techno-exportsroy, a Bulgarian construction company and the main contractors for the building of the complex signed the construction contract on 24 April 1973.The edifice covers an area of about 23,000 square metres of a recovered swampy land bought for N1.00 from the Ibru family.

The multipurpose National Theatre whichstands well over 31 metres in height has seven floors. It was commissioned by General OlusegunObasanjo (Military President of Nigeria, Feb. 14th, 1976 – Oct. 1st, 1979) on September 30th, 1976. This was about five months before FESTAC '77 (Jan. 15th, - Feb. 12th, 1977) started. The complex is to be a rallying point for artistes in Nigeria and international artistes wishing to share their experience with their Nigerian counterparts. Located at Iganmu, in the heart of Lagos, the National Theatre is an architectural masterpiece and a cultural landmark. It is very accessible from every corner of Lagos. It is also easily accessible by the major transportation systems in the city.

Since the commissioning of the complex, it has hosted a good number of national and international activities including musical concerts, conventions and workshops. The National Theatre complex provides diverse venues, facilities and innovations for all kinds of programmes and activities.

National Arts Theatre, Lagos, Entrance A. National Arts Theatre, Lagos, Entrance C.

V. Features of the National Theatre

The features of the National Theatre Lagos, can best be summarised in the words of Don Rubin (1977:231) thus:

The National Theatre's main Hall can seat some 6,000 in one of its configurations. This can be changed in eighteen minutes by rotating the stage on the vertical plane to reveal a wide bank of tiered seats that emerge from under the stage to join several balcony seats at the back of the stage in facing the other seats in the hall. Some of the seats are tiered from the floor to just under the balcony rail and these can also be rolled into a recess under the balcony. An alternative configuration though primarily provided for sports, has been praised… as flexible enough to accommodate more traditional performer-spectator relationships or even modern experiments based on the traditional forms. Films projection equipment and a screen, as well as an impressive sound system and controls, complete the Main Hall's facilities.

In addition to the features described above, the National Arts Theatre, to complement its aesthetic nature, is adorned with 7 floors and 25 lifts, 250 toilet rooms and 300 urinals, a 10-room public toilet building

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outside the main theatre building; 2 boreholes and an underground tank which provide the building's water requirements. It is argued that the volume of water consumed on a busy day at the theatre can serve a town of about 500,000 population. The edifice is also provided with basement car parks and ramps at the four entrances of A, B, C, and D which take about 500 cars.A meaningful tour of the complex takes more than eight hours. The National Theatre complex has the following facilities:

1. Main Hall (5,000 seats)
2. Conference/Banquet hall (2,000 seats)
3. 2 main exhibition halls (1839 sq metres each and 2,000 seats each)
4. 2 Cinema Halls (700 seats each)
5. The V.I.P. lounge (500 seats)
6. The Press Conference hall (300 seats)
7. 2 massive lobbies (500 seats each)
8. The roof Garden (round the theatre building)
9. Car parks.

The stage of this theatre is easily amenable to any directional concept. It is ideal for major musical concerts, drama, film, shows, etc. The hall also hosts indoor sporting activities like tennis, wrestling, boxing etc.

The National Theatre serves as home to the following important government organisation:

1. The Department of Culture
2. The National Troupe of Nigeria (NTN)
3. The Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation (CBAAC).
4. The National Gallery of Arts (NGA)
5. The National Institute for Cultural Orientation (NICO)
6. A Post Office, for the Nigeria Postal Service (NIPOST)
7. A clinic, run by Federal Ministry of Health.

VI. Administrative/Management Framework

After its commissioning in 1976, an interim Administrative Management Board was inaugurated to oversee the affairs of the National Theatre in 1977. The Permanent Secretary of the Federal Ministry of Information was appointed as the chairman of the board while the head, Department of Culture was the secretary. The board also had as members, three representatives from the ministry of works. These are chief Resident Architect, who worked during the construction of the theatre, chief Engineer and a project Engineer. The heads of the departments of Antiquities, film division, and Museum are also members while the chief Accountant; ministry of information was the sole accounting officer of the board. This board managed the theatre until October 1979.

The Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Social Development, Youth, Sports and Culture took over the leadership of the management Board after the 1979 shift in Government. This was during the Alhaji Shehu Shagari led civilian government in Nigeria when the department of culture was merged to the ministry of Social Development, Youth, Sports and Culture.

Despite the merge, the administration of the complex remained under the Department of Culture. The Accountant of the ministry of Social Development, Youth, Sports and Culture becomes the Accountant to the management Board.

The successive military regimes appointed sole administrator to run the affairs of the theatre.

Today, the General Manager who reports directly to the Minister in-charge of the ministry of Culture and Tourismis responsible for the day-to-day operations of the theatre complex including staff welfare. An assistant General Manager and department managers assist the General Manager.

VII. The Management Structure is as Shown Below

a) Management: Theory/Practice

The national Arts Theatre seems to favour Behavioural Science Theory of Management in part. Weber (1947:115) had laid a bureaucratic concept of Management, which stipulates organizational management hierarchy. His procedures further encourage clearly – specified division of Labour, powers, obligations, etc. The National Theatre's bureaucratic system spreads from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The Minister of Culture and Tourism through the General Manager of the theatre oversees the affairs of the National Theatre. The General Manager takes directives from the Minister and the Permanent Secretary of the ministry. This bureaucratic management system has over time left the theatre mismanaged and under-utilized.

VIII. Achievements/Merits of the National Theatre

The achievements of the National Theatre can be discussed as follows:

Showcases the Nigeria Culture: The National Theatre serves as an agent for the presentation, preservation and promotion of Nigeria's culture. The building hosts cultural exhibitions and performances while the National Troupe packages and exports Nigeria's cultural heritage. The complex serves as the people's (Nigerians) hall where they can relax and served with cultural packages like films, drama and dance.

The National Theatre develops the young and future talents: Young talents who otherwise would have no opportunity have been developed by and in the

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National Theatre. This the theatre does by way of sponsorship (when it had fund) and provision of facilities at almost free cost.

The theatre complex provides an open park to the public: About the only such service centre in Lagos. By this, the theatre relieves people of environmental stress.

The theatre is a tourist's attraction: It provides recreational venues and tourism to Nigerians and foreigners alike.

It serves as an event venue: Even in its dilapidated state, the theatre is a great event venue in Nigeria. It offers affordable venues for programmes to individuals and organisations.

FESTAC '77: The National Arts Theatre successfully hosted the 2nd World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture in 1977 (tagged FESTAC '77). The festival brought together all the black race and their cultures across the world. This was in form of exhibition, dance, drama et cetera. A black festival that lasted one month.

Remi Ademola Adedokun, answering an implied question on the achievements of the National Theatre of Nigeria, observes thus:

The National Theatre is a full-blooded adult now and what has it to show for it to certify its maturity? A lot has been achieved you would say. The inauguration of the National Troupe (a resident performance company) is a landmark achievement. A large number of staff that draw salaries to keep body and soul together is noteworthy. The Cultural exchange programs (unknown to Nigerian generality) and the organisation of the National Festival of the Arts that are echoed or relayed through the media are proofs of its success. (The COMET, Sat. April 13th, 2002, p.31.).

IX. Musical Society of Nigeria (muson): Origin

The Musical Society of Nigeria (MUSON) was formed in October 1983 and was granted a certificate of Incorporation, No 3392, on 22nd March 1985, under The Land (Perpetual Succession) Act, Cap. 98.

An insight to the origin of the Musical Society of Nigeria is illustrated in the words of Chief Rasheed Gbadamosi:

…one day, my phone rang and it was Louis Mbanefo saying, did I recall a conversation I had with him about a classical music appreciation society and that people were about to get together and form a society in pursuance of classical music, would I come? I said, "Well, you know that will be a grand idea, where will it hold?" And he said, "one Mr Akintola Williams'". (MUSON Newsletter March, 2003.1).

The foundation of MUSON centre came from the inspiration of Mr Akintola Williams OFR to form the Musical Society of Nigeria (MUSON). On May 26th, 1983, Mr Williams approached Sir Mervyn Brown, KCMG, who was then the British High Commissioner to Nigeria from 1979 to 1983. Mr Brown and Lady Brown with their proficiency in musical instruments organised musical Soirees and concerts at the High Commission's residence and other venues in Lagos. Through these Soirees, the Browns helped stimulate awareness and appreciation of classical music from their arrival to Nigeria in 1979.

Mr Akintola Williams' approach to Sir Mervyn was in the form of a request to assist in organising a group of artistes and friends to form a society for classical music performers and supports. The group Mr Williams proposed would include people who though appreciate good music, neither could play any musical instrument nor could sing.

The stage got set for the establishment of this proposed musical society in Lagos with Sir Mervyn's assurance to solicit the support of artistes and other interests in Europe. This included the Goethe Institute of Germany and the IntitutoItaliano Cultural of Italy. These two institutes had been prominent in the promotion of classical music appreciation in Nigeria.

A steering committee of the Musical Group met on the 25th of October, 1983. This meeting where the strategies for the society was mapped out gave birth to the Musical Society of Nigeria – MUSON.

Mr Akintola Williams enabled the steering committee to agree on the name of the society, its objectives, structure, secretariat, administration and plans. The membership of the steering committee was later enlarged to enable it draw up the constitution, register the Society, identify artistes, and work out a programme of performances.

The MUSON logo, designed by Mr Duncan McKellar and adopted in January 1984, depicts three African musical instruments. The logo is portrayed in a style traditionally Nigerian and in a circle or wheel always turning and eternal. The Centre complex was commissioned in February 1994. Its architectural elegance, serene ambience and the very high standard of its maintenance have continued to draw praise from around the world.

X. The Objectives of Muson

The centre is established with the following objectives:

1. To promote the understanding and enjoyment of classical music in Nigeria;
2. To promote the performance of serious music with emphasis on classical
3. Music;
4. To promote the education of children in the performance and theory of music;
5. To encourage the interacting of Nigeria and non-Nigerian musician;

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6. To provide facilities for the realisation of the above-mentioned objective;
7. To raise funds from persons and organisations for the realisation of the above
8. mentioned objectives,
9. To raise by way of loans, debentures or overdrafts from any banks, financial institutions or persons such amounts as the society may require from time to time for the purpose of carrying out its above mentioned

XI. Muson Centre's Site/Location

MUSON centre is located in Onikan, opposite the National Museum and very close to TafawaBelewa Square (TBS). It was a location that was popularly called love garden and later used as car park for Onikan stadium.

An application for a grant of the land was made to the Lagos State Government in May 1985. The approval was granted and a certificate of occupancy was issued on 22nd July, 1988 by Navy Captain Okhai Mike Akhigbe, the then Military Governor of Lagos State. The state Governor, in addition, granted the Society certain special concessions on ground rents, and on the fees for the processing of the building plans.

The Centre is suitably located on 1.666 hectares (2.881 acres) of land. This quiet leisure and cultural zone of central Lagos is easily accessible to patrons by all means of major transportation in the city. Though from the rail way station and airport, patrons may need to board a cab or bus to the centre.

XII. Features and Facilities

The Centre houses the MUSONSchool, which occupies three floors of the building adjacent to the Shell Nigeria Hall. A library and school administration located on the first floor while the second houses two equal-size Ensemble Rooms and eight individual Practical Rooms. There is also on Ensemble Room and nine individual Practice Rooms.

The MUSON Centre complex itself consists of the shell Nigeria Hall, the Agip Recital Hall, the School of Music and the Mobil Block, a four storey structure consisting of offices and two apartments for MUSON management and visiting artistes. There is also the La Scala Restaurant.

XIII. Administrative/Management Framework

The General Manager is at the head of affairs. An Assistant General and managers of committees are assisting him. These committees include Finance and Administration, Members and Membership Service Committee, Events and Programmes, Marketing, House and Operations and lastly, Technical and Maintenance. Above the General Manager are the 13-member Board of Governors and the 12-member Board of Trustees.

The General Manager and the Managers have free hands in taking decisions as they affect the welfare of the centre but may have to refer to the Boards decisions that must have their attention. The management holds a weekly management meeting to review the activities of the centre.

MUSON Centre building

XIV. The Management Structure of Muson

The management chart indicates an interactive framework.

XV. Management: Theory/Practice

The national Arts Theatre seems to favour Behavioural Science Theory of Management in part. Weber (1947:115) had laid a bureaucratic concept of Management, which stipulates organizational management hierarchy. His procedures further encourage clearly – specified division of Labour, powers, obligations, etc. The National Theatre's bureaucratic system spreads from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The Minister of Culture and Tourism through the General Manager of the theatre oversees the affairs of the National Theatre. The General Manager takes directives from the Minister and the Permanent Secretary of the ministry. This bureaucratic management system has over time left the theatre mismanaged and under-utilized.

The MUSON Centre seems to follow Frederick Taylor's guidelines of the classical theory (scientific) of management where the management is at harmony with the workers Weihrich and Koontz (2003:33). The management committees have encouraged cooperation of human beings in the Centre rather than chaotic individualism.

A sovereign General Manager who enjoys the support of this assisting managers heads the management of MUSON Centre. A thirteen (13) -man member board of Governors and a twelve (12) man-member board of Trustees headed by the General Manager himself further inspire him. The management of MUSON has migrated from volunteered membership committees to employed and paid professional managers.

The management of MUSON Centre is working for maximum output rather than restricted output in terms of its objective(s) and financial returns. To further achieve its objective(s), MUSON management seems not to hang on a particular theory of management. A mixture of management theories seems to be at play in MUSON Centre.

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XVI. Achievements of Muson Centre

MUSON Centre is successfully hosting lectures and seminars on classical music. This is in addition to providing a very conducive environment for MUSON and its school of music.

The MUSON edifice is a reference point, an eclectic venue for performances and exhibitions in Nigeria.

The MUSON Centre is a pointer that given a free hand to theatre managers in Nigeria, the contemporary theatre will be an attraction.

XVII. Conclusion

This study explored Cultural Institutions in a developing country like Nigeria laying emphasis on the management constraints. It was observed that apart from guiding policies and poor funding, bureaucracy is a problem that militate against an effective management of arts institutions.

As an appendix, some major interviews are included here for further insight.

XVIII. Interview With Prof. Femi O. Osofisan, Immediate Past General Manager of the National Theatre, Lagos. March 31st, 2005. by Nwanaju, Uzoma T.

Question : Sir, at your appointment as the General Manager/Chief Executive of the National Theatre Lagos, many people especially artists, welcomed the announcement with appreciation. You promoted the image of the National Theatre especially through public relations. How did publicity enhance your management of the national theatre?

Answer : Publicity is very important for any establishment, especially a public one like the National Theatre. And with the peculiar problems that I had, publicity was vital to help push our point of view. The running of the National Theatre in my view called for a very specific philosophy, and here I discovered that mine was unfortunately in direct conflict with that of the government, my employers. That is, my managerial views were different from the Presidency's, and in fact with most conventional views of running the place. The normal management approach is to think of how to make money, and increase profit, and so on. But for me that's not how I see a national theatre.

Question : The National Theatre is a high-tech edifice built among other reasons to promote Nigerian arts and culture. Would you say that the planning and size of the theatre is, ab initio, a factor against its effective management?

Answer : Yes, the physical structure of the Theatre was a problem, and you remember that some people, like Wole Soyinka for instance, did protest at the time about building such a structure here. It was ridiculous transferring a building like that, designed for a cold climate like Bulgaria, to Africa without any modifications whatsoever, except for the size. We made ours three times bigger, and so multiplied its defects by as many times! I mean, to have in Lagos a massive building like that, where no air can enter from outside, and where heat is deliberately trapped inside! The major problem came from the lamentable fact that the building had been left to dilapidate for years! .... That was the major problem, I mean, the question of finding money to repair the place. That was the crucial thing, for if you can't find the money to effect the necessary repairs, then you can't use the facility and if you can't use it, then you can't generate income.

Question : You were talking of philosophy…

Answer : Yes, for fundamentally that's all it boils down to, the question of philosophy, of the government's attitude towards the arts—on what, to be specific, it wants a National Theatre for. I mean, does the government want it to serve an artistic purpose, or not? As far as I am concerned, a National Theatre should have no other purpose than the preservation and the propagation of the wonderful products of our creative genius, of the very best of the nation's cultural treasures, particularly in the performing arts. It should also be the nursery for budding talents, as well as a home for the established masters.... It has to be heavily subsidized by the government, for it is the people's collective culture that we are talking about, not commerce! ... any nation that is serious about its survival, its future, knows that it must take seriously the question of its cultural patrimony. For it is not the roads we build, or the cars we ride, or even the number of yams we produce, nor the barrels of oil we export, that will survive us. It is the art we produce and leave behind. Ask History. Ask the older civilizations, why they are remembered, what makes us remember them. All the modern developed nations we strive to emulate understand this importance of art, and therefore devote substantial attention and resources to it. ...this is what I mean by the philosophy of the government. This understanding is basic to the way the place has been run till date, the way it has been left to dilapidate.

Question : Is that why throughout your stay at the National Theatre, despite its magnificent aesthetic features, the main auditorium (about 5000 seats) was not used?

Answer : It was in a terrible state. It could not be used. In fact, it had been closed down long before I got there, after two deaths were recorded there during a show. So for close to twelve years now it has been closed down, such a valuable asset. That's why I began by trying to confront this problem of finance headlong, but then, if you're searching for money and suddenly the philosophy of running the place changes, what happens? You have another problem on your hand. So

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you're dealing with multiple problems all the time, with changing principles, and it was conflict with government policy makers mostly, with people who understand finance and the Paris Club, but have no corresponding insight about the place of culture.

Question : It was gathered that your effort led to the current renovation of the National Theatre, how do you feel?

Answer : Oh of course I am very happy about that. It's a great comfort to know that one's effort—or, shall I say, especially the present minister's effort—has led to that. The last month of my stay in office—since I had made up my mind to go and not to seek any renewal of my appointment—saw both the minister and myself running all over the place, and at all hours of the day and night, attending all sorts of meetings, because we really wanted the repairs to start before I left. There were just so many obstacles to overcome! But if you have a minister who is determined to get things moving, who believes in what you are doing, and who, most importantly of all, has the right political clout in the party and the government, that's when you can perform. And of course there was the money that we had got in our budget two years earlier, which had been lying dormant there at the Central Bank, and which the previous minister had felt impotent to commit because of orders from the BPE (Bureau for Public Enterprise). The money was not enough of course to finish the work, but it was more than enough to allow the repairs to take off.

Question : Apart from finance, what other problems handicapped your effective management of the National Theatre?

Answer : There were the usual administrative huddles. You know we're running under a ministry, with all the civil service protocol and mentality. Which means, for instance, that unless the minister is willing to back you, and give approval, then you're handicapped. Or at the lower levels, your file could experience mysterious disappearances if you don't play the game. That was very frustrating a number of times. For instance many people felt that I should have effected an immediate change of the top personnel when I got there, and I myself felt I needed fresh and energetic hands in a number of cases. But that could not be done unilaterally, and all the ministers, and including the Board when we eventually got one, urged extreme caution in such things. And then there was the lack of continuity at the top. When I was there, can you believe that we had three changes of ministers in those three years! .... Not only that, even the Permanent Secretary for our culture ministry was changed five times! So your Perm-Sec is changed, your minister is changed, and you are constantly beginning things all over! Each minister has to be persuaded to come down from Abuja to undertake a physical tour of the edifice, to study the relevant papers and meet the various consultants and lawyers, and to agree to make you a priority among his numerous parastatals. In addition to this, there were of course the regular problems that all chief executives always have to face. I mean, those of getting your budget approved for instance by the legislative assemblies, and then secondly, getting out the approved money from the finance ministry. What I learnt through these tortuous and torturing processes, you will soon read about in my works. I have a play now in the making, for instance, which I hope to complete very soon, and which is almost like the Osuji case, but is based on personal reminiscences. But I don't want to say too much about that yet.

Question : We are waiting eagerly for that! But were there other problems you faced?

