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The Question of the Technique in Rainer Maria Rilke's (1875-1926) "Sonnets to Orpheus" (1922)

By Otto Doerr-Zegers

Introduction - All the cycle of the 55 *Sonnets to Orpheus* was written by Rainer Maria Rilke in a rapture of inspiration in February, 1922, some days after having finished his famous *Duino Elegies*. What stimulated him to do it was the death in 1919 of a young and beautiful dancer, Wera Ouckama-Knoop, for whom he felt great admiration. In a letter to Margot Sizzo of April 12, 1923, the poet speaks of her in the following terms: "This beautiful girl, who began first to dance and draw the attention of all who saw her by her innate art of movement and transformation, declared one day to her mother that she could or would not dance anymore (...). Her body changed in a very peculiar way: without losing its beautiful Asiatic features, it became strangely heavy and solid ... (which already signaled at the beginning of her mysterious glandular disease, which so soon led to her death). In the time that remained to her, Wera dedicated herself to music and, finally, only to drawing, as if dance were to be cut off from her more and more gently and discretely, but never outright."

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The Question of the Technique in Rainer Maria Rilke's (1875-1926) "Sonnets to Orpheus" (1922)

Otto Doerr-Zegers

I. INTRODUCTION

All the cycle of the 55 *Sonnets to Orpheus* was written by Rainer Maria Rilke in a rapture of inspiration in February, 1922, some days after having finished his famous *Duino Elegies*. What stimulated him to do it was the death in 1919 of a young and beautiful dancer, Wera Ouckama-Knoop, for whom he felt great admiration. In a letter to Margot Sizzo of April 12, 1923, the poet speaks of her in the following terms: "This beautiful girl, who began first to dance and draw the attention of all who saw her by her innate art of movement and transformation, declared one day to her mother that she could or would not dance anymore (...). Her body changed in a very peculiar way: without losing its beautiful Asiatic features, it became strangely heavy and solid ... (which already signaled at the beginning of her mysterious glandular disease, which so soon led to her death). In the time that remained to her, Wera dedicated herself to music and, finally, only to drawing, as if dance were to be cut off from her more and more gently and discretely, but never outright."

In January, 1922, Rilke was dedicated to writing notes about Wera's disease, so that a necessary nexus was established for him between the orphic thematic—which had always interested him—and the figure of the prematurely dead girl, and thus, in a letter to his editor Hulewicz, from November 13, 1925, he writes: "(She), whose immaturity and innocence keep open the door of the grave, so that, having crossed it, passes to pertain to those powers which maintain fresh one half of life and they open themselves toward the other half, sensitive as a wound". Few mythological figures impressed the poet so much as Orpheus and apparently, already before the death of the dancing girl, he had nourished the idea of writing a cycle of poems in her honor. The legend, beautiful and sad, reads as follows:

Orpheus, son of Eagro, king of Thrace and loyal worshiper of Apollo, was, like his idol, a big musician, and in addition a theologian and poet. All the nymphs admired his talent and wished to be married to him, but only the modest Eurydice seemed to him worthy of his love. The same day of their wedding the shepherd Aristeo, former suitor of Eurydice, tried to kidnap her. In

her flight through the woods, she stepped on a viper, whose poison caused her death. Orpheus, without consolation, prayed to all the gods to get his wife back. Eros finally took pity on him and allowed him to descend to the underworld to look for Eurydice, but with the condition of not looking at her until he arrived to earth. The long way back, with Hermes' surveillance, was arriving at its end when Orpheus, fired by love and impatience, forgot his promise and looked back at his wife. Eurydice was snatched from him for the second time, sinking Orpheus in an infinite pain. Ignoring the mermaid songs of the Maenads, priestesses of Dionysius, who on one side felt an uncontrolled passion for him and on the other, they hated him for having despised the cult to their god, Orpheus took refuge in the mountains, where he dedicated himself to enchant nature with his music (Gebhardt, 1951). This process is described by the poet in Sonnet I of the first part, which begins with the verses:

A tree sprang up. O sheer transcendence!
O Orpheus sings! O tall tree in the ear!
And all was still. But even in that silence a new beginning, hint, and change appeared.

The last sonnet – the 26 – of the first part describes his terrible death in hands of the Maenads, but also the deep sense of his sacrifice: having bequeathed to humanity the words and the music. This is how in the last tercet he says:

"Oh you lost god! You everlasting clue!
Because hate finally dismembered, scattered you, now we're merely nature's mouth and ears".

In the rest of the sonnets Rilke tries, with an insuperable verse, the most diverse matters, among which some orphic themes outline, such as the celebration, the song and the offer, and others such as the relation between immanence and transcendence, the bond of love with pain, the wonderful world opened to us by taste and smell and, finally, the dangers enclosed in the empire of the technique. The second part develops themes such as respiration, the mirror, the flowers, the Unicorn and death, but he also comes back to technique. Today we will only refer to this theme, given its enormous transcendence in the configuration of the time we are living, Post modernity, but also

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because it has become a danger for the survival of our species on earth. It is interesting, any case, the insistence with which Rilke refers – already in 1922, three decades before Heidegger did so – to the dangers harbored by technique. And this in a time where the most absolute optimism prevailed with respect to the progresses of natural sciences and the consequences they would have for the development of more and more sophisticated technologies, which would make of the human being a real “super-man”.

Rilke treats explicitly the theme of the technique in four of the 55 Sonnets to Orpheus. Now then, he also touches the subject in Duino Elegies and we will refer to it in the framework of the comments we are going to make about the sonnets in question.

Sonnet 18 of the First Part

Do you hear the New, Master, droning and throbbing?
Its prophesying promoters are advancing.

No hearing's truly keen in all this noise; still, now each machine part wills its praise.

See, the Machine: how it spins and wreaks revenge, deforms and demeans us.

Since its power comes from us, let it do its work and serve, serene.

In this sonnet Rilke touches for the first time the theme of technique, to which he referred with so much concern in the Seventh and in the Ninth Duino Elegies, theme he treats further this time. It is important to remember that his vision of the technique had much influence on Heidegger, who, in his well-known article *Die Frage nach der Technik* (The question of technique), makes statements so impressive and coincident with Rilke's apprehensions as the following: “(For the man of technical time) nature has become a unique and gigantic ‘gas station’, in a mere source of energy for modern industry” (p. 18).

The sonnet begins with a question asked by the poet to Orpheus: “Do you hear the New, Master, / droning and throbbing?” The “new” is certainly the technological revolution, with all the machines and instruments it has invented and whose riskiness for the man's future is already intuited by Rilke in 1922. We must not forget that in that time the ideology of the indefinite progress absolutely reigned and Heisenberg had not yet issued his “uncertainty principle” (1927), first physical discovery which made tremble the foundations of that ideology. Up to that moment everything was praise for natural science and its technological applications (“Its prophesying promoters/are advancing”). This world of machines and their limitless power appears essentially linked to noise, to the absence of silence and, consequently, of peace. In the first strophe the poet defines “the new” as that which “drones and throbs” and in the second he reminds us

that nobody is “keen on all this noise”. The noise of the cities is produced by transport vehicles; the noise of the factories and their outskirts, by industrial machines; that of airports, by aircraft engines; that of houses, by multiple domestic machines; etc. Man has nowhere to hide from noise in the modern world, because even closed environments such as hotels and supermarkets inundate our ears with “elevator music”, probably the worst music man has ever invented.

In the first tercet the poet warns us and with harsh words, about the danger that technique means for man: the machine will end up “getting revenge” on us, because it “deforms and demeans us”. With respect to the first consequence of this revenge, it would be enough to think of the worrying deformation of the minds of young persons and children produced by television and computing (M. Spitzer, 2012). The “demeaning” which the poet predicted for us could be perfectly identified with the notable increase of depressive illnesses during the last fifty years, which reach prevalence rates which in a cross-section oscillate – depending on the definitions and on the inclusion criteria – between 10% and 25% of the population (Ríosco et al 1994, Weissman et al 1978). In the last tercet the poet accepts the fact that machines have been freely invented by man (“their power comes from us”) and that they have made life easier for us in many ways (“let them do their work and serve”), but at the same time he asks us not to forget that they work “serenely”, that is, that by lacking feelings both the machines and the world they represent, it is not unlikely that they are transformed into instruments of destruction and depredation. It is enough to think of atomic weapons, the destruction of the native forest and the rain forest, the increase in the earth's temperature – clearly related with industry and transport CO₂ emissions and finally, the almost daily rupture of new ecological balances, everything a result of technical progress, as to find Rilke's reason in his prophetic apprehensions.

Sonnet 22 of the First Part

We're the drivers. But take time's stride as trivial beside what remains forever.

Everything hurrying will already be over; for only the lasting is our initiator.

Boys, oh don't waste your courage on being fast or on risking flight.

All these are at rest: darkness and light, flower and text.

We the humans are vagabonds on this earth. The poet already said it in the Fifth Elegy, when he refers to the acrobats as “these troupers, even more transient than us” (p. 33) and also in the Ninth Elegy, when he says “because all that's here, vanishing so quickly, seems to need us and strangely concern us. Us, the first to vanish.” (p. 61). At the end of that same elegy Rilke

speaks to us of the fugacity both of things and of humans: "Perishing, they turn to us, the most perishable, for help" (p. 65). But immediately after having affirmed our wandering and brief condition he advises us not to pay so much attention to the passage of time, but to "what endures". Not everything is devoured by time and in our life we must learn to discover "permanence", since that is the only thing that can "consecrate us" to God, to eternal life. We must also remember that in that other dimension all the constraints will be "already past" and consequently its urgency and meaning will be lost.

In the first tercet and in a case of almost incredible premonition, the poet calls on youth to not let themselves be seduced by speed, that which reigns in all modern life through the generalized facilitation allowed by technique. He also refers concretely to the speed of automobiles, which so much fascinates young people, but which has been transformed – via car accidents – into the first cause of death in the persons younger than 40 years old. In our opinion, with the image of "flight", so valued by youth, the poet is not referring so much to the airplane as sports vehicle, of war or of transport, but to that certain annulment of space which these machines have signified in the last decades. We know that today and with the greatest facility one can be in a few hours in anyplace on the planet. Is that so good? Will it not contribute rather to alienate the human being, by withdrawing him from peace and from himself? The alternative ("all these are at rest") offered by the poet to that world in which space and time have almost disappeared, world which searches simultaneity and ubiquity – to be everywhere and therefore nowhere – is the return to nature ("darkness and light" and further "flower") and to the retreat of reading (the "book").

Sonnet 24 of the First Part

Shall we reject oldest friendship, the great undemanding gods, because the tough steel we trained so hard does not know them; or suddenly seek them on a map?

Although they take the dead from us, these powerful friends never brush against our wheels. We've moved out baths and banquets far away, and, for years too slow for us, we always outrun their messengers. More lonely now, wholly dependent on each other, not knowing each other, no longer do we build those lovely paths rambling, but straight. Now only in boilers do former fires burn, heaving hammers always growing bigger. But we, we grow weaker, like swimmers.

The initial thought of this sonnet is that the gods have abandoned us when we repudiated the friendship with them. This image had been already stated by Hölderlin in his famous elegy "*Brod und Wein*" and then developed by Heidegger in the already mentioned

booklet "*Wozu Dichter...*" (For what poets...). According to this author "the night of the world extends its shadows: the present era is determined by the withdrawal from God, by 'God's lack'. This God's lack experienced by Hölderlin does not deny, however, the continuation of the Christian relation with God in singular individuals and in the churches, as well as it does not either pejoratively judge such relation with God. God's absence only means that no god keeps gathering around him, in a visible and manifest form, men and things, starting from that gather which structures the history of the world and the stay of men in it." (p. 265). Now then, these gods were kind and did not demand too much from us, at least in the West ("the great undemanding gods"), since some Eastern gods and not to mention pre-Columbians demanded many human sacrifices.

The second fundamental idea is that the machines we have invented have little or nothing to do with those gods who inhabited and ordered the world through so many millennia ("the tough steel we trained so hard does/ not know them"). The first strophe ends with the question the poet raises about the fact if perhaps we should not appeal to some of our techniques to rediscover the lost gods, as we use the maps to orient ourselves in the air, the sea or the earth. This is otherwise the attitude adopted both by the traveler and the archeologist when, with detailed maps, they search to find the footprints of the old gods in forgotten temples and sanctuaries.

The second strophe begins with a difficult to interpret statement: "Although they take the dead from us, / these powerful friends..." Does the poet refer to the fact that the gods always knew more about the death than us the mortals and that the usual was to think that the living persons moved to their reign after death? Or does it deal, as his friend Katharina Kippenberg maintains (p. 287), with the fact that the dead persons are we ourselves, the living persons of the era of technique, who are dead for the spirit and for the gods? In any case, they have nothing to do with our highly technological world ("never brush against / our wheels"). Moreover, our celebrations and purifications are not in their honor anymore ("We've moved out baths and banquets / far away"). But the most impressive example of the empire of a secularized and demystified worldview is the fact that our technologies widely overcome in speed the messages of the gods ("and, for years too slow for us, / we always outrun their messengers". Rilke got to know the telegraph, the telephone and the radio; the later development of the television, of computing and of that universal and instantaneous network of communication and of knowledge which is internet, has done nothing but prove him right.

The third strophe, which begins with part of the previous quote, states us another transcendental theme, which is that, in spite of the speed and the ease of communications, we are now much more alone than before, when we depended on the gods. We have never needed each other more than in the modern era and this for two reasons: one, because we have made ourselves dependent on the machines invented by others for us; another, for the massively and anonymous nature of industrial work, unlike the freedom of the craftsman in the relationship with his tools and with the products of his work. In summary, we do no walk anymore through life through undulating and unknown paths, enjoying the landscape and slowly discovering the world ("no longer do we build those lovely / paths rambling, but straight"), but we always go through the straightest possible road and at the maximum speed our means of transport allow.

The machines grow in number, size and potency ("heaving hammers always growing / bigger") and only in their inside remain perhaps rests of "former fires", that is to say, of those which existed yesteryear between the mortals and the gods. How many celebrations and adorations, how many prayers and songs of praise have been directed to God (or to the gods) throughout history! And all that feeling, that fire which ascended to the skies is in the process of disappearing or is lowered to the condition of serving in the invention of new forms of energy which move the machines ("only in boilers / do former fires burn..."). Meanwhile we the humans are beginning to lose (spiritual) strength and anytime we will end up being drowned, as exhausted swimmers. We cannot fail to associate this thought of the poet with respect to the future of the world of the technical era with different forms of degradation of the human which are beginning to appear in post modern society, as it is the case of drug addiction, the loss of the language and of the forms, the oblivion of the sense for history and tradition and the progressive absence of an authentic religious feeling.

Sonnet 10 of the Second Part

As long as it dares to exist as spirit instead of obeying, the machine threatens everything we've gained.

It hacks the stone starker for more determined building so we won't be drawn by the lovelier lingering of the master-hand.

Nowhere does it stand aside so we might once escape it and, oiling itself in a silent factory, become its own thing.

It is life – it believes it's all-knowing and with the same mind makes and orders and destroys. But for us existence is still enchanted. It's still beginning in a hundred places. A playing of pure powers no one can touch and not kneel to and marvel.

Faced with the unutterable, words still disintegrate ... And ever new, out of the most quivering stones, music builds her divine house in useless space.

The theme of technique and its dangers appears here again. The poet begins harshly stating that the machine constitutes a direct threat for "everything we've gained", that is to say, for our culture, that which the man has added to nature. This danger could only be conjured if the machine is subjected to the spirit and not inversely. Then he goes on to describe the characteristics of this "machine". Rilke speaks of three features associated with technique and which make it dangerous for the future of man. In the first place, its perfection when "hacking the stone" is such that it prevents "us from being drawn by the lovelier lingering of the master-hand" in its natural hesitations, in its advances and retrogressions in the consummation of work. The poet opposes the doubts of the "master-hand" (of the craftsman) with the decision of the machine in the construction of buildings, for example ("it hacks the stone starker for more determined building"). In the second place, it does not stay behind in anything, since in everything it overcomes us the humans, its creators: in speed, in strength, in precision, etc., so that once the machine is invented, we cannot manage without it. And by knowing this that we have no escape, it stays calm in the factory, resting by itself and "oiling". With this last image the poet wants to indicate the fact that the machine needs very few things to work and one of them is oil; but at the same time he is alluding to its oily and heavy existence, which comes to be exactly the contrary of the lightness of the spiritual, of that revelation which produced God for us in the soul in Sonnet 9. The third feature that Rilke describes as characteristic of the machine is that little by little it has tried to replace life ("It is life – it believes it's all-knowing"). And that is how it "makes" new forms, "orders" human life (let us think on the computer, also called "ordenador" in Spanish), but also "deconstructs": it deconstructs the woods and the landscape; it dirties the air, the water and the earth.

But the poet visualizes a salvation, since in spite of this progressive dominion of technique, the human existence still remains "enchanted" and "it's still / Beginning in a hundred places". This last means that fortunately there are many untouched places (of original nature) and many others, such as the temples and the pilgrimage sites, which are sacred and where technique either has not arrived or does not play any role. But then he specifies the characteristics of that which still enchants human nature: "A playing / of pure powers no one can touch and not kneel to and marvel". These "powers" cannot be but those which emanate from the artwork and from its creator. As in the elegies, this appears as what gives sense to human existence. Thus, in the Seventh the poet says:

Angel, I'll show it to you yet. There! At last it shall stand straight, finally redeemed in your eyes.

Pillars, pylons, the Sphinx, the cathedral's striving gray thrust out of its crumbling or alien city.

Wasn't it a miracle? Oh, angel, marvel. That's us, us, O great one. Tell them *that's* what we could do...

But there are two other forms of artistic expression, besides architecture and sculpture, which also save us from the threat of technique: literature, more precisely poetry, and music. The first is alluded in the verse that reads: "Faced with the unutterable, words still disintegrate". What a beautiful definition of what is poetry! To bring the word up to the limits of the unspeakable, of the ineffable. The last two verses refer to music, product of human imagination and intelligence, art which always surprised Rilke and which he considered as the true bridge between the men and the gods. The music is "ever new", because each time we hear it is as if it was the first time. Its house is "divine", because in no realm of the human can the gods dwell better than in it. And this "divine" mansion is constructed by music from some "quivering stones" and in a "useless space". It is evident the connection between the last verse of this sonnet and the First Duino Elegy, in which the music arises in a space "dominated by terror" (cosmic space, "useless space") and as a product of vibration in "the vacuum itself" provoked by the death of the young semi-god Linus, son of Apollo and inventor of music.

I could not end this essay without referring to the last of the sonnets, the 29 of the Second Part, because even when it does not touch the theme of technique in an explicit form, such is the depth with which it approaches the sense of human and of the whole reality, that in some way it illuminates and gives sense to all the rest of the cycle, certainly the sonnets dedicated to the technique. Here is the last sonnet:

Sonnet 29 of the Second Part

Silent friend of many distances, feel how your breath is still expanding space.

Let yourself peal among the beams of dark belfries. Whatever preys on your will grow strong from this nourishment.

Know transformation through and through.

What experience has been most painful to you?

If the drinking's bitter, turn to wine.

In this vast night, be the magic power at your senses' intersection, the meaning of their strange encounter.

And if the earthly has forgotten you, say to the still earth: I flow.

To the rushing water speak: I am.

In his admittedly scarce notes about the sonnets, Rilke says with respect to this simply the following: "To a Wera's friend". In the Critical Edition (1996) it is maintained that this sonnet could constitute a

new development of the final verses of the previous one, in which the poet imagines himself being guided by the dancer toward "that unheard-of center" of Sonnet 28. K. Kippenberg, for her part, thinks that the poem is directed to that Wera's friend mentioned by Rilke in the note and whom the poet would be calling to overcome the pain for the loss and to recognize, instead, the infinite gifts life offers us. I should have to say that I am in complete disagreement with both interpretations, because I think that the alluded here is Orpheus himself, to whom the poet directs himself, treating him as "silent friend of so many distances". This is deduced from each one of the verses – as we will see when analyzing them – but in particular from the second strophe, where he says: "Know transformation through and through", since it is precisely this characteristic which the poet employs for defining god at the beginning of the cycle: "Because it's Orpheus. His metamorphosis / is in this, and this." (Sonnet 5, I). In the second place, because I think that by being the last sonnet of a cycle of fifty five – in which the fundamental themes of the human being have been stated – it seems a miss that the poet has limited himself in it to console Wera's friend for her death. Neither can I be in agreement with the interpretation of the same Kippenberg in the sense that the final message of the sonnet and therefore, of all the cycle, be that of the superiority of the man over nature, since in the rest of the sonnets he postulates again and again the contrary: the man as integrant part of the nature and even very close to animals. We find this last clearly expressed at least in two of the sonnets: 1 and 16 of the First Part. In the first the orphic transformation compromises both the animals and primitive man; in 16 the poet asks God to allow the full access of the dog to the human condition, in order that this way it is incorporated to the world of the "needs and joys of the man", as Rilke himself says in the respective note.

Before proceeding to analyze the poem verse by verse I would like to advance a brief general impression, which is that here the poet radically changes his attitude before Orpheus. In most of the previous sonnets it is a matter of a praise directed to this god who gave us music and the word, who overcame his pain spiritualizing the world, who manifests himself in a thousand different ways, who defends us from the passing of time and from death, who will save us from the destruction which technique is causing, etc. In this last sonnet, instead, it is the poet who consoles, comforts and advises this god forgotten by men. This attitude is absolutely explicit in the last tercet, which begins with the verse: "And if the earthly has forgotten/ you...", but we find it already in the second verse of the first quartet, when the poet remembers Orpheus that "your breath is still expanding space", which means that in spite of its distance, his "breath", that is, his soul, his voice, are still capable of creating spaces, of

constructing worlds in the confluence of nature and spirit.

Let us analyze now the first verse. The treatment of "friend" seems to us a way to approach the distant god, but it is also the appellative which allows the poet to change from the attitude of worshiper to that of consoler. In relation with the "so many distances", I think that they do not refer only to the oblivion in which Orpheus has fallen among humans, but to a more universal problem, which is the distance and silence of God in general, something repeatedly expressed by the mystics, but also suffered by ordinary people in some moments of pain and darkness. I think impossible to express in a most beautiful and brief way this semantic richness than how Rilke does it in these two first verses of the last sonnet: "Silent friend of many distances, / feel how your breath is still expanding space". In the third verse of this first quartet the poet employs a very adventurous image, but not for that less beautiful: he asks Orpheus that he transform himself in the sound "of dark belfries", that is, that he become one with the bells of little and forgotten churches, in places where their ringing invades and in a way directs the life of the whole village, in churches that, as the Romanesque chapels of Old Castile, preserve the atmosphere of the sacred and one feels in them, as in no other space of modern world, the presence of the gods.

The last verse of the first strophe is connected with the first of the second and the theme is the nourishment we have received from Orpheus, "on you will grow strong from this nourishment", is the human spirit, since our greatest achievements on the evolutionary scale are without doubt the access to the conscience and having created culture, which were possible because we could count on the word and on the music – the bridge between the men and the gods – both gifts from Orpheus (Sonnet 26, I). The following verse is a sort of order the poet gives to the god: "Know transformation through and through". From the initial consolation he goes on to indicate to Orpheus what he must do to maintain his validity. And the first is to be faithful to his own essence: "Because it's Orpheus. His metamorphosis is in this, and this.", he tells us in Sonnet 5 of the First Part. And further, in Sonnet 12 of the Second, he invokes us to enter also us humans in the process of transformation: "Will transformation. Oh be crazed for the fire". And in the second quartet of the same sonnet he expresses this need of metamorphosis in an even more explicit way, through the sentence: "What wraps itself up in endurance is already the rigid...". Orpheus must be then faithful to this command and avoid every form of detention, of rigidity, of one-sidedness. And here it is then produced the connection with the second part of this quartet and all the first tercet, beginning, as far as I know, to come near to what I consider the culmination not only of this sonnet, but of

the entire cycle. The poet asks the god about what is hardest for him: "What experience has been most painful to you?" And immediately after, he offers him the formula to overcome it: "If the drinking's bitter, turn to wine".

To understand these verses we should remember some essential elements of the myth: Orpheus was a faithful disciple from Apollo, the god of the intellect and of the spirit, opposed to every form of passion, rapture or excess. This other world was represented by Dionysus, the god of drunkenness, whose priestesses were precisely the Maenads or Bacchantes, who, through all possible means, tried to seduce Orpheus, without achieving it; they filled then themselves with thirst for revenge and searched, until they found it, the occasion to murder and quarter him. The Greeks, with their love for balance and moderation, accepted these two sides of the human being and in fact, they equally adored both gods, realizing magnificent festivities in honor of each one of them. What the poet is asking the god is, then, that he transforms himself in the Dionysian wine which produces rapture and drunkenness in humans; that he should not be unilaterally Apollonian, although this is beautiful and elevated and saintly, because we need to hear once in a while the call of the passions and of irrationality. This interpretation is seen corroborated by the verses of the following strophe, which say: "In this vast night, be the magic power / at your senses' intersection, / the meaning of their strange encounter". In these verses the poet already places the spiritual Orpheus in a Dionysian night and begs him to be transformed in the sense of that intersection of the superior (or Apollonian) senses, such as sight and ear, and the inferior (Dionysian), those linked to the experience of the body and consequently, of pleasure: touch, taste and smell.

In the second tercet the poet brings his call towards the universal harmony of the opposites to the maximum expression, when he asks the god that before the "still earth", namely, to the solid, to the permanent, he emphasizes the flow, the change. The permanent represents the being of Parmenides in his immutability, that whom the great pre-Socratic philosopher defines in one of his texts as "unique, he exists immobile; to be is the name of the whole". The flow, on its side, represents the being of Heraclitus – the other great pre-Socratic – that being he described in so many forms, as when in Fragment No. 49 a he says: "We do not bathe twice in the same river, both we are and we are not" or in No. 88, when he states: "What is in us is always one and the same: life and death, wake and dream, youth and old age; since for the change this is that and again for the change that is this" (p. 352). But to reach that balance and that harmony it is necessary to also be placed in the contrary position and before the fluidity and mutability of

the water and of the temporary nature of time which devours everything and that the flow of the water represents as nothing and nobody, we need to hang on the consistence of the being (of the "I am"), of that being which in a way each of us are and that in a way we feel immortal, something nobody expressed with most strength and propriety than the great Goethe in the first verses of his famous poem *Das Vermächtnis* (The Legacy):

No being can be disintegrated toward nothing!, since the eternal lives and is prolonged in each one..." and also in one of his aphorisms: Everything that is born remains.

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Application of Public Relations Strategies in the Resolution of Communal Conflict: Ezillo-EzzaEzillo Template

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Abstract- Conflict is perceived in most parts of the world including, Nigeria as something abnormal, dysfunctional and therefore detestable. Yet conflict is a fact of life and could be a precursor of positive change. Every plural society is bound to experience one form of conflict or the other. What makes a society an ideal polity is the extent to which the conflict, interest and needs in a society are constructively managed so that violence does not threaten its continued existence. Conflict challenges the rational man to think of alternative ways of meeting contesting human needs and interests. Conflicts refer to contradictions arising from differences in the interests, ideas, ideologies, orientation and precipitous tendencies of the people concerned. These contradictions are inherent in all levels of social and economic interactions of human race. It may therefore exist at the individual, group, institutional, regional, national and international levels. Conflict is thus a pervasive phenomenon in human relationship and has been seen as the “basic unit for understanding social existence”.

Keywords: *public relations strategies, resolution, communal conflict, template.*

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Application of Public Relations Strategies in the Resolution of Communal Conflict: The Ezillo-EzzaEzillo Template

Enyigwe C.^α, Udeajah R. A.^σ & Ugwuanyi, U. S.^ρ

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I. INTRODUCTION

Man-
kind has suffered from conflicts and crises the world over. From Europe to Asia, from Australia to America, from Caribbean to Africa the story is the same. In Africa today, many countries are engulfed in unprecedented armed conflicts, ethno-cultural, ideological and religious differences which have led most African countries into crises and conflicts since independence thereby making most of these African states seem perpetual war zones. Conflict constitutes one of the major recurring problems bedeviling the socio-economic and political landscape in Africa and Nigeria in particular. Achieving total conflict resolution has become a difficult task for developing nations, in spite of efforts by development experts to bring about desired development. The term "conflict resolution and sustainable development" was brought into common use by the World Commission on Environment Development (WECD) in its 1987 seminar report entitled "our common future".

Nigeria for instance, has witnessed numerous communal conflicts such as Zango-Kataf crisis in Kaduna state (1999-2001), Tiv-Jukun crisis in Taraba state (1999-2001), Ife-Modakeke in Osun state

(1999-2000), Eleme-Okrika crisis, Itsekiri-Urhobo crisis (1999-2000), Itsekiri-Ijaw crisis, Aguleri-Umuleri conflict in Anambra state (1995-1999), Umuode-Oruku conflict, the Igbo-Ikom conflict in Cross-river state and the Ezillo-EzzaEzillo of Ebonyi state which this study seeks to look into. (Onwe, et al 2015).

These conflicts have caused irreparable, immeasurable and irreversible calamities, the cumulative negative effect of which are; loss of millions of human lives, wanton destruction of property worth millions of naira, displacement/dislocation of inhabitants making them homeless or refugees in other land, halting of commercial activities and developments, and creating permanent enemies. Besides, experience has shown that communal conflicts creates room for tension, hostility, lack of trust, overreactions and other problems associated with social frictions. The Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo communal conflict has shown how communal co-existence could be ruptured with attendant disastrous consequence on the social, cultural and political life of the people.

II. EZILLO- EZZAEZILLO: AN OVERVIEW

Ezillo is one of the seven sub-ethnic communities in Ishielu local government area located in Ebonyi central senatorial district of Ebonyi State. These sub-ethnic and dialectic groups are Agba, Ntezi (Okpoto dialect), Nkalagu, Nkalaha, Iyionu, Azuinyaba (Ezza dialect). Due to the strategic location of Ezillo across the Abakaliki-Enugu expressway, it hosts people and infrastructural facilities such as the Ezillo farm settlement and Ezillo regional water scheme etc. There are several schools of thought on the origin of the Ezillo people. However, popular documented literature traced the origin of Ezillo to MgbomEze in Ishiekkelzzi in the present Ebonyi local government area and Ohaukwu local government area of Ebonyistate. According to this school, the Ezillos and their Ezzangbo/Ngbo brothers regard MgbomEze as the ancestral father of Amaleze village in Ezillo. This ancestral brotherhood accounts for the sacred relationship between Ezillo and Izzi on one hand and Ezillo and Ngbo on the other hand. Hence, the abhorrence of bloodshed between these groups Onwe, et al (2015).

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The Ezza-Ezillo people came from Ezza south and Ezza north local government areas of Ebonyi state on the invitation of the Ezillo people to settle a land dispute between them and their Ngbo neighborhood at Egu-Echara in the early 1930s (Memo to Peace Committee 2008, 2017). Ever since the end of dispute, the Ezzas have continued to live amongst their host community, Ezillo. However, the relationships between the two groups have not been harmonious as it has degenerated to indigene-settler conundrum, Oji et al (2012). Even though, there have been several episodes of conflicts in Ezillo since many years ago but the confrontational phase occurred on the 10th of May 2008, following an altercation between one Ezillo boy and Ezza man over the erection of phone booth at Ishimkpuma motor park, Ojiet al (2012). The Ebonyi state government quickly intervened to resolve the conflict in a fire-brigade approach; the conflict claimed many lives and properties worth millions of naira and equally affected the socio-economic development of the area in particular and Ebonyi state in general.

Such devastating impacts included general insecurity, armed robbery, prolonged dislocation of families, poverty, more violent struggle for power, low infrastructural development. There was and still general insecurity and suspense in Ezza-Ezillo community. Those that suffered more losses in the conflict would be always getting ready to revenge, while those who may have gained advantage would be preparing for any eventuality. This has created a perpetual atmosphere of insecurity in the area. The armed conflicts resulted to dislocation of families. The areas were deserted and many members of the communities were helpless refugees in various parts of the state, especially Abakaliki the state capital leading to congestion of the city and the attendant increase in criminal activities. The conflict led to loss of so many lives and properties. This has negatively affected the socio-economic life of the people as many shops belonging to some members of the community were burnt and some were raised down. This constituted a clog in the wheel of developmental efforts of the state government. Poverty has been on the increase as the people can no longer go about their normal businesses especially farming; vehicular movement along the major road of Abakaliki-Enugu expressway was affected during the crisis. Movement of goods and services was also affected. The National Bureau of Statistics (2013) reports that 73.6 per cent of the Ebonyi state population are poor. Women, children and the elderly are the worst hit. The state is yet to recover from the vandalism of infrastructural and social amenities destroyed in the course of the conflict.

Conflict therefore, assumes enormous, complex and dynamic dimensions so much that are not usually susceptible to easy solution by applying rule of the thumb. Human history is characterized with conflict.

There is no consensus among scholars on the inevitability of conflict in relationships among human beings. What therefore differs is the approach or strategy adopted to resolve or manage a particular conflict situation. It has been argued that no meaningful development can take place in an atmosphere of rancor, disunity and conflicts.

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study is hinged on the Social Atavistic Conflict theory. The Social Atavistic Conflict thought was first used by Lombroso in 1863 when he did a study called the "criminal man." The core idea according to Lombroso is that some people have biological and mental traits that make them crime prone. These traits are inherited and present at birth. Mental and physical degenerancies are the cause of crime and conflict in the society.

In theory of Social Atavism, there is natural tendency on the part of creatures to migrate, expand and dominate space or territory using a means possible-peaceful or the use of force. In conflict thought, it is the tendency to expand one's territory that breeds resistance or clash of occupation. In the human context, according to Aja (2007, p.21), migration and territorial expansion leads to disputes over the control of either the landmass or territorial waters or air space. In its corollary in space and environmental theory, claims and counter-claims over any territory is rooted in the economics of land, in terms of its fertility, including natural endowments in hydro-carbons. By extension in strategic theory, territorial expansion arises out of the security or defense consideration to reposition a society or a group in a position of environmental advantage over the adversaries.

Alluding to the above fact, Isichei (1976), commenting on the causes of the Umuleri-Aguleri conflicts, posit that the role land disputes is very marked in the history of these wars. Much value was not attached to Otuocha land by any of the two communities of Umuleri and Aguleri at the initial stage but as the 20th century progressed, each community began to value the area and efforts intensified to claim the ownership of the area.

In Nigeria, the Umuleri-Aguleri and Ife-Modakeke struggles have lasted for many bloody decades. As above examples show, the communal disputes are between groups that share even common cultural characteristics but deny the confidence of employing traditional methods of peace and conflict resolutions.

The Ezillo and its Ezzaaborigine conflict is aptly captured by the philosophical and ideological underpinnings of the social Atavistic theory. The Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo conflict manifested in the intense struggle for the ownership of Ezillo and the taciturnity of

the Ezillo people that strangers should not disposes them of their ancestral homeland.

Conflict is inevitable and there is natural tendency on the part of human to strive to acquire resources with any means possible. Land is one of the scarcest resources. Undoubtedly, the struggle over who owns or occupy land has been the root causes of communal conflict in Nigeria and Africa in general. This singular fact has resulted to the conflicts between Ezillo and Ezza-Ezilloneighbours. Conflicts are two parallel lines that can never meet. Conflict situation does not allow for any meaningful development.

IV. METHODOLOGY

The study adopted survey method of research as opinions, views, interviews and preferences of respondents were sampled. In this research, the whole of Ishielu local government area of Ebonyi state where Ezillo community is located is the population of the study. The population of Ishielu local government area as at the 2006 head count is 128,720 (NPC 2006) but this figure is too old and does not reflect the actual population of the community. The United Nations Population Fund stated that Nigeria has an annual growth rate of 3.2% (<http://profiles.unfpa.org/nigeria>) using this projection, this researcher got the 2015 population estimate over 9years that is 3.2% of 128,720. The researcher used the scientific calculator developed by the National Statistical Service of Australia to determine the sample size for the study.

Public Relations Strategies that can be Used in Resolving the Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo Conflict

There are various Public Relations strategies that can be used in resolving the Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo conflict and they are discussed below:

a) Negotiation

Negotiation is the simplest and the most effective Public Relations strategy used in resolving communal conflicts. It consists basically of discussions between both the parties in a dispute and their allies with a view to reconciling divergent opinions or views or at least, understanding the differing positions of the stakeholders. It does not involve any third party. Those concerned decide among themselves how best to resolve their differences. The eminent leaders of the communities concerned do come together to discuss on the best way to resolve the conflict. They therefore arrange on the day the parties concerned will meet to discuss the matter. One the meeting day, each party will be given opportunity to explain, interpret and clarify issues at stake. Some members of the community who have no proper knowledge on the fundamental causes of the conflict will now be in a better position to understand more about the conflict. Negotiation involves discussions, arguments and counter-arguments though

with the hope of resolving the conflict. It is by mutual discussions and understanding that the remote causes of the differences will be revealed and the opposing contentions elucidated. Negotiation is the most satisfactory public relations strategies used in resolving communal conflicts because the parties are directly involved. They discuss continually on the issue until the conflict is resolved. Once the conflict is resolved, public relations strategies will be used to make the parties concerned to forgive and forget. They are also encouraged to cultivate mutual understanding and live in harmonious relationship with each other.

b) Mediation

Mediation is another public relations strategy used in resolving communal conflicts. Mediation involves the use of third party in settling of the conflict. The public relations expert encourages the contending parties to come to settlement. The public relations expert will make frantic efforts to influence and persuade the opposing sides to enter into negotiation. Through efficient application of public relations by the mediating parties which usually comprise of the public relations experts and the influential community or religious leaders from both communities, the conflict will come to an end. This worked successfully in the conflict between Umuode and Oruku in Enugu state when the leaders of Catholic Church waded into the settlement of the conflict in 1995.

c) Inquiry

Inquiry is one of the public relations strategies used in resolving community conflicts. Where differences in opinion on factual matters underline a conflict between parties, the logical solution is to institute a commission of inquiry to be conducted by reputable observers such as public relations experts and other experts from other disciplines to ascertain precisely the facts in contention. The commission will probe deeply the cause of the conflict and make concrete recommendations on how to terminate the conflicts and through such process, community conflict can be resolved.

d) Conciliation

Conciliation is also a public relations strategy used in resolving community conflicts. It involves a third party investigation of the causes of the dispute and the submission of report embodying suggestions on how to resolve the conflict.

Conciliation involves elements of both inquiry and mediation and in fact, the process of conciliation emerged from treaties providing for permanent inquiry commissions. The report of conciliation may stimulate negotiations between the parties concerned. The Public Relations consultant serves the third party. They carry out research by investigating on the causes of the

conflict. They also make recommendations which can stimulate negotiation between the parties involved.

e) *Arbitration*

Arbitration is one of the public relations strategies used in resolving community conflicts. It involves resolving a conflict between two parties by a neutral body, panel or tribunal. This body is usually composed of legal luminaries and public relations expert who know how to handle proceedings.

Public relations is used to appeal and persuade the opposing parties to cooperate by attending to the proceedings of the arbitration. Through this process, a decision is reached which is binding on the both parties concerned.

f) *Mass Media*

Use of the media is another public relations strategy used in resolving communal conflict. Mass media consist of Newspapers, Magazines, Radio, Television, Films etc. According to Ogbuoshi (2002) "Film is the effective medium of passing important information to the target audience, the audience hear and see facts being discussed." When the media report conflict resolution, they leave serious impact for good or for ill, directly or indirectly. The media can resolve conflict situation by avoiding inflammatory reports, sensation captions or playing to the gallery by maintaining a neutral position and reporting conflict as it is without allowing emotion to be judged.

The media either print or electronic or both can be used to create a conducive atmosphere for effective persuasion of the conflicting communities to see reason on why they should resolve their differences. The Ife-Modakeke experiences present a good case in point. While the crisis rages, the mass media in the country were awash objective, interpretative and investigative reports of the crisis. These reports created room for proper understanding of the remote and immediate causes, nature and dimensions of the crisis which by extension motivated some concerned citizens to wade into the matter and broker lasting peace in the area.

g) *Public Opinion*

Public opinion is one of the public relations strategies used in resolving communal conflicts. Public opinion is expression of views held in common by members of the community on controversial or salient issues. Public relations are used to monitor public opinions in a community so as to know their feelings and views on the matter under dispute. Knowing the views or feelings of the parties disputing will help immediately in resolving any communal conflict.

h) *Propaganda Devices*

Propaganda is one of the public relations strategies used in resolving communal conflicts. Propaganda is a conscious effort on the part of persons,

pressure groups or government to influence the formation of attitudes. It is an organized effort to spread a particular doctrine or information to change people's attitudes or opinions. The public relations expert uses various propaganda techniques such as glittering generalities, plain folk device, bandwagon effects and name calling to achieve their motive.

Propaganda is effectively used in conflict resolution. It is used to change beliefs or views of the parties making them to change their mind or agree to negotiate their differences. For instance, propaganda was maximally used during the June 12, 1993 political crisis which nearly tore Nigeria apart. The Yoruba interpreted the annulment as Yoruba affairs based on tribalism. This led to serious crisis. This made the then federal military government to appoint UcheChukwumerije as the Information minister and he used propaganda to preserve the unity of the country.

Remote Causes of the Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo Conflict

i) *Boundary Dispute*

Oral tradition had it that the Ezillo community originally invited only 22 Ezza men to come and live in Ezillo. But as time went on, they started inviting their kit and kin from Onueke and Ezza areas and thus began to occupy extra portions of the land which led to the blurring of boundary between the two tribes. However, problem ensued when the expansion of the Ezza people was exceedingly progressive such that the Ezillo people could not bear it and asked for the relocation of the Ezza people to Egu-Echara, which is the place Ezillo people maintained was the only place originally given to them. The matter was so serious such that it was taken to the Abakaliki colonial customary court in 1955 and it was ruled in favour of the Ezillo people, mandating the Ezza people to move towards Egu-Echara. In reaction to the above court rulings, the Ezzas made an appeal before Abakaliki colonial district officer, Mr. O. P. Gunning, who affirmed the judgment of the customary court. The Ezillo people claimed that both judgments are still in their possession till date, yet the Ezza remained in the land till May 10, 2008 when the dispute that led to the 19th February 2010 mass killings and as well the December 31 massacre of the Ezillo people by unidentified suspects.

j) *Indigenes-Settlers' Syndrome*

This is found to be one of the major causes of inter-communal crisis in Nigeria. According to Omemma (2006) there is crisis of citizenship and right in Nigeria both in constitutional and theoretical framework. He pointed out that these problems have to do with the provisions of the constitution which relate to who can be recognized as an indigene of a state and local government or even a community. The problem arises as a result of the definition of who is an indigene and

who is not or who is a settler and what right does one have which the other should not have. The settler (non-indigene) communities latch on the constitutional provisions on human rights and the problem of status to assert their rights in their places of settlement. For instance, many National Constitutions and Universal Declaration of Human Rights guarantees free movement, free association and ownership of property but at same time enshrine the principles of Federal Character and Quota System (FRN, 1999). On the other hand, Seers (1969) opines that the history of migration before slavery, during slavery and after slavery makes yesterday immigrants today's indigenes and yesterday's settlers today's natives. Who qualifies as an indigene, a citizen or national of a particular place in Nigeria is an important debate especially in the spate of various violent conflicts which have affected thousands of lives, economic activities and human development.

The Nigerian Institute of Advanced Legal Studies NIALS (2011) defines an indigene as a person who is a native (first people) to a territory as opposed to a settler (latter comer). Indices such as length of time, settlement in that location, exercises of control over the land and other resources in that location; successful effort at forging a sense of separate distinguishing identity define indigenship. On the other hand, citizenship refers to nationality, the possession of formal legal membership in specific nation recognized under both international and domestic laws (Gibney 2006). The nexus between citizenship and indigenship creates an identity dilemma which often breeds hostile relationship between the host community and settler-communities as has been demonstrated the Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo conflict in Ebonyi state and the Ijaw and Itsekiri crisis in Delta state, Umuleri and Aguleri in Anambra state (see Ebonyi state government white paper 2008).

These provisions are additional preconditions for having access to certain rights and privileges. Abah & Okwori (2002) argue that tension has been created between ethnicity and nationhood by the definition of citizenship in the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria which define and categorize citizenship in three ways: by birth, by registration and naturalization. He further states that the definition of citizenship by birth comprises fundamental factors like ancestral linkage and place of birth or origin. These ancestral linkages emphasized "indigenship" which determines citizenship. In the same vein, Oji et al (2012) argues that in the post-colonial Nigeria, there are two contending definitions of citizenship... these are: citizenship by statism and citizenship by indigenship. They further maintained that indignity has deep socio-political and psychological implications. For instance, the Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo experience shows that even if a person or group have lived in a certain place for most of his life, worked, married, had children

and grand-children there, he/she will still be considered a non-indigene or a settler.

Omemma (2006) states that this definition of citizenship does not permit exercise of universal rights and entitlement as they are restricted by a code. This implies that individuals who are not indigenes experience discrimination in terms of placing their children in school, employment opportunities and access to resources such as land. Also, the provisions of section 147 (3) of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria mostly favored those who belong to the indigenous communities of the area (state) in which they are resident.

k) *Politics*

Politics, according to Elom (2006), is a persistent pattern of human relationship that involves, to a significant extent, "power role or authority". It refers to the political activities of individuals and its consequences for political institutions. This covers issues such as participation, patterns of participation and non-participation in politics and political organization like voting behavior, political attitudes and public opinion. Politics, like religion, deals with human relationship. And any case where it is not well practiced, it can be a source of conflict among communities. Politics has been found to be one of the remote causes of the Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo conflict. It was gathered that during the period of political activities such as general elections, the people of Ezza in Ishielu and their Ezillo counterparts are often at cold war over who to vote as the Ezzas would like to vote their brothers even from other parts of Ishielu (Ezza-Egu) contrary to the political wish of the Ezillo aborigine who would maintain that since the Ezza in Ezillo are residing in their land, they should be part of their political population, and thus should dance to their political tune. The two parties have often alleged marginalization against one another. This is particularly the case whenever either party is in position of political authority. The Ezillo cited examples of such tendencies as the forceful acquisition of 12.3 hectares of land they donated for the construction of offices for federal agencies like the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), National Population Commission (NPC) etc. and the attempt to create Izzo community within Ezillo community, all of which were carried out when the Ezza people were at the helm of affairs. On the other hand, the Ezzas alleged that they were being marginalized and denied infrastructural amenities because their Ezillo counterparts were occupying strategic positions in government.

l) *Social-Cultural Factors*

Culture, according to Isichei (1976), is the ideas, customs, skills, arts of a given people in a given period. Tradition, on the other hand, is a laid down

custom and norms of a given society which is passed down from one generation to another. Tradition and culture have been discovered as major conflict triggers and transformers. This has to do with the sociology of settlement and settlement pattern and cultural diffusion in many ethnic groups in Nigeria. In the study of the Tiv-Jukun conflict, Best (2004) revealed that the Tiv as the largest ethnic group in the middle belt region were able to gain strong foothold in many communities in the zone because their language and culture permeated other cultures thereby altering the sociology of those communities. Echiagu (1999) posits that the settlement pattern of the Ezza and their war-like behavior led to the invasion of lands of neighbouring sub-ethnic groups.

The Ezillo attributes the denigration of their cultural and traditional heritage by the Ezzas as one of the causes of the dispute between them. This include: flouting of new yam festival rules – bringing new yam to Ezillo market by the Ezza before the cultural rites of new yam in Ezillo, looting the people's artifacts and antiquities, killing of fish in sacred ponds and rivers, desecration of the chieftaincy institution as evident in the beating of the traditional ruler of Ezillo, EzeChimaOnyibe and his wife in 2008. In 1992, the Ezillo people also alleged that the Ezza people seized NwaforIsimkpuma market and renamed it Eke-Ezza (see memo to the Ebonyi state peace committee on Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo conflicts, 2008).

It was gathered that some of the custom and tradition of the Ezza migrants tend to conflict with those of the Ezillo aborigines, and thus bred mutual suspicion and distrust, capable of triggering off inter-communal crisis.

Immediate Causes of the Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo Crisis

m) Inter-personal conflict

The key immediate cause of the Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo crisis is the inter-personal conflict between a commercial phone operators and commercial motorcycle operator (okada man) from Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo respectively on 10th May 2008 at Onunweke (camp-Aaron) over erection of phone booth on a portion of land which both parties claimed "ownership". The disagreement attracted crowd which increased the tempo of the disagreement and further led to the burning of motorcycles and consequent pulling down of the phone booths that belong to both parties. Source disclosed that these destructive actions at the scene of the disagreement were not taken by the parties in the conflict, but by other hoodlums who saw the scene as an avenue for executing their long-conceived satanic plans. The disagreement further escalated to a full blown war with both tribes burning houses that belonged to each other. The 19th February, 2010 bloodshed along Abakaliki-Enugu expressway by suspected hired militants fighting in the disputed land

and the 31st December, 2011 Ezillo massacre were the most devastating aspect of the crisis (www.vanguardngr.com/2010/03).

n) Abuse of Power

When there is abuse of power such as dictatorship in governance, subjugation and oppressive tendencies, crisis is bound to occur. The Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo crisis ensued when the people of Ezza could no longer contain the suppression, oppression and depression meted against them by the Ezillo aborigines on the ground of not being indigenous to Ezillo clan. It was gathered, through oral interview, that at a point of their joint existence, the Ezillo people began to take undue advantage of the Ezza for not being true indigene. At a point, the Ezzas could no longer freely cultivate most of the lands previously owned by them without having serious quarrel with the Ezillo people who would delight to tell them that they are not from Ezillo and thus has neither land nor say in Ezillo community. This selfish and authoritative exploitation did not go down well with the Ezzas who vowed to resist. An attempt by the Ezzas to resist some of this perceived or obvious inhuman treatment against them sparked off the Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo crisis.

o) Boundary Adjustment

Boundary adjustment/dispute doubled as both remote and immediate cause of the Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo crisis due to the strategic role it played in relation to the crisis. It is the lack of clear boundary between the Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo people that led to the disagreement over who will erect phone booth on a portion of land in Ezillo market at Onunweke (camp-Aaron) which both party claimed belong to their tribes. The disagreement later escalated into full blown war (Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo crisis) with many casualties on the side of both tribes.

p) State government position on the Matter

The interest of the government in some communities can turn to be a point of crisis or opposition from the other community. The excerpts of the Ebonyi state government decision on two key recommendations of the peace committee: (special broadcast by Governor Martin NwanchorElechi, of Ebonyi state Thursday the 2nd Day of October, 2008), buttressed the above assertion.

Ezillo people demanded that Ezza-Ezillo should completely vacate Ezillo land and the peace committee viewed such a request as unjustifiable on the ground that it was Ezillo people that invited the Ezzas to assist them fight their Ngbo rivals over a disputed parcel of land originally allocated to them by Ezillo people through the customary method of land allocation (imabeogbu). The land originally ceded to Ezza-Ezillo for their settlement ("Egu-Echara") under Ezillo is a narrow strip

of land with a total area of 52.54 hectares. To make it sufficient for the settlement and use of Ezza-Ezillo people, government decided to substantially increase the size of the land from the intersection of the old Abakaliki-Enugu expressway with the new Abakaliki-Enugu expressway at a point called PWD Camp (also inlocalparlance called camp Aaron).

Another fact that corroborates the general views of the respondents sampled on the causes of the communal conflicts on who owns the Ezillo land is that, apart from cases pending at Abakaliki high court, all cases relating to land dispute since 1959 were decided in favour of the Ezillos (Memo submitted by Ezillo people to the Ebonyi state peace committee the Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo conflict 2008).