Answer : Yes! The major one, the real wahala for me really was the government's abrupt change of policy. A few weeks into my tenure, as you remember, the government suddenly decided that the solution to the problems of the National Theatre was to privatise the place. Now, this is something I have never believed in, nor can ever believe in, and so we had to begin a battle on it. I was not going to allow such an abomination, even though many people at first could not understand my position. Happily however, as soon as I explained to them, such people saw reason with me. I mean, if you privatise a place like the National Theatre, what would be the consequences? That's what I tried to make the government and its supporters to see. It's quite obvious. The only successful private theatre I know of today in Nigeria is the MUSON Centre. The MUSON Centre is a very good example of a private theatre centre that runs on its own resources. So the question is—do we want the national theatre to be like the MUSON Centre? That is the big question. Because the only way the MUSON Centre has been able to make it is by catering exclusively for the elite....

Therefore, if you make the National Theatre like the MUSON, then a substantial proportion of the population will no longer have access to formal cultural life. Certainly the film makers and actors of the now thriving "Nollywood" will have to find another venue for their business. For if you come to the National Arts Theatre at the weekend, you will always see a large crowd of people, who come because our charges are cheap, as I believe they ought to be in such a national cultural institution. ... In any healthy nation, I insist, the right to watch a play, or attend a concert or an exhibition should be the same as the right to have access to good health, or good education, or medical care. A National Theatre should be like a public school, accessible at low costs, and heavily subsidized.

But that's not all. There is still another service we also render at the National Theatre, and which will definitely cease as soon as we are privatized. It is a service which I personally consider vital..... Apart from the beaches—and they are few and far away from where the people live—where can ordinary people go

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nowadays to take a leisurely walk, or escape from the crowd? The only open place we have left in Lagos now is the National Theatre. You see! .... Many may not see the value of this. But it's a vital service, a therapeutic imperative, which you cannot quantify.

Question : But who pays the bill then?

Answer : The government of course! Just like in most countries of the world. It is the government that must pay the bill, and even build more cultural centers, instead of just this one. If I, as a General Manager of the National Theatre, go to Calabar and see a play and think that it is brilliant and concerns the country, and I want people to see the play, I should have the right to commission that play to come to the National Theatre and perform. And I should even throw the gate....

Question : Did the media help?

Answer : The media were simply superb! Very helpful and understanding, I am happy to say. They came in on our side to stop the government from selling the place. That was however when the government came up with another unacceptable idea. They said okay, instead of privatizing it, they will give it to some private person or organization to manage. So I suggested that the place must be repaired first. The estimated cost for that was about N700m. But N700m is too much for a private individual to put into a place and still give priority to the arts. With that kind of money invested—and this is even before you start operating, or even paying your staff—there's no way you will be thinking of culture!

Question : You said N700m! Why would the repairs cost that much? Why not just sell it off then?

Answer : It's a catalogue of problems, my brother! Everywhere in the entire building has one problem or the other, but as it's been built, and at such an enormous cost too, we cannot abandon it. The original plan in Bulgaria, as I told you, was to make the building airtight in order to preserve heat, because you know how cold that place is? Now how can this fit in Lagos, a tropical place? The solution to make it work is to keep it constantly air-conditioned. So of course they brought in a central cooling system at the beginning, giant air-conditioners that operated through a water-cooling system. Now however, water has not entered that building for the past twenty-two years or more! The first air conditioner packed up and they started cannibalizing the other one till it too packed up. By the time I got there, the entire air conditioning system had broken down for years. Then, as you know, NEPA cannot be trusted and we have to have generators. But the ones I met there had also packed up. Their capacities were small anyway, one about 700KVA, and the other about 300KVA, so that although before I left we managed to reactivate them, none of them can service the entire building. Thus when the weather is hot we are in trouble, and when it rains, we are equally in trouble. The heat inside is so intense some days that our patrons go through excruciating experiences which make me, as the chief person in charge, cover my face in shame. There was a time we had a wedding reception there for example, and the bride slumped and fainted from the heat! Imagine, on a day supposed to be her happiest in life! And then the leakage when it rains! You would think there was no cover at all when you see how the rain pours in. The three roofs were apparently made of non-tropical material, and started leaking barely seven months after the theatre's commissioning! That is, since 1978, and they have never been repaired! We brought in several government officials to see for themselves. All the pipes meant to drain water from the roofs are rusted. All the toilets had broken down. The water closets were built with materials that cannot stand acid, so you can imagine the damage urine has done to them over these years! Plus the fact that the flushing system is the continuous type, in a building that public water has not entered for over a decade! Oh you need to see how many gallons of water we need to purchase daily to maintain the place. Even that didn't help much: in a few minutes after flushing, the place would be smelling again!

Question : Couldn't you have tried to find other sources of funding for these repairs? The private sector for instance?

Answer : But we did! Remember, the first minister was an astute businessman, Alabo Graham-Douglas. He tried to use his business expertise, to raise funds through the banks, to undertake the work of rehabilitation. But the government stopped us. They said we could not go and get private money like that for a public building, particularly given the changeability of interest rates at the bank. So when everything was set, the government said no that we should not proceed like that to source private funds. Then the BPE said we should privatize and all our plans went kaput. Can you believe it, that while I was fighting for money here and there for the repairs, from the legislature, and from private finance houses, there was another organ of government saying that we should not do any repairs and would go to jail if we continued! And then the minister was replaced, and his successor was either not prepared or not strong enough to fight them. So for me, I thought that was it, that the only way out for me was to leave, since I couldn't achieve anything.

Question : That was when you resigned?

Answer : Tried to! It's incredible, but do you know that I actually resigned and tried to leave four times in those four years! All because of this frustration. ... But you know how it is with public office in this country. Various people from different places intervened to stop me each time. Not always the same people of course. So the last time, I just said I would wait on till the legitimate end of my tenure, and then leave.

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Question : It must have been very frustrating…

Answer : Extremely frustrating! Think that, by the end of 2001, we finally got N400m, but the BPE said we must not use it! And we had to put the money into the Central Bank, where it just remained dormant. You can't make interest on it, you can't settle debts, nothing! Such a large amount of money, just lying idle there, for months! It's criminal! Meanwhile all kinds of rumours were going round about the money, that we had embezzled it, and so on. ... All we could get from the minister, finally, was her approval, towards the end of 2002, to repair the generators, some of the toilets, and coolers. The money left after that, about N375m, that's what the present minister is using for the roofing repairs now. If we had embezzled it, wouldn't we be in jail now?

Question : Unlike the National Theatres of Great Britain and Canada, the National Theatre of Nigeria is not operating in full capacity. What would be responsible for this?

Answer : Just all that I've been saying. How do these theatres abroad get money? It is not as if they get it directly from the government. No, the arrangement is that they get a huge proportion of it from such bodies as the National Lottery, the National Endowment for the Arts, the Arts Council, such bodies. This is what we are fighting for, to be established here. Indeed it is already in our Constitution, that a National Endowment Fund for the Arts be established. And with some of my fellow chief executives in the ministry, I can tell you that we spent a lot of time trying to convince the minister to get these going, to set up appropriate committees to get things off the ground, but we never got there. And I also tried to get the National Theatre in Abuja built, but that was totally unsuccessful. We already have the land and the design there, but we couldn't get any action started on it. And now some of the land has been given away to other organizations!

Question : So how will you sum up your experience at the National Theatre?

Answer : I would call it both challenging and frustrating. I confess that if I had known half of what I came to know about the theatre, I would not have taken the job at all in the first place. If I had known what the true situation was at the theatre, or how government business runs, I would never have accepted the appointment. After all, I didn't lobby for it and I didn't know what was waiting for me there. But of course we always have challenges in life. So I accepted the sorry situation as a big challenge, and I fought the battle to the best of my ability. I tell you, I put in all my wit, all my energy, all my intelligence and failed. And so I decided to quit. Let another person come and try; there was no point at all asking for the renewal of my appointment. But on the other hand, the experience was good and useful, because it allowed me to see how things are run in our country. It was frustrating, yes, but also very instructive and illuminating.

Question : What will you now say are the possible solutions to the problems of the National Theatre?

Answer : The first thing is that the government should make up its mind about what it wants to do with the place. Until that is done, you can't do much. If the government's philosophy is not really in favour of cultural expression, but just that the place should be commercially managed, and make money, then the solution will be obvious. But if they want it run like such places are done in other countries, like in South Africa for instance, or Senegal, not to talk of Britain or Germany, and they want to support it, then the decisions to be taken will be different. Talking in the abstract is okay but the concrete thing is: let's have a policy. Let's know what the policy is, whether the place is to showcase Nigerian culture, the best of Nigerian culture and all that, or it is meant to run as a commercial business. That is the thing .... If I had the budget to do all these things, to rebuild that hall and repair the damage, we would surpass what the French people, foreigners, were doing for our culture.

Question : How precisely?

Answer : I told you that National Theatre should be a place both to showcase our masterpieces and also develop the future talents. We should also use the place to bring together our disparate peoples. I had this programme in mind, for instance, to invite one state per month to the National Theatre to display its culture. We even drew up lists of each state's wealthy sons in Lagos, who would be invited to sponsor such shows and the publicity. I am sure that kind of thing would have galvanized the tourist industry and made money for us. But it could not take off, because we had to repair the facility first. Similarly I planned to run workshops in drama, music, painting, weaving and film-making for young talents, those who are still struggling, who have got no name at all yet; and also a Theatre-for-development proposal for Area Boys, to help rehabilitate them. For this I had talked to some of my ex-students in Ibadan, those of them who had participated in our UNICEF-sponsored TFD projects in the rural areas. They were all keen to come. But all these turned to mere pipe dreams, there was just no money for anything, and the effort of running after it was all-consuming. Sometimes we did not even have enough to pay all salaries and allowances. And you know what workers do when they do not receive their allowances in full! So, instead of carrying out these programmes, I will be in Abuja negotiating, begging, running from pillar to post trying to source for money. It didn't allow me any time to carry out any of those programmes I had in mind. For if you don't have money, all your plans will just be dreams in the air.

It's so painful now, in retrospect. Our government would not give us the money we needed, and yet would not allow us to raise it from banks! And

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other private concerns and international organizations who could have probably given us help turned away when they heard that the place was going to be privatized. Why should they spend their money for the theatre, if someone else was going to buy it? So a number of things need to be done: first, persuade the government to take the National Theatre from the privatization list; second, persuade the government to repair at least the most severe of the damages in the building; third, put in a new management that will have a good degree of autonomy, for instance regarding the exploitation of the external grounds; and finally, persuade the government to finally bring to realization the establishment of the National Endowment for the Arts.

Question : Thanks, sir, for giving me so much of your time.

Answer : Thanks, for giving me the opportunity to answer the questions.

XIX. Interview with Iwaleso Alabisepo, Assistant Manager, operations, Muson Centre, Lagos.

Question : The MUSON was founded in 1983 to promote classical music, how has the experience been?

Answer : The Experience has been good so far. We have been able to promote classical music beyond the normal old ways, not the "elites" only now listen to classical music. I will tell you that we have been able to influence the younger generations, the young and upcoming ones in having the love of classical music as well we have been able to improve in the standard and appreciation of music generally as it relates to listening to music, playing the music itself and the theory of music. The centre of activities is in organising classical music shows and at the same time promoting music education through the MUSON School of Music. Normal examinations are organised by the school which go beyond the shore of Nigeria. So you can say that the experience has paid off.

Question: MUSON has enjoyed goodwill from individuals and corporate bodies, what has been behind this?

Answer: Well, I will start by saying that MUSON Centre came about as a result of several people who share the same interest in classical music coming together to satisfy that interest.... They are people who had established themselves within the industry and their own areas of profession. Those who are in banking, Accounts, name them, they are those who had established themselves in all special spheres of life and so is no wonder that they could easily enjoy other people's good will. We will also say that the initial land is through government effort. So government has in a way supported the MUSON CENTRE.

Question : Will you have idea why they would not want to get attached to an existing theatre like the national theatre?

Answer : Now let me tell you this. In those days, we have first, several film houses in the country before the existence of the Cultural Centres, at the same time; you look that over the years most of them have been taken over by churches or other things. Apart from that, you realise that those that existed were in such a gullible state. Now, beyond these, people still patronise them, but they are not safe. They are dilapidated. If you go there, you don't feel at home, now how many of these people I have mentioned will be at home to sit down in National Theatre at 9:00pm and will feel safe and secured. And you enjoy that you have this vision or an idea about how things ought to be, the National Theatre or the cultural centres will probably not satisfy this. So the idea came then that we want to enjoy music together why don't we have a place that beyond the fact that we can all go together to listen to classical music, we could as well set a modern standard on how the place could be run.

Question : People think that MUSON Centre specialises entirely on the classical music. I also take it to be like that. Now, could MUSON Centre survive for long without embracing other forms of arts?

Answer : ... MUSON apart from the management also has members who willingly picked up the membership forms and pay annual dues and those are the people we said have come together to satisfy their interest in classical music. Now the MUSON Centre, is built to satisfy the interest in classical music for its members, but to sustain the Centre in terms of management, they began to let out the halls for rentals so that other people can come and make use of the place.... It means therefore, that if we stop satisfying that interest, i.e. having classical music concert, shows, we will still go on, in the sense that people will still make use of the hall. Now answering your question, it will survive. MUSON organises MUSON festival where people will have the advantage of listening to classical music, drama, poetry and all other genres of arts including exhibitions. Beyond the fact that the place was set up for classical music, we have somehow been able to expand the scope with the annual festival. Here, people who may not 'fancy' classical music may have the chance to witness other genre of performances. We also have the night of indigenous music. Here we also play Apala music, high life, afro beat, juju music etc .... So in essence, I don't see MUSON Centre or MUSON not being able to sustain what they have set to achieve.

Question : One of the problems in the National Theatre is bureaucracy. The General Manager had to consult the minister/ministry before taking decisions. Most often ministers are changed before decisions are made. Does such thing exist in MUSON Centre?

Answer : How?

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Question : What I mean is this, does the manager of MUSON need to take permission from any higher body before taking a management decision?

Answer : No. I tell you that in every establishment you have hierarchy. Here you have protocols we have to follow. But in spite of that you have either limitations or certain level of decisions you can take or ones you cannot take. The management here has been given free hands over the years to be running the place, as it ought to be. The General Manager is supported by Managers and set of Committees. Anything that is beyond the General Manager, he could consult the Board of Governors/the Board of Trustees. The General Manager has the support of the Board. There is no "protocols" where decisions have to pass hands; I assure you that there is nothing like that. The managers go to the General Manager when they have any problem that requires his attention. We have weekly management meeting to review activities. So you see we have free management system but that does not mean that things that require the decision of the Board of Trustees or Board of Governors are not referred to them.

Question : To back it up, you are saying that the management of this place is in the order of Board of Trustees, the General Manager and the Managers?

Answer : Yes, no. We have Board of Trustees at the highest level, followed by the Board of Governors, then the General Manager. The General Manager is assisted by a set of committee members who also take decisions on behalf of managers. So down from the general manager, we have the managers and all other subordinates. But also you know we have as aside committee members. The managers and the committees' members work hand in hand to take decisions as it affects the running of this place.

Question : Some of the parts of the equipment in the National Theatre are not readily available in the market. I don't know if you experience such here?

Answer : Yes and no. Yes, may be because part of the materials used here were imported then. We might not find some of them readily available in the market. If need be, such things could be brought in. Again, I said no because constantly, we update some of our equipment. One of the backbones of this place is constant maintenance of the place so that nothing breaks down.

Question : May be that's why it is private?

Answer : Well, yes it is private but if we can extend this to all other public utilities so to say, if we can see every other thing that is public as private, in the sense that all public things are private from beginning. If you as an individual and as a private man, contributes to that and everybody, including this government also contributes, it will be better. Just like this place, if we see the National Theatre as 'private' and we choose certain people to manage it for us holding them responsible as in effective management of the place, doing away with certain protocol, asking them to break - even and make profit, I tell you the place will be good. It is only that people run it as government parastatal so they mismanage it.

Question : How do you think government can assist a contemporary theatre like MUSON Centre?

Answer : Government can assist in terms of policy. Government can give good patronage. Encourage the culture through the theatre. Government should come in and support with fund because these theatres are helping and promoting Government agenda.

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Outcomes of Vietnam's Agrarian Policies After "Doi Moi": A Case Study of Attempted Agricultural Intensification and Diversification in a Village in Vietnam's Mekong Delta

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Abstract- This study reviews Vietnam's agrarian policy since Doi Moi and examines the impacts of these policy shifts in one village of the Mekong Delta. In Vietnam, agrarian policy changes since Doi Moi in 1988 have gradually led to the intensification of rice production and high-value food production, including prawns and fish for export and the domestic market in the Mekong Delta. But, the benefits have been unevenly distributed among farmers. In particular, farmers with small land holdings have faced many difficulties. This study reveals that in the study village, prawn and fish farming has, in general, failed due to the high risks that can occur in raising them either in the field or in a fish pond, under the intensification of rice land utilization.

I. Introduction

Rice is a traditional plant of Vietnam and is presently the most important plant in the country. Rice land occupies 44 percent of the agricultural land, with the cultivated rice area comprising 61 percent of the farming area, and 80 percent of Vietnamese farmers are rice farmers (Bong 2011). In Vietnam, everyone eats rice every day, whether they have low or high incomes, and whether they live in rural or urban areas, making rice the most crucial food of the Vietnamese people.

Due to the importance of rice, in the past the Vietnamese government always prioritized rice development as a central objective of rural development and invested heavily in setting up infrastructure, especially irrigation systems, to facilitate this. During the past 30 years in many regions of Vietnam, soil was improved to create fertile areas for growing rice, especially in the Mekong Delta. Additionally, the government turned its attention toward investing in science and technology, as well as agricultural extension for rice productionfor farmers. Over the past 20 years, Vietnam's rice production has reached impressive levels, ending food shortages. Beginning in 1989, Vietnam exported about one million tons of white rice. From 1990 to 2010, its rice production increased from 19 to 40 tons of rice, and its rice exports increased from 1.6 million tons to 6.7 million tons of white rice per year, even though between 2000 and 2010, the land area devote to rice production was reduced by 380,000 hectares (Bong 2011). The average rice yield in the country increased from 3.18 tons per hectare in 1990 to 5.3 tons per hectare in 2010 (Bong 2011). Since 2002, Vietnam's average rice yield has been the highest of any ASEAN country, with over half a million hectares achieving a yield of more than seven tons per hectare in the first crop of the annual rice cycle, which is the highest rice yield in the world at present (Bong 2011).

Although those achievements are remarkable, paradoxically, the rice farmers are still some of the poorest people in the country, with an excessively low standard of living; moreover, the rice growing regions are still underdeveloped (Bong 2011). These problems have received considerable attention from policy makers at various levels, including high level leaders, as they try to promote policies to improvethe lives of the farmers who have contributed so much in terms of food production for both national use and to export to the rest of the world.

This paper presents a case study of attempted agricultural intensification and diversification in a village in the Mekong Delta of Vietnam, focusing on thepositive and negative impacts of Vietnam's agrarian policies since "Doi Moi" as they have played out in the study village. The ultimate goals of the paperare to inform Vietnamese policy makers and other development practitioners about the benefits and constraints faced by farmers in implementing this agrarian policy and to suggest the need for further work by Vietnamese policy makers.