In the same memorandum, the Ezillo people further allege as follows:

It is common knowledge that the relationship between Ezillo people and the Ezza settlers in their midst has not been cordial for a long time now because of the land grabbing tendencies of the latter among other reasons. Had the Ezza settlers complied with the court judgments and quasi-judicial decision on these disputes which required them to vacate Ezillo land or approach Ezillo for terms of their tenancy, this unfortunate incident and others, before it could have been avoided? The then district officer Mr. O.P. Gunning intervened by withdrawing the Ezzas from Egu-Echara and settling them temporarily at Egu-Iteodo pending the resolution of the dispute and warned them against erection of any permanent structure or planting economic trees at Egu-Iteodo. It is unfortunate to note that the Ezzas instead of moving to Egu-Echara as agreed between them and Ezillo started scrambling for and partitioning every available space of land in Ezillo to themselves and bringing in their kinsmen from all parts of Ezza land into Ezillo without recourse to Ezillo people.

Government authority's favouritism of Ezillo tribe against the Ezzas in Ezillo has been identified as one of the immediate causes of the Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo inter-tribal crisis. Sources revealed that the government of Ebonyi state under the leadership of Chief Martin NwanchorElechi favoured the Ezillo people against the Ezza tribes in Ezillo. Besides, the state government denied all Ezza victims and refugees of the crisis any relief package, this was further proved by the government position on the matter as contained in the government white paper of 2nd October, 2008 on the report of the panel set up to investigate and recommend appropriate solutions to the matter Duru (2009). The blue print/white paper directed the Ezzas to vacate substantial portion of the disputed land back to Egu-Echara, a position which the Ezza tribes defined as discriminatory and thus, swore never to relocate to the new land leaving their houses and cash crops. They

contended that they were other people occupying the place allocated to them coupled with the fact that the government made no effort at providing any social amenity that could attract them to the new place. This resistance by the Ezza people to the said biased government blue print/white paper as well as the insistence of the Ezillo tribes that they could no longer cohabit with the Ezzas exacerbated the Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo crisis as shown in the 19th February, 2010 mass killings and the horrendous 31st December, 2011 Ezillo massacre whose masterminds have not been identified till date.

q) *Self-determination by Ezillo tribe*

Self-determination by Ezillo tribe which feels it has long been deprived by the Ezzas. According to Duru (2009, p.23), land dispute and self-determination by one community against another community is one of the major and immediate causes of inter-communal conflicts. In the case of Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo crisis, self-determination is found to be among the immediate causes of the crisis. The crisis ensued following the determination of the Ezillo people that they could no longer cohabit with the Ezza community who they described as cantankerous, war monger and land usurpers.

The foregoing has shown that the causes of communal conflict in Nigeria are multi-dimensional. There is this saying that a problem known is half solved. The question then is why have there been continuous conflicts when the factors that cause conflicts are known. Undoubtedly, the answer to the above question can be found in the kind of approaches adopted in resolving communal conflicts. It therefore behooves relevant stakeholders to adopt and apply the right approach to resolving a particular conflict situation.

V. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

In view of the analysis of the data collected in the course of the study, the following findings were made.

1. The study has established that Public Relations strategies like negotiation, mediation, inquiry, conciliation, arbitration, mass media, public opinion, propaganda devices can be effective in the resolution of the Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo communal conflict compared to the fire-brigade approach by the previous government of Ebonyi state and security agents.
2. The state government under the leadership of Chief Engr. David Umahi has made effective use of these PR strategies in restoring peace and tranquility in the volatile Ezillo community, through the peace committee inaugurated by his administration led by Very Rev. Fr. Dr. Abraham Nwali to see that peace is

restored in Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo, and the committee's work is commendable.

3. The conflict affected sustainability of developmental efforts of the state government. The conflict led to the destruction of lives and properties especially government institutions. Schools were affected and the Ezillo regional water scheme was also affected. No meaningful sustainable development can take place when there are no schools and an enabling environment.

VI. CONCLUSION

The study has x-rayed the application of public relations strategies in the resolution of communal conflicts with Ezillo and its Ezzaaborigine conflict in Ebonyi state in focus. Despite clarion calls by different individuals, groups and government for cessation of communal conflicts in Nigeria, it is rather becoming endemic. Public relations strategies should therefore be used to resolve conflicts quickly and appropriately so that it will not result in ugly consequences. It can therefore be said that conflict is inherent in man. That is why the researcher's theoretical framework of analysis has shown that there is a natural tendency on the part of creature to migrate, expand and dominate space or territory using any means possible-peace or through the use of force. The study has established that the immediate cause of the Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo conflict was the struggle between an Ezza man and one Ezillo boy over who is the rightful owner of and should occupy small portion of land in Ishimkpuma Park, indigene-settler problems and competition for resources has been responsible for the conflict. The above factors have been the major causes of communal conflicts in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular. One common feature of these conflicts has to do with their confrontational and violence dimension which led to loss of lives and properties of people who hitherto lived in relative harmony. No meaningful development can be achieved in an environment where people cannot sleep with their two eyes closed. Government cannot comfortably administer development in such an area. With all these, there will be promotion of peace and harmonious coexistence among Nigerian communities and by extension usher in healthy development and progress in the country in particular and the world in general.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Public relations strategies that is, participatory or people-driven approach to conflict resolution should be adopted. The participatory approach to conflict resolution is no doubt an invaluable tool which would enable a wide cross-section of people share information and opinion about their lives and environment. People (the youth, the church, women

and elders) who under normal circumstances are voiceless and powerless in the community are powered to gain confidence and to speak out. The face-to-face which it provides, creates the opportunity for policy makers to gain an understanding of the issue at stake and to develop community trust and confidence for the government and its interventions.

2. Those who lost lives and properties in the conflict should be compensated. Though no amount of money or other resources can equate life but it should serve as commitment to building a lasting peace in the area. Public properties such as primary and secondary schools, medical centers, markets should be rebuilt and employment and scholarship be provided for the youths.
3. Enlightenment campaign should be encouraged and extended to the Ezillo and Ezza-Ezillo communities on the need to embrace peace at all times and why the rule of law should be observed in dealing with contentious issues. The campaign team will constitute representatives of the governments and the communities especially those who have been adequately counseled to accept the realities of the situations.
4. Robust and vibrant social communication model should be put in place to bridge the current socio-cultural and communication gaps noticeable in the area. This could be through the activation of social networks such as clubs membership, sports etc.

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African Indigenous Religions as a Catalyst for Social and Economic Development

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Abstract- African indigenous religion is the religion that sums up the total life of Africa in politics, economy, social life and medical system. Africa as a whole and Nigeria in particular is endowed with religious tourist centres and rich cultural heritage that could no doubt be centres of attraction for foreigners like Saudi Arabia and Jerusalem where people around the globe travel to for religious worship. Though Nigeria claims to be a secular state, religion permeates and plays significant roles in the citizens' social conduct and in choosing political leaders. Although much had been written on African indigenous religion, there have been scanty works on how religion can be used as a tool for the overall development and to engender good governance. Therefore, this study shall explore how indigenous religion can be used to curtail some of our social and political vices for the development of Nigeria. Given the vast size of Africa as a continent, specific attention is given to Nigeria and the scope limited to the Yorùbá nation. The study adopts qualitative method of research with oral interview as tool for data collection. Twenty priests of indigenous religion and 20 worshipers purposively selected were interviewed, given their vast knowledge as custodians of the religion. Findings of this study provided insights on how African indigenous religion can be used to stimulate social and economic development not only in Nigeria but also across Africa.

Keywords: *indigenous religion, social and economic development, secularism, the yorùbá nation.*

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I. INTRODUCTION

African religion is an indigenous system of beliefs and practices which evolved from the culture and world views of the African peoples. According to Mwakabana¹, "African Religion is diverse in its local manifestations, but has common basic elements which testify to its unity regionally and at the central level". Idowu² also confirmed that African Religion has five component elements that are common. These are belief in God, belief in the divinities, belief in spirits, belief in ancestors, and the practice of magic and medicine. Mbiti³ accepted that African religious beliefs are

with topics such as God, spirits, human life, magic, the hereafter and so on.

Some of the world religions like Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism etc have founders who started them, but this is not the case with African Religion. It has evolved slowly through many centuries. As Africans responded to the situation of their life and experience, religious ideas and practices arose and took shape in the process of man's search for solutions to problems confronting him in order to make human life safer and better. According to Mbiti⁴, "There were no founders of African Religion. These days, however, there have been reformers, preachers or missionaries to changing it, improving it and they have even started taking the religion overseas to other continents, thus reminding us blacks lugubrious of African peoples carried away into slavery⁵." This sorry story (slave trade) however, is no longer tenable. The reverse, happily is the case. There are a lot of African missionaries who now travel abroad to propagate the religion, particularly the Yorùbá religion. This is cheering news

a) African/Yorùbá Indigenous Religious Belief System

African indigenous religion is the religion that sums up the total life of African in all its ramifications. It is a religion that permeates every aspect of African life. Religion itself is a fundamental and most relevant influence in the life of Africans. Sadly its essential principles are too often unknown to western scholars who make themselves constantly prone to misunderstand African worldviews and beliefs. These arm-chair scholars have forgotten that Africa has never at any time in life been left in a spiritual vacuum as to knowledge and idea about God (Supreme Being) before the arrival. The religion permeates every aspect of African life, and therefore cannot be studied in isolation. This is the reason why Mbiti⁶ asserted that Africans are notoriously religious. Wherever African is, there you find his religion. Idowu⁷ also has this to say about Africa and her religion that right from the womb, through birth,

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¹ Adams C. (ed) The Encyclopedia of Religion. Vol 3, New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. 21

² E. B. Idowu, 1973, *African Traditional Religion (A definition)* London: SCM Press Ltd, 139

³ John S. Mbiti, 1967, *African Religions and Philosophy*, London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 11

⁴ John S. Mbiti, 1967, *African Religions and Philosophy*, London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 151

⁵ Migene Gonzalez Wippler, 1981, *Santeria: African Magic in Latin America*, USA: Original Products Div. of Jamil Products Corp. 3

⁶ John S. Mbiti, 1967, *African Religions and Philosophy*, London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1

⁷ E.B. Idowu, 1982, *Olodumare God in Yoruba belief*, Nigeria: Longman Nigeria Limited, 5

infancy, puberty initiation, marriage and funeral, many African societies have religious rituals for each phase of life. Each day begins with prayer, offering of kola nut and pouring of libation. Each major step in the life of any given traditional communities involves certain consultation of diviners to ascertain the will of God and the spirits. It is rare to find any act, human or otherwise, without some religious explanation for it. Africans never lose the consciousness of the divine presence and intervention in their daily affairs. Their strong religious education has assured them that neither the advancement of science nor mere human endeavour is sufficient to solve the existential problems of man today and to guide his decision in daily understandings or still to guarantee happiness, peace and progress in the world.

In the religion of Africa, particularly the Yorùbá on which this paper centred, there are five distinct beliefs. These five beliefs sum up their total life mentioned above earlier. They are belief in Olódùmarè-God the Creator, belief in divinities, belief in spirits, belief in ancestors and belief in mysterious powers that manifested in magic and medicine. Olódùmarè is believed to be the creator of all things both on earth and in heaven. He is the holy one and the one that will judge individuals and the world at large at eschatology.

The Yorùbá as well as the whole of Africans hold the belief that as Olódùmarè created heaven and earth and all the inhabitants; so also did He bring into being the divinities (generally called *Orìṣàin* Yorùbáto serve His theocratic world. Divinities are little gods. They are part of divine status, because they were brought forth by Him. Therefore, they have all the attributes of the Supreme Being. According to the myth and information gathered from informants of their coming to the world, there is a place called *Ìkòlé* in *Èkìtì* state⁸. It was a route for every being from *Ìkòlé ọ̀run* to *Ìkòlé ayé*. (i.e. from *Ìkòlé* heaven to *Ìkòlé* earth) Divinities were the first inhabitants of the earthly world. Therefore, man met them on earth, and because of the spectacular roles that many of them played on earth, they became small gods to be worshipped, or, better still, they became errand boys and girls that men can send with their petitions to Olódùmarè since they realized their closeness to Him, Olódùmarè. The actual number of the divinities cannot easily be determined, it has variously been estimated for instance in Yorùbáland to be 200, 201, 400, 401, 600, 601, 1,700 or even more. Some are widely worshipped, some locally worshipped, while some are individually worshipped. There are at least four different categories of spirits in Africa namely, primordial divinities, lesser divinities like historical figures that were defied e.g. Sàngó, Ọya, Òmírán and Odùduwà who

some writers like Johnson⁹ claimed came from Mecca. So also are environmental spirits, that is, the natural phenomena. Spirits from the practice of magic and medicine also abound.

Spirits are common spiritual beings that are below the status of divinities and above the status of men. Although, divinities and ancestors are spirits, they are different from the spirits we are talking about here. The reason for their difference is that divinities and ancestors have shrines or temples dedicated to them. These are called domesticated spirits. The one we are talking about here are the undomesticated spirits that move from place to place. Sometimes they can create a place for themselves as an abode for rest. From there, they wonder about and come back later to rest. These type of spirits are very common and could either be dangerous or harmless, depending upon the mood and spot where they were confronted. The origin of a particular spirit depends on the group to which it belongs. Some spirits are considered to have been created as a race by themselves. According to Mbiti¹⁰ these spirits, like other living creatures, continued to reproduce themselves and add to their numbers. Some believe that spirits are the remains of men after their death. Spirits are believed to be invisible, but they can make themselves visible to human being at will. (D. O. Fágúnwà in his books^{11,12,13} talked much about these spirits). The general belief is that spirits are more powerful than men. This could be so because their power cannot be accessed because of the fact that they are most of the time invisible. However, these spirits are of various categories, the major ones are the ghosts, *emèrè*, *àbíké*, nature spirits, spirits of witchcraft and guardian spirits.

The Yorùbá, like any other Africans, believe in the active existence of the deceased ancestors, they are called the living dead. Almost all the religions in the world try to explain man in its totality. They believe that, besides the physical body of man that grow old and ultimately expires at the end of the day, there is another component of man that is intangible and indestructible that outlives the physical death. This is the soul. The Yorùbá identify five compounds parts that make up a man. These are *Ara*- the physical body of man, *òjìjì*-the human shadow. The third part of man identified by the Yorùbá is the *ọ̀kàń*. It is the heart that can be physically seen if man's body is opened through surgical

⁹ Samuel Johnson, 1969, *The History of the Yorubas*, London: Lowe & Braydon (Printers) Ltd, 3

¹⁰ John S. Mbiti, 1967, *African Religions and Philosophy*, London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 80

¹¹ D. O. Fagunwa, 1965, *Igbo Olodumare*, London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 39

¹² D. O. Fagunwa, 2008, *Adiutu Olodumare*, Nigeria: Evans Brothers (Nigeria Publishers) Limited, 14-17

¹³ D. O. Fagunwa, 2008, *Irinkerindo Ninu Igbo Elegbeje*, Nigeria: Evans Brothers (Nigeria Publishers) Limited, 55

⁸ Chief Olawale Ajongolo, an Ifa Priest, June 2016, *Oral Interview*, Itapa Ekiti.

operation. There is also *ẹ̀mí*, the seat of life. It is closely associated with breathing. When one dies, the *ẹ̀mí* will cease to function. Finally there is the real essence of being, the personality soul that guides and helps a person before he is born. This is what the Yorùbá called *orí inú*. When a man is born he is endowed with all the components parts of man. When he dies, the soul does not die. It goes to Olódumarè the source who disposes the soul as he pleases. It is this soul that the Yorùbá religion believe reincarnates and continues to live in the hereafter. This is the reason why the Yorùbá view death not as an extinction but as a change from one life to another. When the Yorùbá speak of the ancestors, therefore, it is the departed spirits of their forebears who live in the land of the spirits that the living still maintain relationship with. However, it is not every one who died that is qualified to be called the ancestor. To become an ancestor, the person must have lived well, attained an enviable old age, before he died and left behind good children. The ancestors are both male and female that attained all the qualifications mentioned above with a befitting burial.

Belief in mysterious powers which can alter the course of nature is very common, real and prevalent among the Yorùbá. Almost every Yorùbá who grew up in the village and town would understand this concept that manifests itself in the form of incantations, medicine, magic, sorcery and witchcraft. Incantation is interpreted in Yorùbá to mean *Qfọ, Àyáqóor Ogede*. It involves the chanting or uttering of words with magical power which sometime goes with some medicinal preparation that is carried in form of ring, armlet, gourd or needle. According to Dopamu¹⁴, incantation works more swiftly than any medicinal preparation. It is a matter between the physical world and the world of the spirit. Ogunba¹⁵ said incantation is an attempt by man to control the word by the use of assertions which manifest themselves in positive or negative affirmation with supernatural connections. Olatunji¹⁶ is of the view that, to control both the natural and the supernatural world, and subject them to do his bid, man uses incantation. Medicine is the use of available natural materials in treating and preventing disease or illness. Therefore, a good medicine man must be able first of all, to determine the etiology of a disease; then to cure or alleviate and prevent the disease. A medicine man can be a diviner, a priest and a manufacturer of charms. Sometimes he could be a professional herbalist who knows little about divination. Magic is defined by *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* as the secret power of appearing to make impossible things happen by saying

special words or doing special things, something that seems too wonderful to be real. It is a human art which involves the manipulation of certain objects which are believed to have power to cause a supernatural being to produce or prevent a particular result, which are considered not obtainable by natural means. It is a means of bending natural forces to obey the will of man. This is peculiar with the religion and life of the Yorùbá in particular and Africans in general.

Witches are called *Ajé* in Yorùbá. They are said to operate in groups. They can also operate individually. It is believed also that they operate through animals. They are mostly women. But few men can be found among their guild and they are (men) called *Abesẹ* and are equally called *oşó*. Some witches are inherited, while some are purchased with some money while some are born with it. It can be passed on through food. Witches, we hear operate at night at spiritual meetings only their souls are actively there; with their bodies at home. This is contrary to the ways Nollywood artists, particularly Yekini Ajileye in his films *OpaAje*¹⁷, *Koto-Orun*¹⁸ and *Koto-Aye*¹⁹ portrayed them in their plays where they are physically seen with their physical bodies in a role moving round the town to wreak havoc.

They are said to be meeting on top of trees, where they eat the flesh or suck the blood of their victims. We learn that victims of close relations among children are donated as meat. Once the soul of the victim is eaten, the victim dies physically. It is through the confessions of some of these witches that the scanty information people hear about witches come out. Whether a person is educated or not, he/she can be in witchcraft. Today, we learnt that there are a lot of educated women among them. This is evident in what Olukunle²⁰ claimed arose his interest in writing on witchcraft. According to him, the interest came as a result of a conversation between him and his classmate as undergraduate in the University of Ibadan. While there are bad witches, there are also good ones among them; benevolent ones claim claimed they protect their family with their witchcraft. They are however lone rangers, they don't belong to the groups. They are the set of witches that are bold to tell some close and very dear ones that they belong to such group. Although not to the level of revealing how they operate in their meetings.

They cannot be fought in the open. And it is *Ifá* oracle that can discover which particular witch is responsible for a victim's predicaments. This is the reason why many people wear charms, and make incisions to protect themselves from the activities of the

¹⁴ Dopamu P. Adejumo, 1977, *The Practice of Magic and Medicine in Yoruba Traditional Religion*, PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan, 555

¹⁵ O. Ogunba, 1967, *Ritual Drama of the Ijebu People: A Study of Indigenous Festivals*; PhD thesis, University of Ibadan, 187

¹⁶ O.O. Olatunji, 1970, *Characteristic Features of Yoruba oral poetry*, PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan, 197

¹⁷ Ajileye Films Industries, 1988, *Opa-Aje*

¹⁸ Ajileye Films Industries, 1989, *Koto-Orun*

¹⁹ Ajileye Films Industries, 1992, *Koto-Aye*

²⁰ Olusola Olukunle, 1979, *Witchcraft: A Study in Yoruba Belief and Metaphysics*, A PhD Thesis, submitted to the department of religious studies, university of Ibadan, 185

witches. These are what combine together to form African indigenous religion to which the Yorùbá religious belief also have its share. One may then wonder how all these belief system put together could be a catalyst for social and economic development. The answer is not far-fetched.

b) *African/Yorùbá Indigenous Religion as a Catalyst for Social and Economic Development*

Though Nigeria claims to be a secular state, yet hardly anything is done without the presence or reflection of religion. In choosing political leaders in Nigeria, religion plays significant roles. This is the reason why we see many would be political leaders trooping to religious centres and traditional rulers for their endorsements. However, among the Yorùbá, the *Ọbais* the monarch that wields the political authority and power, he is also the head of the religious life of the people. The king is therefore seen as holding power in trust for the Supreme Being, and he is usually greeted as *igbákejì Ọrìṣà*- second in command to the gods. To date, despite the advent of western civilization that opens the way for other religions which eventually have their own adherents, one cannot talk of a dichotomy between religion and politics in Yorùbáland. The King as the monarch is still expected to be non-partisan. He is therefore regarded as belonging to all the religions practiced by all his subjects. This is a principle copied from indigenous practitioners. Indigenous practitioners do not display religious self-centeredness, superiority and the idea of "my own religion is better than yours" as we have in other religions being practiced in Nigeria today. There is no *Ọrìṣà* that is better than another. Therefore, when an *Ọya* worshipper is celebrating, he invites *Ọgún*, *Ṣàngó*, *Ọbatalá* etc and they will all celebrate the festival together, thereby promoting love, unity, harmony and progress among them because of the fact that they believe that all these *Ọrìṣà* are from the same source, *Olódumare*. This has helped the entire Yorùbá people to carry on with their social and religious life without any bitterness in spite of the encroachment of foreign religions into their land. Any misunderstanding is always from the foreign religions who are trying to establish sound footing among the local people.

This issue of economic development would be approached from two dimensions. One through Yorùbá traditional festivals and sacred places or natural phenomena that could be centre of attraction like Saudi Arabia and Jerusalem. As earlier said, there are about 401 gods in Yorùbáland alone, prominent among whom are *Ọgún*, *Ṣàngó*, *Ọya*, *Ifá*, *Ọrìṣàṅlá*, *Egúngún*, *Oro*, *Ẹlẹkú*, *Agemo*, *Ẹṣù*, *Olokun*, *Ṣọpọna* or *Ọbalúaye*²¹. Many of these *Ọrìṣà* found their ways to Brazil, Cuba, Haiti,

and other parts of America through the slave trade and have remained celebrated there till date.²²

In *Ilé-Ife*, the sacred city of the Yorùbá, there are about 201 gods out of whom *Ọlọ́jọ́* festival, *Ifá* and new Yam festival, *Mọremí* in the festival of *Edi* and *Odùduwà*, the God-king festival are prominent among traditional festivals that are celebrated till today²³. Findings revealed that *Ọkẹ́ltaṣẹ*, (*oduń Ifáagbayé*)- an annual *Ifá* festival in *Ilé-Ife* alone, (a festival that lasted for only one day) usually attracted more than half of a million people into *Ilé-Ife* annually from all over the world and from all walks of life. During this festival, income generation of agricultural products, arts and sculptures, hotel accommodation, transportation, purchase of traditional wears and attires, books, videos and audio CDs always triple what is often generated throughout the year. If this festival alone is well-organized, whereby each state is assigned a day to display traditional music and other talents to entertain guests, or are merged together to form groups that would spread across seven days of the week and make it a week-long festival where the last day which would be the 7th day of the festival, a general celebration when annual *Ifá* divination could be performed, it is estimated that more than 500 million Naira could be generated through (sales of artefacts, hotel and catering services, selling of traditional wears, transportation as mentioned above) this means. Thus bringing in the economic values of the festival beyond the religious benefit that made people troop into *Ilé-Ife* annually for the festival²⁴ in the first place.

Other festivals that could generate income in such manner in Yorùbáland are *Ọgún* festival that is celebrated throughout Yorùbáland, particularly in On do town (where 200 dogs must be killed to celebrate the festival), *Igogo* festival in *Ọwọ*²⁵, *Ọkẹ́badán* in *Ibadán*, *Ọsun* *Ọsogbo* festival that already enjoys international recognition and patronage, *Ṣàngó* festival in *Ọyó* town, *Asabarí* festival in *Ṣákí*, *Àmọẹkún*, an annual *Ifá*/new yam festival in *Ìtápá-Èkítì* and *Údíroko* festival in *Adó-Èkítì* to mention but a few. In fact, it is a general assumption and belief that there is no town, no matter how small in Yorùbáland, where at least one or two traditional festivals are not celebrated in honour of either one of the prominent gods of the land or a deified personality like

²² Migene Gonzalez Wipper, 1981, *Santeria: African Magic in Latin America*; New York: Original products Div. of Jamal Products Corp. 103-123.

²³ Jacob, K. Olupona, 2001, *The City of 201 gods, Ile-Ife in Time, Space and the transformation, horizon*: University of California Press Ltd. 111, 141, 174, 203, 224

²⁴ Oyebamiji E. Oluwafemi, 2015, *The Relevance of Oke-Itase, Ile-Ife in the Religion Worship of Ifa in Yorubaland*, Long Essay Submitted for the Award of B.A. Religious Studies, Department of Religious Studies, University of Ibadan, 111

²⁵ Harold Courlander, 1974, *Tales of Yoruba Gods and heroes USA*: Crown Publishers Inc. 150

²¹ C.L. Adeoye, 1985, *Igbagboati Esin Yoruba, Ibadan*: Evans Brothers (Nigeria Publishers), Limited, iii-iv

Irèlẹ̀ in Ikirun, Àwòrò-Ọ̀sẹ̀ in Ilá-Ọ̀ràngún and Ọ̀balógun in Ilẹ̀sa among others²⁶.

These traditional festivals that spread across villages, towns and cities of Yorùbáland are capable of turning in millions of Naira yearly if properly harnessed. Thus, they are other means of internally generating revenue for the government, job creation and means of improving the lives of the people living in those communities. However, it is unfortunate that these festivals that are sources of income for some groups of people and individuals.

Apart from festivals, there are sacred places of natural phenomena that could attract the attention of both local and foreigners that could be developed as tourist centers to generate money for the government and create employment opportunities for people far and near. In the ancient City of Ile-Ife alone, there are several shrines, grooves and sacred forests that could be of interest to tourists. Such places like the sacred hill of *Ọ̀ramfẹ̀* at *Itangunmodi*, *Oòduà* shrine, the shrine of *Olokun*, the favorite wife of *Oòduà*, and the wealthiest woman of her time, *Omitoto-ọ̀sẹ̀* shrine, *Obatalá* shrine at *igbo Itapa*, *ItaYemoo* shrine, *Ọ̀rélùèrè* shrine, *Agírí òkè-Tašẹ̀*, home of *Ifa Ọ̀rúnmílá*, *Ogún* shrine, *Olúrogbo* shrine, *Ọ̀rànmiyàn* shrine, *Ajeshrine* and *Mọ̀remí Shrine*,²⁷. Other places of interest in Ilẹ̀- Ifẹ̀ are *Ìwínrín-igbo Úgbò* the homestead of the Úgbò people who were raiding and tormenting the *Ifẹ̀* people before *Mọ̀remí* discovered their secrets and were permanently subdued by *Ifẹ̀* people²⁸, *Okèlérí: Igbo Itapa*, *Igbo Kubolajẹ̀*, and *Igbo Odi*. These are sacred forests that have to do with the ceremonies in connection with the crowning, induction and burial of an *Ọ̀nì* of *Ifẹ̀*²⁹.

At *Ọ̀sogbo*, there are *Ọ̀sun* groove and shrine, *Olúmo* rock is in *Abeokuta*, *Idanrehill* in *Idanre, Ondo State*, four headed palm tree at *Owu-ile* in a forest where *Anlughbuà* shrine is located³⁰, *Okè'badàn* hill, *Ogún* forest in *Ìrè Èkítì*, *Ikogosi Warm Spring* in *Èkítì*. All these and many more are tourist centers in Yorùbáland alone. If other tribes in Nigeria are combined together, properly harnessed, given adequate attention and well-funded, it would surely boost the economy of the country. Besides, it will give Nigeria international recognition as a tourist, spiritual and religious country like Saudi Arabia and Jerusalem where thousands of people travel to every year as tourist and spiritual centers. Although efforts have been made by some state government to make some of these sacred places tourist attractions by

decorating and equipping them with modern facilities to attract the tourists, yet these efforts are still in adequate.

However, there are criticisms as to the sanctity of these places as religious centers because to the majority of people visiting the sites, I mean those that had been provided with decorations and modern facilities see those places as relaxation centers as against religious centers. This made Olupona³¹ argued that beautification of these sacred sites is alien are artificial to African cosmology as African aesthetic differs greatly from western aesthetic. While this may be true at the same time be a solution centers for spiritual problems that may be confronting individual groups, country and the entire country. This is so because Fagbemi³² maintained that some of the shrines in Ile-Ife are under lock and key. As a result, visitors are not allowed to go inside unless sacrifices are made previously in the interest of the visitors and the custodians who will conduct them round the shrines. Through this means alone, unknown problems are revealed and solutions are found for them.

Since individuals, groups and governments, either at local, or at federal level, would be involved in the development of these sacred centers, they will not be alien to the potency of the spiritual energy of the sacred centres. This awareness alone is enough to guide the choosing of credible political leaders that can curtail some of our social and political vices for the overall development and engender good governance forward on truth, love and harmony as found in indigenous religions. After all Mecca and Jerusalem where Nigerians travels to for spiritual purposes, there are rules and regulations guiding their conducts there which the people should be advised to continue with after leaving the holy centres. A very good example in Yorùbáland was the case of *Àdúnni Olórìṣà* who visited and remained behind at *Ọ̀sun Osogbo* shrine till she died.

II. CONCLUSION

It is evident that Nigeria has in abundance in the areas of religious festivals and sacred place that can improve the economy of this country and at the same time improve our social life that could otherwise curb some social and political vices. However, through emulation and imbibing the spiritual characters and guiding principles of these sacred centres, things would be better if the Yorùbáland alone with its numerous festivals and religious [places of interest could be of tourist attractions, how much more the whole Nigeria?

²⁶ N/A, 1977, *Yoruba Traditional Festivals*, Ibadan: Information Division of the Ministry of Local Government and Information, 15-19

²⁷ M.A.Fabunmi, 1969, *Ifẹ̀ Shrines*, Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press, 3-15

²⁸ Adelegan Adegbola, 2009, *Ile-Ife: The source of Yoruba civilization*, Lagos: Oduduwa: International Communications, 113

²⁹ M.A.Fabunmi 1969, *Ifẹ̀ Shrines*, Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press, 25

³⁰ Ige Z. Afolabi, 2016, *Anlughbuà: A God of Purity in Owu-Ile*, Long Essay Submitted for the Award of B.A. Religious Studies, Department of Religious Studies, University of Ibadan, 45

³¹ J.K. Olupona, 2001, "Orisa, Osun: Yorùba Sacred kingship and civil religion in Oshogbo" In *Osun across the waters: A Yoruba goddess in Africa and the Americas*, edited by Joseph Murphy and Mei-Mei sandford, Bloomington: India University Press, 46

³² M.A. Fagbemi, 1969, *Ifẹ̀ Shrines*, Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press, ix

However, it is quite unfortunate that it is being neglected by the tiers of government in Nigeria, by not adequately catering for these countries thereby, missing the revenues we are supposed to be generating through the source.

It will therefore be good if government can do something about this, by starting from the local government level through the finance of some of these festivals to create an awareness for the state through which it will gain national recognition, and later develop to international standards. To achieve this, serious minded people who love culture should be invited to run the affairs by collaborating with the custodians of these festivals and sacred places. Through understanding, reasonable income will be generated by the government and the life of the country and people involved will be the better for it.

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The Influence of Online Marketing of Jumia and Konga on Consumer Purchasing Behaviour among Kogi State Residents of Nigeria

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Abstract- The sharp increase of Internet usage, as well as, the systematic progress of information technology has transformed the way goods are bought and sold, resulting to the exponential growth in the number of online shoppers. The advances in Internet technology allow for the expansion of shopping options beyond traditional methods that may be more time consuming. This study sought to examine the influence of online marketing on the purchasing behaviour of Kogi State residents. It also looked at the level of awareness of online marketing among Kogi resident, the factors that influence online shopping behaviour of consumers, the level of patronage for the online stores in Kogi State and the degrees of various challenges faced by online customers of Jumia and Konga in general. Understanding the factors that influence the consumers buying behaviour is imperative towards repositioning a business for success. The technology acceptance model and uses and gratifications theory were employed in this study.

Keywords: online marketing, purchasing behaviour, online shopping.

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THE INFLUENCE OF ONLINE MARKETING OF JUMIA AND KONGA ON CONSUMER PURCHASING BEHAVIOUR AMONG KOGI STATE RESIDENTS OF NIGERIA

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:



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Anthony Ekwueme^α & Akagwu, Akoji Nehemiah^ο

Abstract- The sharp increase of Internet usage, as well as, the systematic progress of information technology has transformed the way goods are bought and sold, resulting to the exponential growth in the number of online shoppers. The advances in Internet technology allow for the expansion of shopping options beyond traditional methods that may be more time consuming. This study sought to examine the influence of online marketing on the purchasing behaviour of Kogi State residents. It also looked at the level of awareness of online marketing among Kogi resident, the factors that influence online shopping behaviour of consumers, the level of patronage for the online stores in Kogi State and the degrees of various challenges faced by online customers of Jumia and Konga in general. Understanding the factors that influence the consumers buying behaviour is imperative towards repositioning a business for success. The technology acceptance model and uses and gratifications theory were employed in this study. The survey method of research was used to elicit answers and public opinion on their online shopping experience so far. It was discovered that a lot of individuals are aware of online marketing, especially the youth demographic, also that people shop online majorly because of the convenient and time saving, they also indicated the major challenges they encountered as delivery time frame of products and services. Some of the solution suggested towards the improvement of online marketing are; enactment of e-commerce law, licensing online marketers, and timely resolutions of complaints among others.

Keywords: online marketing, purchasing behaviour, online shopping.

1. INTRODUCTION

Globalization and the growth in new technological developments has commenced a new era of e-commerce which is viewed by Kalakota and Whinston (1997) as trading of information, goods and services mostly via the internet, leading to the growth of online shopping or e-shopping. Today, with the aid of information and modern communication technologies, consumers are able to shop via the Internet using several Social Media network and different websites (Toomey & Wysocki, 2005). This type of shopping mode can come in several names such as; online shopping, online buying behavior and Internet shopping.

Shopping mode refers to the process of purchasing and buying products or services via the Internet using several Social Media and different websites (Li & Zhang, 2002).

Online shopping is a new trend of trade that emerged as a result of the overbearing usefulness of the internet as an information dissemination tool or platform. The sharp increase of Internet usage, as well as, the systematic progress of Information Technology has transformed the way goods are bought and sold, resulting to the exponential growth in the number of online shoppers. As a new marketing channel, e-commerce can be characterized by easy access, relatively low organizational set-up cost, a global reach, time independence and interactivity. The advances in Internet technology allow for the expansion of shopping options beyond traditional methods that may be more time consuming. Issues with having to physically gather information with offline shopping methods are alleviated, and customers are better able to efficiently use their time. For instance, instead of having to physically visit different stores to compare prices or rely on circular pamphlets in newspapers, a consumer is able to search and retrieve needed information through the Internet. The Internet explosion has opened the doors to a new electronic world. Consumers are now able to use the Internet for a variety of purposes such as research, communication, online banking, online marketing and even shopping.

The emergence of social media began in the early days of internet when people started sharing information and communicating with one another (Boyd and Ellison, 2010) but unfortunately; the platforms used then were more '*technology intensive*' and required some level of expertise before use. Hence, the number of people using social media platforms then was limited. Over a period of time as technology advanced, platforms that are less sophisticated were developed thus, enabling billions of regular internet users, without any technology background, to use the services (Boyd et al., 2010).

Online marketing and shopping is becoming quite popular in Nigeria, due to its relative convenience and the reasonable prices. And in the light of this, many firms in Nigeria have also started plunging into using these platforms. The Nigerian experiences in all these

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have been partially explored. Ayo (2011) surprisingly asserted that in spite of the growth rate of internet marketing, consumers still assess business website only to source for information but yet make their purchases traditionally. Possible factors responsible for such behaviour like technology fit, trust and risk (security issues), internet infrastructures were tested.

The work seeks to validate empirically, while analyzing Jumia and Konga online marketing and the impact of same on consumers' purchasing behaviour.

II. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The evolution and rapid adoption of social media networks across all countries of the world today has spurred many businesses to devising strategies in order to invite millions of active users of the networks to their product offerings usually on their own websites. Nigeria is not exempted of this growing phenomenon. Many businesses in the country now strive to replicate those online dealings and transaction patterns which their counterpart abroad practice. In spite of the growth rate of internet marketing, observations and inferences based on the strength of empirical substantiations show that the intensity of internet shopping acceptance in Nigeria is still very low irrespective of the current gush in the number of internet users. Pastore (2000) submitted that despite the significant increase of Internet shopping in the past, fewer people than anticipated actually purchase electronically. He further argued that in reality, people increasingly use the medium to obtain information but not for purchasing products. Similarly, Ayo (2011) surprisingly asserted that in spite of the growth rate of internet marketing, consumers still assess business website only to source for information but yet make their purchases traditionally. It is equally doubted that the percentage of Internet users in Nigeria who purchase products online is in anywhere near the records documented in this respect in other countries.

It is on the aforementioned premise the work seeks to assess the influence of online marketing on the purchasing behaviour of Kogi State residents using Jumia and Konga. Understanding the behaviour of online consumers is a priority issue for practitioners competing in the fast expanding virtual market place.

a) Objectives of the Study

1. To determine the level of awareness of online marketing among Kogi residents.
2. To determine the factors that motivate online shopping behaviour of consumers in Kogi State.
3. To determine the level of patronage for the online stores in Kogi State.
4. To examine the degrees of various challenges faced by online customers of Jumia and Konga in Kogi State.

b) Research Questions

1. What is the level of awareness of online marketing among Kogi residents?
2. What are the factors that motivate online shopping behaviour of consumers in Kogi State?
3. What is the level of patronage for the online stores in Kogi State?
4. What are the degrees of various challenges faced by online customers of Jumia and Konga in Kogi State?

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The technological acceptance model and uses and gratifications theory form the theoretical base of this study. The technology acceptance model, being an upgrade of the technological determinism theory is an information systems theory that models how users come to accept and use information technology. The model was developed in 1986 by Fred Davis to predict the acceptability of an information system. This model suggests that the acceptability of an information system is determined by two factors: Perceived Usefulness (PU) and Perceived Ease of Use (PEOU).

Perceived Usefulness (PU) is defined as being the degree to which a person believes that the use of a system will improve his or her job performance. Perceived Ease of Use (PEOU) on the other hand refers to the degree to which a person believes that using a particular system would be free from effort.

The technology acceptance model postulates that the use of an information system is determined by the behavioral intention, but on the other hand, that the behavioral intention is determined by the person's attitude towards the use of the system and also by the perception of its utility.

There are also other factors the consumers will consider in rejecting online marketing. Those factors are; inability to use the internet and inadequate internet connection, lack of trust, delivery in time frame and payment problem.

The model is relevant to this work in the sense that it provides an explanation into why the Internet, being a recent technology of communication, is adopted by users for their marketing communications activities. Such factors responsible for the acceptance and adoption by most users are the perceived usefulness and ease of use it offers. Notwithstanding other factors such as trust also influence its usefulness.

Uses and gratifications theory on the other hand is an audience-centered approach to understanding why and how people actively seek out specific media to satisfy specific needs. The theory focuses on what people do with media rather than what media do to people. Affirming this, Asemah (2011, p. 169) posits that "the theory seeks to investigate what people do with a communication content instead of what the

communication content does to them. It assumes that audience members are not passive consumers of media. Rather, the audience has power over their media consumption and assumes an active role in interpreting and integrating media into their own lives. Unlike other theoretical perspectives, uses and gratifications theory holds that audiences are responsible for choosing media to meet their desires and needs to achieve gratification. Folarin cited in Asemah (2011, p. 169) notes that the theory perceives the recipient as actively influencing the effect process since they selectively choose, attend to, and retain the media messages on the basis of their needs, beliefs, etc.

Nonetheless, the theory is important to this paper as it provides an insight into the reasons why consumers accept or are not responding to online shops irrespective of the gains accrued from selling and buying online.

IV. LITERATURE REVIEW

a) *Overview of online marketing in Nigeria*

The emergence of the Internet on the shores of human communities has affected and still changing the way information are accessed thereby bringing about new communication culture. One of the new ways of creating a shared meaning engendered by the Internet is through online marketing also known as e-commerce. Suffice to say that the Internet has redefined the way producers, marketers and consumers relate. Regardless of the size, a number of businesses nowadays are embracing Internet marketing. Tokunbo (2017, p. 1) note that it is no longer news that there has been a phenomenal increase in the amount of internet users in Nigeria. In the same vein, the number of online financial transactions has largely increased over the years. Similarly, Ayo, Adewoye and Oni cited in Tokunbo (2017) noted that businesses in the country have taken their means of communicating and trading with their consumers to the online space.

Online marketing is the use of Internet for the selling, buying and delivery of goods and services. Through this, the country has revolutionized the mode of business transactions by providing customers with the ability to invest, distribute, explore and purchase anytime and anywhere access to the internet is available.

Despite the emerging growth of e-commerce world over, less than the expected population in Nigeria are lagging behind in its adoption. Ayo et al in Tokunbo (2017) explained that "what this means is that there is still a growth expectancy...as regards the Internet marketing in Nigeria". Notwithstanding, the increase in online marketing would be sporadic and much better, but this has stalled because of the reluctance of Nigerians to embrace the online community as a result of trust. The reason according to them include high level

of illiteracy in the country, the fact that there is no express legislation that deals with e-commerce, high levels of internet scams and 419 etc.

It is pathetic to note that e-commerce is constantly growing in Nigeria with no highly structured legal and regulatory framework at the moment. Corroborating, Tokunbo (2017) posit that in Nigeria, significant efforts on the regulation of e-commerce – related activities are still at the stage of Draft Bills before the National Assembly. He identified the Nigerian bill on Cyber Crimes and the Electronic Transaction Bill which is modeled on the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL), as an example. The draft bill on Cyber Crimes when enacted provides the legal and institutional base for combating cyber crime in Nigeria and ensuring cyber security.

Suffice to say that "the governments of New Zealand and Britain have taken the initiative to establish practice that would ensure fair business practices, customer dispute resolution processes, etc" (Tokunbo, 2017). The Nigerian government can toe this line to properly deal with the challenges facing e-commerce. Albeit, the more daunting work of enforcement of codes and standards would need to be pursued with all vigour.

The whole world is relying more on the Internet presently than ever before, and the speed at which it has influenced commercial dealings in Nigeria beginning from banking and telecommunications cannot be overemphasized. Major influence from online marketing with the advent of websites like Jumia.com and Konga.com etc, attention must be drawn to the urgent need to address the legal issues and problems presently confronting online marketing in Nigeria.

b) *The concept of consumer behaviour*

Consumer behaviour is the way a person act towards a particular idea or situation that requires his or her response. Consumer behaviour is defined as "the processes involved when individuals or groups select, purchase, use or dispose of products, services, ideas or experiences to satisfy needs and desires." (Solomon, Bamossy, Askegaard and Hogg, 2010, p. 6). Another definition of consumer behaviour is "the dynamic interaction of affect and cognition, behaviour, and environmental events by which human beings conduct the exchange aspects of their lives" (Bennett, 1989). Study of consumer behaviour has shifted from why people purchase to consumption behaviour (Blythe, 2008). One of the important aspects of consumer behaviour is market segmentation, because consumers within the segment are more or less similar in terms of products needs and desire (Lantos, 2011). Market segmentation consists of different categories for instance demographics (age, gender, social class), geographic (region, country differences), psychographic (personality, life style) and behavioral (brand loyalty, benefit desire) (Solomon, et al, 2010).

Steps in Consumer decision-making process (Kardes, Cronley, Cline, 2011):

- **Problem Recognition:** There are those decisions which are easily recognized, defined, and solved (needs for food items) but there are unexpected problems as well that are hard to solve (needs of car). There are different factors that affect problem recognition step such as social factors, cultural factors, reference groups, and environmental factors (Hawkins & Mothersbaugh, 2010).
- **Information search:** Once a problem is recognized, consumers begin to seek about relevant information. There are two types of information sources; internal and external information search. Internal includes word of mouth, stores visit, trial and online social networking and social media (Kardes, et al, 2011). Nowadays, online environment effectively involves in purchase decisions process and Internet has become an important tool for information search. The different types of decisions influence on the level and direction of the search (Hawkins, et al, 2010).
- **Evaluation of alternative:** In this step, consumers start to compare and evaluate several alternatives in terms of products features and their desire and needs. Sometimes consumers' choices are based on simple decision such as "buy the cheapest products" but there are some decisions that are complex and consist of different processes and stages. In this stage consumers consider which alternative would be the best to fulfill their need (Blythe, 2008).
- **Product choice:** Once consumers have found their relevant alternatives and evaluated them, they should make their choice among the alternatives. Consumers choose the certain products because the product appeals to them. The choice can be influenced by the gathered information from different sources. Therefore Internet is an effective tool in this stage (Hawkins et al, 2010).
- **Post-purchase evaluation:** the quality of the decision becomes important in this stage of process and how well the choice worked out. Consumers start to compare their perceptions of the product with their expectations (Kardes, et al, 2011).

Consumer decision making model according to Payne (2012, p. 12)



Consumers recognize a gap between their desired and they state them, they will further search for information on products that will satisfy that desire, form a consideration set of products, to be able to make a decision and purchase from those alternatives, they also evaluate the purchase, (Payne 2012, p. 12). According to Silverman (2001, p. 33), there are many brands competing for attention, therefore an interesting blog post or a compelling video on YouTube can be the stage quo in which a prospect pays attentions and gains awareness of a product or a service. During the stages of consumer decision process, social media is applicable as both a prompt (awareness) and as a validation (support the purchase decision that takes place, (Evans 2008).

c) Factors affecting online marketing in Nigeria

With e-commerce being at an early stage in most third world countries of the world, online shopping trend in Nigeria is not as advanced as it is in the UK and other developed countries. Although, the people engage in online banking (e-banking), most people are still not open to the idea of shopping online and prefer to carry out their transactions traditionally, i.e. face-to-face. Previous researches on the slow adoption of e-commerce and online shopping have identified various contributing factors (Folorunso, 2006; Adeyeye, 2008; Ajayi, 2008; Ayo, 2008; Egwali, 2009; Adeshina and Ayo, 2010). One of such factors is accessibility to the Internet. A recent study on internet usage in the UK reveals that 82.5% of the total population (62, 348, 447 people) are internet users and 29.4% (18,354,000 people) are broadband subscribers (Internet World Stats, 2010). This ease of access to the Internet has been identified as one of the factors encouraging the adoption and growth of e-commerce and online shopping in the UK (Sopramanien and Robertson, 2007).

In contrast, majority of the Nigerian population do not have access to the Internet. A recent study on internet usage in Nigeria reveals that about 16.1% of the total population (149,229,090 people) are internet users and less than 1% of the populace (i.e. 67,800 people) are broadband internet subscribers (Internet World Stats, 2009). From these percentages, it is evident that only a fraction of the population uses the Internet and even those who access it do so through numerous cybercafés scattered all over urban parts of the country (Ayo, 2006).

Another factor affecting the use of e-commerce for online shopping in Nigeria "is the lack of a nationally acceptable payment method for online goods and services" (Ajayi, 2008). He suggests that the low level of e-Payment infrastructure in the country, serves as a hindrance to public participation in e-commerce. From previous researches carried out on e-payment in Nigeria, it is evident that the Automated Teller Machine (ATM) is the most prominent method of payment in Nigeria (Adekunle, 2008). Most individuals have at least one bank ATM (cash) card because they find it to be a convenient means of banking without having to queue up in banks for cash. However, Ayo (2008, P. 2) states that though the use of the ATM is widely accepted nationwide, "it is only a means for making local payments and not for e-commerce services" such as online shopping and this has a negative effect on online shopping in Nigeria.

Adeyeye (2008, p. 1) also identifies another crucial factor affecting online shopping in Nigeria to be the shortage of indigenous online vendors. Most people who shop online do so from foreign online vendors like Amazon and EBay because there are very few credible online vendors in Nigeria. However, shopping from these foreign vendors can be discouraging due to high shipping costs and most orders not being processed. Nigeria has had a negative reputation for years as one of the world's most corrupt countries engaging in wide scale Internet fraud. A recent survey by the Internet Crime Complaint Center (IC3) ranks Nigeria third in the world with 8.0% of perpetrators of cybercrime living in Nigeria after the US (65.4%) and UK (9.9%) (Internet Crime Complaint Center, 2009). This percentage when compared with the total population of Nigerians (i.e. over 140 million people) poses a considerable threat to the Internet world. Hence, most online vendors are wary when dealing with orders from Nigeria for fear of fraud. It was also observed that, the few online vendors that exist do not have a "structured way of presenting information (product categories) to users and besides, they offered little assistance in helping customers find appropriate products" (Ajayi, 2008 p.7). This makes it difficult for customers to use their websites for online shopping purposes and this could be the reason why most Nigerian companies with online presence had minimal commercial activities taking place (Ayo, 2008 p. 4).

It is therefore not surprising that only a fraction of the Nigerian populace engage in online shopping. A recent study by Adeyeye shows that only 16% of the sample surveyed shop online and the most popular payment methods used in Nigeria were the prepaid card system and direct payment to vendors.

However, due to poor internet access, lack of structured e-payment systems, few online vendors often requiring offline payments, and other factors affecting online shopping in Nigeria, only a fraction of the Nigerian populace engage in online shopping. Most people would rather engage in face-to-face transactions than go through these troubles associated with online shopping.

V. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Survey research design was adopted for the study. Survey is considered useful because it is important in obtaining information from the population about their opinion, attitude and behaviour towards a subject. Since the major source of primary data for the study were the views of the members of the public its adoption was imperative. According to Ohaja (2003, p. 11) "survey is a study of the characteristics of a sample through questioning that enable the researcher to make generalization concerning his population of interest." Consequently, since the study focused on human behaviour and cognition, thus making the survey research design more appropriate.

a) *Population of the Study*

Population of study refers to all the entire members or elements in which the researcher is interested" (Adefila, 2008, p. 20). Ohaja (2003, p.75) sees population as "all those persons or things that fall under the umbrella of the topic or that can be examined to address the research problem or meet the research objectives." The population of this study are residents in the 21 local government of Kogi State. In order to arrive at a sample, purposive sampling was used and 384 respondents spanning across the three senatorial districts from whom the primary data were elicited. Data was collected through personal administration of 384 copies of questionnaire to the respondents. However, 364 copies were recovered hence data analyses were based on the 364 copies of questionnaire that were recovered.

b) *Data presentation and analysis*

This section is guided by the four research questions used in the study. The research questions were answered using quantitative (questionnaire) research method.

Research Question 1: What is the level of awareness of online marketing among Kogi residents?

Table 1: Aware of online marketing

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	354	97.3
No	10	2.7
Total	364	100

The table reveals that more than half of the residents of Kogi State are aware of online businesses. 354 respondents representing 97.3% confirmed their awareness of online marketing in Nigeria while, 10 respondents representing 2.7% declined knowledge of any online marketing.

Research Question 2: What is your main motivation for buying through the Internet?

Table 2

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Convenience	76	57.1
Price	33	24.8
Saves time	20	15
Any other	4	3.1
Total	133	100

From the table above, it is evident that generally people who shoponline do so for the sake of convenience. To this end, 57.1% of respondents selected convenience. On the other hand, price is a propelling factor why some of those who engage in online shopping do so as indicated by 24.8% of the respondents.

Research Question 3: What is the level of patronage for the online stores in Kogi State?

To answer the above research question, items 4, 7 and 10 on the questionnaire was used to elicit data from respondents. The following tables therefore represent data collected.