II. Background on Vietnam's Agricultural Policy Since Doi Moi

Vietnam's "Doi Moi"economic reform policy began in earnest in April 1981 with the Vietnamese government's Contract 100 Policy. Under Contract 100, the state did not specify that farming households had long term use rights to specific parcels of land. Products continued to be distributed to households according to the number of days they worked for the cooperatives

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(Kerkvliet 1995). In 1988, the state implemented a new policy, Contract 10, which put in place long term land use rights of 10 to 15 years duration. In addition, Contract 10 freed prices of rice and agricultural inputs, privatized the distribution of inputs, reduce land tax and provide farmers with more freedom of choice in the crops they grew. After 1989, farmers were no longer required to sell a contracted amount of rice to the state, and both internal and external trade was liberalized (Jamal and Jansen 2000:25). As Vietnam experienced the economic liberalization of the 1980s, its agricultural development policy shifted from collectivism to the de-collectivization of agriculture, i.e. the farm household was defined as an "economic unit of production" with the authority to operate (Werner 2002). Since that time, the means of production in rural areas has almost completely reverted to the household through the restructuring of agriculture. Arable land, formerly belonging to agricultural cooperatives, has been allocated to individual farm households with long-term "land-use rights." Other foci are rural industrialization and the modernization of agriculture (i.e. introducing advanced agricultural machinery, technology, and management techniques to develop production and consolidate and improve production relations). This process can be divided into two periods: "before renovation" (i.e. mechanization + large-scale collective = great agricultural production) and "in renovation" (i.e. including the mechanization of agriculture, irrigation, building rural infrastructure and the transition of the rural economic structure to include rural industry and services as well as agriculture) (Cuc 2003). In the 1980s, the irrigation system was improved in the Mekong Delta and particularly in the study village Thoi Lai. Finally, in 1988 the complete version of the Doi Moi policy emerged, resulting in the first rice surplus in 1989 as well as the first rice exports from Vietnam in September 1989.

The direction of the Doi Moi policy was clearly reflected in the government's new slogan: "Rich people, a strong nation and an equal, democratic and civilized society" (Đảng CSVN 2006). The implication of this slogan was the government's intention to change its approach to development. The new policy was intended to establish a market economy in Vietnam and actively integrate Vietnam into the world economy, while maintaining the country's socialist political orientation (Khai 2001). The country's new economic approach introduced privatization and refocused the economy from a state-planned to a market economy. As a result of Doi Moi (literally, "renovation policy"), in general, the country switched from a closed economy to a more open economy, accepting foreign investment as well as promoting exports of Vietnamese products. In terms of agricultural policy, apart from the promotion of rice exports, the government also attempted to re-organize the socio-economic system of the nation in order to intensify rice production. Beginning in 1988, the means of production were either auctioned back to individual farming households or given back to their former owners. This recognition of private ownership of the means of production created another incentive for farmers to invest in the acquisition of farm equipment for rice intensification; during the same period, rapid agricultural diversification occurred in the central plain of the Mekong Delta (Le Coq et al. 2005). Diversification efforts focused on available market opportunities (Xuan 2002:115). In 2000, the government issued an official authorization to further restructure agricultural production in the suitable ecosystems of the country to improve income of farmers (Xuan 2002:115).

Table 1 : Selected Agrarian Policies of Vietnam, by year

Policy	Year Implemented	Description of Main Goals
Agricultural Collectivization	1976	Farm collectivization in the Southern Vietnam and using high yielding rice varieties to increase rice production
Irrigation System Improvement	1980-1990	Expanding the rice land areas from increasing the numbers of rice crop within a rice field in a year round
Contract 100	April 1981	Renovation of agriculture and rural area concerning allocation of rice to group and laborer.
New Land Law	Passed in 1987; enforced in1988	Farmers granted long term "land use right".
Contract 10	April 1988	Renovation of agriculture management, allocation of land to farming families.
Intensification& Diversification	1988	The means of production were either auctioned back to individual farming households or given back to their former owners. This created incentive for farmers to intensify rice crops, during the same period, rapid agricultural diversification took place in the Mekong Delta.
Active Land Law	1993	The Government allocated land to households and individuals for their long use with 5 rights: conversing, transferring, renting, inheriting and mortgaging.
Rural Development	2000s	Government Banks provided loans to farmers to fund investment in high-tech agriculture and agricultural business.

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Restructure agricultural production	2000	Restructure agricultural production in the suitable ecosystems of the country to improve income of farmers
The Decree No.80 of the Central Government	2002	The farming contract was determined by the Decree No.80 of the Central Government in 2002, which covers the purchase of agricultural or rice products by state companies.
Land Law	2003	The 2003 Land Law is a legal basis for the development and establishment of the real estate market. A landowner has 10 rights of land use, including exchange, transference (i.e. selling and buying), rent, re-rent, inheritance, offering/giving of land use rights, mortgage, guarantee, contribution of land use rights and receipt of compensation for land use rights when the government reclaims land.

Sources : Kono, 2001; Xuan, 2002; Cuc, 2003; Le Coq et al. 2005;and Dung et al., 2009

III. Research Methodology

I conducted the data collection for this study in Thoi Thuan hamlet, located in Thoi Lai district, about 30 km away from the main regional city of the Mekong Delta -- Cantho City. The study hamlet has 455 households, and about 47 percent of households are farm households (Tuyen 2011). An agricultural area of 98 hectares occupies about 80 percent of the total land of the hamlet (Tuyen 2011). Farm households hold an average of about 0.6 hectares of land (Tuyen 2011). Households in this hamlet have an average of five members, and there is an average of three earners per household (Tuyen 2011). The main source of income for farmers of Thoi Thuan is intensive rice production and their average farm household net income is 36 million dong (1978 USD) in 2009[1] (Key Informants Interview 2010). The hamlet has a long history of ethnically Khmer people living together with Kinh people, the dominant ethnic group of Vietnam.

The study explores the intensification of rice production and the diversification of agriculture of land-owning households between 1993 and 2009. The data for my study was gathered from in-depth interviews with a total of 102 individuals, including 92 farmers and 10 local officials. I cross-checked in-depth interview data using secondary information obtained from various reports from local government offices. I conducted my fieldwork over four years, from 2007 to 2010, while also taking courses at Chiang Mai University. The local officials were interviewed at different points during 2007-2010, and my colleagues and I interviewed the farmers in 2009 and 2010. My overall study sample of households comprised about 23% of the total households in the hamlet. I selected households purposively based on the list of households in hamlet that the local officials had classified into the different groups (i.e. the better-off, medium and poor households). The data for this paper is part of data from a larger research project. Interview data were analyzed using SPSS. All names of interviewees are disguised in this paper.

IV. Results and Discussion

As noted above, Vietnam's agrarian policies since Doi Moi have attempted to modernize the country's agriculture system. Its two main goals are: (1) the intensification of rice production and (2) the diversification of the types of agricultural goods produced. Agricultural diversification has emerged as a key focus of farmers in Vietnam's Mekong Delta (Xuan 2002:115). Because of the relationship between land policies and household land ownership status, most households in the Delta have only a small amount of land, which may not be sufficient for them to support themselves via rice farming alone. Many people earn higher returns from crops other than rice or by seeking employment in other enterprises (rural enterprises or in urban or peri-urban areas). However, the practicality of diversifying farm household incomes depends on the available opportunities as well as the costs and risks of new options. Farmers need the motivation and ability to obtain the information and resources necessary to diversify. However, various government interventions encourage diversification by making it easier for farmers to upgrade their production systems. Below, I examine the attempts of households in Thoi Thuan hamlet to achieve each of these two goals.

a) Intensification of Rice Cultivation for Export

In the Mekong Delta, the poorest households rely largely on off-farm activities for their livelihoods, whereas the wealthiest households have prospered through the intensification of agriculture production (World Bank 1995). In the 2000s, government policy encouraged the farmers to enlarge their land holdings and to invest in modern intensive agriculture (i.e. high-tech agriculture). For instance, at the district level, the Thoi Lai Government Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development, under this policy, provides loans to farmers to fund investment in high-tech agriculture and agricultural business such as buying or selling paddy (rough, unprocessed rice). In addition, the Government

[1] 1 USD = 18.2000 Vietnamese đồng in 2009

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Bank for Social Policy provides the loans to poor farmers to invest in farm production and the development of small businesses.Those banks started making these loans because of this policy.

Between 1980 and 1990, under the rural development policy, the local government designed a farm-level canal layout in Thoi Lai village, in which all the paddy fields had direct access to a canal. Then the villagers constructed the canals according to this design. Landowners donated land to build the new canals without compensation. The labor for construction was collected by means of social labor (lao động xã hội), contribution of labor for community projects, which is required of all adult citizens. Thoi Thuan hamlet excavated cross-stripe farm-level canals at intervals of 500 meters. These were called kinh 500 and were six meters wide and 1.5 meters deep. Once the irrigation system had been improved, the farm households in my study hamlet intensified rice cultivation in two ways: by expanding the area under rice cultivation and by increasing the numbers of rice crops planted in a given rice field per year.

Green Revolution technologies and hybrid seeds and mechanization have been used under the agricultural modernity policy, which have allowed farmers in the study village to plant three rice crops per year instead of the previous two.

b) Use of New Rice Varieties Enabling Switch from Two to Three Crops Per Year

Beginning in 1976, the local government of Thoi Thuan hamlet has mobilized the farmers to use high yielding rice varieties (Kono 2001). This was part of a broader national policy introduced in 1968, but it took eight years for the plan to mobilize farmers in Thoi Thuan. Since 1985, the farmers in Thoi Thuan have stopped growing traditional rice varieties and have replaced them with high yielding and short duration rice varieties which have enabled them to plant two rice crops per year. Later on, in about 1995, farmers switched rice varieties again to high yield varieties such as Jasmine 85, OMCS 2000, OM 2517, OM 4218, OM 4900, OM 1490, and IR 50404, with a very short duration (less than 105 days), enabling farmers to produce three rice crops per year (Interviews with Key Informants 2010). As of 2005, about three-quarters of the farmers in Thoi Thuan hamlet have intensified the utilization of their rice production land in order to increase the rice production and income of their households. This extensive farming has had a positive impact on their on-farm production. As a result, between 1993 and 2009, the hamlet's farmers' rice yields increased by 1.1 tons per hectare, or by an annual 6.4 percent. This rate of increase was higher than the average rate of increase in rice yields in the Mekong Delta, which was only 4.4 percent between 1980 and 2009 (Ha 2009). Between 1993 and 2009, in the hamlet, the net income of the farmers from rice crops increased by 13.5 million dong per hectare (Key informants interview March 2010 and Household survey October 2009).

c) Two Main Activities Using Mechanization in Rice Production

In the study hamlet, farmers typically prepare their land for planting using either hand tractors (rototillers) or tractors. [2] The use of modern machinery is the result of some of the agrarian policies associated with Doi Moi. For the first rice crop, before sowing the germinated seeds, farmers muddy and level the land because soil of land is wet after the flooding season. For the second rice crop, if only two rice crops are being planted in that year, they plow, muddy, and level the land. However, if they are planting three annual rice crops, they may not plow the land and may instead burn the rice straw left in the field because land preparation is very short in this rice season. Then, if there is a third rice crop, they again plow, muddy, and level the land. For the Winter-Spring rice season in 2008-2009, for example, villagers in Thoi Thuan relied on 20 family laborers and three hired laborers (all men) (Tuyen 2011). Beginning in the early 2000s, all farmers in the hamlet began producing three rice crops per year, so they all faced a shorter interval for harvesting one rice crop and preparing land for the next. As a result, the farmers needed a large number of laborers for short periods of time and so began to hire temporary laborers from Thoi Thuan as well as laborers from outside the hamlet, including Khmer laborers from many districts of Soc Trang province. According to my study, most of farm households had to hire extra labor, except for a few of farm households with very small rice fields of about 0.1-0.2 ha, who used only family laborers, including men and women.

For the harvest, the migrant laborers from Soc Trang and the poor farmers from Thoi Thuan who hired themselves as temporary laborers worked alongside the land-holding farmers of the village. They divided themselves into two main groups: the harvesting group and the threshing/packaging/transporting group. After completion of the rice harvest, the latter was responsible for bringing the paddy (rough rice) to the houses of the landholders. The harvesting group is normally made up of women, while the threshing/packing/transporting group is typically comprised of men because the latter is considered to be harder work than the former. In 2008 and 2009 during my study, the rice harvests in the hamlet lasted about one month. [3]In this hamlet, most farmers hold small pieces of land (e.g. 50% of the farmers hold under a 0.5 ha rice field), which are not

[2] Farmers traditionally used plows pulled by water buffalo; however, tractor was replaced gradually beginning in the 1960s.

[3] Household labor is typically used in conjunction with hired labor. No system of sharing labor with neighbor exists, unlike in other parts of Southeast Asia.

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suitable for combine harvesters, so the farmers of Thoi Thoi Thuan hamlet have not yet used combine harvesters to harvest rice, as was recommended by the local government's rural development policy in 2000s. However, since the 1970s, rice produced in the district is threshed by mechanical threshers. In 2010, combine harvesters began to be introduced gradually in the research site. The land of farmers may have to be consolidated to facilitate this activity. Of course, their increased use of mechanization is because of the need for 3 crops per year.

d) More Fertilizers and Pesticides

As noted earlier, farmers in the study village began planting two rice crops per year in 1985 and three per year since 1995. For this intensive production, farmers in the hamlet usually use inorganic fertilizers along with high yielding rice seeds, largely because these varieties absorb higher amounts of Nitrogen-Phosphorus-Potassium (NPK), Urea, and Diammonium Phosphate (DAP) compound fertilizers to enhance productivity and reproduce more intensively. [4] But, for many farmers, the cost of the additional fertilizer needed to increase from two to three rice crops per year proved to be a problem. As Mr. A (38 years old) put it:

The cost of fertilizer increased 1.3 times, from15 million VN dong (810 USD) for two rice crops to 19 million VN dong (1027 USD) in 2010[5] for three rice crops per hectare in a year.

He also mentioned that about 95 percent of the farmers in Thoi Thuan hamlet had to buy fertilizer on credit and pay the shop owners at the end of the rice crop with an interest rate of three percent per month, because they did not have enough cash to purchase agricultural materials including fertilizers. This investment is high in comparison to their net income.

Farmers in the study hamlet tend to broadcast the NPK compound fertilizers about five times during each rice crop to supply the nutrients needed for properrice growth. Many farmers in Thoi Thuan rely on family members to broadcast fertilizer, while others hire local laborers to do it when family members are not available. According to Mr. A, the high amount of inorganic fertilizer used intensively for rice fields each year is making the soil hard (chai), which is problematic. In 1986, the study hamlet experienced an outbreak of brown plant hopper insects due to a shortage of agricultural extension workers and a lack of insecticides. High yielding rice varieties were particularly impacted. As farmers switched from two to three crops in the 1990s, they faced an increased risk of rice pests (De 2008). Farmers, most of whom had only limited knowledge of rice pests and ways to control them, resorted to applying insecticides more than before (e.g. about four applications per crop, or as many as 12 applications for an annual three crops). As a Kinh farmer, Mr. B, noted in 2010:

The cost of pesticides increased 1.5 times, from 9 million VN dong for two rice crops to 14 million VN dongfor three rice crops per hectare in a year because by adding the extra rice crop per year, there are more pests.

However, many farmers also applied integrated pest management (IPM)[6] to protect rice fields during this period, which was a better choice for protecting human and environmental health.

e) Attempts to Contract With A Particular Company to Raise A Particular Type of Rice

In 2005 the People's Committee of Thoi Lai district began encouraging farmers in Thoi Thuan hamlet to produce high quality rice varieties such as Jasmine and OMCS 2000, which the farmers contracted to sell for the Mekong Food Company (MFC)[7] at the price of 3 million dong per ton for the first rice crop of 2006-2007. The People's Committee of Thoi Lai helped the farmers obtain the contract. This contract fit under Decree No.80 of the Central Government (2002), which covers the purchase of agricultural or rice products by companies. Some farm households that had at least one hectare of farmland and that agreed to produce under the contract were able to receive 40 percent of the seed price from the district agricultural office for the first year (Individual interviews May 2007). Despite the potential benefit of reduced seed prices, contract rice production was not very popular in my study village. Given the complicated system of different actors including banks, companies, local authorities, middlemen and farmers, the networks do not cooperate closely and the farmers are frequently excluded from voicing their views. My fieldwork also indicates that many farmers in Thoi Thuan did not want to produce the special rice varieties like Jasmine, even though they are more profitable than the ordinary rice varieties like IR50404, because Jasmine must grow for a longer duration and is easily infected by insects and pests. Moreover, in order to meet Mekong Food Company standards, the moisture content of Jasmine rice must be standardized at 14 percent. To achieve this standard requires careful work that costs the farmers more than what they normally spend on other types of rice. Therefore, most of the farmers in my study preferred planting ordinary rice varieties like IR 50404, even though the product prices and profits for this variety are lower than for Jasmine rice. Ordinary rice

[4] I have never seen the farmers use organic fertilizers in their rice fields in Thoi Thuan hamlet.

[5] 1USD = 18.500 dong in 2010

[6] According to definition from the University of California's "Integrated Pest Management On-Line," Integrated Pest Management (IPM) is a process you can use to solve pest problems while minimizing risks to people and the environment. IPM can be used to manage all kinds of pests anywhere—in urban, agricultural, and wild land or natural areas (University of California 2000).

[7] Mekong Food Company (MFC) is a joint-stock company

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varieties like IR 50404 produce high yields, are easy to grow, and can be sold at the farm gate, even with high paddy moisture. Many farmers in my study felt that it is inconvenient to bring Jasmine products to the MFC's rice miller to sell it, both because they have to pay for their own transportation and may have to dry the rice seeds again and again until they reach the acceptable moisture level.

According to farmers, contract rice farming was less attractive as it was difficult to achieve the high quality requirements of the MFC. According to the opinions of both the local authorities and the MFC, farmers and the MFC have not yet attained the common contract goals of high quality rice production in varieties such as Jasmine (Individual interviews June 2008). In 2008, the number of farmers in the hamlet who participated in the contract farming of Jasmine 85 and the other rice seeds desired by the MFC was reduced, and production for the MFC stopped completely in 2009, largely because neither the farmers nor the MFC have kept the agreements of the rice production contract. According to my research, the contract that MFC had negotiated with farmers gave the company higher profits, while the farmers experienced greater difficulties and costs to obtain the higher standard of rice quality required by the MFC. Some farmers became involved in contract production because 40 percent of the costs of rice seed were subsidized for the first year and because the local People's Committee had actually encouraged local farmers to begin contract farming as a means of diffusing these high price rice seeds in the community[8].

In 2008, the crisis in the global economy crisis dramatically affected farmers' livelihoods in the research site and in the Mekong Delta in general because many areas were cultivated with the ordinary rice variety IR 50404, which was difficult to trade because it could not be exported under the restricted standards, while at the same time there was a surplus of this rice in the domestic market. The global crisis may inspire more farmers in Thoi Thuan to switch to Jasmine rice production for export because of better export potential.

V. Impacts

a) *New Farm Labor Requirements in Context of Local Labor Shortage*

Beginning in 2000, the size of the farm labor force in Thoi Thuan hamlet began to decline moderately due to increasing industrialization and urbanization in Cantho, the nearby Binh Duong industrial zone, and Ho Chi Minh City. According to my interviews, particularly since 2005, the farm labor force has been decreasing considerably because so many young people have moved to urban areas or industrial zones to work in manufacturing companies. According to my data, 30 percent of interviewed households had at least one member working in an urban area (Key Informants Interview 2008). This out-migration has created a shortage of local labor for the three annual rice harvest seasons, leading to a rapid increase in the cost of rice harvesting in the study hamlet compared to what it was prior to 2000. In 2000 the local cost of harvesting rice was 700.000 VN dong per hectare in 2000, while in 2009, the cost had more than doubled to 1.500.000 VN dong per hectare (Key Informants Interview 2010).

b) *Women and Men's Labor Increased*

One way to grapple with the increased farm labor needs in the context of overall local labor shortage was to increase women and men's labor. In the study hamlet, the share of women in the overall rice production labor force was about one-third of the total farm labor force in both 1993 and 2009 (Tuyen 2011). But, the number of working days women have devoted to agriculture increased by 30 percent between 1993 and 2005 (Tuyen 2011). [9] In 1993, when farm families in the hamlet were growing only 2 crops a year, women spent 90 labor-days per hectare per year. But, by 2005, when farm families in the hamlet had begun raising 3 rice crops per year, women spent 117 labor days per hectare per year. Similarly, men's labor days increased as well and the share of men in the overall rice production labor force was about a half of the total farm labor force in both 1993 and 2009 (Tuyen 2011).[10]

c) *Increased Reliance on Seasonal Agricultural Wage Labor From Soc Trang*

Because of this labor shortage, in order to meet the new labor requirements for intensifying rice production, since 2000 most farmers in Thoi Thuan have relied not only on increased hours of women and men workers but also on seasonal agricultural wage labor from nearby Soc Trang province. In 2009, migrant Khmer workers from Soc Trang provided 75 work days per hectare and supplied at least 20 percent of the total labor force for rice production overall; But they provided 70 percent of the total hired labor for rice harvests in this year. The Soc Trang workers who help with the harvest in Thoi Thuan are mainly poor land-holding and poor landless Khmer ethnicity people; in general, their resources in terms of land, cash and education are

[8] This sort of government subsidy and promotion of seeds to benefit one corporation (MFC) runs counter to free market capitalism where producers make their own decisions and businesses have to negotiate contracts that are acceptable to producers or not have any producers and thus fail as businesses. This seems like a remnant of state-dominated agriculture left over from pre-Doi Moi times.