Table 3.1: Preference of online shopping to any other shopping

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	100	27.5
No	264	72.5
Total	364	100

Table 3.2: Have ever purchased a product online

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	133	36.5
No	231	63.5
Total	364	100

Table 3.3: Frequency of online shopping

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Everyday	0	0
Sometimes	60	45.1
Rarely ever	73	54.9
Total	133	100

From tables 3.1-3.3 above, it is obvious that the percentage of respondents who prefer traditional shopping to online shopping is very high (72.5%). To confirm this claim, it is evident from table 3.2 that only a handful of respondents (36.5%), have ever bought from online stores. Notwithstanding, it is noteworthy to point out that those who ever purchased a product online, do not always or often patronize online stores.

Research Question 4: What are the degrees of various challenges faced by online customers of Jumia and Konga in Kogi State?

Table 4

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Delivery time frame	72	54.1
Quality of products	44	33.1
Inadequate internet connection	11	8.3
Card payment problems	6	4.5
Total	133	100

From the data above, it can be inferred that the problems of delivery time frame and quality of products ordered by customers are some of the major challenges faced by online customers. It is evident from the data in table 4 above that respondents who had the challenge of delivery time frame were 72(54.1%), respondents with the challenge of quality of products were 44(33.1%) respectively.

VI. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Having presented the data collected from this study, they will be discussed alongside the earlier drawn research questions.

First it is clear from the study that majority of the respondents in Kogi State are aware about online marketing in Nigeria. This was the views of 97.3% of the respondents who affirmed their knowledge of online marketing in Nigeria.

This could be said that many people all over Nigeria know about online marketing. This is in line with a study by Folorunso (2006, p. 226), that 70% of the respondents surveyed had heard about e-commerce before in Nigeria, but only 32% had used it. This means that more and more Nigerians are becoming increasingly aware of online shopping and its procedures.

The second research question centres on the factors that motivate online shopping behaviour of consumers in Kogi State. Evidence from the research data show that people access online stores mainly because of the convenience inherent with it. 57% respondents attested to this. Suffice to say that this finding is in line with Beauchamp and Ponder (2010) who carried out a study on measuring consumer perception of online shopping convenience. They examined the major differences in store and online

stores. In their findings, consumers perceived online shopping as being more convenient for purposes of access and search convenience. This goes to show that while online access convenience focuses on accessible website and unlimited access to shipping, offline transaction convenience focuses on the quick and complete purchasing methods.

However, Wolfenbarger and Gilly (2000) in their research on consumer motivation for online shopping found out that online buyers described online shopping as being enjoyable, fun and sociable. Many other researchers have also carried out studies to better understand consumer's behaviour towards online shopping.

Research question three sought to ascertain the level of patronage for the online stores in Kogi State. Tables 3.1-3.3 answered the question. Maximum numbers of respondents (72.5%) prefer other shopping to online shopping, majority rated online shopping as fair and patronized majorly sometimes and rarely ever. This shows that the level or degree of patronage of online stores in Kogi State and Nigeria in general is low. This finding is in collaboration with Pastore (2000) who submitted that despite the significant increase of Internet shopping in the past, fewer people than anticipated actually purchase electronically. He further argued that in reality, people increasingly use the medium to obtain information but not for purchasing products. It is equally doubted that the percentage of Internet users in Nigeria who purchase products online is in anywhere near the records documented in this respect in other countries. The Nigerian experiences in all these have been partially explored. Also, Ayo (2011) surprisingly asserted that in spite of the growth rate of internet marketing, consumers still assess business website only to source for information but yet make their purchases traditionally. Possible factors responsible for such behaviour might be technology fit, trust and risk (security issues), internet infrastructures, etc.

The fourth research question boards on the challenges face by online customers of Jumia and Konga. Notwithstanding the various degree of challenges, the challenges of late delivery and the quality of products are the major issues that need to be addressed. From the data presented in table 4 above, 54.1% and 33.1% respondents affirmed to these challenges respectively. It can be concluded that these challenges are the hindrances towards online marketing adoption among Kogi State residents and Nigeria as a whole.

Some researchers also found out similar challenges such as; Folorunso (2006, p. 224) who identifies factors affecting the adoption of e-commerce in Nigeria as "establishing cost, accessibility, privacy and confidentiality, data security, network reliability, credit card threat, authenticity, citizen's income and education". Data security and citizen's income were

concluded to be the major factors impeding the adoption of e-commerce in Nigeria. Ayo (2006, p. 2) also identifies the issue of cyber-crime as a major factor responsible for the low level of e-commerce implementation in Nigeria. Ayo (2008, p. 2) states that "Internet penetration is still abysmally low and is one of the major threats to e-commerce implementation in the country". Other factors identified in previous studies include substandard online payment methods, lack of trust in web retailers, poor technological infrastructures, and fear of inadequate security in online environments (Adeyeye, 2008; Ajayi, 2008; Ayo, 2008; Adeshina, 2010).

All these factors mentioned, discourage most people from fully adopting and using e-commerce, thereby hindering the development of e-commerce in Nigeria.

VII. CONCLUSION

This research shows that online marketing in Kogi state is well known and majority of the respondents are aware of Jumia and Konga more. From the study it can be seen that majority of the respondents who patronize online shopping adopt that because of the convenience and time saving factor they obtain from it. But despite this increase, many are still skeptical about it and are either unaware it works or doubtful that they aren't genuine enough. From the research carried out, it has been revealed that people do not trust online shopping fully because of factors such as; challenge of delivery time frame, quality of products, inadequate internet connection and card payment problem. Also, the literacy level of many Nigerians towards online shopping is relatively low as many of them do not understand online shopping procedures and still prefer traditional shopping.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

From the whole survey and calculated results, the researcher recommends that:

1. The National Assembly should as a matter of urgency, make enactment of e-commerce law a priority. When this happens, the country will enjoy the benefits of a secure and regulated online commercial environment thereby winning public trust.
2. In line with the above, online business operators should be registered and licensed before operating in the country. This will go a long way in checking the excesses of online fraudsters.
3. E-commerce portals/marketers should provide a platform for price negotiation as well as keep the price levels very low, as price attracts many valuable customers while proper and timely delivery, zero product damage and quality checks must be kept in mind.

4. Online marketers should create a delivery model which guarantees that orders made get delivered within few hours or the same day an order is made. Also online business operators should create an avenue for speedy resolution of customers' complaints.

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Theoretical Perspectives on Media and Modernity

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Introduction- My line of argument is informed by Husserl's phenomenological approach that distinguishes between life worlds and theoretical worlds, and Victor Turner's approach that makes the distinction between analytical and metaphorical constructs. The bottom line of both arguments is that an analytical concept or a life world, such as law, can be defined, analyzed, and expanded; while a metaphorical one or a theoretical word like modernity cannot be. The former is dissociated from the intellectual interpretation of the world; while the latter is build into it.

It is challenging to explain the difference between life world and theoretical world in a few words. Phenomenology¹ 1. Reduction of the theoretical world (Weltanschauung) tries to "reduce" experience to the "pure" consciousness. In order to reach this pure consciousness one has to follow the way of "reduction". In a way of a very superficial simplification, the following four or five steps may be addressed:

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Theoretical Perspectives on Media and Modernity

Joseph Alagha

MEDIA, MODERNITY, MODERNIZATION AND SECULARIZATION

I. INTRODUCTION: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

My line of argument is informed by Husserl's phenomenological approach that distinguishes between life worlds and theoretical worlds, and Victor Turner's approach that makes the distinction between analytical and metaphorical constructs. The bottom line of both arguments is that an analytical concept or a life world, such as law, can be defined, analyzed, and expanded; while a metaphorical one or a theoretical word like modernity cannot be. The former is dissociated from the intellectual interpretation of the world; while the latter is built into it.

It is challenging to explain the difference between life world and theoretical world in a few words. Phenomenology¹ tries to "reduce" experience to the "pure" consciousness. In order to reach this pure consciousness one has to follow the way of "reduction". In a way of a very superficial simplification, the following four or five steps may be addressed:

1. Reduction of the theoretical world (*Weltanschauung*)
2. Reduction of the self evidence of the life world (the non theoretical world, i.e. all what seems to be "normal", "usual", "daily")
3. Reduction of one's own intentionality
4. Development of a "typic" (*Wesensschau*).

Thus, one may describe the life world as the "direct experience of one's own world" (*Unmittelbarkeit der Lebenserfahrung*) and "theoretical world" (based upon a priori categories of experiencing) as the rational objective perception of the world. Both should be "reduced" within the process of "experience" (*Erkenntnis*) in order to reach the pure consciousness of being.

It should be noted that Husserl seems to have associated *Lebenswelt* ("Common-Sense-World") with two different meanings: a) Universe of perceptibility (general world) and b) concrete universality (special world).

Husserl's critique of the naturalistic interpretation of human being as a psychophysical reality is linked to the foundation of the cultural sciences (*Geisteswissenschaften*). [2] Scientific analysis and explanation must respect the ontology of their subject. The more fundamental material ontology of the world we experience, which Husserl later calls "the ontology of the life-world", leads to a distinction of the so-called fundamental regions or basic ontological categories of this world. He identifies three of these: material nature, animate being and spirit.[3] A regional being is the object of and thus for Husserl constituted by a specific experience. For instance, the perception of a material thing differs from the experience of an animate being. This original experience is the basis of the material ontology, that identifies the essential (eidetic) ontological structures of a regional being by the method of "ideative abstraction" (*ideierende Abstraktion*).[4] Scientific theory is bound by this specific experience and by the eidetic structure of its object, that must be taken into account in the conceptual framework.[5] With each different region comes a different set of concepts and thus a different explanation. Therefore the three kinds of experience of regional beings found three different kinds of science: the science of the material world, the science of animated nature and finally cultural science. [6] Since animate being is a unity of Body and soul (*Seele*), the science of this being consists of two disciplines: somatology and psychology.[7] When a scientific discipline explains a regional being by concepts that cannot be applied to it, a fundamental problem arises. (Hua V, p. 91) This is the case with the naturalistic interpretation of animate being.[8]

In order to clarify this, a further distinction, that is relevant for the foundation of the cultural sciences and cuts through this threefold classification, must be mentioned. For Husserl, scientific knowledge develops in the context of a specific attitude, of which he distinguishes two kinds: the naturalistic and the personalistic attitude. (Hua IV, §§2-3, §34, §49, §62) Although this distinction is typical for Husserl, it fits in the discussion in German philosophy of science at the time, where people like Dilthey, Rickert and Windelband were arguing for the specificity of the cultural sciences against the natural sciences (*Geisteswissenschaften* versus *Naturwissenschaften*). It is important to note that this distinction results in the constitution of two comprehensive scientific domains, viz. nature and spirit,

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azian University, Beirut, Lebanon. e-mail: jalagha2001@yahoo.com

¹ The following exposition relies heavily on the following two books:
Husserl's Phenomenology of Animate Being and *The Critique of
Naturalism*, by Peter Reynaert.

which do not exactly map on the above identified regions. This is due to the ambiguous nature of animate being. Material nature appears in the naturalistic attitude that entails the interpretation of animate being as psychophysical reality. [9] Spirit is studied in the personalistic attitude that involves a completely different comprehension of animate being. Husserl claims that the naturalistic study of human being as a psychophysical reality, constituted by causal relations, has only a limited validity, because it does not succeed in clarifying the specificity of human existence. A crucial element of his critique is that this failure is the result of wrong ontological categories. He ultimately derives his arguments for this critique from the analysis of the original experience and from the ontology of animate being. The proper study of human existence requires a personal attitude, which is foundational for the cultural sciences. [10].

II. BENEDICT ANDERSON'S IMAGINED COMMUNITIES

Benedict Anderson in his book entitled *Imagined Communities* is deconstructing the notion of a community and the phenomenon of nationalism which is relatively new. A modern state is about the distinction between 'us' and 'them' and the mechanisms of deciding upon that. Anderson clarifies that the notion of national community developed in tales, novels, and historical writings. Surveying the conditions under which national identities were formed, Anderson argues that the most salient variables for the creation of these "imagined communities" are the decline of religion and the rise of vernacular languages under the influence of print capitalism as the most salient aspect of modernization in relation to commercialism and capitalism. As early as the 16th century, print capitalism was instrumental in creating a sense of nation. Print capitalism led to a mass production of mass audiences; people who communicate in print language form a community. In other words, the exploitation of print led to the emergence of a sort of a new consciousness of the community, a national awareness and the breakdown of religion, or the monopoly of the Catholic Church over Europe.² As a result, Latin was replaced by vernacular languages. Martin Luther took advantage of this eventuality and embarked on commercial printing as a best seller writer using the German language. Eventually, this led to the harmonization of linguistic reason making the dissemination of the message easier and within the reach of the masses, no longer being the prerogative of the elite. Also, the role of the media in this modernization process should not be downplayed

because it helped to create a unity of thought, where people in an imagined community have knowledge of each other because they share the same experiences and implicit assumptions.

Unlike Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner (1981, 1992) argues that the most important factor is the rise of industrial society that creates a cultural hegemony³, which appears on the surface of nationalism. Anderson argues that print capitalism – or the mass distribution of books, newspapers, and other printed media – was a distinctive feature of the development of the modern industrial society as were machines and factories. Education developed to provide skills of literacy and computation giving access to the world of printed media (1991). Noteworthy, nothing is more characteristic of the school than the school textbook.

Even though both Anderson and Gellner belong to the modernist school, they exhibit differences on their views concerning nationalism. In short, Anderson argues that nationalism is inherently modern; nationalism is a new phenomenon. There never was a nation before; these nations have to imagine themselves in history i.e. try to find events in history that have national identity. Therefore, all nations made an effort to create an imagined history. Nations are imagined communities a mental entity like a community where people are willing to die for others; an altruistic community. According to Gellner, nations are the creation of nationalists. It is worth mentioning that Gellner himself was a central European intellectual who suffered from nationalism; that is why he argues that it is always a lie, a big lie. For Gellner, it was industrialization, the need for industry, which created a sort of a homogenous group. Nationalists arise because a high culture demanded a state. He remarks that the nation and the state exist and they have to be congruent. Nationalists who believed in this congruence created this nationalism and embarked on the process of modernization.

III. IS NATIONALISM AN IMAGINED COMMUNITY?

Although Turner rehabilitated the use of metaphors, he argued that a metaphor such as modernity is a name and cannot be defined or employed analytically; there is nothing traditional or modern in its own sense. Using the same line of argument one can contend that Durkheim did not define 'society' precisely because he knew that it is a metaphorical construct that could not be defined. The use of this line of reasoning puts Anderson's analysis in jeopardy since he has no ground to classify liberalism and fascism as political ideologies placing them under

² Cf. Wilson (1982) who argues that secularization led to the transformation of religious consciousness.

³ Gramsci defined hegemony as "the ideological ascendancy of one or more groups or classes over others in civil society" (Bellamy 1994, p. 33).

life words, and placing nationalism under theoretical words, not as an ideology. In my opinion, his position is simply untenable. If I can prove that nationalism is a *legal abstraction*, and not as an abstraction or 'Imagined Community' as Anderson contends, then it would be an ideology like liberalism and fascism. The fact that the Dutch read their newspapers only in the borders of Holland, while the Belgian-Flemish speaking citizens do not read them and are not part of this public sphere and vice versa, proves beyond considerable doubt that a state is a *legal abstraction* and nationalism is a political ideology, not an 'imagined community' since the Dutch public sphere stops at the boundaries or borders. If it were an imagined community, then the Flemish speaking part of Belgium would have considered itself part and parcel of Holland, but it did not, and it refused to be part of Holland in the referendum that was held to test prospects of unification. Likewise, similar examples illustrate the same point; namely, in the lands taken by France and Poland from Germany after WWII the 'Germans' living there refused to go back to their mother country or homeland because they now belong to a new *legal abstraction*, not an imagined community. In short, if Anderson's theory is right, then Anglo-Saxon political science books ought to be rewritten; however, it is not the case that a single one of these books consider nationalism as an 'imagined community.' A WW II historical example that illustrates my point is that when General Petain was being court-martialed for treason, he was asked: "Why did you corroborate with the Nazi's under the umbrella of Vichy government?" He answered: "But there was no France." Did he mean France as a legal abstraction or as an 'imagined community'? He definitely meant the former since an imagined community never ceases to be. Based on the aforementioned, I find Benedict Anderson's argument not that convincing, especially when it comes to nationalism. Nevertheless, Anderson "refers to a growing sense of reading together, the public sphere emerges less from associations, more strictly the domain of civil society, than from ways of dealing confidently with others in an expanding social universe of shared communication" (Eickelman and Anderson, p.16).

IV. ISLAM AND MODERNIZATION

Ayubi argues, "movements of political Islam appear to be more vigorous in countries that have openly discarded a schema for modernization" and secularization such as Egypt, Algeria, Iran (during the Shah's time), Sudan (during Numeiri's regime), Syria (before 1982 Hama crack down), Afghanistan (before the collapse of Zia Haq's regime), etc. (p. 118). He adds that the threat of Islamic movements in Sharifi Arab monarchies such as Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, and some smaller gulf countries such as Oman, Qatar,

and UAE "remains relatively muted." Again, Ayubi repeats his thesis, namely, that "political Islam appears to be basically a response movement to regimes that are avowedly more 'modernist' and secularizing" (1991: 188-19).

Roy contends, "*Islamism* is a product of *modernization*" (1994: 50) (Leaders of most contemporary Islamic movements are technocrats who are educated in the West). He adds that,

The Islamists readapt *modernity* to a newly rediscovered identity. They favor industrial development, urbanization, education for the masses and the teaching of science. They offer the oppressed (*al-Mustad'afin*) of all the countries the dream of access to the world of development and consumption, from which they feel excluded. Islamism is *sharia* plus electricity...The masses of revolutionary Islam are also a product of *modern society*. Revolution means *social integration* and *upward mobility*... *Modernization* involves the juxtaposition of ostentatious consumption on the part of the new rich with the new needs of the poor. Hence riots over prices and the attacks against symbols of wealth and Westernization...Islamists are products of actors upon the *modern urban space*" (1994: 52-53; 55; 59).

In a similar vein, Eickelman and Piscatori contend in argument that "The Iranian revolution helped trigger a rethinking of *modernization theory* [namely, no modernization without secularization] in the West" (1996: 24). While, M.K. Masud claims that if '*Ibadat* are rationalized and removed, implies it would be a victory for the secularization thesis and Islam will be like Protestantism in this respect (Masud, et al. 2009). (This is possible only if every Muslim becomes a *musafir*! Or as Gellner remarks, if everyone becomes a Mamluk having no communal root (1981, 1992). Employing Anderson's argument, the Islamic Revolution in Iran can be seen as a modern revolt by tapes and media—as a reaction against a corrupt-un-Islamic system of government—resulting in a regime of "truth", and a new political rationality and spirituality. Thus, religion has to re-enter the public sphere (and politics) as a post-modern revolution.

V. HABERMAS' PUBLIC SPHERE AS PRECURSOR TO ALL MEDIA

Habermas' trace of Marxism can be seen in his call for the reconstruction of the manifestations of class consciousness as well as for a revision of theory so as to avoid a mechanistic treatment of the relationship of base to superstructure. Habermas argues that capitalist societies, in which modernization takes place, tend to destroy the moral order on which they in fact depend. We live in a social order where economic growth tends to take precedence over everything else; this situation creates a lack of meaning in everyday life. In this respect, Habermas retorts to Durkheim's anomie,

although he applies it in a new and original way. In my opinion, Habermas is influenced by both Marx and Weber.

According to Habermas, the public sphere which refers to an arena of public debate and discussion in modern society is the indicator of modernity *par excellence*. In line with the views of the Frankfurt School of social thought, Habermas contends that Marx had not given enough attention to the influence of culture in modern capitalist society. The Frankfurt School made extensive study of 'culture industry' i.e. the entertainment industries of films, TV, popular music, radio, newspapers and magazines. They contend that the dissemination of the culture industry, with its undemanding and standardized products, undermines the capacity of individuals for critical and independent thought. Building on these themes, Habermas analyses the development of the media from the early 18th century up to the present, tracing out the emergence, and subsequent decay, of the public sphere. He defines the public sphere as an area of public debate in which issues of general concern can be discussed and opinions formed. The public sphere first developed in the salons and coffee houses of London, Paris and other European cities. People used to meet in such salons to discuss issues of the moment, using as a means for such debate the news sheets and newspapers which had just begun to emerge. Political debate became a matter of particular importance. Although only a small number of the population were involved (the tyranny of the minority) Habermas claims that the salons were vital for the early development of democracy because they introduced the idea of resolving political problems through public discussion. In theory, the public sphere involves individuals coming together as equals in a forum of public debate. As Peter Burke puts it, "Habermas discusses the invasion of the traditional public sphere, restricted to a small elite, by the bourgeoisie... 'private people came together as a public', who developed their own institutions such as coffee-houses, theatres and newspapers, especially in large cities" (p.78).

VI. THOMPSON AND THE MEDIA

Unlike Habermas, Thompson argues that the public sphere is not as lucid as it seems. He contends that "different periods, different cultures and different social groups⁴ may well draw the line between the public and private in different places." Nevertheless, the promise offered by the early development of the public sphere has not been fully realized. Democratic debate in modern societies is stifled by the development of the culture industry. The development of mass media and mass entertainment causes the public sphere to

become a false pretence. Politics is stage-managed by the government and the media, while commercial interests triumph over those of the public. He argues strongly that public opinion is not formed through open, rational discussion, rather through manipulation and control (Cf. Gramsci, Bourdieu, and Foucault), as is the case in advertising.

By way of an interpolation, Thompson argues that mass media change the balance between the public and the private in our lives. Unlike Habermas, he argues that much more comes into the public domain than before; this leads quite often to debate and controversy. Thus, Thompson broadens the mandate of Habermas' public sphere from an elitist to a populist arena. To elaborate, Thompson argues that mass media don't deny us the possibility of critical thought as Habermas contends, rather they provide us with many forms of information to which we couldn't have access before. Simply put, Habermas treats us too much as the passive recipients of media messages. Thompson writes,

Media messages are commonly discussed by individuals in the course of reception and subsequent to it...[They] are transformed through an ongoing process of telling and retelling, interpretation and reinterpretation, commentary, laughter and criticism...By taking hold of the messages and routinely incorporating them into our lives...we are constantly shaping and reshaping our skills and stocks of knowledge, testing our feelings and tastes, and expanding the horizons of our experience (*The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995, pp.42-43).

a) Wilson and the secularization thesis

Wilson contends that the secularization thesis implies that "there are processes of society 'becoming more secular' which extend backward in time over the long course of human history, and which have occurred intermittently, and with varying incidence and rapidity...secularization is not only a change occurring in society, it is also a change of society in its basic organization... [leading to a] fundamental social change" (p. 148). He adds that secularization is "that process by which religious institutions, actions, and consciousness, lose their social significance... [it] is a long-term process occurring in human society" (p. 149; 151). Wilson defines secularization in a nutshell form on p. 174 as "the transformation of religious consciousness" i.e. as the diminishing public role of religion in society (one of the serious impediments to secularization is folk, popular, or local religion; low Islam using Gellner's terminology). Bruce and Wallis, in line with Wilson, define secularization as "the diminishing social significance of religion" (p.11). (It appears to me that Bruce and Wallis were highly influenced by Wilson's analysis; that is why they copied closely Wilson's argument, but in an abbreviated form offering a

⁴ For instance, Bourdieu remarks that men and women have different *habitus* (field practice). See Part II of this paper.

compressed version of Wilson. In this context I take their views to express and represent his views). In other words, secularization cannot be caused because the scientific worldview has proven religion to be false. Therefore, science cannot prove that religion is false; this is not the basis of secularization. Bruce and Wallis argue that the religious worldview is holistic where everything is connected to everything else. Therefore, there is something in the scientific worldview that has contributed to secularization. Therefore, the *modernization thesis* runs as follows: modernization brings inevitably secularization, i.e. modernization without secularization can't take place; this is how the social significance of religion diminishes. In answering the question of why does modernization bring about secularization, they notice three different elements or features of modernization: (1) social differentiation: i.e. the transition from organic to mechanistic solidarity. According to Wilson, "societalization" brings secularization and demoralization (p. 178).

b) Gellner's pendulum-swing theory

In this context, Gellner offers his pendulum-swing theory. (2) societalization or the withering, disappearance of community and the flourishing of society. The social function of religion has disappeared, but the private function is still instilled. This falls under the functional definition of religion, i.e. what religion does. Secularization creeps in because the public and social role of religion disappears or becomes less important. (3) Rationalization is a very important aspect of modernization in the West; it's having its toll and is gradually sweeping toward the Islamic world. Ethical routinization leads to disenchantment of the world, which in turn leads to the augmentation of purpose rationality because reaching the objectives becomes more central. Wilson analyses the symptoms of secularization and its various applications. He writes, Secularization relates to the diminution in the social significance of religion. Its application covers such things as, the sequestration by political powers of the property and facilities of religious agencies; the shift from religious to secular control of various of the erstwhile activities and functions of religion; the decline in the proportion of their time, energy, and resources which men devote to super-empirical concerns [such as thinking about salvation]; the decay of religious institutions; the supplanting, in matters of behavior, of religious precepts by demands that accord with strictly technical criteria; and the gradual replacement of a specifically religious consciousness ...by an empirical, rational, instrumental orientation; the abandonment of mystical, poetic, and artistic interpretations of nature and society in favor of matter-of-fact description and, with it, the rigorous separation of evaluative and emotive dispositions from cognitive and positivistic orientations (p. 149).