[9] These statistics included women who are members of farm families in the research hamlet as well as women migrant workers.

[10] These statistics included men who are members of farm families in the research hamlet as well as men migrant workers.

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limited. After the harvest season has finished in their home province, they work as hired labor for other farmers' rice harvests, moving from province to province in the Mekong Delta (Tuyen 2011). Agricultural wage labor is a key part of the livelihood of Soc Trang migrants during the rest of the year.

d) Increased Inequality

While the intensification of rice production in Thoi Thuan Hamlet has resulted in increased production, several negative impacts have emerged. One of these is increased inequality between farmers with medium or large land holdings and farmers with smaller or no land holdings. According to one a leader of Thoi Thuan hamlet's farmer association (2007 interview):

Not all can afford to enlarge land holdings. Therefore, the better-off and the medium farmers can have capacity to buy farm land to enlarge their land holdings. Then, those farmers can access easily new inputs such as hybrid seeds like high yielding rice varieties from the Agricultural Extension Department at the district level and buy fertilizer from the private shops, while the poor farmers do not have enough capital to buy land to enlarge land holdings and access to hybrid seeds from local Agricultural Extension Department and access to fertilizers from local private shops. This reflects that the poor farmers have limitation of household capitals comparing to those of the better-off and the medium farmers. Thus, the poor farmers are difficult to obtain the supports from the local government.

Other countries, including India, have encountered similar problems with increased inequity between better-off and less well-off farmers as a result of Green Revolution policies (McMichael 2012).

e) Not all Farmers are Selected as "Advantaged Farmers" For Trainings

In order to improve its agrarian policies after Doi Moi, Vietnam's government has implemented many programs to support the livelihoods of farmers. In addition to expanding agricultural extension and communication of government policies such as plans regarding farming, the local authority of the People's Committee selects "advantaged farmers" (who are better-off or medium farmers rather than poor farmers) to participate in training courses, workshops and field trips on agricultural production technology which are organized by plant protection companies (the pesticide and herbicide companies) and agricultural extension technicians of Co Do district. This sort of training allows them to obtain information on farming, including using effective fertilizers and insecticides, and to gain access to local agricultural material shops including private businesses selling fertilizers and insecticides. According to records of the leader of the Farmer Association of Thoi Thuan B hamlet, about 70 percent of invited farmers participated in training courses.

While it might be helpful to train farmers to facilitate Green Revolution policies, According to local authorities, farmers selected to be trained to apply the new agricultural technologies were restricted to medium and better-off farmers because only they have large enough land holdings and sufficient capital and education to take advantage of them. Thus, not all the farmers in the hamlet had an opportunity to access and apply Green Revolution technologies. Poor farmers, who are most at need of assistance, were excluded.

f) Not all Farmers are Willing to Follow With Recommendations of the Local Government/ People's Committee

While the intent of the local government may have been to intensify rice production only in areas where it was appropriate, local people have attempted to intensify rice production everywhere, even where intensive rice farming is not appropriate. According to one local People's Committee leader (2009):

The local government actually encouraged the farmers to intensify the three rice crops a year only in appropriate places, but most local farmers did not follow these recommendations, and they tried to do three rice crops a year in any fields because of their livelihoods. So, the local authority has not enforced this recommendation upon the farmers and let them try. In fact, the local government wants to avoid risk of flood or degradation of soil fertility that can damage rice production for farmers in the fields on low ground or soil fertility overuse.

This may indicate a problem with lack of adequate research as to which pieces of land were ill-suited to intensive rice production and/or miscommunication of a policy to local farmers.

g) Contract Production of Seeds Isn't Achieving its Objective

In fact, the policy called "The Contracted Purchase of Agricultural or Rice Products by State Companies" is still far from reaching its objective, in part due to the complicated system of different actors involved, including banks, companies, local government authorities, middlemen and farmers and a lack of cooperation between actors. Frequently these actors blame other actors for their difficulties. For instance, a Joint Stock Company (JSC) blamed farmers for not selling their rice seeds to JSC at the price agreed upon in their contract; farmers instead sold them to the middlemen at a higher price. The farmers, in turn, complained that the JSC was too strict and that it was too difficult to produce seeds that it would accept, thus some farmers were unwilling to meet their contracts with seed companies. In a context of free market capitalism, it may be more difficult for the state to dictate policies such as this one; perhaps a more necessary role of the

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state is to ensure an adequate sense of rule of law so that formal legal contracts can be negotiated more easily, and, if they are broken, penalties enforced by the courts.

VI. Diversification of Farm Incomes in Thoi Thuan Hamlet

a) How this Occurred

In Thoi Thuan, like in the rest of Vietnam, diversification of farm incomes started in 1997 as farmers' incomes from rice production were decreasing. In 2000, the national government issued an official authorization to restructure agricultural production in suitable ecosystems, and since farmers in the Mekong Delta have begun to diversify (Xuan 2002:115). Those with small farms may derive higher returns by planting crops other than rice or by seeking employment in other enterprises instead of or in addition to their agricultural work. However, the practicality of diversification depends on the available opportunities and the costs and risks of new options. Farmers need both the motivation and the ability to obtain the information and resources necessary to make a change. Government interventions to encourage diversification basically try to make it easier for farmers to change and upgrade their production systems, but this remains a challenge.

In recent years, agricultural production in Vietnam has been changing. In 2001, some new annual farming models were applied in Thoi Lai district for the first time, such as growing two rice crops and one upland crop such as mungbeans or vegetables per year; growing two rice crops and one fish culture per year on the same piece of land; and one rice crop and one prawn culture on the same land each year (People's Committee of Thoi Lai 2006).

The government has encouraged farmers to practice aquaculture; raising freshwater prawns is one such opportunity. In order to promote this practice with farmers willing to try to get into prawn production, the Department for Agriculture and Rural Development of Cantho City covered 40 percent of the purchase price for juvenile prawns in 2007. Additionally, the Agricultural Department of Cantho City, in collaboration with the Fishery Department of Cantho, the Agricultural Extension Center of Cantho and the Agricultural Extension Station of Co Do district, has organized training courses on the techniques of prawn culture and rice cultivation for farmers in Thoi Thuan B hamlet.

b) Producing Different Crops Remains Unpopular

In Thoi Thuan hamlet, despite the government's efforts to encourage farmers to diversify their crops, none of the farmers I interviewed were growing upland crops such as corn or vegetables in their rice fields. However, some of them are growing mung beans of the dykes surrounding their fields.

c) Attempts at Prawn Production

In Thoi Thuan, only a few households have attempted to diversify their incomes by combining rice production with prawn production. Instead, as noted earlier, almost all of them have been trying to intensify their rice production to three crops a year. But, this intensive rice production has led to environmental problems such as water pollution and soil fertility degradation, which affect other components of production diversification. For instance, insecticides and pesticides use for plant protection polluted the water source with toxic wastes, which negatively affected prawn and fish growth, impeding effective diversification. Additionally, market problems constrain the continuity and expansion of these diverse farming patterns. The case study below illustrates some of the problems.

In 2001, the practice of alternating rice and prawn farming was adopted by five farm households along the main canal in Thoi Thuan hamlet, where they were able to exchange enough water to be able to raise prawns in their fields. For prawn production, often over 30 centimeters of water has to be kept in the field to facilitate prawn growth. Water coming into the field is pumped in one way and pumped out another way, which is a strict requirement of raising prawns but can be a problem in field management. The irrigation canals are shallow, leading to a shortage of irrigation water that sometimes impacted the second rice crop for prawn producers as well as for their neighbors who also need the water but who are not producing prawns. This shortage of irrigation water often reduces the output of the second rice crop.

Table 2, below, compares the prawn income of Mr. A, a better-off farmer who is the head of the prawn-raising club of Thoi Lai, with that of Ms. B, a better-off farmer who is the member of the prawn-raising club. Mr. A's income, is six times higher than that of Ms. B because he has more knowledge and experience in raising prawns than she does. Between 2001 and 2009, he had a prawn production failure only one time, but she had prawn production failures three times, likely due to the combination of the high cost of inputs, limited market for prawns, and the high risks of prawn production in the hamlet. In 2008, polluted water and difficult to find a source for juvenile prawns caused the failure. Mr. A, Ms. B, and other local prawn producers are likely to stop growing prawns altogether because of the heavy losses they experienced in 2008 and because none of them obtained a loan for raising prawns from a local bank in 2010, perhaps because they were unable to repay bank loans for prawn production taken in previous years (Key Informants Interview 2010).

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Table 2 : Prawn Production of Two Sample Farmers in Thoi Thuan B Hamlet, Thoi Lai, since 2001

Year	Net prawn income (Mr. A: Head of prawn-raising club)	Net prawn income (Ms. B: Member of prawn-raising club)
2001	1200	0 (no profit)
2002	1355	645
2003	1590	-330 (loss)
2004	2200	1320
2005	2500	125
2006	2000	-625 (loss)
2007	1690	1000
2008	Lost	Lost
2009	Did not raise	Did not raise
Average	1390	240

Sources : Individuals Interviews, Dec. 2007, Jun. 2008, Jun. 2009 and Mar. 2010

So, while raising prawns usually produced higher incomes, it also carried higher risks than rice production. As one female Khmer farmer noted:

A farmer has experience in raising prawns in the field since 2001, with an average income of 1390 USD for a six month prawn season. The benefits of prawn production are higher than those of rice, but raising prawns in the rice field can be high risk. For instance, farmers can face risks when juvenile prawns which will produce more eggs and big claws are bought. These prawns will grow slowly (Interviews 2009).

d) Attempts at Fish Production

Within the hamlet, only a handful of households raise fish in ponds; most do not have fish ponds due to the small size of their land holdings (e.g. an average of 0.6 ha for farmers in my study), the investment in digging ponds is very high, and because the water from intensive rice cultivation could affect their aquaculture production in a negative way (e.g. Pesticides applied to rice paddies get into fish ponds and kill the fish) (Individual interview, November 2008). The few farmers in the hamlet producing fish raise either juvenile or adult fish and sell them to merchants at their farm gates. However, switching to fish production is risky. For instance, in 2007, one poor, landless farm household tried to produce fish in their rice fields for the first time. The farmer rented farmland from his mother and borrowed money from a local money lender to buy fingerlings. But, because of water problems and lack of experience, their attempts to raise fish led not only to a loss of production, but also a loss of income and an accumulation of debt (Individual interview, November 2007). In 2008 this household had to escape the money lenders by migrating to another district to work in off-farm activities.

e) Overall Evaluation of Diversification Efforts

Few households in Thoi Thuan were diversifying their production into different types of crops. A few farm households had, however, moved into prawn or fish production. But, while diversifying into fish or prawn production may increase the incomes of some farm households, like Mr. A, above, diversification also involves greater risks. Many poor farmers, who cannot risk a potential loss of a significant part of their annual income or going into debt, can ill-afford the switch.

VII. Conclusion

Since "Doi Moi" began in 1986, the Vietnamese government has expanded programs supporting farmers. As this case study has shown, countries agricultural policies have encouraged farmers toward intensive production of three rice crops per year using new high yielding rice varieties. However, many small farmers and local government officers as well feel that it is too difficult to practice the combine-harvesters for the rice harvest in their small fragmented pieces of fields with their small dikes in this village. Despite an increase in the number of hours women and men are spending in agricultural production, farmers have had to rely more and more on hired laborers, particularly during the three harvest periods. The use of hired labor reduces farmers' profits.

The change in policy has helped intensify rice production in the Mekong Delta. In the study hamlet, the intensification of rice land utilization has increased rice yields by 1.1 tons per hectare and has raised the net rice incomes of the farmers in the hamlet by 13.5 million dong per hectare; this policy has positively impacted the farmers' incomes, even though their expenditures on hired labor have increased.

The farmers in the study hamlet have produced more rice for consumption and export than previously; however, the small farmers in particular still faced many difficulties in their lives, such as shrinking farmland size and high cost of production inputs such as producing the new varieties and/or producing 3 instead of 2 crops per year, which requires more intensive use of fertilizers and pesticides. In the hamlet, large farmers are more likely than small farmers to be selected for trainings and workshops on applying new agricultural technologies and only the farmers with farm land of one or more hectares can participate in contract farming with

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Mekong Food Company to produce new rice seeds, which may, ultimately, give them an advantage.

In Thoi Thuan, government efforts to encourage farmers to diversify their crops and move to higher-value crop production like prawns or fish for both domestic and international markets have not been particularly successful, partly due to the high set-up costs and high risks that some farmers have experienced. As the average landholding size in the research hamlet is rather small and because industrialization and urbanization are expanding, in the future the farm households may have one or more members switch to non-farm employment as a way of diversifying their household income.

VIII. Recommendations

Based on the evidence of "Doi Moi" and agrarian reform from this village, some recommendations can be suggested. The local government target small farmers by including them in training workshops and offering them added incentives to intensify crop production or diversify their production. Crop insurance as well as rural, off-farm employment opportunities could help minimize the risks to their livelihood and reduce some of the inequities resulting from the shift towards a free market, capitalist economy. Because efforts to intensify rice production were impeding efforts to diversity farm incomes into fish or prawn production because of environmental problems, the Centers for Agricultural Extension of provinces should work to maintain the long-term sustainability of intensive rice production through new technical application such methods as the "1 play and 5 reductions" plan.[11] Private and state-owned businesses contracting for seed production, as well as the farmers who sign on to the contract, must follow the terms of the contract, even if rice prices fluctuate over time. One way to enhance the fulfillment of contracts would be for the government to expand its efforts to spread the rule of law and strengthen the legal system so that both contracting companies and farmers who sign contracts can be sure that the terms of the contract will be followed and have legal recourse through the courts if legal contracts are not followed.

In terms of research, since agricultural policies may impact different communities in different ways, in the future, research should be conducted in more villages so that the impacts can be understood more comprehensively. Also, to better understand these changes over time, longitudinal studies should be conducted.

[11] The "1play and 5 reduction" plan includes "1 for using certified rice seed and 5 for reducing amount of rice seed, fertilizer, pesticide, irrigated water and labor." This is a way to simultaneously limit damage to the fertility of farm land, reduce the cost of production, and increase rice yields.

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Beyond Racism: A Study of Sembène Ousmane's Les Bouts De Bois De Dieu

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Abstract- An essential ingredient is missing in "Art for art's sake." That vacuum is the functionality of the art. Art cannot solely be for its own purpose because it is a social creation. A given human society gives birth to its creation and production to reflect on human living conditions, actions, inactions and experiences among other things. For Africa and its people, functional art is the ultimate. An art, which does not only inject its aesthetic values but also teaches moral, transmits cultural values, improves vocabulary pool and heals broken hearts with a view to developing human society, is the kind of creativity or art favourable to Africa sphere. And, by extension, we believe the entire world will benefit from such art in this century, where cultural matters generate serious debates. In this study, we attempt to validate that African literature contributes to the decolonization and the eventual political liberation of African countries by examining the connection between literature and society. Using Sembène Ousmane's Les bouts de bois de Dieu as platform and adopting sociological criticism as our theoretical framework, the paper concludes that African literature is a panacea to the development of human consciousness and consequent societal advancement.

Keywords: art, culture, religion, liberation, development.

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Sikiru Adeyemi Ogundokun

Abstract- An essential ingredient is missing in "Art for art's sake." That vacuum is the functionality of the art. Art cannot solely be for its own purpose because it is a social creation. A given human society gives birth to its creation and production to reflect on human living conditions, actions, inactions and experiences among other things. For Africa and its people, functional art is the ultimate. An art, which does not only inject its aesthetic values but also teaches moral, transmits cultural values, improves vocabulary pool and heals broken hearts with a view to developing human society, is the kind of creativity or art favourable to Africa sphere. And, by extension, we believe the entire world will benefit from such art in this century, where cultural matters generate serious debates. In this study, we attempt to validate that African literature contributes to the decolonization and the eventual political liberation of African countries by examining the connection between literature and society. Using Sembène Ousmane's Les bouts de bois de Dieu as platform and adopting sociological criticism as our theoretical framework, the paper concludes that African literature is a panacea to the development of human consciousness and consequent societal advancement.

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I. Introduction

Sembène Ousmane's Les bouts de bois de Dieu, published in 1960, is primarily an account of historical railway workers' strike of the 1940s. Precisely in1948, Senegalese railway workers embark on an industrial action against the high-handedness of the French colonialists. The natives frown at the insensitivity of the self-made Lords, who continuously victimize them on their own God given land. The sordid human living condition of the natives and their low profile status as workers of the railway fuel the struggle.

The strike is not just walking away from work or duty posts; it also symbolizes walking away from racial discrimination and oppression. It is a brave attempt to demand social justice and, or fairness in all ramifications. It is a symbolic walking away from imported social order, which the Senegalese" natives described as "modern life". During the strike, the natives are sapped; their fundamental human rights are restricted, food and water is difficult to get, many people, especially children and the aged people die. Indeed, the Senegalese nationals are repressed by the entire social order of that period.

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Besides all these indices of racism, the writer identifies other salient social matters such as religion, language, women emancipation, poverty, corruption, courage/perseverance, forgiveness and reconciliation as parts of what can hinder the development of human societies. It is against these issues in the African polity, particularly Senegal that Sembène Ousmane writes Les bouts de bois de Dieu to revolt the said inadequacies.

This paper is aimed at identifying the characteristics of the sociological criticism method to literature as expressed in Sembène Ousmane's Les bouts de bois de Dieu, with the intention of demonstrating the functions of literature in nation building and, or global sustainable development. The motive of our novelist is to hang various forms of colonial and neo-colonial madness. Fofana (2004) remarks thus: "One of the many changes that came about after Senegal achieved its independence in 1960 was that the leadership of the country was inherited by Senegalese nationals. The expectation was that they would be more concerned about the socio-economic welfare of the people than the French colonialists. . ." Of course, as a result of untold disappointment from fellow Africans, Sembène Ousmane does not pardon his erring African brothers in his numerous works of art.

With the use of protest writing, militant but reasonable African creative writers condemn the follies and the vices in their societies. They frown at corruption, bad governance, repressive policies, woman oppression, moral decadence and societal disturbances such as religious intolerant, with a view to making positive changes, which might accelerate human and material development in Africa and the world at large. The primary aim of these committed African writers is the genuine struggle for cultural and socio-political revolution using literary activities as a platform. The different peoples of the world are made to understand the African world view through writing both now and before independence.

In scholarly studies over the years, the inter-relationship between literature and society has been strongly attested. The writer or artist is an individual subject to emotions and feelings and he/she is a product of certain social make-ups in which literary work is potentially a response. Sartre (1948) observes thus; "The writer has no means of escape, we want him to embrace his time closely, and it is his lot: it is made for him and he is made for it,"

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Warner Berthoff (1981) asserts: "… literature itself has its own purpose and determinants… never wholly autonomous it draws its prime motives from deep within the common culture, the life experience of its producers in their time… but it never speaks for the totality of that culture," Therefore, literature or any work of art generally is not closed, independent or self-sufficient on its own. There is a connection between literature and the milieu/environment where it is produced and this fact has been demonstrated by Sembène Ousmane. Since social problems are systemic things; literature as a product of a given human society can be employed to solve or at least to reduce social challenges by consistently discussing such issues and recommending functional remedies to the identified perceived social hindrances, disturbances or impediments.

Literature is designed on the basis of prevailing daily or persistent events both socio-culturally and ideologically. As an open concept, it is seen and described variously by different people. Literature is not just a piece of writing, which only entertains. It is equally, at the same time too, a means of expressing ideas, views, opinions, experiences, feelings, body of knowledge, cultural values as well as teaching moral lessons and healing souls. Literature has turned out to be a medium of apprehending contemporary or conventional realities through the exposition of the socio-cultural and political experiences of a given society; since it (literature) is a product of a particular human society. It buys into the expressive function of a given language. And, the understanding of culture and the society, which are potential ingredients on which literature is premised, paves the way for an effective development and/or positive social changes in different societies of the world.

II. Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored on faction, an aspect of sociology of literature; that is, sociological approach to the study of literature, which holds that literature and other forms of creative arts, should be examined in the cultural, economic and political context in which they are written, produced or received. This literary theory explores the connections/relationships between the artist/writer and his or her society.

To better understand a writer's literary work(s), it may probe into the writer's society as well as studying how societal elements are represented in the literature itself since it is believed that literature has certain functions to perform in contributing to the development of human societies through moral or behavior re-orientation. And, of course, our adoption of the sociological approach of literary criticism can be justified since this critical approach or theory is believed to be "the most apt to render a full account of modern African literature" because it (the approach) takes into consideration "everything within our society which has informed the work", Abiola Irele (1971).

The term "faction" in the words of Emenyonu (1991) is the art of "juxtaposing real and identifiable facts with fiction". Cuddon (1998) attests that faction originated around 1970 in United States to describe fictions which are blended with facts. He argued further by citing Truman Capote's In Cold Blood (1996) and Norman Mailer's Armies of the Night (1968) as examples of faction. In Nigerian literary palace, Kole Omotosho's Just before Dawn (1988), Wole Soyinka's Isara (1989) and Uche Mowah's Eating by the Flesh (1995) are categorized as faction. Cuddon upholds that faction as a literary genre might easily apply to historical novels which fictionalize a great deal of periods, facts or novels incorporating actual living personalities in a narrative that deals with recent events pertaining to historical facts. Tulloch also agrees with the view of Cuddon by painting faction as a blend of fact and fiction.

According to Tulloch (2002), the word, faction is morphologically derived by telescoping the terms "fact" and "fiction". It is believed that faction offers a more direct critic on events and personalities in a given human society and can therefore be used to positively reform the society. Hence, it is an essential feature of satire; a literary composition, which exposes the follies and the vices of people or an individual in a ridiculous manner in an attempt to correct them. In other words, scholars who adopt this theoretical framework are of the view that literature should perform one function or a set of functions, which ranges from aesthetic function; didactic function, therapeutic function and educational function to linguistic function.

By performing aesthetic function, literature appeals to the sense of beauty. To scholars in this field, literature should serve the purpose of delighting, pleasing, enchanting, satisfying and inventive to touch, see, feel, behold and to sense. Literature is in fact, a means of entertainment. This aesthetic function is largely influenced by the ideology of "art for art's sake" (L'art pour l'art).

Through didactic function, we expect literature to perfect or correct man's imperfections and shortfalls by teaching certain moral lessons, norms, values and virtues. This pedagogic ingredient present in literature is estimated to moralize and preach moral uprightness as a way of combating different forms of ills or vices in a particular human society. Scholars in this regard wish to see and ascertain the extent to which a text, a literary composition: drama, poetry or prose portrays morality or immorality.

They try to understand whether characters in a work of art are morally sound or morally found wanting. Also, they try to see if a given piece of art puts virtue over and above vices and so on.

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Literature is without doubt, expected to perform the function of healing which we described as therapeutic function. Readers are expected to be healed or cured of emotional, psychological, economic, pathological and/or socially related health challenges through reading a text, watching a drama or listening to the recitation of a poem. It is again believed that literature can be employed to develop the language of both the writers and the readers. While benefiting from the pleasure of narration, which enables a writer to create a new world, Sembène Ousmane is able to fictionalize real people and events in his novel, Les bouts de bois de Dieu as does in his other novels and films.

Faction fills the existing gaps in our knowledge as regards the private lives of great men and women and even nations that history has refused to cover. This blend of fact and fiction meets a serious need for authenticity in works of arts; especially literature. Faction or if you like, call it historical fiction starts with songs and epic poems. It can be argued that history is the "fact" while the blanks filled by novelists or playwrights are described as "fiction". Literature as a product of a particular place and period has become the most useful instrument to address events which are too large or vast for a perfect digestion in seriously historic form; the base of literature no doubt is history; as fiction emanates from fact. Even in the documentation of real events, creation unavoidably plays a role; the entire story does not merit telling, there are often selections and emphasis on the most striking events and synthesis. Fiction can teach and edify us apart from providing us with new objects for social feeling and knowledge. Hence, through literature, we are able to make up for the deficiencies in real life; with adventures, one is able to participate imaginatively and can arrive at new ideas, innovations or knowledge.

III. Discussion

The racial discrimination and the unjust treatment which characterized the colonial imperialism is captured in Sembène Ousmane's Les bouts de bois de Dieu. At the initial stage of the story, Tiémoko, one of the striking railway workers laments thus: "We're the ones who do the work . . . the same work the white men do. Why then should they be paid more? Because they are white? And when they are sick, why should they be taken care of while we and our families are left to starve? Because we are black? In what way is a white child better than a black child? In what way is a white worker better than a black worker?" (p. 8). Africans are to the whites as mere children: "They are children, that's all. Somebody has put some wild ideas in their heads, but they'll see sooner or later this strike is going to cost them a lot more than they can possibly gain from it." (p. 167). The issue of racism is further x-rayed in the novel when the novelist paints the atmosphere which envelops Dakar toward the end of the story: "Protective cordons of troops formed a virtual barricade between the native quarters and the residential and commercial avenues of the European quarter, and the enforced segregation had created strain and unrest on both sides of the wall." (p. 205). Also, derogatory words such as savage and pigs, which the whites used in describing the Africans in the story, indicate colour superiority.

Having validated the issue of racism, it is important to discuss other social issues which a thorough and in-depth reading of Sembène Ousmane's Les bouts de bois de Dieu has revealed. Apart from the family, school and mass media, religion is another major agent of socialization. It is a way of show-casing people's way of life through worship. Religion is an integral aspect of culture since it has to do with a people's mode of life. Every act of worship is a rite or ritualistic in nature. Religious matters are archetypal subjects not only in African literature but also in other arts around the world.

Ideologically, Sembène Ousmane is dissatisfied with the Islamic culture in his creative writings particularly polygamy and fanaticism. He equally frowns at using religion to adjust, direct or control people's minds to achieve personal interests, which in most cases are laced with exploitative tendencies. It is hard to forget the character of El Hadji Mabiqué, who does not share food with his own sister. Instead of helping his relatives at the time of need is preaching gospel to the helpless woman. In his words he says: "I know that life is often hard, but that should not cause us to turn our backs on God. He has assigned a rank, a place, and a certain role to every man, and it is blasphemous to think of changing His design. The toubabs are here because that is the will of God. Strength is a gift of God, and Allah has given it to them. We cannot fight against it- why, look, they have even turned off the water…" (p. 45).

The hypocritical tendency of this perceived devoted Muslim, El Hadji Mabigué is further consolidated by the various derogatory words his sister, Ramatoulaye used in painting him. He is called a fornicator, a thief and an old she-goat! (p. 45). Similarly, the chief Imam of Dakar is implicitly an agent of French imperialism. This can be confirmed through his role when he mediates between Ramatoulaye and the police, and his speech at the racecourse. The Imam rejects the strike action embarked upon by the railway workers. "…the imams and the priests of other sects. After the prayers and religious services all over the city, there would be a sermon whose theme was always the same: By ourselves, we are incapable of creating any sort of useful object, not even a needle; and yet you want to strike against the toubabs who have brought us all of these things! It is madness! You would do better to be thanking God for having brought them among us and bettering our lives with the benefits of their civilization

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and their Science" (p. 206)|. However, Sembène Ousmane loves the kind of faithfulness displayed by Fa Keita, who continued to observe his prayer despite the humiliation he suffered in the hand of Bernadini, the commandant in the prison; believing that what is worth doing at all, is worth doing well. Let us take a peep into the picture of a scene at the camp: "And as Fa Keïta began to kneel, the commandant's boot caught him in the kidney and hurled him head first into the strands of barbed wire. Little drops of blood flecked the skin of the old man's shoulders and back…" (p. 236).

With this, the writer manifests his ideological stance on religion. It is obvious that Sembène Ousmane is upset because he sees religion as a tool employed by the ruling elite to manipulate the masses so as to achieve personal gains.

The writer, Sembène Ousmane extends his discussion to cultural consciousness particularly the issue of language. He condemns the neglect suffers by African indigenous languages in the hands of Africans themselves. This cultural denial is indeed shameful. Culture is significantly the base of every human race and of course, every man. Any form of education; formal or informal is expected to be primarily for the inculcation of culture and its values as no educational system can survive without the Humanities. Sapir (1921) sees culture as "What a society does and thinks"; it is the "socially inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs that determines the texture of our lives". From this statement, one can deduce that through the observation of a people's beliefs and practices, one can identify their culture. Culture is the pivot of any human society. Whoever acknowledges and identifies with the cultural practices of his community is an acceptable member of such society. Goudenough (1964) defines culture thus; "Whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to members and do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves. This position, which we identified with, is again validated by Okeh (2003), when he observes that culture is "the dearest possession of any human group and any human being. Anyone cut off from his culture is poor indeed… Problems rooted on culture therefore take time to eradicate because customs and traditions cannot be done away with overnight."

The novelist craves our indulgence on the question of language when Niakoro, the oldest woman in the story lashes out at Ad'jibid'ji for the girl's ceaseless speaking of the white man's tongue. "Ever since I was born – and God knows that was a long time ago – I have never heard of a white man who had learned to speak Bambara, or any other language of this country. But you rootless people think only of learning his, while our language dies." p. 4. It is worrisome that most African languages are going into extinction because the natives have adopted their colonial master's language as their lingua franca; official language for administrative purposes, educational and/or commercial purposes at the expense of their own indigenous languages.

Consolidating the writer's position on the sorrow state of abandonment, which African languages are subjected, he uses Bakayoko to debunk a fellow African, Beaugosse. He says: "You can keep your French for yourself… The men will understand you better if you speak their language." (p. 188). This calls for national consciousness in the area of language. For instance, I see no reason why native languages cannot be used teaching and learning purposes in African schools.

Another social issue the writer raised in Les bouts de bois de Dieu is corruption. As an old trade, the novelist does not vindicate the whites from this illicit practice. Lawal (1989) affirms; "Corruption is dishonest or illegal behavior, especially of people in authority, or it is the act of effect of making somebody change from moral to immoral standard of behavior." In the story, Dejean, Victor, Dejean's chief assistant, Isnard, the director of the repairs shop and Leblanc are all corrupt. They plan to win the leaders of the striking workers by bribing them: "We can either buy off the most important leaders – for a price, in return, of course – or work on some of the others and try to build up a rival union."(p. 32). Bakayoko openly confirms the corrupt nature of African leaders, which is the bane of under developed economy we are witnessing all over the places in Africa and the eventual mistrust and so much hatred among the people."We know them, and that we think of them. There are some of them who, before their election, did not even own a second pair of paints. Now they have apartments, villas, automobiles, bank accounts, and they own stock in companies…" (p. 184). This revelation has adequately captured the situation of African polity without being sentimental.

One of the practical realities in Africa is poverty. Inadequate social infrastructures and lack of social welfare and security take the central stage. Coates and Silbourn (1983) observe that; "Poverty is a common phenomenon in capitalistic societies or competitive economies. Poverty is the manifestation of the unequal distribution of wealth, income, power, and it epitomizes the structural inequalities in the societies." This view point is again supported in 1993 by Mohuddin, who defines poverty as "Households inability to provide sufficient income to satisfy the needs for food, shelter, education, clothing and transportation." As a matter of fact, the image of African society painted in Sembène Ousmane's Les bouts de bios de Dieu reveals that there is a first class poverty in Africa. Look at this unpleasant description: "Constantly hungry, naked children, with sunken chests and swollen bellies, argued with the vultures… there were houses made of wood. Unsteady houses, shored up with beams or trunks of trees, ready to fall down at the first gust of wind…" p. 13. As though that was not enough, we are equally made to see more

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of this ugly situation on page 166, where the writer writes: "In the district around the airfield, the houses are nothing but rats' nests. They were swarming with vermin, and my God, the smell…"

In an unsettled state, riots and break down of law and order take the central stage. Undetermined number of casualties: the wounded/injured and the dead are often dotted the land. This situation therefore calls for courage in order to with stand the storm, which comes with social disorderliness or insecurity. In other words, there is a need for uncompromising bravery at any trying time. The African masses demonstrated this striking feature in Les bouts de bois de Dieu. "The days passed, and the nights. There was no new, except what every passing hour brought to every home and that was always the same; the foodstuffs were gone, the meager savings eaten up, and there was no money in the house… Hunger set in; and men, women, and children grew thinner. But they held on. Meetings were held more frequently, the directors of the union intensified their activities, and everyone swore not to give in."(p. 33). The underlined clauses confirm the courage and the zealousness of the suffering Africans.

Still on courage, Doudou displayed his commitment and honesty in an attempt to reconstruct the social order. He rejects both the post and money promised him by the white imperialists. Let us hear him: "Three million francs is a lot of money for a Negro lathe operator… but even three million francs won't make me white. I would rather have the ten minutes for tea and remain a Negro." (p. 151). This uncommon level of integrity is all that the novelist preaches for so as to move the world towards sustainable developments. Nothing good comes easy; there are prices to be paid and, or sacrifices to be made for greatness, development or a happy living. In the camp, the Africans that were thrown into prison endured a lot of hardships. Fa Keïta, Salifou, Konaté and other prisoners of war/strike tasted hell yet they endured. Happy enough, the courage brings about celebration at the end. "Conditions accepted. Strike terminated."(p. 238).

The Africans demonstrate an unconditional love among themselves. This solidarity confirms the community life-style as a way of life in Africa. This idea of love, brotherhood and collective responsibility can be practically illustrated through the character of Dieynaba. She takes care of some of the Africans who are injured during the face-off between the striking workers and the soldiers. "Dieynaba had transformed the house into an infirmary. She had torn up every piece of material she could lay her hands on and was bathing the wounded with salt water. Mariame Sonko was helping her… and bring back some fresh. Fetch some plantain leaves, too, but put lots of salt in the water before you soak the leaves" (p. 27).

Indeed, decolonization in African states is achieved in part through African literature. At independence and in the post-independence, the realities of human condition and, or contemporary realities are the basis for African literature be it poetry, drama or prose. "African literature explores the realities of human condition in Africa in totality and it speculates what is and what is not to be. In so doing, the minds of the people are sharpened and sensitized towards qualitative change…"(Balogun, 2010).

In Les bouts de bois de Dieu, women emancipation featured as one of the fundamental social issues that the novelist discussed. Walter (2008) defines emancipation as "the process of giving people social or political freedom and rights." That is, to release people from any form of bondage or oppression occasioned by cruel authority, culture or religious practices among other things. The women of Sembène Ousmane in his artistic creation, Les bouts de bois de Dieu, freed themselves from the perceived socio-political, cultural and religious restrictions by confronting the colonial imperialists, which the railway company authority symbolizes during the time under review. This act has raised a serious national consciousness. The initial state of indifference displayed by the women notwithstanding, they drag on and withstand the storm when the events in the story get to its climax. They intervene at the moment that is most important and appreciated. Apart from holding the families together, they work tirelessly to sustain their sapped families and revolt against the unfairness of the colonial rule. To mark the revolutionary implication of the industrial action embarked upon by the railway African workers, the novelist redirects the usual traditional gender role. For we see men fetch water and walk behind the women agitators. The character of Penda, a prostitute, who becomes a leader during the strike, is a new order especially in Senegal, a Muslim country. Women are allowed to speak and contribute freely in the public at a time when crucial decisions are to be taken. "The idea of women addressing a meeting as important as this was still unfamiliar..." (p. 92). Even the strikers accept the changing social order without grumbling: "We are not ashamed to admit that it is the women who are supporting us now." (p. 93). On page 187, Bakayoko, one of the powerful master minders of the strike, announces publicly: "Our gallant women have something to say to us… They have the right to be heard!"

This writer's opinion suggests that the women should be reckoned with in whatever the men do if human societies must develop. This feminist position has been practically proved right by the activities of the women of Dakar, who dared the police, the militiamen, the soldiers and their weapons and the women of Thiès, who marched to Dakar to express their dissatisfaction against colonial excesses as captured in the behavior of the management of the railway company in the story, Sembène Ousmane's Les bouts de bois de Dieu.

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The novelist also underscores the fact that forgiveness and reconciliation are necessary ingredients in moving human societies forward at all times. We need to learn how to reflect soberly on our actions, forgive those who wrong us and reconcile with them. In the words of Fa Keïta, he advises thus: "… If a man like that is killed, there is always another to take his place. That is not the important thing. But to act to that no man dares to strike you because he knows you speak the truth, to act so that you can no longer be arrested because you are asking for the right to live, to act so that all of this will end, both here and elsewhere: that is what should be in your thoughts. That is what you must explain to others, so that you will never again be forced to bow down before anyone, but also so that no one shall be forced to bow down before you…because hatred must not dwell with you." (p. 240). Among African themselves, Awa demonstrated the need for sober reflection and reconciliation when she overtly approached Yaciné and said: "I came to ask you to forgive me. Out there I was tired and out of my head with the heat, and I lied. You are not a deume." (p. 202).

Through the character of Ramatoulaye, the novelist expresses his position on the commitment, which every good leader deserves. The woman remarks: "When you know that the life and the spirit of others depend on your life and your spirit, you have no right to be afraid – even when you are terribly afraid. In the cruel times we are living through, we must find our own strength, somehow, and force ourselves to be hard." (p. 69).

In sum, the actions of the masses presented in Sembène Ousmane's Les bouts de bois de Dieu is validated by the view of Balzer (1994), who observes that: "When key crystallizing political events cause people who had previously thought of themselves as mildly aware of their ethnic identity to become dramatically defensive and passionately angered, precisely these people become the fulcrum of more radical brands of nationalism. Issues of leadership, land claims, historical grievances, refugees, national chauvinism, and popular front strategy then become mixed to create a potentially incendiary interethnic dynamic."

IV. Conclusion

In this study, it is established that the oppressed behave as true agitators, struggling for positive social reformation. They are adequately mobilized in the project of national rebuilding. They are committed to replacing the colonial order with a more friendly order, which will foster sustainable developments. Hence, the result of this study consolidates that art is not just for its own sake, it also performs the functions of developing human societies. We have attempted to demonstrate that *Les bouts de bois de Dieu* (1960), translated in English language as *God's Bits of Wood* (1962) x-rays racism, religion, language consciousness, corruption, poverty, courage, women emancipation and preaches for genuine forgiveness, acknowledgement, sincere love, unflinching support for one another and appreciation of one another so that people of different backgrounds and interests can live together mutually anywhere in the world.

This underscores the didactic value of literary text, composition or any other arts for that matter and proves that art is more than something just for its own sake or purpose. It is also made clear that corrupt leaders employ religion as a means of adjusting the minds of the masses to exploit them in return. Sembène Ousmane interrogates all these practical social variables so that they can be adequately addressed if we must move on happily with our lives.