VII. SECULARIZATION AND ISLAM

The pressing question that comes to mind is that has secularization occurred in the Muslim world? Or has the Muslim countries modernized with no secularization? Gellner argues in *Postmodernism, Reason and Religion* on p. 5, that "the secularization thesis does hold", but Islam is the only exception to the secularization thesis and it will remain so, "Islam is inherently unsecularizable/impervious to secularization" in theory and in practice and this will never change (1981, 1992). In other words, he essentializes Islam. Essence determines social progress in society. In his neo-Ibn Khaldunian discourse, Gellner contends that ant society determined by Islam is influenced by Ibn Khaldun. Again, this is a very essentialist view of post modernism. However, in my opinion, his argument is untenable because he can't simply explain present day Islam by looking where, when, and how it started. Now I attempt some kind of a heuristic comparison between Gellner and Wilson. Gellner argues that high Islam (puritans and scripturalists) remain the dominant force. According to Wilson there is a shift; there are no multidimensional relations in society, rather a single relation. Change in society implies that certain things disappear. This is what Gellner attributes to folk Islam. On p. 171, Wilson distinguishes between magic and religion. Since religion is more rationalized, he calls this secularization. Unfortunately, Wilson does not write about Islam or contemporary Islamic movements, rather about revival movements in Christianity. (In my opinion, the room is wide and the floor is open to comparison or at least enlightening tools for comparison with and applicability to Islam, as the long quotation illustrates). Revival movements in Christianity mobilize previously non-socialized people by the church; they eradicate magic by: reducing immantism⁵, stressing transcendent values and rationalization, i.e. rationalize understanding and commitment. Gellner argues that nationalism does a better job than religion. According to Wilson, nationalism is strong only when the community is strong. He adds that besides salvation, religious institutions have many social functions. As I have shown, according to Wilson very much of religion is associated with community, not society. Is this the case in Islam? It is certainly true for folk religion. Is high Islam a religion of community? According to Gellner, the 'functional equivalent' of religion is nationalism; in the West nationalism took the place of religion. While, in the Arab and Islamic world we see an opposite trend, namely, Islam took the place of nationalism, or some kind of 'Islamic nationalism' emerged. (Does not take

⁵ An immanentist tries to bridge facts and values by arguing that the rational order is present in the world of senses as a potential and a causal principle. This way of bridging the "is" with the "ought to be" makes possible for the historical polity to grow into perfection.

into consideration the level of conscious motivation). According to Gellner, "Islam provides a national identity, notably in the context of the struggle with colonialism—the modern Muslim 'nation' is often simply the sum-total of Muslims on a given territory. Reformist Islam confers a genuine shared identity on what would otherwise be a mere summation of the under-privileged" (p. 15). It is worth mentioning that there is nothing in Christianity resembling pan-Islam. The question that comes to mind is does Islam resist secularization? Or is it just a stage? Wilson writes on p. 149 about the "super empirical concerns" i.e. thinking about God and salvation. Islamists have empirical, oriental, and instrumental orientations. As Eickelman and Piscatori remark, everyone is his own knowledgeable authority ('*alim*'). The question that comes to mind is, is a form of modernization possible where community does not disappear (a collective multi-dimensional community, or a virtual community on the Internet or the Social Media)?

Wilson argues that the society is the nation state and the internet travels across state boundaries. Finally, Bruce and Wallis argue that science leads to a certain way of looking at things by being secular and by imposing different orders of logical structures including religion. Therefore, science leads to secularization. Indeed, it is very hard to use modern technology without being influenced and fascinated by it.

Peter Burke writes on p. 145, that "Earnest Gellner, is particularly interested in the interplay of production, coercion, and cognition in human history, but concentrates on the last of these factors."

Gellner's pendulum-swing theory of Islam: Benefiting from Hume's doctrine of the tendency of society to oscillate endlessly from polytheism to monotheism and back again, Gellner finds this constant oscillation between the two poles to be the most interesting fact about Muslim religious life. He attempts a sociological characterization of the two opposing poles based primarily on his study of Moroccan society. High Islam: One pole is distinguished by a set of characteristics that include strict monotheism, Puritanism, a stress on scriptural revelation (i.e. on literacy using Messick's terminology), egalitarianism between believers, the absence of special mediation, sobriety rather than mysticism, and a stress on the observance of rules rather than emotional states. Low Islam or Folk Religion: The other pole is distinguished by a tendency toward hierarchy, a multiplicity of spirits, the incarnation of religion in perceptual symbols or images rather than in the abstract recorded world, a tendency to mystical practices, and a loyalty to personality rather than respect for the rules. Gellner argues that the first set of characteristics is favored in an urban setting, while the second set is favored in rural communities. Cities are the center of trade, Muslim learning and power. The rest of the society is composed of tribal lands and resist central authority. Such a paradigm of the traditional

Muslim state tries to incorporate Ibn Khaldun's theory of the tribal circulation of elites and Hume's schema of religious life. However, the situation is not completely symmetrical because Gellner is more of an 'Ibn Khaldunian' in his overall approach.

Like his pendulum-swing theory of Islam, Gellner has oscillated between Orientalist and sociological analysis. His sociological characterization treats Muslim religious life in terms of rural-urban dichotomy. In Arab cities he sees strict monotheism, scriptural revelation, and the observance of traditions. In contrast, Muslims in rural areas emphasise hierarchal relationships and expresses belief thru reliance on sainthood, symbolism and mystical practices. However, in his pendulum-swing theory of Islam, Gellner shifts towards an Orientalist position by drawing comparisons among Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, and other religions without taking into account that they exist in different societies. He argues that in contrast to other religions, Islam is more "a blueprint of a social order...more total in number of dimensions" and possesses "a kind of independent existence in scriptural record." That is why he declared Islam "inherently unsecularizable/impervious to secularization" in theory and in practice.

Gellner points out that "Islam offered "a dignified identity" to the "newly uprooted masses." In Istanbul and Ankara, Cairo and Asyut, Algiers and Fes, and on the Gaza strip, Islamist parties successfully organized and appealed to "the downtrodden and dispossessed." Oliver Roy argues that "The mass of revolutionary Islam is a product of modern society...the new urban arrivals, the millions of peasants who have tripled the populations of the great Muslim metropolises."⁶

a) Final Word

Historically secularism has been furthered as an alternative to divine right of kings. What is of concern to us is that secularism in the context of social and political integration has to become a genuine and integral part of Arab and Islamic nationalist ideology because of the urgent need to achieve national unity and to secure equality for all citizens before the law regardless of religious affiliation or other differences. The promotion of rationality and scientific thinking, the liberation of women from discriminatory traditions, the enhancement of modernity, the liberation of religion from government control, and the democratization of the state and other institutions should also result from the adoption of secularism.

To the extent that Arab and Islamic secularism resembles Western secularism, it is because both are related to the process of urbanization, industrialization,

⁶ E. Gellner. "Up from Imperialism." *New Republic*. 22 May 1989, p.35; O. Roy. *The Failure of Political Islam*, p.53.

democratization, modernization, and nation building. What the process of secularization involves is the separation of religion from state. The abolition of political sectarianism, the encouragement of rationalism, and the scientific interpretation of reality all follow from the aforementioned. These alterations in the relationship of the state to its citizens in turn strengthen basic civil rights and ensure the universal application of laws.

Unfortunately, however, secularism continues to be one of the most controversial and sensitive notions in the Arab and Islamic world, particularly in times of Islamic resurgence. Therefore, serious discussions of secularism are avoided for fear of a possible clash with religious institutions and movements. At the root of the controversy over secularism is its ambiguity regarding several related issues and questions such as the following: Does Islam allow for secularism? Is secularism an alien concept imported from the West and externally imposed on the Arabs? Is secularism necessarily anti-religious and atheistic?

It seems that opinion is almost unanimous that Islam is opposed to secularism by its very nature. Muslim traditionalists and reformers agree that a Muslim state must in theory be governed according to the shari'a. Thus, Sayyed Qutb claims that Islamic government is opposed to "human positive laws" and is obliged to carry on the "total revolution" of Islam. Fazlur Rahman broadens the mandate of Qutb arguing that "Secularism destroys the sanctity and universality of all moral values...secularism is necessarily atheistic."⁷

Qutb's and Rahman's views have also been expressed by the religious establishment. For example, The Lebanese Council of Ulama declared in 1976 that "Secularism is a system of principles and practices rejecting every form of religious faith and worship. Secularism has no place in the life of a Muslim; either Islam is to exist without secularism, or secularism to exist without Islam."⁸ Orientalists see to agree that Islam is necessary opposed to secularism. Von Grunebaum observes that "the Arab most fully realized the integration of religion and what we now call nationality. To him, state and religion become co-extensive to such a degree that ...he...became immune to the movement

of complete secularization ...even where he took the side of progress and reform."⁹

And so, I contend that secularism was not borrowed from the West out of imitation. Most likely, the concept has genuinely emerged out of and in response to urgent needs in Arab and Islamic countries, particularly in pluralistic ones. Secularism is not necessarily atheistic or anti-religious. On the contrary, it may contribute to the creation of a better climate for the development of greater spiritual purity when religion is outside the arena of power politics. Instead of being used as a tool for of control and instigation (cf. Gramsci) or reconciliation (cf. Durkheim's consensus theory), religion could pursue the more enriching enterprise of achieving its central, sublime goals.

GRAMSCI'S HEGEMONY, BOURDIEU'S HABITUS, AND FOUCAULT'S INTERPOLATIONS

It seems that the fulcrum of Gramsci's, Bourdieu's, and Foucault's works rests on the notion of power. Gramsci sees power in hegemony or cultural predominance; Bourdieu views power in *habitus* (field practice); Foucault puts the icing on the cake when he radically argues that what appears as apparent hegemony is domination and power relations which are usually not recognized as so. Therefore, unlike Durkheim who elaborates the consensus theory of culture, the trio, in line with Marx, propound the conflict theory of culture against the backdrop of the classical definition of culture as an area of consensus and shared norms.

To begin with, Gramsci defined hegemony as "the ideological ascendancy of one or more groups or classes over others in civil society" (Bellamy 1994, p.33). Gramsci, in line with Weber, believed that the state should be the sole authorizer of the use of force or "coercive power." He shares with Foucault the conviction that the state legally enforces discipline when there is no room for consent. The examples of hegemony that Gramsci gives are "Catholicism" ... "he was fascinated by the history and organization of the Roman Church. He regarded Croce's philosophy as serving a similar functioning legitimizing Giolittian Italy, albeit only to fellow intellectuals" (p.34). The hegemony of the Catholic Church is clear through its vertical hierarchy and institutions that crush any chance of class consciousness among the masses. Other examples of hegemony, domination, or control are the totalitarian states such as Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Socialist China that not only control the behavior of the subjects, but also manipulates, brain washes them completely, and orders them how and what to think. In this respect, it is worth mentioning that Mussolini's imprisonment of

⁷ Tamara Sonn, "Secularism and National Stability in Islam" *Arab Studies Quarterly*. 9. 3 (Summer 1987): 284.

However, Sadiq al-Azm in his book entitled *Naqid al-Fikr al-Dini* shows how religiously oriented intellectuals grant Islamic legitimacy to the government they are linked to irrespective of its coloration. He observes that some Islamic intellectuals and ulama "make great efforts to grant legitimacy to the order...they are linked to irrespective of its nature...Every Arab order, irrespective of its coloration, possesses respected Islamic institutions prepared to issue a religious decree [fatwa] to the effect that its policy is in complete harmony with Islam" (pp. 45-46).

⁸ "Declaration of the Council of Ulama in Lebanon on Secularism" in *Islamic Law and Change in Arab Society*. St. Joseph University, Beirut: Center for the Study of the Modern Arab World, 1976.

⁹ G. E. von Grunebaum. (1961). *Islam: Essays in the Nature and Growth of a cultural Tradition*. New York: Barnes and Noble, p. 60.

Gramsci in order to force him not to think was a total fiasco. The two examples of hegemony that I want to elaborate upon are Gramsci's expansion of the Marxian concept of the state as an instrument in the hands of the ruling class, and the petite bourgeoisie or capitalists who own the means of production and dominate the organization of production as well as the relations of production. In this respect, Peter Burke questions if the ruling class' power depends on coercion or consensus or a reconciliation process in between. He contends that Gramsci's notion of cultural hegemony is that the ruling class reigned by force as well as by influence and persuasion, at least indirectly. He writes, "the subordinate classes learned to see society through their ruler's eyes thanks to their education and also to their place in the system" (p.86).

According to Gramsci, the proletariat contributed to their own misery by accepting a political doctrine advocated by the petite bourgeoisie against their own interests as a result of false ideology or false consciousness. This brings in the role of the state and its institutions. Since the Italian culture was hegemonic, there was no revolution: the state dominated and determined everything, while the other organ of the suprastructure, namely, civil society tried to function as an independent private institution from the state. The solution he proposes, by working on the cultural sphere, is to replace Marx's false consciousness with his concept of cultural hegemony, thus making the struggle a conscious one, ridding the masses of the delusions and illusions that haunted them. Commenting on Gramsci's hegemony, Mesick writes on p. 159 that "Gramsci was generally concerned with how an elite-developed 'conception of the world' came to constitute the quietly constrained received wisdom of ordinary people [masses]. One facet of the complex workings of hegemony concerns scholarly efforts to anchor 'ruling ideas' systematically in the thought of those [the masses] who, as Marx put it, 'lack the means of mental production'."

And so, Gramsci in his materialist cultural theory directed us towards a Marxist theory of politics. (Gramsci is a bridge-builder between the old [Ibn Khaldun] and the new tradition [Bourdieu]). His emphasis on hegemony or dominance of some social group or class in power has promoted some critics to suggest he was advocating reformist interpretations or undialectically separating politics from economics. Gramsci tended to use categories of analysis, for example, in distinguishing between state and civil society, as did Hegel and Marx, in his early work. However, Gramsci's conception of state is varied. Crises occur in the hegemony of the ruling class because it fails in some political undertaking and the masses become discontented and actively resistant. Such a crises of hegemony is a crisis of authority, or a crisis of state. Under such conditions a ruling class may seize

control and retain power by crushing its adversaries (cf. Khumayni and the Islamic Revolution). Gramsci examined this activity in Europe in terms of the experiences of Italy and other nations in Europe. He seems to be agreeing with the structuralist position that the activities of the state are determined by the structures of society rather than by persons in position of state power. He writes that, The fact that the state/government, conceived as an autonomous force, should reflect back its prestige upon the class upon which it is based, is of the greatest practical and theoretical importance, and deserves to be analyzed fully if one wants a more realistic concept of the state itself...It can, it seems, be incorporated into the function of elites or vanguards, i.e. of parties, in relation to the class which they represent. This class, often, as a economic fact ...might not enjoy any intellectual or moral prestige, i.e. might be incapable of establishing its hegemony, hence of founding a state.¹

In other words, Gramsci bridged the gap between domination, hegemony and civil society when he made the latter part of the superstructure, where the state practices its control and domination through culture and ideology – i.e. through the school, church, political party, syndicate, press, and all social and interest groups (pp.32-33). Also, the state practices its direct control through bureaucracy, economic and monetary policies and institutions such as the army and police, etc. (cf. Foucault). While previous theories looked at the political, social, and political-organizational structure of civil society and the classical functioning of the state, the importance of Gramsci's theory for civil society is the opening of horizons for reflecting upon the role that culture and cultured/educated people play in control and domination, and the role of ideology in influencing public opinion and disseminating state influence.²

In answering the question of how does culture work, and how does it influence behavior? Gramsci sides with consensus rather than coercion. Thus, the standard interpretation of Gramsci (which is a bit simplistic) is that hegemony or cultural predominance is achieved by consensus in civil society, rather than

¹⁰ Antonio Gramsci. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Edited and translated by Quinton Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971, p.269.

¹¹ In this respect, Thompson argues that "Ideology is about the exercise of symbolic power" or how ideas become used to hide, justify or legitimate the interests of the dominant groups (Gramsci's ruling class) in the social order. (cf. Bourdieu's gift as an act of symbolic violence). Thompson offers a major new analysis of the role of the media in the rise of modern societies. He believes that mass media greatly expand the scope of ideology in modern societies. They reach mass audiences and are based on "quasi-interaction" i.e. audiences can't answer back in a direct way. It is worth mentioning that Habermas also argues that ideology is tied to communication that is 'systematically distorted' by the exercise of domination.

coercion by the state. But, cultural hegemony can tread the battle lines between civil society and the state. Indeed, in the cultural sphere, the state exploits civil society to achieve hegemony and control its subjects.

VIII. BATTLE OF SEMANTICS OR A TUG OF WAR?

Perry Anderson in his article entitled "The Antinomies of Gramsci" published in 1975 argued that it is not the case that hegemony is taken as a solution to cultural problems. James Scott in his book called *Weapons of the Weak* acknowledges that although there is cultural hegemony, the poor don't revolt in order to abolish class differences. What they do as a result of relative deprivation is to protest, commit arson and sabotage the belongings of the rich. According to Scott, Gramsci makes too much of his alleged notion of consensus, but one should doubt that as well as question whether shared values be emphasized or downplayed. Scott concludes that there is too much debate and conflict in civil society that ruptures the chances of achieving consensus.

Peter Burke broadens the mandate of Gramsci's concept of hegemony by posing the following three questions:

- 1) Is cultural hegemony to be assumed to be a constant factor has it only operated in certain places and at certain times? If the latter, what are the conditions and the indicators of its presence?
- 2) Is the concept purely descriptive, or is it supposed to be explanatory? If the latter, is the explanation proposed one which refers to the conscious strategies of the ruling class (or of groups within it) or what might be called the latent rationality of their actions?
- 3) How are we to account for the successful achievement of this hegemony? Can it be established without the collusion or connivance of some at least of the dominated? Can it be resisted with success? Does the ruling class simply impose its values on the subordinate classes, or is there some kind of compromise? " (p. 86).

Building on the aforementioned three questions one can inject Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence as a correlate of habitus in order to explain how hegemony is established or maintained. First, I will Endeavour to give a nutshell definition of habitus.

According to Bourdieu habitus can be defined as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a *conscious* aiming at ends or expresses mastery of the operations necessary in order

to attain them...[it is done] without any calculation, in relation to objective potentialities, immediately inscribed in the present, things to do or not to do, things to say or not to say, in relation to a probable, 'upcoming' future which... puts itself forward with an urgency and a claim to existence that excludes all deliberation...*The habitus is a spontaneity without consciousness or will*" (emphasis added) (pp.96-97, 100). Building on Bourdieu, Peter Burke defines habitus as "a set of schemes enabling agents to generate an infinity of practices adapted to endlessly changing situations" whose essence is a type of "regulated improvisation" (p.120). According to Messick, Bourdieu's habitus puts "emphasis on the bodily basis and implicit qualities of the dispositions involved, reference to language models, and emphasis on the importance of repetition/practice for inculcation and reproduction ...there is a separate habitus associated with each of the class-based 'conditions of existence' of modern societies."¹⁰

In other words, habitus is internalized and historically determined (it changes over time and it is instilled as a result of external things), not fully conscious and goal directed (subconscious, half-conscious). Habitus is between structure and agency; it is a second nature. Moreover, habitus is an embodied structure and a system of *dispositions* towards behavior that determines concrete actions; not 'actions' as such, rather what underlies them. Habitus always involves relations of symbolic power that are hidden. (For example, in giving a gift power relations should be mastered; therefore, false consciousness is a necessary aspect of social behavior which underlies conflict). According to Peter Burke, Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence (or symbolic capital exhibited by gift exchange) "refers to the imposition of the culture of the ruling class on dominated groups, and especially to the process by which these dominated groups are forced to recognize the ruling culture as legitimate and their own culture as illegitimate" (p.86). (cf. example of gift). In this respect, I would like to point out that upper and middle-class French people (Gramsci's *petite bourgeoisie*) practice conspicuous consumption in order to maintain their status and hegemony over the lower classes. Finally, Gramsci argues that an ideology should lead to emancipation. He writes on p. 36, "An ideology would be legitimate to the extent that it led to the maximum freedom for individuals." Bourdieu mirrors a similar notion, namely, that social theory should contribute to the emancipation and delegitimization of repression and power by cracking what Baudrillard calls hyperreality. It maintains class differences, social taste, and masks social inequality.

¹⁰ Brinkley Messick. (1996). *The Calligraphic State: Textual Domination and History in a Muslim Society* (Comparative Studies on Muslim Societies). California: University of California Press, p. 226.

Both Gramsci and Bourdieu argue that culture is a prime area of conflict. Therefore, unlike Huntington who propounded a 'clash of civilizations', they propagated a clash of cultures. In their work, culture is related to key terms such as hegemony, consensus (cooperation using anthropological terminology), and conflict (competition using anthropological terminology). Therefore, some of the questions that come to mind are the following: How to account for culture in terms of conflict, knowing that conflict is omnipresent anywhere and everywhere? And how to localize relations of power in the sphere of culture? (Foucault claims that Gramsci furnished the tools of thought). This brings us to Macloed's works on "Accommodating Protest" which enquires into the question of 'why do women cooperate in their own misery or oppression?

IX. MODERNITY AND CULTURAL AUTHENTICITY

Macloed's book entitled *Accommodating Protest: Working Women, the New Veiling, and Change in Cairo* and her article called "Hegemonic Relations and Gender Resistance: The New Veiling as Accommodating Protest in Cairo" are a welcomed addition to the debate between modernity and cultural authenticity. According to her, veiling is a social movement that "refers the political re-appropriation of Islamic religiosity and way of life... [it] is the most salient emblem and women the newest actors of contemporary Islamism ... Islamic veiling cross-cuts power relations between Islam and the West, modernity and tradition, secularism and religion, as well as between men and women and women themselves." Veiling for Westerners is "the main obstacle to modernization"; for Islamists "it is the leading symbolic force [cf. Bourdieu] against the degeneration of society." Commenting further on Macloed's argument, one can reflect on the issue of women's own choice, and being forced by others to do so. Thus, not every woman wearing a scarf is an Islamist. Women wear it not necessary to engender support for a certain political party, or as a religious duty. It might be the reflection of something going on for generations that quickly becomes popular as a fashion, a new model. This more modern fashionable Islamic dress breaks the barriers between lower class women and higher class ones, simply because they look the same. Further, it engenders respect and grants women privileged access to the public sphere and public space socially and politically; they are regarded by society as pious Muslims and good mothers. In short, they wear the *hijab* and Islamic dress as a sort of coping strategy in order to accommodate protest being fully conversant of the tension between the woman's role as a mother and a wife on one hand, and working to make like better for her children and family on the other hand. (Foucault offers another answer to the question of why are women

conniving in their own oppression? His answer is *discourse*, discourse that controls people's behavior and conditions their thoughts. He writes that, "It is impossible for knowledge not to engender power"; therefore, discourse is a form of power and domination). Thus, on close scrutiny, it turns out that veiling is a sign of upward mobility; women wear the veil to elevate themselves socially and politically, thus contributing to their emancipation by creating public spaces for themselves as did the Welfare Party in Turkey, the Islamic Republic of Iran, and Lebanon. As Eickelman and Piscatori remark, "In Iran as of 1994, 30% of the government employees were women, and 40% of university students were women, up from 12% in 1978" (p. 95); in Lebanon 95% of the educators of the "Party of God" (Hizbullah) are women.

a) *The Power of the Word: Discourse*

Discourse can be defined as the entire corpus or body of writing (or unwritten) on a certain subject written in a certain period and cultural area or era. The late Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd defined discourse as "text in communication pattern."¹¹ Discourse is a way of speaking and writing aimed at control, hegemony, and domination exhibiting an 'elective affinity' between knowledge and power. According to Foucault, in fighting or analyzing a discourse, we will be creating another; therefore, discourse is a prison. For example, Foucault claimed that sexuality is always bound up with social power. He challenged the idea that acquiring knowledge leads to increased freedom; rather he saw knowledge as a means of constraining, confining, and controlling people. Even in the field of education, Foucault has shown that schools flourished as part of the administrative apparatus of the modern state. According to him, the hidden curriculum was discipline and about the control of children. This brings to mind Bourdieu's notion of cultural reproduction, which refers to the ways in which schools, in conjunction with other social institutions, help perpetuate social and economic inequalities across the generations. Through the hidden curriculum, schools influence the learning of values, attitudes and habits.

The common theme of "Truth and Power" and "Powers and Strategies" is the 'power' of repression. The pressing question that comes to mind is that: is truth outside power, and does knowledge free from truth? Foucault conveyed a distrust of social conventions (cf. Bourdieu's phenomenon of 'good taste') for their power to normalize individuals. He questions if there is an authentic self, or if an individual's selfhood is determined by all different discourses one is a subject of and is subjected to. Foucault analyses aspects of history such as knowledge not usually

¹¹Nasr Abu Zayd. (2006). *Reformation of Islamic Thought: A Critical Historical Analysis*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

touched upon by Marxism, but is against its historicism and economic determinism. His analyses are specific, not global and holistic, focusing on practices and technologies, rather than on theories, ideologies, or rationalities. His common grounds with structuralism are the insider/outsider criticism of modern western culture (comparison with the other building on anthropology), cultural conditioning, and determinism in the constitution of the self. He argues against objectification (making individuals into objects), disciplinary power, docile bodies, dividing practices, and the eye of surveillance (cf. Gramsci and Bourdieu). He writes that "My objective has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made into subjects." He assumes that all social reality is assumed; therefore, it has a history. His major concern is to refute Freud's "repressive hypothesis" and replace it by relations of power and domination (cf. Gramsci). He argues that the truth about one's sexuality can and should be liberated with the help of expert knowledge. He contends that Freud's hypothesis is attractive due to the feel-good factor and the promise of unimagined future pleasures. He illustrates how the discourse of sexuality developed in the 19th and 20th centuries. He highlights two poles: social body (populations) and individual body. The relation to class is the utility of the incest taboo in upholding class domination (cf. Gramsci). Foucault criticises the negative model of power derived from the idea of the sovereign dispensing justice downwards. His view is that power is productive, producing discourse and forming knowledge. Turning upside down the pyramid of power (sovereign-as-visible to subject-as-visible), the result of new technologies and concerns: "Cutting off the king's head."

MEDIA: DEMOCRACY, THE PUBLIC SPHERE, AND CIVIL SOCIETY

Before I address the topic, I would like to clarify my conceptual understanding of the terms in question: democracy and civil society. Noteworthy, Habermas's concept of public sphere has been discussed in Part I. Abraham Lincoln defined democracy as "government *for* the people, *by* the people, and *to* the people." Before I define civil society, I think a historical survey of the concept is enlightening. The social contract tradition exemplified by Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu and others stopped short of the concept of the state; their major concern was with civil society. Hegel was the first to distinguish between civil society and the state laying the foundations of the former. Unlike Kant who contended that the thesis (positive) and its anti-thesis (negative) annihilate each other, Hegel argued that out of this opposition or dialectic a higher stage is reached which he labeled as synthesis. As such, he started to construct history in the form of triads. The first one witnessed the opposition between: being-nonbeing,

resulting in becoming (or change). The final triad, which is our concern, elaborated the dialectic between: family-civil society, resulting in the state where history ends. To elaborate, Hegel's theory of the development of the modern liberal state: the mind (*Geist*) in the liberal state: Hegel describes the characteristic elements of liberal politics based on his methodological assumptions, namely, dialectic and *Geist*. They are intended to display the manner in which ethical recognition or substance manifest itself in institutional life. He called them the three moments of life:

1. 1st moment: family: It is in the shared life of the family that individuals find their ethical relations and selfhood. It is not as individuals, but as husband (subject) and wife (object) in the institution of marriage as a synthesis. In this institution men and women receive concrete ethical rights and obligations. One of the obligations is the moral formation of the offspring of their union.
2. 2nd moment: civil society: The subject (citizen) resulting from the synthesis of the family goes out in civil society to experience the next phase of the dialectical development. In the new context (i.e. civil society) "the other regarding" and "group regarding morality" learned at home of the subject passes over into particularistic selfishness (egoism) as object. Civil society was for him/her an expression for the individualist and atomistic atmosphere of the middle class commercial society (Aristotle: no middle class --- no stability) in which relationship is externally governed by unseen hands of economic laws, rather than by self-conscious will of persons. In this context, the individual receives ethical recognition. He/she acquires property rights and other civil rights simply as a person. Thus, individual rights and liberties are those corresponding to the duties imposed by the person's station in society.
3. 3rd moment: state: The individual rights cannot be complete and secure in civil society. This requires the state whose role is to protect the universality implicit in the particularity of civil society through its institutional order and coercive powers. This (stage) is the 3rd moment of the mind in which the universal (idea of state) and particular (family, society, etc.) are brought into a final synthesis. The state is a historically emergent organism. It is not a utilitarian institution engaged in the common place business of providing public services and performing police duties; all these functions belong to civil society as Lawrence Krader argues in his book entitled *Formation of the State*, "Hegel showed that a contract was not made to form the state, because the state is the instrument which validates the power of parties to enter into the contract" (p. 102). The civil society must be dependent upon the state for intellectual supervision and moral significance

because it is the complete actualization of reason. The state's power is absolute, but not arbitrary; its absolutism reflected its superior moral position increasing universal and objective freedom embodied in the institutions of the emerging capitalist liberal state. Thus, freedom was revealed as the essence of human nature and men had become capable of realizing freedom in the state--which is the highest ethical value, rather than against it; (2) The state must always exercise its regulative power under the forms of law i.e. the state is an embodiment of reason and the law is rational; it the highest manifestation of the world spirit. This process of becoming is not just philosophical, but political.

To recapitulate, Hegel in his book entitled the *Philosophy of Right*, considers civil society as the space between individualism and family in order to uphold self-consciousness – which is the concept behind the greatness of modern centuries/cultures – and the arena of the state which is considered as a monolithic, irrevocable entity that gives to the nation-state its spirit and historical aim. By this, and for the first time, Hegel distinguishes clearly between civil society and state without separating it from civil society since he made a strong link between civil society and the evolution of social strata and class struggle, as individual struggles, in relation to an expanding liberal capitalist system. He considered that opposition between social strata furnishes the ground for civil society because there is no way to go ahead of it except through the existence of a state, not to erase or annihilate these contradictions, but to uphold the state which is obliged to furnish the arena for these contradictions without encroaching on the deep social solidarity of the nation-state. Hegel does not equate civil society with political society or the state, rather he constructs among them a relationship based on competition and cooperation.

X. FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS

The point behind the aforementioned exposition is to highlight Hegel's anti-liberal ideas. Despite some similarities with welfare liberalism, Hegel was rather skeptical about the importance of two traditional liberal values: freedom of speech and freedom of press. He argues that such freedoms should be despised and treated as crimes! (This is completely abhorrent to the modern mind). However, if we combine Hegel's description of civil society with Tocqueville analysis associating the notion of civility with civil society, then we can contend that civil society is composed of free associations of individuals that link the function to the whole making democracy possible. In this respect, contemporary authors such as Mardin (1995) placed civil society between the people and the state. This is similar to Tocqueville and Hegel's definition of civil

society as a free association of individuals who stand between the family and the state.

a) *Media: Civil society and Identity Problems or Identity Crisis*

The concept for civil society is as much debated as the concept of democracy and have, similarly, many different meanings and definitions among the scholars. In its institutional form civil society can be composed of non-state actors NGOs such as political parties, trade unions, professional associations, community development associations, and other interest groups.¹² Civil society emphasizes collective and popular aspects: individuals united in temporary associations, people's movements, political parties, and interest organizations with the purpose of acting collectively in questions concerning them. Together with private enterprises and mass media, these organizations compose the civil society.

Cohen and Arato define civil society as the "third realm" of society. Thus, they differentiate it from the other two; namely, the economy and the state. Civil society is here also considered to be a filter between the citizens and the state.¹³ Gordon White states that the most current use of the term endorses the idea of, "...an intermediate associational realm between state and family populated by organizations which are separate from the state, enjoy autonomy in relation to the state and are formed voluntarily by members of society to protect or extend their interests or values."¹⁴

Norton argues that the true character of the civil society is based on a correct mental condition. He writes, "...a robust civil society is more than letterhead stationery, membership lists, public charters and manifestos. Civil society is also a cast of mind, a willingness to live and let live."¹⁵ He continues by stating that a civil society, with a potential to have an effect on the democracy process, must embrace the concept of civility¹⁶, not just between the state and organizations or between organizations, but also within the entity itself. What is worth mentioning is that both Norton and Putnam agree in their discussion that there is a visible bond between the civil society and democratization.

In light of the above conceptual difficulties, does the concept of civil society seem suitable to describe and analyze Muslim societies? And does civil

¹² Saad Eddin Ibrahim. (1995). "Civil society and Prospects for Democratization in the Arab world", in *Democratization in The Arab World*. Vol. 1 ed. A.R. Norton. Leiden: Brill, p. 28

¹³ Jean L. Cohen and Andrew Arato. (1992). *Civil Society and Political Theory*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, p.18

¹⁴ Gordon White. (1994). "Civil Society, Democratization and Development (I): Clearing the Analytical Ground", *Democratization* 1. 3: 379.

¹⁵ (Norton 1995, p.12).

¹⁶ According to Norton, "Civility implies tolerance, the willingness of individuals to accept disparate political views and social attitudes; to accept the profoundly important idea that there is no right answer" (1995, pp.11-12).

possible to address it in these societies – take on the same forms as it does in the West?

Reflecting on the aforementioned questions led to the search for a contextual analysis of civil society, and questions were raised concerning this concept.

This led to the following:

First, this engendered a close scrutiny of the historical origins, development, and intellectual delineation of the concept of civil society. Whether this concept is confined to the West from its historical and intellectual trajectories, or if it expresses a long-standing phenomenon present in all cultures and societies, was then considered.

Second, the first question then led us to closely follow the Arab Islamic historical experience in order to evaluate the constituencies of the 'communitarian society' or civil society and its role in the solidarity of the Muslim *umma* and its relation with the authorities in terms of connection with fairness, equity, and strife.

Third, consideration was then given to research on the intellectual roots of the Arab renaissance and its innovative outlook towards globalization with respect to the relation with the 'other', the general mode of Arab thinking, and the contemporary Arab political experience that failed to bring together the credentials of identity and democracy.

Forth, the problematic nature of identity in relation to a global understanding of civil society and the imposed challenges on regional globalization and its economic and political subordination to the West were highlighted. Also, the issues of democracy that are imposed from the outside/by the West were questioned, as well as the relationship between democracy and identity in the light of imagining a national agenda that is capable of responding to the challenges of globalization in order to guard the self taking into consideration the demand of democracy as a condition to any reforming, rehabilitating, and modernization processes.

Historical origins, development, and intellectual delineation of the concept of civil society

The concept of civil society appeared for the first time in the Arab philosophical tradition in the 17th and 18th centuries in relation to the social contract along with concepts and ideas such as freedom, sovereignty, democracy, and civility that were propagated by the philosophers of modern thought such as Locke, Hobbes, Spinoza, Rousseau, and others.

In this respect (thought) the social contract was considered the cornerstone of civil society, i.e. the transition from the state of nature where people were free of social bonds to an ordered society where people forfeit their radical freedom for public interest.

If the state was the political organization reflecting public interest and securing people's sovereignty, the state, as an evolving organism from civil society and an expression of individual freedom and

equality, will work on maintaining this freedom and equality and the protection of rights, especially the right to private property.

It is worth mentioning that the theoretical construction of the philosophy of contract was a reflection of the intellectual, historical, and social changes in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries that were aimed at rupturing church authority and divine right theory, and rupturing with the feudal system in the direction of the establishment of a capitalist society as an arena for the competition of the individual will.

In the 19th century, and especially in his book entitled the *Philosophy of Right*, Hegel looked at this concept where he considered civil society as the space between individualism and family in order to uphold self-consciousness – which is the concept behind the greatness of modern centuries/cultures -- and the arena of the state which is considered as a monolithic, irrevocable entity that gives to the nation (*umma*) its spirit and historical aim. By this, and for the first time, Hegel distinguishes clearly between civil society and state without separating it from civil society since he made a strong link between civil society and the evolution of social strata and class struggle, as individual struggles, in relation to an expanding liberal capitalist system. He considered that opposition between social strata furnishes the ground for civil society because there is no way to go ahead of it except through the existence of a state, not to erase or annihilate these contradictions, but to uphold the state which is obliged to furnish the arena for these contradictions without encroaching on the deep social solidarity of the nation (*umma*). Hegel does not equate civil society with political society or the state, rather he constructs among them a relationship based on competition and cooperation.

The concept of civil society experienced many changes after the Marxist criticism of Hegel. Marx considered civil society the economic-materialistic basis for the state or infrastructure that is governed by class struggle, while the state, according to Engels, is an instrument in the hands of the ruling class to control and crush one class over the other. The emancipation project in Marxist thought is the withering away of the state in civil society, thus there is no need for civil society, which withers away with the demise of the capitalist state.

Gramsci made the connection between control and civil society when he made the latter part of the superstructure, where the state practices its control and domination through culture and ideology (i.e. through the school, church, political party, syndicate, press, and all social and interest groups). It practices its direct control through bureaucracy, economic and monetary policies and institutions such as the army and police, etc.

While previous theories looked at the political, social, and political-organizational structure of civil society and the classical functioning of the state, the importance of Gramsci's theory for civil society is the opening of horizons for reflecting upon the role that culture and cultured/educated people play in control and domination, and the role of ideology in influencing public opinion and disseminating state influence.

If the concept of civil society disappeared from contemporary political thinking after WWII, it returned with vigilance in the beginning of the 80s in the socialist camp, with criticisms directed towards one party rule, especially with protest movements led by the Church in Poland and the Solidarity Movement as well as the social forces among the masses. All of these forces combined were able, according to Miklos Molnar, to represent 'the authority that stops the authority.' By this, the idea of civil society emerged as a substitute for the autocratic state and its institutions headed by its one party rule.

The concept of civil society regained the same vitality in Western Europe with the emergence of what is dubbed the 'New Social Movements' that Europe experienced during the last decades, such as student movements, human rights institutions, environmental organizations, women's movements, and others that convey forms of social rebellion and opposition to the state and its strategies.

b) *Discourse on civil society: media and modernity*

Now we move from the narrow confines of civil society to the discourse on civil society i.e. how do people think and speak, instead of questioning how society is organized. Although there is no single universal or authoritative definition of civil society, I employ Bryant's as a workable definition with some modifications. Bryant in his article entitled "Civic Nation, Civil Society, Civil Religion" defines civil society as "civil society refers to social relations and communications between citizens. These may sometimes be informed by the law and by state policy but even then they are not dependent on them" (p. 145). Noteworthy, this definition excludes market and property – i.e. the economic sphere from civil society.

My main line of argument is that public sphere and public space are the backbone of civil society and democracy. In other words, a democracy is not possible without civil society. But the pressuring question is that: is it true that civil society is needed for democracy? If we claim that civil society is the people, i.e. a form of solidarity as struggle against the state, then the state is viewed as the enemy of the people. In other words, what is dangerous to civil society is also a peril to democracy. Civil society consists of many different voluntary and non-voluntary associations; therefore, by strengthening civil society, any state will become more democratic. And so, the 'good political order' of western

liberal capitalist democracy is only possible in a flourishing civil society that provides an integrating role; the best form being a bottom-up process or democracy from below, the most representative example is the solidarity movement in Poland aided by the Church. Norton contends that Muslim voluntary organizations, especially NGOs, have social capital (cf. Bourdieu) i.e. social networks that can mobilize, as such being a necessary condition for democracy because these associations become vehicles of political participation. In this respect, as Eickelman argues, the educating function of civil society is important. Unfortunately, in most cases, the public sphere stops at state boundaries; therefore, one can claim that civil society and public sphere coincided with the nation-state. Exception to this rule range from MNC's (Microsoft, Pepsi, GMC, IBM, Apple, etc.), transnational organizations and media giants (BBC, CNN, Facebook, Google, Twitter, Instagram, Youtube, Google+, etc.).

I would like to end with the antithesis of Hegel, namely, Habermas who argues that civil society is the social anchor of public sphere where public opinion is formed and expressed in a public space where ideas meet and travel; this is made lively by public debates, mass media, electronic media, and all forms of high-tech communication. Therefore, contrary to Hegel's contentions, freedom of press, speech and expression are always sacred and ought to be upheld if public sphere is to flourish.

According to Eickelman and Anderson, there are multiple paths of modernity available to the emerging Muslim public sphere leading to the creation of a new civil society where Islamic values can be created and injected into new senses of a public space that is "discursive, performative, and participative (p. 2). "Throughout the Muslim world...increasingly vocal debates on what it means to be a Muslim and how to live a Muslim life frequently" led to highly educated intellectuals who write and create a new public sphere (pp. 7-8). New people, new publics, and new media come into being as a result of various degrees of education. "By new people, we mean those who have emerged and have benefited from the huge increase in modern mass education, especially higher education...new media expand education constituting a market for new mixes of ideas...new media engage wider and more public communities with claims to interpret and to provide additional techniques of interpretation" (pp. 10-11). Norton contends that "The focus on new media overlaps with a heightened interest in civic pluralism in the Muslim world" (p.19). "New publics emerge along a continuum between mass communication aimed at everyone and directed personal communications to specific others with whom one already has a personal relationship" (p. 15). "One feature of the new public sphere is a reintellectualization of Islamic discourse...by reintellectualization we mean

presenting Islamic doctrine and discourse in accessible, vernacular terms (cf. Benedict Anderson), even if this contributes to basis reconfigurations of doctrine and practice" (p. 12). The public started consuming many forms of communication engaging in hotly-debated discussions. Because new electronic media formed new publics and a new sphere of communication, filters and screens as well some kind of cyberspace police was created to monitor the new situation. Two sides resulted from this move: 1) a liberating side (bringing messages not known to other people; 2) being drowned out by another unwanted participants. Some media are more democratic than others (tapes very easy to hide and very easy to camouflage the contents). Therefore, political communication can be circulated. For example, Khumayni's sermons, satellite TV opposition, jamming fax machines as the opposition in Saudi Arabia tries to do, etc. indicate that dissident groups can invade the home country. Moreover, pirating and hacking websites and social media are on the rise. Eickelman contends that the spread of education contributed to a thriving Muslim public sphere (p.48). This led to the emergence of a new Muslim middle class, which is open and moderate, even in looks, and very proud to be Muslims. In addition, a new form of consumption appeared such as the ceremonial breaking of the fast in a very luxurious place so that everyone will see and know it. There are also other forms of Islamic consumption such as very expensive Muslim clothes exhibited at a special Muslim corner. Therefore, being more Islamic is a sign of distinction, haute couture, or different life-styles. This resulted in a demand over Muslim reading material, theatre, cinema, cultural activities, etc. in order to convey their different identity. Muslim intellectuals started from social issues, not the scripture. A real social and economic change resulted leading to a growing middle class. Therefore, it turns out that it is not bad at all to look a Muslim, act as a Muslim, consume Muslim clothes, books, etc. indeed Islam can be very modern. Unfortunately, there are hardly any interesting debates on political thought. The new intellectual sphere leads to new material and new debates, such as debates about genetic engineering. The existence of wealthy people with different Muslim tastes lead to innovations such as the creation and printing of their own Muslim magazines that deal primarily with science and religion. Therefore, their public sphere is always colored by religion; a Muslim public sphere debating religion. And so, important debates within Islam take place in this public sphere. This result in a social competition and power struggle between the *ulama* and the new elite who are on the who technocrats educated in Western universities and scientifically oriented. In addition, the internet may result in a fragmentation of authority rupturing the long contested authority of the *ulama* i.e. the emergence of counter elites to reach wider audiences. "...those media contribute to the fragmentation of political and religious

authority by bypassing religious channels" (p. 3). Because of the emergence of many parallel authorities, the major authority is broken and wider alternatives are available to the people. Fragmentation of authority "increases the numbers of persons involved in creating and sustaining a religious-civil public sphere" (p.14). The question remains, who is the authority?

Eickelman and Anderson put the icing on the cake by arguing, "that by looking at the intricate multiplicity of horizontal relationships, especially among the rapidly increasing numbers of beneficiaries of mass education, new messages, and new communication media, one discovers alternative ways of thinking about Islam, acting on Islamic principles, and creating senses of community and public space. Such a realization among large numbers of people is a measure of the *potential for a rapidly emerging public sphere and a civil society that plays a vital role within it*" (emphasis added) (p. 16).

Norton contends that " Civic pluralism meets the state in civil society, the realm where norms are contested and were boundaries of state and society overlap it is in civil society that contemporary citizenship is being redefined and public space is negotiated...The 'discovery' of civil society as a topic of debate in the Muslim world... a more differentiated view of the state-society relations is necessary, one that recognizes the opportunities for a dialogue at arm's length with a powerful state" (pp. 25-26). Norton's seminal contribution lies in pinpointing that "...networks of informal civic associations, which have filled the void left by governments' failure to meet the needs of the urban lower classes and the rural poor...impressive array of service organizations created by Islamist movements [Hizbullah, Hamas, Muslim Brotherhood, Algerian FIS, Virtue Party & AKP in Turkey, etc.]. what the Islamists have accomplished is impressive and should be seen as an important step toward a more inclusive civil society" (p. 27). Finally Jon Anderson, points to the importance of the "internet discourse" and the "recency of the introduction of its interpreters to a more public realm brings out the priority of responsibility and how taking responsibility, particularly for the interpretation, in public is the intermediating step for 'civil society' " (p.53).

c) *Religious Movements: Islamism and the Media*

Glock's and Stark's article entitled "On the Origins and Evolution of Religious Groups" which is seminal in its discussion and treatment of "What accounts for the rise and evolution of new religious groups in society?" They give an elaborate definition of deprivation and discuss five types of deprivation, namely, economic deprivation, social deprivation, organismic deprivation, ethical deprivation, and psychic deprivation. All five categories seem to apply to the rise of Islamic movements and the success of the Islamic

Revolution in Iran. Under ethical deprivation, building on Lawrence Stone's famous sociological hypothesis of relative deprivation ("...revolutions occur not so much when times are bad as they are worse; or more precisely, when there is a discrepancy between the expectations of a group and their perception of reality" [Burke, p.30]), one can analyze Islamic movements as movements of socio-economic and political protest that dwell on the economic development argument. Making use of Seymour Martin Lipset's analysis, they argue that "current theories of revolution specify that there must be a deflection from the ranks of the elite in order that direction and leadership be provided for lower class discontent, if revolution is to occur" (p. 397). For instance, this might explain why the supporters of the secular AMAL moved to their opponent, the Islamist party of Hizbullah. Sayyid Hasan Nasrallah, the current secretary general of Hizbullah, was AMAL's district leader of the *Biqā'*, in east Lebanon before he shifted his allegiance.

Under psychic deprivation, Glock and Stark offer a general theory, namely, "that a necessary precondition for the rise of 'any' organized social movement is a situation of felt deprivation. However, while a necessary condition, deprivation is not, in itself, a sufficient condition. Also required are traditional conditions that the deprivation be shared, that no alternative institutional arrangement for its resolution are perceived, and that a leadership emerge within an innovating idea for building a movement out of the existing deprivation" (*Ibid.*, p. 397) This analysis applies to Iran before 1979, Algeria, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, Sudan, etc.

To conceptualize, the modernization theory introduced by Seymour Martin Lipset during the 1960s, stressed the positive influence of economic development on the democratization process. There is a wide agreement among scholars that capitalism is a necessary, though not sufficient condition for democracy. The reason is simply believed to be that, up to this date, there is no existing competitive electoral system without a market based on capitalism. Georg Sørensen writes that modernization and wealth will always be accompanied by a number of factors conducive to democracy such as higher rates of literacy and education, urbanization, the development of mass media. Moreover, wealth will also provide the resources needed to mitigate the tensions produced by political conflict.¹⁷ Dahl, in the 1970s, considered it "pretty much beyond dispute" that the higher the socio-economic level of a country, the more likely that it would become

democratic.¹⁸ However, modernization theory is rarely adopted among political scientists since there are cases where this it is not valid. In the context of the Middle East, one could state that the democratization process is more vivid in countries that are "populous, poor, and politicized." This while the "well-to-do" Arab countries – the exception here claimed to be Kuwait – are those furthest away from democratization.¹⁹

Another useful theoretical framework encompasses mainly the "equality theory" advocated by Aristotle and Alexis de Tocqueville²⁰, the "frustration-aggression" hypothesis advocated by Ted Gurr and James Davies, the "surplus-value exploitation" hypothesis advocated by Marx, as well as theories of the media. Moreover, the preconditions and accelerators of revolution derived from Thomas Greene and other theorists on revolution are useful in order to trace the factors enhancing the position of Islamic fundamentalism in Lebanon. Furthermore, the obstacles to revolution derived from Eckstein are examined in order to explain the relatively successful counteraction by the state in confronting political Islam in Lebanon (Including capital punishment by hanging). As a consequence of this study, I claim that the Lebanese case demonstrates the following facts: the increasing popularity of the Islamic movement is due to the state's poor economic performance, from which the fundamentalists largely benefited. The Lebanese four main 'ism' of corruption: sectarianism, confessionalism, favouritism, and nepotism are also rhetorically used by Islamists, at least on the psychological level, to attract supporters. The fundamentalists' popularity in Lebanon is also enhanced by the rhetorical power of Islamic discourse and the hegemony, control, surveillance, and repression (cf. Gramsci, Bourdieu, and Foucault) of the Lebanese political system. However, the Islamic movement functions in the context of a secular state whose strategy consists mainly of two elements. First, the state uses political liberalization, which is an incremental phenomenon, whereby expanding freedom of expression gradually draws a greater proportion of the population into political participation. In the Lebanese case, liberalization may draw the people closer to the government, or at least away from the radical fundamentalists – as was the case with AMAL that was incorporated into the Lebanese corrupt political system. AMAL has representatives in the cabinet and the parliament; while till 2005, Hizbullah refused to join the cabinet and practiced *hizbiyya* through the

¹⁷ Georg Sørensen. (1993). *Democracy and Democratization: Processes of Projects in a Changing World*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, p. 25

¹⁸ Robert A. Dahl, (1982). *Dilemmas of Pluralist Democracy: Autonomy versus Control*. New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 25.

¹⁹ Larbi Sadiki (2000), "Arab Democratization" in *the Journal of Middle East Studies*. 32.1 See also his most recent book: (2016). *Handbook of the Arab Spring: Rethinking Democratization*. London: Routledge.

²⁰ Alexis, de Tocqueville. (1994). *Democracy in America*. London: Harper Collins.

parliament and municipality councils. Related to liberalization is the cooptation of the moderate fundamentalist. Cooptation takes the form of allowing them to run for parliamentary elections through political alliances, as well as to participate in economic life and express criticism of government politics as a political party. This secured the Hizbullah's representation in the parliamentary elections starting 1992, and the municipal elections since 1998. Second, the state uses repression, which essentially exposes the military's role as the backbone of stability in Lebanon because of its economic and institutional prestige that is at stake. The government's status in this struggle for stability is enhanced by two internal factors: Islamic internal divisions (collapse of Sunni fundamentalism and the contestation of power among the Islamists) and the capability of consensual politics in exercising patronage.

Moreover, the concept of relative deprivation might be useful in analyzing political conflict and repression and explain the resurgence of political Islam, especially, the rise of Hizbullah in Lebanon, and the success of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Therefore, a thorough and detailed examination of the concept and its applicability is fruitful and rewarding because the theory of relative deprivation fosters conflict (Wilson, pp. 115-118). Accordingly, aggressive behavior ("frustration-aggression" hypothesis developed in a rudimentary form by Freud and advocated by Ted Gurr and James Davies) stems from frustration arising out of a feeling of relative deprivation. People may act violently or aggressively not because they are poor or deprived (*mahrumin*) in some absolute sense but because they *feel* deprived relative to others or to their expectations of what they should have. Feelings of relative deprivation can arise by comparing a person's past, present, and expected future condition. Images of this condition are strongly affected by where one (or one's country) fares within the hierarchy of various global or regional systems based on status, prestige, military power, wealth, etc.

Nevertheless, feelings of relative deprivation are likely to arise when a formerly prosperous individual or state experiences a severe economic setback. Such feelings are widespread during recessions and depressions and often result in severe political unrest (The Islamic Revolution). In other words, the most dangerous time for social unrest, or for challenges to the status quo in any sort of system, is when a sustained period of improving conditions is followed by a sudden, sharp setback. The period of improvement may lead people to expect continuing improvement; thus, when the setback occurs, it causes more distress than if it had followed a period of unchanged conditions. For example, in 1978 Iran had experienced a decade of unprecedented growth in its national income. However, these economic rewards were distributed very unequally and left a variety of groups – such as peasants, urban workers and the urban unemployed, followers of

traditional religion, and some intellectuals – very dissatisfied. Many rebelled culminating in the shah's overthrow.