Akingbe N, Ogunyemi CB, Otemuyiwa AA. (2011) "There can be no doubt that the relationship between literature and society is as close as to be virtually symbiotic." By injecting fresh ideas, whether consciously or unconsciously, into the affairs of their society, artists shape or reshape agenda for national development. We therefore recommend that education is good. It helps people to know their rights and demand for them. It is a tool for civilization as we have seen mainly in the character of Bakayoko.

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Heritage Media and Local Wisdom of Indonesian Society

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Abstract- In rural communities, the communication between humans mostly done by using symbols such as sounds, gestures, visual and performing arts of the people. Heritage media is a communication tool used by people from outside in an attempt to convey some messages that contain various elements values, norms, rules, also include development message from the kingdom, therefore this heritage media purposes beside in addition to entertainment is also used as a tool to solve community problems in their own way, in this context local wisdom, especially issues related to community efforts to meet their needs for information.

Keywords: heritage media, local wisdom, and indonesian society.

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Heritage Media and Local Wisdom of Indonesian Society

Muslimin Machmud

Abstract- In rural communities, the communication between humans mostly done by using symbols such as sounds, gestures, visual and performing arts of the people. Heritage media is a communication tool used by people from outside in an attempt to convey some messages that contain various elements values, norms, rules, also include development message from the kingdom, therefore this heritage media purposes beside in addition to entertainment is also used as a tool to solve community problems in their own way, in this context local wisdom, especially issues related to community efforts to meet their needs for information.

Heritage media as one aspect of communication systems, cultural systems and social systems, have also caused tidal because of historical factors and socio-cultural changes in society. In use, the community also experienced a reduction as a result of the growth, development and socio-cultural changes in society. Heritage media that should be a local wisdom marginalized communities into the political factors and power. This causal pattern may occur because of some mechanism depends on various factors such as ecological, economic, social, cultural and society itself. For example, in the reign of "New Era" that apply the concept of centralization, heritage media is directed and used for political purposes and the name of national development. heritage media messages directed towards the creation of public awareness to support government programs, by showing the existence of uniformity and ignoring the existence of diversity.

Keywords: heritage media, local wisdom, and indonesian society.

I. Introduction

Inheritance media[1] (traditional media) in a society grows and develops based on the root and supporting community cultural development. This is consistent with the concept of culture[2] as a communal agreement that has a real aspect as well as with various elements. Therefore, the heritage media to grow and thrive in a community is a communication system, (Nurudin, 2004) also as a socio-cultural system, so that the heritage media will support and work together with the existing culture. Basically, in heritage media have a significant relationship with the local wisdom of Indonesian society, whether in the form of basic cultural society in the form of delivery messages containing traditional value systems, norms, rules, habits, manners, advice, criticism, romance/love, philosophy, economics, political science, religion, heroism, praise, and the message about the human relationship with God and the universe.

Indonesian community local wisdom is often described as a way to find the solution of various problems that arise in society. Therefore, local wisdom generally interpreted as a way to solve environmental problems in society in their own way, so if compared to the modern society may be comparable to the term "negotiation" or "exchange thoughts". In this regard, the fundamental question is how the Indonesian people especially in rural areas can meet their need for various kinds of information, either through the modern media or the heritage media.

21st century is the century marked by the advancement of science and technology, which is believed by many experts, will be able to change the way people work, interact, religion, or culture. The process of globalization which is controlled from the centers of power and wealth is believed to be able to realize "pax economica", a kind of prosperity that is shared among human beings around the world who is expected to grow crowded. While the possibility of continued application of strife and chaos between countries or sets of people as happened in the past century remain open chances.

Linkages with Alvin Toffler's view of the 21st century as a century will apply (power shift) on a large scale. What is meant by Toffler as power shift is the exchange of power and radical transformation in the power system, namely the structures and the owners of the new powers include the powers of science, wealth, and violence at all levels of interaction in human life and covers the entire world (Toffler, 1992). As a result he has given effect to the development of civilization and achievement in various countries, which include political, social, cultural, economic, religious, science, enjoyment of life caused by technological progress, the cruelty of war and conflict caused by the reduction of humanitarian considerations, fun entertainment through modern mass media, including those sensual, the

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[1] In Indonesia the term of inheritance popular with traditional media.

[2] Instead various understanding cultures that had meet, then it is concluded that culture is a whole system of culture, ideas, statements thoughts feelings, and is the result of action rather than creativity, taste, and the initiative to meet the needs of human life, which may be done by way of learning. "Therefore the culture only possessed by human societies are inherited through the learning process rather than a generation to the next generation.

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neglect of public habits that are traditional, all will share experience. (Md. Salleh Yapar, 2003)

At the present time many social phenomena that show a trend to return to the substantive values embodied in a tradition, where tradition placed the nation's wealth to be maintained survival. If a religious tradition, cultural traditions, and traditional arts that is really a property that has binding force emotionally, and also at the same time become a force to form a life together in a community. Statements such as "back to nature" or back to nature is a reality that can support his form of this tendency. In this situation, then to make that happen, it will take the role of a central figure in a society such as opinion leaders, or in the form of equipment, or the media to grow and thrive in these communities.

When people are busy, not familiar with the mass media, the role of community leaders who also became leaders of opinion (opinion leader), various traditional arts, as well as traditional performances are the main communication media. But after reaching the level of communication development of more advanced with the invention of writing, art print, and various communication technologies and modern information, the role of traditional communications begin to decrease, but this does not mean that the heritage media is not important, because in rural areas still have the heritage media place in people's heart. Precisely the heritage media is supporting modern mass media, because in order to develop information or messages through mass media like radio, television, film, newspapers can be further translated the message forwarded to the crowds in rural areas.

By considering the existing state of society in rural areas are limited, the government in establishing and improving communications in rural areas should use or utilize all available communications media both traditional and modern mass media, which is expected to co-exist and complement each other, for communication goals.

II. Due to the Decline of Heritage Media because of Modernization

Indonesia is a country with diversity custom, both from the ideology aspect, religion, cultural, political and social life. This resulted in Indonesian society into a plural society with a population of multi-ethnic, multicultural print culture, and religious behavior of syncretism[3]. This case became a record of cultural history in Indonesia, making Indonesia have a diversity of customs and some forms of local wisdom that more traditional forms of media including delivery messages is too much tradition. Travel history and cultural politics have made many changes, but each culture has wisdom[4] attached and is believed to be a customs and habits. Local wisdom as a cultural principle of Indonesian society that may be traditions, languages, customary law, the heritage media and others, there still remain and be maintained, but also not a few that can not be maintained (lost or abandoned).

The demise of the heritage media is reflected by lessening attention from the researcher of communication in that media. Schramm and Robert (in Ragnarath, 1976) between 1954 and 1970 reported more research results communication that published from the previous period. However, in research reports there is no heritage media. The decline of public interest in the heritage media have relation with development pattern adopted by third world countries. Modernization the popular ideology today, encouraging these countries to follow communication pattern. In this period we see that the oral tradition being replaced by technology-based media. As a result, communication becomes linear and one-way.

In the nation building era and Republic Indonesia today, the greater part of civilization has shifted from traditional society to modern society. Traditional society as it is known always characterized by the values of strong traditions, and binding, while modern society has changed, which is based on science and technology is very advanced. With the pretext for the progress, the various development programs carried out, regardless general public situation who do not have preparation and ability to make changes quickly. (Oepen, 1988)

For Indonesia, is still more than 70 percent of rural households are made up of farmers without land. These ordinary people survive outside the mainstream of development without significant support than the designer and executor of the development. They are mostly poor people who could not afford that should be targeted rather than the development assistance program. However, this harsh reality does not mean that there is no development in Indonesia. On the contrary, it can be said that Indonesia has reached a wonderful level of economic growth in modern history. Unfortunately, that development process is not automatically oriented to small people.

[3] syncretism) may meaning as a combination or merger of various religious elements and then combined into one which then will form a religion in the new version. Zainul Milal Bazawie made in footnote, citing a book written by SGF.Brandon, with the headline A Dictionary of Comparative Religion. 1970: 596, citing significant Wordpress singkretisme merger (fusion) than the various religious streams that have occurred since the time of the Jews - the Romans, about 300-200 years before Masihi, just nothing happens spontaneously or because of influence the ruling party.

[4] Pitoyo Amri (2008: 24) suggests that "wisdom" is like want to see the signs (the rules made and agreed). Want to feel, look, initiate, and then obediently up signs regarding. Signs that actually is a natural law created by the creator of that the people must to bow to Him.

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One element support triumph available with current communication and information development flow freely, especially to all strata of society without seeing and where he lived, whether he is a common society, media or elite society. Whether the people who live in cities or the communities who lived in rural areas (Adi Sasono in Oepen, 1988).

Associated with it, the problem that arises is how the communication role in relation to development, especially human resources development (human capital). According to Adi Sasono, communication is an essential element in development that should not be denied, but if the emphasis on modern communications technology as it is today, then there are two things to get serious attention from the government based on that condition, First, socio-economic and socio-cultural conditions that guarantee a balanced information flow and allows two-way communication between individuals and public collections. Second, the means of modern communication technology, vertical capital-intensive (top down) with a full load, considered as the main people's need who become the target collection.

The next issue that arises is whether the two conditions regarding the above can be met by the government as policy makers who control the communication problem. Because in reality only a few of development countries include Indonesia, which actually have free information flow and freedom of both the national media and international. Freedom the press for example, the reality is freedom for those who have the ability and can control the press. (Oepen,1988). Because it is true that the countries of third world, including Indonesia must have a modern media, but not wise to let it get rid of the modern media attention to improve traditional communication, informal communication, and horizontal communication with and by the people through the heritage media. Then we actually have helped and gave space to the public collections to use their own communication to carry out their right for free information flow.

Theoretically, communication using heritage media, associated with communication model with the emancipation orientation (horizontal communication) which proposed by experts from the countries third world communication model-oriented persuasive techniques (vertical communication), which often raised by experts from the United States (Oepen, 1988).

Theories and concepts such as those mentioned above, is not new. Because in the development-related communication strategy since early 1970s have been carried out, especially when the institutions of the major donor like the World Bank began to see the potential of "people's media, media groups, or public communication". What's interesting about this is such observations are true only within the multinational institutions that tend to take advantage of the new approach to maintain status quo. Secondary analysis carried out such carefully conducted in Indonesia and the Philippines. The results showed that the greater part of Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) also include multinational institutions committed to the noble ideals like "self-determination, independence, or participation" in community development, which is precisely use the heritage media with regard to the paternalistic approach with top - down model. Even non-governmental organizations or NGOs with "progressive" and "humanistic" tend to work and speak on behalf the community or the people they hold, but basically they just take advantage my self. Instead helping people or working together and doing these jobs, even he do it by itself without involving the public directly (Oepen, 1988).

In order to avoid such distortions which have been described from the results of the study mentioned above, then the planners should ideally begin by placing trust in the intellectual abilities and social skills of individuals in the community as a person who becomes the target collection, so that they can determine their own fate, such that they can find or identify familiar things they face, and tried to solve by implementing strategies based on human resources, and local natural resources are owned.

III. Modern Media and Heritage Media

A heritage media experts named M. Fermana Yuliansyah (2008) says that the media has a role that heritage alive and growing in the community, which has a personal touch and cultural dimension that can support an effective communication process, in which the elements of the heritage media as a media of popular shows usually contain the values rooted in the cultural community and even some directly related to the activities of public ritual, so it will be a force in developing and preserving the cultural nations values, especially the cultural values of a nation that grew and developed in Indonesia.

The information and communication technologies progress such as printing devices, publishing, electronic media, satellite, and computers, should be given the possibility of the implementation of communication in a more enjoyable and can reach the delivery of communication messages to the entire region. Because with modern communication tools help, one can make social interaction without face to face, and can even happen between them did not know each other. Social relationships are supported by modern technology, no doubt, but unfortunately with the progress of modern communications technology is also much misused by individuals who are less responsible. Even with the use of modern communication technology many people who became "deceitful" and "wild", for example, through Internet one may find acquaintance with fraud and victimization. When he Chatting with a

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girl, he said that his age was 25 years old, working at a leading companies, not married and so on. And these people are aged over 40 years, worked as a clerk and had married. All he did draw sympathy from the victim who becomes the target. It can not be denied that the future society is a society on-line, but there is also the phenomenon that people on-line increasingly provide opportunities for people to lie and cheat. That's why it is necessary to heritage media which is in rural areas people still fostered and maintained, even if it allows improved function and role.

Viewed in real, traditional art heritage such as sinrilik, pakkacaping, ma'badong, elong pelong, tudang sipulung, mappadendang, pappaseng, purwa puppets, puppet show, ludruk, ketoprak, inheritance or other forms of media are still found in Indonesia . But now this heritage media has also undergone many transformations in the modern mass media. In other words, he no longer presented as it is, but had entered the media of television (transformation) with all the adjustments. For example the traditional art of shadow play that was broadcast by a private television in Indonesia. Indonesian case relates to the heritage media is not recognized that there are still some heritage media that can be accepted by the modern media for broadcast, but the case is very limited, even a lot of repertory happened several people who still live in areas of Indonesia are playing shows around to the villages, it received less attention audience, after television arrived in the village. This reflects that the heritage media competition and modern media becomes less and less balanced, after the villagers began to recognize the modern entertainment media such as video cassettes, VCD, DVD and so on.

As suggested by Agoes Soeparto, chairman of the National Forum of Traditional Media Communication (FK Metra) is quoted in the daily Kompas On-line, dated May 16, 2006, said that traditional media (heritage) who are still there are dominant and often appear in show. Such heritage media usually has a communicative nature, so that the artistic form can also be entertainment, as well as a media to deliver information and social criticism from the public to the government or vice versa (http://www.kompas.com, May 16, 2006).

Meanwhile, according to I Gusti Ngurah Putra, in his paper at the Traditional Media Communication Forum Workshop which was published in Kompas daily on-line dated May 1, 2007, said that to him, the media must be able to formulate the heritage itself to better suit the community needs and development should capable adapting to the modern media, because the rapid advancement of modern communications media such as newspapers, radio, television will always shift the existence of heritage media. (http://www.kompas.com, May 1, 2007)

From the description by some experts, may be said that the heritage media is still needed by the community, it's just heritage media must be able to adjust to the demands of the development of society itself, let alone actually considered modern media is more sophisticated, it does not fully substitute for the presence heritage media simpler. In fact, may be said that the emergence of modern media such as newspapers, magazines, radio, television or the Internet, does not necessarily cause heritage media loss audiences. Because to convey the values that are noble message that many contained in a variety of heritage media, considered the modern media can not do it completely and just be shallow. The case is due to limited airtime or broadcasting hours or columns than the modern media. To continue to exist, then the heritage media in addition to make adjustments according to community needs, as well as the heritage media to involve more young people and working with modern media. And of course even better if the media can be given a heritage place or broadcast through modern media such as radio or television, so that the heritage media and modern media complement each other particularly in the effort to meet community needs for entertainment, educational, or information.

Although the media has the structure of modern technology, operations, and its own logic. As the mass media, structures and operations have been arranged so that it is in one direction and influence the nature of mass, but it still requires a variety of arts performances tardisional primarily to meet the needs of elements of the entertainment community. Like for example some traditional art events which have become a favorite event in several private television stations in Indonesia. From favorite size at the level of ratings obtained regarding the event. Rating the program established by a body of research survey of Indonesia. If a show Ketoprak Canda 5, this means that the event was at the time of the survey conducted watched by 5 per cent of all viewers in several cities surveyed, collecting while ketoprak Humor 9 ratings or rankings before the numbers are 13, even ketoprak Humor has ever broadcasted by RCTI every Saturday night is a favorite event in Panasonic Awards 2000. This proves that the actual existence of modern media can help the Heritage Media in order to still exist.

In this model the nature of communication of modern technology, the focus of attention in the communication process directed to the sender of the message, the designer of the media (media maker) and the media used to deliver the message. Because that's the heritage media need to make adjustments according to the demands of society so that he can stay there, still needed by the community, without losing fans. Heritage media must compromise and adapt so that it can still survive. This was evident as several traditional arts as a media of inheritance can be said to prevail do so through television or radio.

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IV. Nature of Communication and Traditional Communication

It is undeniable that communication plays an important role as an instrument of communication between humans. Moreover, humans as social beings who can not live apart from other humans. Humans always live in a society no matter how simple. And Aristotle called man as "zoon politicon", meaning that human beings are like a group or society. In humans live in a society that always make the connection or communication with, either in the conversation form, or in the form of cooperation in solving problems related things with their jobs. That's why communication can be interpreted as a social process that is very basic and vital in human life, even to the extreme can be said that the community can only function through communication (F. Rachmadi in Oepen, 1988). Accordingly, communication is seen as a mechanism through which the relationship between human beings occurs in various fields, or it can be said that communication plays a role in all human life aspects, whether that aspect of political, economic, social, cultural and so on. Even the lives of everyday people are affected by communication is done by others, including the messages communicated by others from a distance that we may not recognize it.

In the past communication only occurs in a broad public and restricted areas, means communication is only bound to the interests of a small community environment. But for the present with science and technology development, the role of communication becomes increasingly important and widespread until the area is not limited. In fact, it can be said is the purpose of communication is a social, political tool, a tool of economic strength, have the potential to improve education, encourage the advancement of culture and various roles in communication (F. Rachmadi in Oepen, 1988).

Communication implies usual delivery a message to the message recipient through the communication media both modern and traditional. The goal for the message recipient can understand and meet the content of the messages conveyed by the message.

Environment or context of communication, at least, has three dimensions namely physical dimension, socio-psychological, time or temporal dimension. The third dimension of this environment interact, and each affect each other. Room, hall, or park where communication took place is called the context or the physical environment, means the place is a real environment or form. This physical environment, whatever they have a certain influence on the content of the message, including the form of a message (how people convey the message). Socio-psychological dimension is like the relationship between the status of those involved in the communication process, including general rules of the culture in which communication occurs, the environment or context also includes a sense of friendship or hostility, formality or informality, a serious situation or joke. Temporal dimensions include time of day or time in a matter of history in which the communication took place. For example, many people consider the morning time is not the right time to communicate with others, because precisely it is earlier time to prepare the necessary work (DeVito, 1997).

V. Heritage Media dilemma in the Rural Community in Indonesia

In rural communities, the communication between humans mostly done by using symbols such as sounds, gestures, visual and performing arts of the people. Heritage media are communication tools used by rural communities in an effort to convey the messages that contain an element of values, norms, rules, also includes the construction of messages from the government, because it was this heritage media destination for entertainment besides also used as a tool to educate (F. Rohmadi in Oepen, 1988).

Such tales is one of the heritage media have ever popular in Indonesia. In the past, the opportunity to listen to these stories is always there, because it is a portion of the oral culture in Indonesia. For the mothers and making fairy tales is a way to communicate with their children, especially to inculcate social values, which is derived from generation to generation.

In various regions in Indonesia, the heritage media appeared in various forms and nature, in line with local wisdom cultural variations in those regions. For example, Tudang Sipulung (seated together), Ma'bulo Sibatang (gathered together in a bamboo hut), Sinrilik, Santol, Sambrah and Ma'badong in South Sulawesi (Abdul Muis, 1984) and Selapanan (celebrate on day 35 of birth), Ketoprak, Puppet, and Dhagelan in Central Java. Wayang, Ketoprak, Dhagelan, in Jogjakarta. Wayang, ludruk, Dhagelan, pins chubby, and Reog in East Java. Reog, Wayang, Calung, Beans, and Mask Benjet in West Java. Mask Betawi, Lenong Betawi and Ondel-Ondel Games in Jakarta, Dul Muluk, Pantung intercepted in South Sumatra. Seudati and Saman in Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, North Sumatra play. Randai, Indang and Shalawat salver in West Sumatra. Randai play and also in Riau and Bengkulu. Tambourine in Jambi. Tambourine, Shalawatan, Wayang, ketoprak, and Janger in Bengkulu. Dance and Drama Sendra, Arja, in Bali. Puppets and play in South Kalimantan. Dance Tandak Toton and Sambas in West Kalimantan. Tarang Kaharingan, Balian Mamanda Bagintur and Central Kalimantan. Buffoonery, Mamanda, Ludruk, Jalantur and Rebana in East Kalimantan. Gunde art, theater and Muzik Ria in North sulawesi. Lumense, drama and plays, Dero dance in Central Sulawesi. Lulo,

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Lariange, Busu, Kelegoa, Honari, and Topa in Southeast Sulawesi. Rawambojo in NTB. Pado'a, and Kebalai in NTT. Muzik Traditional Pacific Ocean, and Dance in the Moluccas. Dance, smoke, instrument sounds in Papua. All this can be shown as some examples of national heritage media in each region. In addition, can also be shown a traditional instruments like the gong that is still widely used in Java, Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and Papua. These instruments may be used to communicate messages that contain different meanings, such as a death, accident, fire, theft and so forth, to all the villagers, if he sounded with particular rhythms. (Nurudin, 2004)

In the heritage media definition meaned as a communication tool used by a particular community audience hereditary inherited from previous generations. Thus, in the context of some kind of heritage media obligation than the next generation who have inherited them to maintain and preserve what is received as an inheritance from previous generations.

Inheritance media is also known as the people media. In a narrower sense, the media is often also referred to as folk art. In this connection, Coseteng Nemenzo (the Jahi, 1988) defines the heritage media as verbal forms, movements, verbal and visual people known or familiar, accepted by them, and played or displayed by them with the intention of entertaining, stated, explained, teaching, or educational. In line with this definition, the media appear in the form of inheritance people song, folk dances, folk instrumental, folk drama, folk speech, or of all forms of folk art in the form of product literature, visual or performing a transmitted from generation to generation (Clavel in Jahi, 1988).

It's just that although heritage media is also known as folk performing arts, but not all folk performing arts may be classified as heritage media, performing arts, but only people who have the ability to disseminate information that could be called heritage media.

Related to the above, Dr. Ibn Hamad was a lecturer and researcher at the Department of Communication Sciences University Indonesia said that there are requirements that must be met for the performing arts can be categorized as popular as the inheritance of media that serves as a channel for disseminating information, namely: 1) Performing the people able to convey messages in various ways at once, ie speech, movement, words and images, 2) Performing akrap people with their audience and thus have a socio-cultural ties with the audience, 3) In a show people can be a dialogue between the transmitter of the message (the players) and the recipient of message (audience), 4) show people not only convey the message but also can be entertaining, 5) in a popular show clear message, elaborated and repeated so that would clarify the message conveyed to the public, 6) in the show people there is usually also the education element of planting good values, 7) through our people be taught performance (an example) something that should be, and who do not have to be done by the public, 8) shows people may be inserted or deposited so many messages, so effective as a channel for disseminating information, 9) show the organization people can be adjusted to the situation and field conditions, 10) show the people can be lifted into the television and radio, both for the delivery of messages, as well as for promotion of people's own performance.

Nurudin (2004) says that talking about the heritage media cannot be separated from the traditional performing arts, which is a form of art excavated from folk tales or folklore heritage by using the media. Folklore forms contained in the community can be:

a. Story prose folk (myths, legends, fairy tales);
b. The expression of the people (adage, byword, maxim);
c. Poetry of the people;
d. Song of the people;
e. Theater people;
f. Motion cues (squint eyes of love);
g. Tools reminder (send betel means to woo); and
h. Musical instrument (clappers, gongs, drum, etc.).

William Boscon (in Nurudin, 2004) suggests functions subject folklore such as a portion of performance art than the heritage media is as follows:

As the system projection. Folklore to be projected fantasies or dreams masses, or as a means of gratification dreams (wish fulfilement) society is manifested in the form of stereotypical fairy tale. An example is the story of Bawang Merah dan Bawang Putih, the story is just an invention of the imagination of a village girl, honest, innocent, accept what is even ill-treated by relatives and her stepmother, but eventually managed to marry a king, the story is to educate the public that if people were honest, both in others and patience will be rewarded with a decent.

As amplifier custom. The story of Nyi Roro Kidul in Yogyakarta can strengthen customs (even power) king of Mataram. Someone must be respected because it has incredible power shown by give the "spirits". People should not oppose the king, on the other hand respect the people on the leaders should be maintained[5].

As an educational tool. An example is the story of Bawang Merah dan Bawang Putih, the story is to educate the public that if someone is honest, both in others and patience will get a decent return.

[5] Until now this story of Nyi Roro Kidul is believed to be the greater part of the Jogjakarta even Javanese society, apparent when the people doing the ceremony Labuan (presented offerings to the spirits) of Coastal Parang Kusumo.

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As a means of coercion and social control to the community norms are followed. The story "the arrogant frog" can be interpreted as a means of coercion and social control of the norms and values of society. This story is satirical to the people who talk much but a little work.

The nature of this popular art form shows that he is rooted in the culture of the people who live in the neighborhood. Shows like this are usually very communicative, so easily understood by rural communities. In the presentation, this show is usually accompanied by local music (Directorate of Information the People, the Jahi, 1988).

Ranganath (1976), tells us that the heritage media is familiar with the mass audience, rich in variety, easily held, and low cost. He liked both men or women of various age ratings. Traditionally, this media is known as the bearer of the theme. In addition, it has a great potential for persuasive communication, face-to-face communication, and immediate feedback. Ranganath also belief that heritage media can carry modern messages.

Eapen (in Jahi, 1988) states that a comparison of this media is cheap. He does not need to import, because it is community property. In addition, these media will not cause any threat of cultural colonialism and foreign ideological domination. Moreover, greater credibility because it shows the ability of local people and bring local messages, which do not come from the government. Media people are temporary, so that democracy can deliver the message better than newspapers, film, radio, television and media on-line (Internet) that we have now, which is more elite and exclusive.

General properties of this heritage media, such as acceptable, relevant to the existing cultural, entertaining, using the local language, have an element of legitimacy, flexible, have the ability to repeat a message he brought, the nature of two-way communication, and so on. Dissanayake (in Jahi, 1988) adds that heritage media using phrases and symbols that are easily understood by the people, and achieve some of the population outside the reach of mass media influences, and that requires active participation in the communication process.

Heritage media as one aspect of communication systems, socio-cultural systems, have also caused tidal because historical factors and social change. In use, the community also experienced a reduction as a result of the growth, development and social change. Heritage media that should be a local traditional wisdom to be marginalized due to political factors and power. This causality pattern can occur due to several reasons that the mechanism depends on various factors such as ecological factors, economic, social, cultural and society itself. For example, during the New Era government to apply the concept of centralized, heritage media is directed and used for political purposes and the name of national development. heritage media messages directed towards the creation of public awareness to support government programs, by showing the existence of uniformity and ignoring the existence of diversity.

In the past, the heritage media had become instruments of social communication is important. Now her appearance in society have subsided. In the Philippines, Coseteng and Nemenzo (the Jahi, 1988) reported that the decline of media appearances this is partly because, the introduction of mass media and modern entertainment media such as print media, cinema, radio, and television, using English in schools, which resulted reduced using and mastery of native language, the more reduction in the number of people from previous generations who are interested in this heritage media development, and changing tastes of young generation.

Case in Indonesia for example, it shows some of the most popular shows to use the region language become obsolete, especially after a lot of people master Indonesian language. On the other hand, the number of artists who create and play performances, so traditional performances diminished. The new generation seems less inclined to engage traditional development show less audience acclaim.

To speed up the flow of development, many developing countries in the third world funds invested heavily in development television networks, and satellite communications (Wang and Dissanayake, the Jahi, 1988). They forget that a large capital investment in communications technology, if not accompanied by adequate investment in the software, will cause serious problems later. This deficiency became reality soon after they began running the hardware that big media. They have less experienced program in accordance with the domestic situation and needs, and also experienced great difficulty in making regional programs. This difficulty arises because of limited human resources are trained to make the best quality programs can be accepted by society and how much the cost of that production.

This situation resulted in the countries of the world's third cut corners in a way to import a lot of news and entertainment programs from developed countries[6] . Complaints arising is that the content of these programs are not in accordance with the development and domestic purposes. This tendency of course very dangerous, because may erode indigenous culture and

[6] Examples that may be put forward for this kind of thing is like Astro in Malaysia, Parabola in Indonesia, or programs presented by your Indovision programs and events like that.

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stimulate the growth of consumerism are not in accordance with developments in the country.

The researcher's attention about communications media on inheritance, rose again after they saw mass media failure, and the failure of development in many third world countries in 1960s. heritage media definitely and steadily began to be reviewed in 1960's decade in these countries is growing in Asia and Africa.

The possibility to utilize this media officially began exploring. UNESCO in 1972 recommended the use of heritage media is arranged and systematically so as to foster the motivation to work with the community, whose main goal is not only social and economic development, but also cultural (Ranganath, 1976)

Then Ranganath (1976) shows the international events that pay attention to the development and utilization of heritage media for development. One of these is a workshop conducted by the East West Communication Institute in Hawaii, which reaffirms that the modern communications strategy in countries that are developing will be a big loss, if not supported by heritage media[7].

Some of these people from the media, although the nature of entertainment can also bring a message of development, education and social control. This can happen because the media will also perform the function of education for the audience. Therefore, it can be used to convey knowledge to the public (citizens). It may also teach and reinforce cultural values, social norms, and social philosophy (Budisantosa, Amri Jahi in 1988).

However, in contrast to this optimistic attitude, the experts warned that not all heritage media flexible enough to be used for development purposes. Since combining old and new is not always able to do well. Sometimes such cases even damaging media, so we must be careful.

The problems encountered in using traditional performing arts for the purpose of development, in fact is how to keep the media is not damaged. Because these traditional performances incorporate elements of valuable art, which requires sophistication and high skills too, so support is very important art in formulating development messages to be delivered (Siswoyo, Amri Jahi in 1988).

Despite many difficulties faced in adjusting the use of heritage media for development, the results of several studies indicate that it is still possible. Development messages can be inserted at the shows that contain a conversation, whether it is a monologue or dialogue, and that is not rigidly tied to the story line. Puppet example, one of the traditional performances in Java, Bali and other regions in Indonesia, may be utilized for the development of media information. The show usually show episodes such as the Hindu epic the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Puppet show is usually presented with region language such Javanese, Sundanese, or Balinese are accompanied by singing and music-specific. For parents who still understand the philosophy of this performance art, puppet is more than just entertainment. They consider the puppet as a manifestation of moral, attitudes, and the mystical life is sacred. The show is always emphasized the struggle of good against bad. Usually good after a long struggle and victory will be exhausting. In addition puppet moraliti also teaches how to acquire knowledge, peace of mind, and positive attitude necessary to achieve perfection in life.

Episodes the story puppet quite strict, but the messages of development can still be inserted in the dialogues are carried out. Many episodes puppet that can be selected and displayed on occasions. For example, to cultivate the spirit of the people in the war of independence, complete independence, national integration, and so on. At the time of Indonesian independence revolution (1945-1949) Department of Information torches to create a puppet campaign struggle. They show contemporary figures such as farmers, village chief, warrior, Dutch troops, President Sukarno, and so on. These torches puppet, basically tells the struggle of the leaders and Indonesian people for Independence.

VI. Message Human Resource Development Honor in Heritage Media

Many experts in science communication says that social institutions such as families and schools, no longer be the only seekers, collectors, and provider the information to public, especially to children, adolescents and adults as a precious human resource. In ancient times when there are children of school age need an explanation of the problem that they did not understand, then they will meet her mother and father, referring to the lessons at school, or refer to the values of religion to find a way out of problems that it faces . Such conditions, for the moment is now beginning to shift, because the role of the family institution and the school has been taken over by modern communication media such as magazines, newspapers, radio, television and internet.

In these situations, the children will vacillate, especially in determining the attitude, which is true, good for digestion, it is believed and imitated, there is

[7] The advantages of heritage media has credibility greater than society, because heritage media has long been recognized and is public property. In addition, the media should reflect the purposes of inheritance, joy, sadness, triumph or disappointment society, through the expressions and symbols that are easily understood by the public. However, these advantages must be very good to be a weakness rather than heritage media specifications for signs edict made by the show context or Heritage Media events cause people to come than other cultural systems sometimes difficult to understand.

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no moral guide for such things. For children who do not have the basic form to filter, will easily fall into a state that can harm themselves and easy to harass others. This is because their identity more or less influenced by the media of modern communications. Therefore, educating children, so they can choose and use a good media of communication is the responsibility of the parents, in addition to the responsibility of teachers in schools.

Parents and teachers have the right and duty to advise and teach that their children take advantage of modern communications media correctly, namely by training the conscience of the children to express their mind and objective in their assessment of what is good and what is not better than presentation of that media.

Thus, expected to lead the children to be able to reject events provided by the media. According Tubagus Arief Hendrawan (1994), that your God grant each of the three powers of human muscle strength, brain power, and heart power. These three forces can be used to select the place of stimulation that may be received and where stimulation should be rejected.

VII. Concluding Remarks

In contrast to the urban area, social life in rural areas is an association which is more often considered by many experts as the association is less rational, very strong relationship and personally tended to static. Rural communities are usually often used the heritage media, as a share instead of the communication system, the communication patterns are also considered to be so. The experts and investigators in communications illustrates that the nature of people in rural areas is a naive, humble, modest, candid, honest, and more traditional (Velasquez, 2000).

Innocence that is easily directed to a destination, but if the purpose is right or wrong sometimes people in rural areas do not aware it . Therefore they could be brought into a constructive direction, but instead can be taken to a destructive direction, this is very dependent on who is pointing.

Modern mass media like television and newspapers had already entered the regions of the country, however the number of members of the public who can access is still relatively limited, so in situations like this that they are in need of information than the leaders of opinions (opinion leaders), or through heritage media is sufficient to drive them towards a better and true.

Message for the development of human resources, the use of symbols which contain the meaning of the allotment for the heritage media users. The goal is to provide information to the layman, either information science, information, entertainment, information development, social control, as well as other information, so that individuals as members of the public can take a share in nation-building and nation.

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The Relationship of Police Officers' Age and Educational Level with Their Perception of Bias-Based Policing

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The Relationship of Police Officers' Age and Educational Level with Their Perception of Bias-Based Policing

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Abstract- In a survey study of police officers in Alabama, this paper assesses how demographic factors of police officers, their reception of training on cultural diversity, and the awareness of their department's written policy on bias-based policing are related to their perception of bias-based policing practices in their department. To achieve the goal of the present study, a survey of 400 officers was used to run multivariate logistic regression analyses. Three variables display significant association with a police officer's perception regarding witnessing bias-based policing practices. Officers with younger age group, higher education, and longer work experience in the department are more likely to say that they have witnessed bias-based policing practices as compared with their counterparts with older age groups, lower education, and shorter work experience.

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I. Introduction

The issue of racial profiling began to attract the attention of practitioners and academicians alike as a result of a number of highly publicized events involving racial profiling (Harris, 1999, Harris 2002; Martin, 1999). Until recently, most studies focused on reviews of secondary data—primarily, traffic citations and arrest reports—or surveys of citizens' perceptions. Few have looked at the police officer's view of racial profiling and bias-based policing practices to ascertain views on the subject. The base of many of these conclusions relies solely on citizen reports and analysis of secondary data and does not include the officers' point of view. Ioimo, Tears, Meadows, Becton, and Charles (2007) presented a survey study of police officers' perspectives on bias-based policing in the Commonwealth of Virginia. Their study has value because it is one of only a few studies focused on police officers' own perspectives on bias-based policing. However, their study has limitations. First of all, their study was descriptive, and they simply reported that 21% of police officers in Virginia believed that bias-based policing is practiced by officers in their department. Also, their study was limited to bivariate analyses with chi-square tests.

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Other researchers looked at behavioral/attitudinal differences or the interactions between black and white officers (Buzawa, 1981; Freidrich, 1977; Fyfe, 1981, 1988; Geller &Scott, 1992; Haarr, 1997; Leinen, 1984; Mastrofski, Parks, DeJong, & Worden, 1998; Smith & Klein, 1983; Teahan, 1975; Weaver, 1976). Still others have explored the differences between how white and black officers interact with the communities they serve and have found little differences between these two groups (Brooks, 2001; National Research Council, 2004; Riksheim & Chermak, 1993; Sherman, 1980). There are studies that show that black officers do act differently than their white counterparts toward black citizens (Alex, 1969; Leinen, 1984). Given the limitations with the prior studies, the current study created a dependent variable, witnessing bias-based policing practice(s) by other officers in the same department. The intent of this study was to determine if police officers recognize when bias-based or racial profiling occurs in their department. One can conceive that a police officer will see a broad act of another officer as a bias-based policing practice if he or she is more sensitive to the bias-based policing issue. In other words, the more an officer is sensitive to the bias-based policing, the more likely he or she will admit to witnessing bias-based policing practice by other officers.

The perception or sensitivity on bias-based policing may be related to an officer's demographic variables, such as race, gender, age group, educational level, and longevity with the police department, as well as the reception of training on cultural diversity and the awareness of his or her department's written policy on bias-based policing. To assess the effects of these variables, the current study obtained a survey of 400 officers from a southern city in Alabama. Logistic regression analyses were employed to introduce multiple variables at the same time.

II. Literature Review

a) Definitions of Bias-Based Policing Practices

Defining police practices as bias is not simple. The National Institute of Justice point states "Racial profiling by law enforcement is commonly defined as a

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practice that targets people for suspicion of crime based on their race, ethnicity, religion or national origin. Creating a profile about the kinds of people who commit certain types of crimes may lead officers to generalize about a particular group and act according to the generalization rather than specific behavior" (http://www.nij.gov/topics/law-enforcement/legitimacy/racial-profiling.htm)

According to Crank, Kadleck and Koski (2010), there is a prevalent concern for bias-based policing practices within the United States, especially those directed towards ethnic minorities. Thus, research on bias-based policing is very important. However, there has been no consistent definition of bias-based policing, which impedes research on the subject. The scholarly work of Smith and Alpert (2007) identifies racial profiling as also racially biased policing; defined simply as the "…conscious or unconscious use of race by police discretionary decision making (p. 1262)." Since the development of this idea, other scholarly works, much like this one, have sought to evolve the meaning of biased policing, to include more than discretion based on race alone. Expanding Smith and Alpert's (2007) definition of racial profiling, Chan (2011) provides an additional definition of racial profiling that is "…the practice of subjecting citizens to increased surveillance or scrutiny based on racial or ethnic factors rather than reasonable suspicion (p. 75)." Chan's definition includes not only discretionary decisions made by police based on race, but it also includes increased surveillance based on racial bias.

Most of the research surrounding bias-based policing or racial profiling focuses on the behavior of officers during traffic stops. The issue of racial profiling began to attract the attention of practitioners and academicians alike as a result of a number of highly publicized events involving racial profiling (Harris, 1999, Harris 2002; Martin, 1999). Until recently, most studies focused on reviews of secondary data—primarily, traffic citations and arrest reports or surveys of citizens' perceptions. Few have looked at the police officer's view of racial profiling and bias based policing practices to ascertain their views on this highly sensitive subject. Even fewer have assessed the different views that exist between white and minority officers (Sun & Payne, 2003). Without looking at the officer's point of view, many of the conclusions being drawn are based entirely on citizen reports and analysis of secondary data.

III. Factors Influencing bias

Gender. Researchers have highlighted the idea that women within police organizations tend to experience a confusing or complex role within the organization (Fairchild, 1987; Novak, Brown, & Frank, 2006). Novak, Brown, and Frank (2011) found that gender had little effect on the arrest decision. They also found that female officers were more likely to arrest if they were in the presence of a supervisor (Novak, Brown, and Frank, 2011). Some earlier researchers suggested that it is evidence that female police officers may not be completely accepted into the police subculture (McGeorge & Wolfe, 1976). Other research has found that policewomen are not as likely to support aggressive enforcement, as opposed to males (Sun & Chu, 2008).

Females may be less likely to have an authoritarian attitude and prejudice than males. "Authoritarianism represents the set of beliefs geared toward the subordination of personal needs and values group cohesion" (Brandt & Henry, 2012, p.1). An individual with an authoritarian attitude is more likely to be hostile toward members of other cultural or ethnic groups (which commonly refers to ethnocentrism) (Kemmelmeiser, 2010). For example, Altemeyer (1998) conducted a survey on Canadian college students and found that female students in general show less prejudice than male counterparts (see also Brandt and Henry, 2012; Lippa, 1995; Napier & Jost, 2008). Finally, based on the analysis of three studies in the USA (n=398) and one study in Germany (n=112), Kemmelmeiser (2010) suggested that men are more likely to have an authoritarianism attitude than women. Conversely, women are likely to display caring and compassion for interpersonal relationships, while they are less likely to possess prejudice toward members of other cultural groups (Kite & Whitley, 1996).

Police have long been known as a closed group that shields fellow officers from outside scrutiny. Solidarity varies across rank structure (Reiner, 1992). Police officers turn to themselves for moral support when confronting the difficulties, ambiguities, and uncertainties of police work (Brown, 1988; Sun& Payne, 2002). Sun and Payne (2002) point out that it is important to look at demographic characteristics such as sex, race, and ethnicity into account when examining officer attitudes toward peer groups. Male officers treat female officers differently and female officers view themselves as outsiders (Martin, 1994; Sun & Payne, 2002). Others also point out that male officers tend to socialize with other male officer (Dulaney, 1996; Haar, 1997, Sun, 2000). These findings support the need to take sex, race, and ethnicity into account when examining officer attitudes (Sun, 2000).

Age group. It is a generally accepted view that older generations tend to be more conservative than their younger counterparts. Older individuals have a tendency to possess a greater degree of political, social, and moral conservatism than younger individuals (Ray, 1985). For example, in their study in Belgium and Poland, Cornelis, Hiel, Roets, and Kossowska (2009) found that older people are more likely to have social-cultural conservatism than young individuals. They explained that social-cultural conservatism refers to

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authoritarianism and the adherence of traditional values and norms.

On the other hand, in their study of 130 families, Bush, Gallagher, and Weiner (1982) found that young adults are less authoritarian than their parents. Bush et al. explained that today's young adults are more strongly influenced by their peer groups, educational setting, and mass media than their parent generations. Based on these observations, one can hypothesize that older police officers in general possess a more conservative attitude and may be more prejudiced toward ethnic minorities than younger officers. Stated differently, younger officers are more likely to adhere to an egalitarian race ideology. They are more likely to be exposed to cultural diversity education.

Police officers in general tend to be more conservative than the populations that they serve (Skolnik, 1966; Bayley and Mendelsohn,1969). Studies have shown that police officers gain a better understanding of race as they are exposed to the issues associated with race over time (Burbeck and Furnham, 1985). In a study of the Spokane Police Department Zhao and Lorvich (1998) found that the views officers by age did not change and were consistent over prolonged periods of time. These studies show that bias policing may be more closely related to police culture/ socialization than age.

Race. Attitudinal studies of differences between white and black officers were practically non-existent prior to the 1960s. This was due primarily because there were so few black police officers prior to this time. The need for diversity within police departments across the country saw an increase in the number of black police officers from that period forward. The early research focused on the integration of black officers into police departments (Alex, 1969; Campbell, 1980; Nee & Ellis, 2000; Martin, 1994; Palmer 1973). Behavioral differences did not appear between white and black officers until much later (Brown & Frank, 2006; Buzawa, 1981; Ioimo, Becton, Meadows, Tears, & Charles, 2007, 2008, 2009; Leinen, 1984; Sun, 2003; Sun & Payne, 2004; Teahan, 1975).

Ioimo and others (2007) reported a difference in the perception on bias-based policing between white and black officers within the department. Black police officers were reportedly more likely to believe that bias-based policing was an issue in general and that it was both officially and unofficially supported within their police departments. Black officers may be more sensitive to bias-based policing practices than white officers because they, themselves, are ethnic minorities. Other researchers have sought to determine if there are differences in behavior of black and white officers (Black, 1976; Engle & Calnon, 2004; Smith & Holmes, 2003). These differences cause police officers to act on cultural expectations related to race and ethnicity (Black, 1976). This research suggests that police officers' behavior is predicated primarily by legal and situation-specific factors and that the influence of race and other extra-legal factors is diminishing (Mastrofski, Worden, and Snipes, 1995; Riksheim and Chermak, 1993; Engel, Calnon, and Bernar 2002).

Some studies focused on the differences between black and white officers and arrest outcomes (Bolton, 2003; Campbell, 1980; Cole, Kellingerg, Friel, & Kerper, 1969; Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001; Dulaney, 1996; Reaves, 1991; Thompson, 2003). These studies showed that there are differing views between black and white officers regarding a range of policing issues (Brown & Frank, 2006; Ioimo, et al, 2008). The research to date shows mixed results when looking at the differences between black and white officers' attitudes toward the community and bias-based policing. Skogan and Hartnett (1997) discovered attitudinal differences between black and white officers, while Schafer's (2002) research showed no differences. There is evidence to support that black officers are more supportive of Community Policing (Lurigio & Skogan, 1994; Skogan & Hartnett, 1997; Ioimo et al 2008).

There are those that believe officer's race influences their behavior. Earlier empirical research on field officer behavior shows that there was no significant difference between black and white officers on arrest outcomes (Brooks, 2001; National Research Council, 2004; Riksheim &Chermak, 1993; Sherman, 1980; Sun, 2003; Walker & Katz, 2002; Worden, 1989). Brown and Frank (2006) studied the Cincinnati, Ohio Police Department and found there was a significant difference between white and black officers. White officers are more likely to make arrests in their encounters with suspects (Brown & Frank, 2006). Their research suggests that the premise that officer race has little to do with arrest decisions should be reevaluated (Brown & Frank, 2006).

Other studies show that white and black officers become socialized by the police profession. The concept that developed is that officers, whether they are black or white, are "blue" once they put on that uniform (Skolnick, 1966; Van Maanen, 1973; Ioimo et al, 2008). Members of minority communities in particular hold low levels of trust in police (Tyler, 2002). Many see officers as belonging to a separate group independent of officer race (Tyler & Huo, 2002).

Educational level. Former president Lyndon B. Johnson ordered the formation of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice to improve the relationship between the police and ethnic minority groups in the 1960s. One of the suggestions by the commission was to hire more college-educated officers and send existing officers to colleges for education. Officers with higher education are more likely to possess egalitarian ideology and understand the benefit of cultural diversity than those with lower levels of education.

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A significant debate surrounds officers with higher education in law enforcement. The issue of whether college educated officers are able to better perform the job of policing than their non-college educated officers has been debated for some time with many finding little difference between college educated and non-college educated officers (Cascio, 1977; Cohen and Chaiken, 1972; Finnegan, 1976; Krimmel, 1996; Roberg, 1978;) The role of the police officer in today's society is complex demanding greater analytical, technical, and cooperative capabilities (Geller and Swanger, 1995; Roberg and Kuykendall, 1997; Carter and Sapp, 1990). These characteristics are found with higher educated officers. Some researchers have found that higher educated officers are more likely to become frustrated with the job and seek employment outside of law enforcement (Cascio, 1977; Cohen and Chaiken, 1972; Finnegan, 1976; Krimmel, 1996; Roberg, 1978; Sanderson, 1977; Smith and Ostrom, 1974; Trojanowicz and Nicholson, 1976; Dalley, 1975; Guller, 1972; Greene et al., 1984; Regoli and Miracle, 1980; Sapp, 1978; Trojanowicz and Trojanowicz, 1972).

There are other researchers that found college educated police officers are more flexible, less authoritarian and have a greater acceptance of minorities (Dalley, 1975; Parker et al., 1976; Roberg, 1978; Smith et al., 1970; Trojanowicz and Nicholson, 1976). Educational level may be related to authoritarianism, which in turn is related to perception of bias-based policing. Some argued that officers with college educations are less likely to possess an authoritarian attitude than non-college educated officers (Dalley, 1975; Roberg, 1978). There is a study on the relationship between educational level and authoritarianism for a general population. For example, in his study of 678 white South Africans, Duckitt (1992) suggested that individuals with college educations are more likely to have lower levels of authoritarianism than those with non-college education. Weitzer and Tuch also found that the better educated officers are more likely to be able to identify bias-based/racial profiling practices when the see it occur (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). These findings imply that college-educated officers are more sensitive to bias-based policing issues and are more likely to see a broader range of acts of fellow officers as bias-based policing practices and say that they witness those practices.

Longevity. Longevity of police officers may be related to the perception of witnessing bias-based policing practices by other officers either positively or negatively. If the longevity of an officer contributes to an increased exposure to bias-based policing and cultural diversity training, he or she tends to be more sensitive to bias-based policing. As a result, he or she is likely to state that they have witnessed bias-based policing practices by other officers. However, if the longevity leads to acquiring conservative police subculture, he or she is not likely to assert that they have witnessed bias-based policing practices.

Training and written policy. Benforado (2010) acknowledges that the use of simulation training for police officers does help to reduce an officer's tendency towards implicit bias. Additional research presented by Correll, Wittenbrink, Park, Judd, Sadler and Keesee (2007) asserted that racial bias is evident in police simulations in the use of lethal force. Specifically, their research looked into the differences between police officers and members of the community on the use of lethal force in the simulation which included white and black citizen targets, both armed and unarmed.

Next, the awareness of written policy may work as a deterrent against bias-based policing. Alpert, Dunham, and Smith (2007) argued for establishing clear policy on bias-based policing to fight against it. Thus, a police officer's awareness of his or her department policy on bias-based policing may be related to the reduction of such a practice in the street.

IV. Methods

a) Survey Procedure

The present study used a survey method. The study used questions developed by one of the researchers in a statewide survey in Virginia (Ioimo et al., 2007). Since this was a tested and proven survey instrument, the researchers elected to use it in this study. The researchers used multiple steps in developing and administering the survey, which is described in this section. In developing this study, it was recognized that the failure to provide a clear definition of bias-based policing at the onset of the study could be viewed as a limitation for this study. However, it was decided that forcing the officers to apply a standard definition when completing the survey had the potential to skew the results. Therefore, no formal definition of bias-based policing was provided before the study. As a result, the interpretation of the bias-based policing was largely dependent on the understanding of the question by an individual officer. However, more than likely, an officer sees bias-based policing as racial profiling or at least a race-related issue.

Before distribution, the survey content was reviewed by an institutional review board at the university where all current authors are affiliated. The instrument was pretested for 50 officers and the command staff of a Southern City Police Department in 2011. During this pretest, the research staff, in a meeting with officers and command personnel, reviewed the completed surveys. At this meeting, the researchers discussed issues of survey content, question presentation, difficulties in completing the survey, survey instructions, method of distribution and collection of completed surveys, and various other survey process issues that could improve the collection

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of the data. Based on the feedback obtained from this test group, the researchers modified the survey to accommodate the considerations raised.

The researchers administered the survey to the officers at roll calls and other formations. The total number of sworn officers in the Southern City Police Department was five hundred and thirty-five. The number of officers who took the survey was four hundred and eight, which was 77% of all sworn officers in the department. All sub-department units, including Narcotics and Special Operations, Traffic Division, Patrol Division, Administration, Detective Division, Recruitment and Training, Community Policing, and Accident Investigations were contacted by the researchers at various times to administer the survey with the least operational disruption to the department.

Those officers received informed consent and were allowed to refuse to take the survey. In other words, prior to conducting each survey session, the researchers briefed the respondents that their participation in the survey was strictly voluntary and their anonymity was assured. In particular, all participants were told that the researchers would safeguard the completed surveys, and they should not put any names or other marks on the survey that could identify them as the respondents. Also, the surveys were distributed and collected by the researchers to further safeguard the data and identities of the participants. Further, the respondents were briefed regarding the uses of the survey and told the academic product of the survey would be used by the department's command staff to review bias-based police training in the department and by the researchers for academic purposes, including publication in academic journals.

b) Variables

The dependent variable is witnessing bias-based policing by other officers in the department. The survey question asks "Have you witnessed bias-based policing activities by other officers in your department?" The respondent can answer either "yes" or "no." On the other hand, independent variables included race, age, gender, educational level, and longevity with the current police department, reception of cultural diversity and/ or bias-based policing training at the police academy, the existence of the same training at the police department, and the awareness of written policy on bias-based training. Some of those variables require further description. First, the current study excluded eight out of 408 officers who stated that they belong to ethnic minority groups other than black because the current study aimed to contrast white and black officers. Also, the number of ethnic groups other than white and blacks is quite small. On the other hand, age group was divided into three: 18-39, 40-59, and over 60. Educational level was classified into seven categories: GED, high school diploma, some college, associate degree, bachelor's degree, master's degree, and doctorate/ Ph.D. Longevity refers to the length of years an officer has worked for the department: 0-3, 4-6, 7-10, 11-15, and 16 years or longer. Finally, training on bias-based policing involves whether or not an officer received bias-based policing and cultural diversity training at police academy, and whether or not the police department provides the same training.

c) Analytical Strategy

It is appropriate to run logistic regression since the dependent variable was measured with "yes" or "no." The first model introduced the eight candidate variables discussed above: gender, age, race, educational level, longevity, training at police academy and at the department, and the awareness of a written policy.

The second logistic regression model introduced only the important predictors found in the first model.

V. The Results

a) Description of Samples

One needs to provide a brief description of the sample in the current study. First, approximately 30% of those officers who took the survey said that they witnessed bias-based policing, while the other 70 percent of them did not. Second, among the total of 400 officers included in the current study, fifty six percent of them are white, while forty four percent are black. Similar to a national average, only ten percent of them are females. Also, a large number of officers (70%) are under 40 years of age. Next, a majority of officers have received some college education or higher (80%). In terms of rank and longevity, many of them are patrol officers (80%) with less than 7 years of work experience with the department (50%).

b) Study Findings

Table 1 shows the logistic regression results. The regression model 1 introduced all candidate variables. Age group was significantly and negatively related to witnessing bias-based policing at 0.05, while educational level and longevity were positively related to it only at 0.10 level. However, all other variables, such as gender, race, training at police academy, training at department, and the awareness of written policy, did not perform strongly.

Regression model 2 included only three important variables. Age group was still inversely related to witnessing bias-based policing. On the other hand, educational level and longevity were positively related to witnessing bias-based policing practices by other officers. All three variables were statistically significant at the .01 level.

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VI. Discussion and Conclusion

There has been a lack of studies on bias-based policing which were based on a police officer's perspective. To offset the shortcomings of previous studies, the present study tested how police officers' demographic factors, training on bias-based policing, and the awareness of written policy on bias-based policing are related to witnessing bias-based policing practices by other officers. The current study found some interesting results. First, older age is associated with lower likelihood of witnessing bias-based policing by other officers. Older officers may be more conservative and less sensitive to the bias-based policing issue. In contrast, younger officers, who are exposed to egalitarian education, may be more sensitive to the issue. As a result, younger officers are more likely to view broad acts of other officers as bias-based policing practices.

Second, officers with higher education are more likely to admit to witnessing bias-based policing practices by other officers. The officers with higher educational levels may possess a lower level of authoritarianism than those with lower educational level. They might also be more sensitive to bias-based policing issues, so they are more likely to see broad behaviors by other officers as bias-based policing practices. This finding confirms the value of higher education for police officers.

Finally, longevity was also positively related to perception of witnessing bias-based policing practices. The longer an officer has worked for the department, the greater likelihood the officer received training on bias-based policing and cultural diversity. Attending such training may make an officer sensitive to the issue, and thus more likely to admit to witnessing bias-based policing practices. However, as will be discussed shortly, attendance at such training and the awareness of a written department's policy on bias-based policing and cultural diversity have no significant association with witnessing bias-based policing. Therefore, such an interpretation of the result may not be adequate. Another possible interpretation is that an officer who has worked more years simply possesses a higher likelihood of witnessing bias-based policing practices by other officers than those who have worked fewer years. It may be related to the fact that the survey question did not specify a time frame for witnessing bias-based policing.

The variables which failed to show any significant relationship with witnessing bias-based policing deserve a brief discussion: gender, race, awareness of written policy on bias-based policing, bias-based training at the police academy and at the police department. One may speculate that female officers are more sensitive to a bias-based policing issue because female officers are members of gender minority in the police department. However, the current regression result may suggest that female officers are not necessarily more sensitive to bias-based policing than male officers. Another surprising finding is that an officer's race is not significantly related to the likelihood of witnessing bias-based policing practices by other officers in the department. Ioimo and others (2007) reported that black officers are more likely to believe bias-based policing is an issue in their departments. Unlike their findings, the current study suggests that black police officers are no more likely to witness bias-based policing by other officers than white officers. The gap in results between Ioimo and others' (2007) study and the current study may be related to the difference in statistical analyses. Ioimo and others' (2007) study is grounded on bivariate analyses with chi-square tests. Bivariate analyses cannot control other competing variables. The current study employed a more sophisticated technique of multivariate logistic regression analyses than Ioimo and others (2007).

Training on bias-based policing or cultural diversity both at the police academy and the department are not significantly associated with the occurrence of witnessing bias-based policing. Additionally, police officers' awareness of their department's written policy on bias-based policing has no significant relationship with witnessing bias-based policing. These findings are somewhat disappointing because the police department's efforts to increase the awareness of bias-based policing do not seem to affect a police officer's sensitivity to such policing practices. However, it is premature to make such a conclusion because of some limitations of the current study. First of all, the current authors used a broad concept of bias-based policing. As a result, there is some chance that an officer in the present survey may interpret a variety of acts of other officers as being bias-based policing as well as racial profiling. For instance, an officer may have witnessed a gender-based bias incident and conclude it amounts to bias-based policing. Also, there may be a problem with a measurement of independent variable. For instance, age group was divided into three broad categories such as ages 18-39, 40-49, and older than 60. The variation of age group was so small that, as a result, it may not provide a clear relationship between age group and the perception of bias-based policing. Also, some important variables may have been omitted in the current study. For example, a police officer's assignment may be related to the opportunity to witness bias-based policing. Even if a majority of officers in the current study are assigned on patrol (60%), there are still other officers with non-patrol assignments: detectives (20%), patrol support (10%), and other duties (10%). If an officer does not patrol the street, he or she may have a low chance to observe bias-based policing. Also, the survey question does not specify the time frame for witnessing bias-based policing, such as "for the last one year." As a result, it is hard to interpret the relationship between

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longevity and witnessing bias-based policing. Conclusively, it is very important to study bias-based policing from the perspectives of the police officer, as well as the citizens. The current study invites further investigation which tests the impact of police officers' demographic variables, training on cultural diversity, and awareness of their department's written policy regarding bias-based policing upon the perception of witnessing bias-based policing practices by other officers. Specifically, future studies must focus on police officers' age and educational level.

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Table 1: Logistic Regression Results: *Witnessing Bias-based Policing*

variables	1	2
constant	0.759 (3.451) [0.220]	-1.302** (0.450) [0.220]
Gender	0.870 (0.561) [1.551]	–
Age	-1.00* (0.487) [-2.068]	-0.977** (0.342) [-2.861]
Race	-0.484 (0.365) [-1.323]	–
Educational level	0.252† (0.148) [1.698]	0.295** (0.096) [3.084]
Longevity	0.287† (0.161) [1.787]	0.256* (0.100) [2.548]
Training at academy	0.096 (0.390) [0.245]	–
Training at department	0.691 (0.436) [1.586]	–
Written policy	0.164 (0.461) [0.355]	–

Note. 1. Unstandardized coefficients are shown, standard errors in parentheses, and z-value in brackets.
2. See Endnote 1.
3. ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, and † $p < .10$

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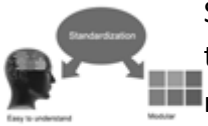


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Content

- Sum up your conclusion in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
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- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and comprise remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
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- Never confuse figures with tables - there is a difference.

Approach

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- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

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References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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