Another perspective emphasizes the importance of people's comparisons with one another: "I may be satisfied, even with a bad lot, providing that you do no better. However, to the degree I make comparisons with others and find my situation relatively poor, then I am likely to be dissatisfied."

These two perspectives, emphasizing comparisons across time and across groups, can be usefully combined. The first suggests when serious discontent may arise; the second suggests where in the social system it will be most manifest. The present day seems to be a period of substantial change in people's status or in their consciousness of differences in status. Feelings of relative deprivation may also arise among those who are excluded from the benefits of improved economic conditions. For example, many people in the slums and ghettos of the developing countries may sometimes be better off economically than they had been. However, satellite TV, the Internet, social media, and other forms of modern communications have made them more aware of how well off people in other countries and elites in their own countries really are. This might explain their "rising expectations".

To recapitulate, unequal distributions of the national pie tend to induce conflict, as some groups or classes see others moving ahead rapidly while they themselves gain little or in some instances even slip backward. In highly non egalitarian societies (such as Lebanon and Iran before the revolution), any appreciable change – either positive or negative – in the overall national income will stimulate greater conflict over how the expanded or contracted pie should be divided, but there will be conflict during periods of decline due to the hegemony (cf. Gramsci, Bourdieu, and Foucault) of the few (power elite) over the many (masses). The best strategy that the government is following to accommodate process is to be aristocratic with the few and democratic with the many; however, this fake civic conformity does not always work.

d) *Media Overkill: Baudrillard's hyperreality and simulacra*

Jean Baudrillard's work on hyperreality and simulacra illustrates the misconception and damage media coverage, or the media overkill phenomenon might cause. Baudrillard regards the impact of modern mass media as being quite different from, and much more profound than, that of any other technology. The advent of mass media, particularly electronic media such as TV, the Internet, and social media has transformed the very nature of our lives. According to him, the TV does not just represent the world to us; it increasingly defines what the world in which we live actually is. O.J. Simpson's trial is an illustration of what

Baudrillard calls hyperreality. There is no longer a 'reality' (the events in the court room) which the TV allows us to see. The 'reality' is actually the string of images on the TV screens of the world which defined the trial as a global event.

Just before the outbreak of the hostilities in the Gulf in 1991, Baudrillard wrote a news paper article entitled "The Gulf War Can't Happen." After the end of the war, Baudrillard wrote a second article, "The Gulf War Didn't Happen." What did he mean? He meant that the war was not like other wars that have happened in history. It was a war of the media age, a televisual spectacle, in which, along with other viewers throughout the world, George Bush and Saddam Hussein watched the coverage by CNN to see what was actually 'happening.' Finally, Baudrillard argues that, in an age where the mass media are disseminated everywhere, in effect a new reality, a hyperreality, is created, composed of the intermingling of people's behavior and media images. The world of hyperreality is constructed of simulacra i.e. images which only get their meaning from other images; therefore, they have no ground in an 'external reality.' For example, no political leader today who does not appear constantly on TV and the social media can win an election. In fact, the TV and social media image of the leader is the person most viewers know. That explains the excessive use of multimedia, high-tech, and Information and Communication Technology (ICT) by political leaders and parties in order to boost and improve their image.

To conclude, the aim of the aforementioned theoretical exposition was to furnish the reader with alternative visions, perspectives, and angles of thought directed at bridging the gap between theory and practice vis-à-vis media and modernity. It is a drop in the ocean of a largely contested field.

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Gender, Academic Self-Efficacy, and Goal Orientation as Predictors of Academic Achievement

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Keywords: *gender, academic self-efficacy, goal orientation, academic achievement.*

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Gender, Academic Self-Efficacy, and Goal Orientation as Predictors of Academic Achievement

Kifle Kassaw^α & Melese Astatke^σ

Abstract- The study attempted to assess the relationships between gender, level of goal orientation, academic self efficacy and academic performance in Woldia college of teachers education. The study employed quantitative approach which followed correlation design in involving two instruments to collect data: questionnaires (goal orientation scale and general academic self efficacy scale) and document analysis (students' cumulative GPA). Participants of this study were 482 second and third year students at Woldia College of Teachers Education in the academic year of 2016/2017 using stratified and simple random sampling techniques. To answer the research questions on the study, mean scores, standard deviation, Pearson correlation, and also inferential statistics such as t-test, and multiple regression were used to analyze the data. The result of the study showed that there was statistically significant gender difference in students' general self efficacy and academic achievement. In case of this the mean score of male students' academic self efficacy and CGPA were significantly higher than female counterparts. Gender has an independent significant effect on students' academic achievement. Moreover, the study implied that students with high goal orientation and general academic self efficacy are likely to get better academic achievement in the college. Regarding to the relationship between gender and goal orientation, results of correlation analysis indicated no significant relationship between students' gender and goal orientation, and no statistically significant relationship between students' gender and general academic self efficacy was obtained in correlation analysis though gender alone has a significant contribution to students' academic achievement. The results of correlation analysis of the present study revealed that there were statistically significant relationship between goal orientation and general academic self efficacy. Furthermore, there was statistically significant interrelationship between goal orientation and general self efficacy ($r = 0.42$ $P < 0.05$), goal orientation and academic achievement ($r = 0.33$ $P < 0.05$), and general self efficacy and academic performance ($r = 0.17$ $P < 0.05$) was obtained. Similarly, academic achievement of male students is positively and significantly correlated with goal orientation ($r = 0.34$) and general academic self efficacy (0.30). Besides, there was a positive and statistically significant relationship between students goal orientation and general self efficacy belief. Results in multiple regression analysis indicated that students' gender and goal orientation combined together have statistically significant contribution to their academic achievement that accounts for 27.2% of the variation in academic achievement. However, general academic self efficacy alone does not contribute to

academic achievement. Finally, pertinent recommendations were drawn from the findings and conclusions of the study.

Keywords: gender, academic self-efficacy, goal orientation, academic achievement.

1. INTRODUCTION

“College students face a myriad of pressures and challenges in the academic environment as they seek to maintain optimal performance or even to remain in the academic program.” (Mansfield, Pinto, Parent and Wortman, 2004:551).

Thus, students' academic achievement can be determined by various factors. Therefore, according to Mansfield et al. (2004), identification of contributing factors to college students' academic achievement help to intervene or to remedy for the improvement of students success and achievement in higher education. In this regard, researchers in the field of educational psychology have investigated a number of variables in their relationship to academic achievement. For example, some studies evidenced that achievement goals, cognition (Countiho, 2007), self efficacy (Ford, cited in Adediwora and Tayo, 2007), gender (Bandura, 1997 cited in Ayiku, 2005) and so forth determine academic achievement.

Similarly, some researchers identified various factors that affect academic achievement. For example, a study conducted by Ojerinde (1981) revealed that anxiety, achievement, motivation and level of interest affect academic achievement. Ford (1985) also distinguished self efficacy and self concept as factors that affect students' academic achievement (Adediwora and Tayo, 2007).

Despite the many factors that can have an effect on academic achievement, for the purpose of the present study, three variables that have been of particular interest of researchers, are used for investigation: Gender, goal orientation and academic achievement. Gender is the first variable that can have relation to and influence on academic achievement. In this regard, various studies conducted on the interrelationship between students' gender and academic achievement disclosed that female students perform better than male students in both general and domain specific academic tasks (Dayioglu & Asik, 2004;

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Kumar and Lai, 2006; Lloyd, Walsh and Yailagh, 2005; Seleshi, 2005).

Moreover, Betts and Morell (Cited in Dayioglu and Asilk, 2004) reported that having controlled each attributes of GPA, gender is found to be a significant predictor of students' cumulative grade point average. However, contrary to several studies, Pokay and Blumenfeld (1990) describe that students' gender do not directly influence academic achievement. Similarly, mackintosh (cited in Dayloglu and Asik, 2004) confirmed that no gender difference is found in general intelligence.

The second factor that can affect academic achievement is level of goal orientation. The goal orientation theory has been a major concern for various educational researches because of its influence on the performance of students (Was, 2006). As to Fuente (2004) cited in Was (2006), academic goals are defined as academic motives that are used to guide students classroom behavior.

According to goal orientation theorists, students are engaged in academic tasks to achieve their own various goals. Thus, some students strive to earn better grades in the course, some other students motivated not to expose their inability in academic tasks. Still some other students are concerned on comprehending specific content domain (Mattern, 2005) Therefore, according to Coutinho (2007) and Mattern (2005), goal orientations are classified in to two: Master goals and performance goals.

Mastery goals are goals that help students to master specific content domains and encourage them to focus on tasks at hand. They help students to improve their knowledge about something. Thus, student who have mastery goal orientation focus on mastering the task irrespective of comparison with others. Mastery goal oriented students spent longer time working on difficult or challenging tasks. They are also attributing their accomplishment and failure to factors that are internal to them. However, performance goals focus on better performance comparing with others. Unlike mastery goals, performance goal orientated students attribute their success and failure to factors external to them (Countinho, 2007; Mattern, 2005; Was, 2006).

Previous studies conducted on the relationship between level of goal orientations and academic achievement revealed that level of goal orientations are associated with academic achievement (Demirkaya, 2008; Walter, (2004). Moreover, Harackiewicz et'al (2000, 2002) cited in Mattern (2005) showed that unlike performance goals, mastery goal orientations predict students' academic achievement. However in their conditional finding, Seijts, Latham, Tasa & Latham (2004), showed that goal orientation predicts achievement when the goal is Vague. Besides,

they further report that performance goal orientation makes the correlation between goal orientation and achievement weak.

Academic self efficacy is also another factor that may affect students' academic achievement. Bandura (1997:3) cited in Chemers, Hu and Garcia (2001) defined academic self efficacy as "the belief in one's capability to organize and execute courses of actions required to produce given attainments." Like the other factors that may affect academic achievement, academic self efficacy is correlated with academic achievement. Fore example, Lloyd, Walsh and Yailagh (2005) disclosed that academic self efficacy influence students efforts, choices and academic achievement.

To the understanding of the researchers, although in the past several studies were conducted on domain specific self efficacy like mathematics self efficacy, very few studies have been conducted on general self efficacy. For example, a study conducted on first year college students by Chamers, Hu and Garcia (2001) revealed that there is a strong relationship between general academic self efficacy and students' academic achievement. In this regard, students who have high general self efficacy tend to obtain better grades in school activities (Tuckers and Hall, 2003; Yeo and Neal, 2006).

However, as to the knowledge of the researchers, so far in Ethiopia, there is no any local studies conducted on the intercorrelation between gender, level of goal orientation, general academic self efficacy and academic achievement though each of the variables have been correlated by various researchers with other variables. Thus, studying the relationship between these variable is important to improve students' achievement.

The purpose of the present study is, therefore, examples the relationship between students' gender, level of goal orientation, academic self efficacy and academic achievement. The present study is, therefore, aimed at answering the following questions:

1. Are there a significance gender difference among students' goal orientation, general self efficacy and academic achievement?
2. Are there a significant interrelationship among gender, goal orientation, general self efficacy and academic achievement?
3. Do students' gender, goal orientation, general academic self efficacy independently and/or jointly contribute to a significant variation in academic achievement?

Operational Definition

- *Academic achievement*: in this study refers to cumulative grade point average accumulated over three semesters.

- *Gender*: in this study refers to the social or cultural sex roles of students.
- *Goal orientation*: in the context of this study goal orientation refers to the reason why students approach and engage in academic tasks.
- *Self efficacy*: refers to evaluation of One's ability to perform various domains of academic tasks in this study, self efficacy refer to students' belief that they will be successful in different subjects.

II. METHODS

a) Design of the Study

Since the study was examined the interrelationship between gender, goal orientation, self efficacy and academic achievement, the research design used in the present study is correlation design. To achieve its purpose, the research followed quantitative approach. This research approach allowed the researchers to numerically analyze the relationships among the dependent and independent variables in the study. Moreover, in the study two variables were used: the independent/predictor and dependent/criterion variables.

b) Variables

i. Independent /Predictor Variables

- Gender: is naturally dichotomized as male and female
- Goal orientation scores: were artificially labeled as high and low based on mean academic achievement

- General academic self efficacy scores :are artificially dichotomized as high and low based on mean academic achievement

ii. Dependent/ Criterion Variables

- Academic achievement scores: Commulative Grade point Average accumulated over three semesters

c) Participants

The participants of this study were 482 second and third year students at Woldia College of teacher Education in 2016/17 academic calendar/year. This is because since the researcher's work place is WCTE, it might allow him to participate in supporting, altering or intervening the teacher training program. Moreover, the rational for selecting second and third year students is since students of both year levels have spend two to three years in the training programs, it was believed by the researchers that freshman years was a period of adjustment to college environment and maladjustment to college environment could affect their college achievement. Therefore, correlating the vanables under study make the study effective.

The total number of second and third year students were 1605(587 females and 1018males). Out of the total population, only 482(293 second year 189 3rd year students) were selected from 10 departments. This was done initially students were stratified by year level, department and gender. (see table1 below).

Table 1: population and sample with sex

Year	Population			Sample		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Second year	614	362	976	184	109	293
Third year	404	225	629	121	68	189
Total	1018	587	1605	305	177	482

III. INSTRUMENTS

The data collection instruments that were used in this study are: The goal orientation scale, self efficacy scale and document/cumulative GPA.

a) The goal orientation scale

The goal orientation scale is a 34 items Likert scale type questionnaire that was designed to include three sub- goal orientations (Mastery, performance, performance avoidant and work avoidant). The primary focus that was measured in the scale is mastery and performance goal orientation. However, it is important to note that the two sub goal orientations and work avoidant) measure the negative outcomes. The scale measures the tendency of students to set goals and make plans in every day academic tasks. Various studies reported that the acceptable reliability

Cronbach's Alpha estimates range from values of 0.64 to 0.81 (Was, 2006:542). Thus students will be asked to rate each item on the scale using a 4 point scale Likert scale questionnaire from 1(strongly disagree) to 4(strongly agree.)

b) The General academic self Efficacy scale

Although in most previous studies domain specific self efficacy scales were used, the present study was used general academic self efficacy scale to measure students' global sense of competence across various academic subjects and tasks.

A 4-point Liket type general academic self efficacy scale which is ranging from strongly agree (5) to strongly disagree (1) was used. The scale was adapted the scholz et al.(2002) and sherer et al.(1985).The scale was comprised of 10 items .some of the statements in

the scale were stated negatively and the others were positive statements.(see appendi). The items were piloted to 50 pilot samples of second year students at woldia Collage of Teacher Education. The reliability coefficient (internal consistency) of Cronbach alpha was 0.78.

c) *Document /college record*

Document or college records that contain students' cumulative grade point average was used as data collection instrument. Academic achievement in this study is explained in terms of cumulative grade point averages that are collected over three semesters. This was done because the researchers intended to take CGPA of three semester of both second and third year students to make uniform analysis. Thus, the cumulative GPA of students was taken from the registrar's office.

IV. METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

Responses obtained from goal orientation and self efficacy scales and their academic achievement were analysed using spss version 16. Responses obtained from students in both scales were artificially labeled as high and low based on their mean scores. Students who score above the mean in both scales

were labeled as possessing higher value of each trait where as those who score below the mean were labeled as possessing lower values in both cases. Similarly gender was naturally dichotomized as female and male. In this study, descriptive statistics such as mean and standard deviation, correlation, and multiple regressions were used to analyze the data. Mean and standard deviation were employed to see the variation among the variables under investigation. Partial correlation controlling for gender were performed to see the relationship between goal orientation, academic efficacy and academic achievement. Multiple regression were also employed to see the independent contributions of the predictor variables to the criterion variables. Finally, the level of significance is planned to set at 0.05.

V. RESULTS

The main purpose of this study was to examine the interrelation ship between students' gender, goal orientation, general self efficacy and academic achievement.

a) *Gender Difference in Variables under study (n=482)*

The data in table 1 below, presents descriptive statistics of variables under study. These data were used to carry out further analysis.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics of variables under study

Variables	N	Range of Scores		Min	Max
		Mean	SD		
Goal orientation	482	91.62	7.51	55	111
General self Efficacy	482	40.95	5.55	23	50
Academic achievement	482	2.64	0.48	2.00	3.86

The mean and standard deviation of variables under study for females and males are presented in table 2. These data indicated that there were no statistically significant difference in goal orientation and between female and male students although the mean score of male students goal orientation slightly higher than

female students. However, statistically significance gender difference in general academic self efficacy and academic achievement was obtained ($t = -6.76$, $P < 0.05$).

Table 3: Means and standard Deviations of variables between females (N=177 and males (N=305)

Variables	Gender				P value
	Females		Males		
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Goal orientation	91.44	7.95	91.88	6.87	0.431
General Self Efficacy	40.88	5.68	41.06	5.39	0.01
Academic achievement	2.47	0.37	2.88	0.52	0.00

* $P < 0.05$ where $M=305$, $F=177$, $N=482$

The data on the distribution of participants based on the various categories of each predictor variables are presented in table 3 below. The data in table 2 and 3 are used to employ three way Analysis of variance in order to see whether the mean differences observed in each of the predictor variable are statistically significant or not.

Table 4: Means and standard deviations of students' academic achievement in different levels of the predictor variables

Variables	Levels	Mean	SD	N	t- test
Gender	Female	2.47	0.39	126	-6.759*
	Male	2.89	0.52	87	
Goal Orientation	High	2.81	0.52	128	6.810*
	Low	2.39	0.30	85	
General self Efficacy	High	2.74	0.51	125	3.639*
	Low	2.49	0.41	88	

* $P < 0.05$

Summary of the significant interaction of means are shown in figure 1 and 2 below.

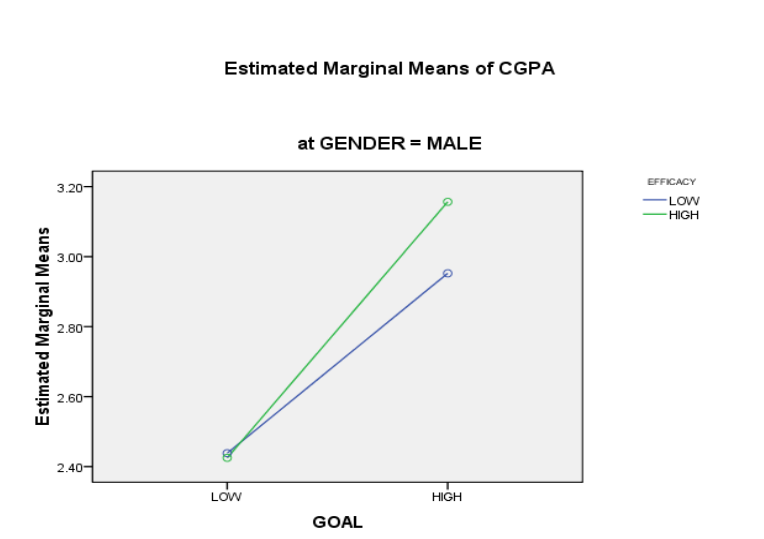
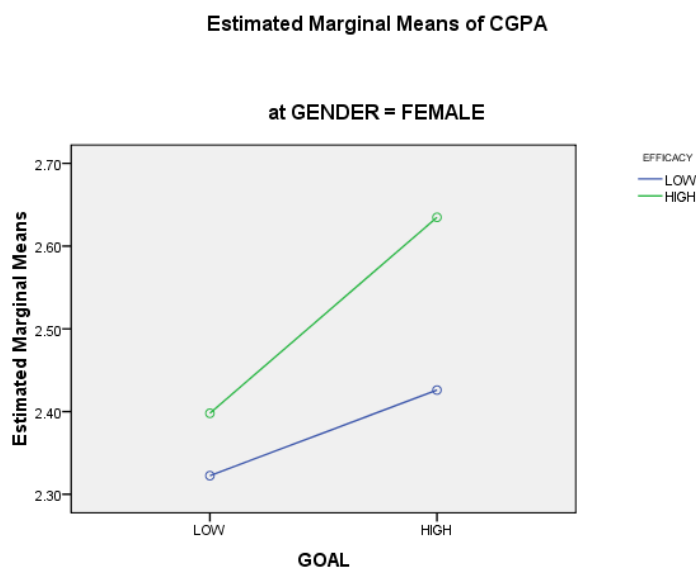
**Figure 1:** Mean of male students CGPA by mean general self efficacy and goal orientation

Figure 2 below indicate that students with high those with low general efficacy belief and low goal general academic self efficacy and high goal orientation have better academic achievement than

**Figure 2:** Mean of female students CGPA by mean general self efficacy and goal orientation

However, the ANOVA results do not show the independent contributions of each variable in the prediction of academic performance. Therefore, in order to see the variation in students' academic performance that is contributed by each variable it is important to carry out multiple regression analysis.

VI. INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG VARIABLES

The data on the interrelationship between the variables under study are presented in table 3 below. Analysis of the correlation coefficient the variables show that there were no statistically significant interrelationship between students' gender and goal

orientation ($r=0.03$), and gender and general self efficacy ($r=0.02$). This generally indicate that on both cases, there is no relationship between these variables.

On the other hand, however, statistically significant positive relationship was observed between students' gender and academic performance ($r=0.42$, $P<0.05$ and $P<0.01$).

Similarly, there were significant positive relationship between goal orientation and general self efficacy ($r=0.45$, $P<0.05$), goal orientation and academic performance ($r=0.31$, $P<0.05$), and general self efficacy and academic performance ($r=0.22$, $P<0.05$).

Table 5: Inter relationship matrix among variables understudy

Variables	Coefficient of correlation			
	G	Go	GSE	CGPA
Gender (G)	1			
Goal orientation (GO)	0.03	1		
General self Efficacy (GSE)	0.02	0.45*	1	
Academic performance (CGPA)	0.42*	0.31*	0.22*	1

* $P<0.05$

Table 6: Partial correlations between goal orientation, general self efficacy and academic achievement

Control Variable	Variables	Coefficient of correlation		
		GO	GSE	CGPA
Gender	Goal orientation (GO)	1		
	General self Efficacy (GSE)	0.45*	1	
	Academic achievement (CGPA)	0.33*	0.23*	1

* $P<0.05$

a) Interrelationship Between levels of goal orientation and academic achievement

As shown in table 5 below, academic achievement is positively and significantly related with

mastery goals ($r=0.20$), performance goals ($r=0.19$), and work avoidance goals ($r=0.18$)

Table 7: Number of cases ,means and Standard deviation of sub levels of goal orientation

Variables	N	Mean	SD	Coefficients of correlation			
				MG	PG	WAG	AP
Mastery goals (MG)	482	34.74	3.56			1	
Performance goals(PG)	482	33.78	4.44		0.10	1	
Work avoidance goals	482	23.09	4.06		0.43	0.23	1
Academic performance	482	2.64	0.48	0.20 *	0.19*	0.18 *	1

* $P<0.05$

In order to see the joint and/ or contribution of sub levels of goal orientation to academic performance, multiple regressions was computed. The results of multiple regressions analysis indicated that all sub levels of goal orientation such as mastery goals, performance goals and work avoidance goals jointly have a significant contribution to academic achievement that accounts 9.7% of the variation in academic achievement.

In order to see whether the contribution of each sub level of goal orientation is statistically significant or not ,t- test was computed. The results indicated that mastery goals($t=2.624$, $p<0.05$), performance goals ($t=2.514$, $p<0.05$)and work avoidance goals

($t=2.635$, $p<0.05$) separately have significant contribution to the prediction of academic achievement.

The results also indicated that mastery a goal, performance goals and work avoidance goals separately contributes significantly that accounts 0.039, 0.035 and 0.034 respectively. In other words, 3.9% of the variation in academic achievement is accounted for by mastery goals. The rest 3.5% and 3.4% of the variation in academic achievement is accounted for by performance and work avoidance goals.

b) *The effect of independent variables on the dependent variable*

The ANOVA table for multiple regression analysis as shown in table 6 below indicate that all the predictor variables such as gender, goal orientation and

general self efficacy combined together have statistically significant contribution to students' academic performance that account 27.2 %of the variation in academic achievement.

Table 8: ANOVA summary table for Multiple regression

Source	SS	Df	Ms	F	R ²
Regression	13.542	3	4.514	26.09*	0.272
Residual	36.162	209	0.173		
Total	49.704	212			

* $P < 0.05$

The t-test for regression analysis results are presented in table 7 below. These results show the relative contribution of each predictor variable to the prediction of students' academic performance as explained by cumulative grade point average (CGPA).

The multiple regression analysis indicated that gender and goal orientation have significant contribution to the prediction of students academic achievement.

However, general self efficacy alone has no significant contribution to the prediction of students' academic achievement. Besides, the contribution of gender and goal orientation together added significantly to the prediction of academic achievement which accounts for about 26.5% of the variation in academic achievement.

Table 9: t-test results for multiple regression Analysis

Variables	B	SEB	Beta	T
Gender	0.406	0.058	0.413	6.998*
Goal orientation	0.016	0.004	0.253	3.841*
General self Efficacy	0.008	0.006	0.095	1.434

* $P < 0.05$

Constant = 0.64

The regression equation is:

$$Y' = 0.64 + 0.406X_1 + 0.016X_2 + 0.008X_3$$

Where:

Y' = Predicated academic achievement

X_1 = Gender

X_2 = Goal Orientation

X_3 = General academic self Efficacy

students' gender, goal orientation and general self efficacy have an independent contributions in the prediction of academic achievement.

The independent contributions of gender, goal orientation and general self- efficacy are 0.178, 0.095 and 0.046 respectively. In other words, the variations on students' academic achievement are accounted for by gender, goal orientation and general self efficacy belief are 17.8%, 9.5% and 4.6% respectively.

The data on step wise regression analysis are presented in table 8 below. These data show that

Table 10: Summary table of stepwise regression analysis

Step	Variables	R	R ²	AR ²	F
1	Gender	0.21	0.178	0.174	45.68*
2	Goal orientation	0.42	0.095	0.090	22.05*
3	General self- efficacy	0.31	0.046	0.041	10.153*

* $P < 0.05$

As indicated in table 9 below, partial correlations controlling for gender were performed. The result indicated that there was statistically significant positive correlations between goal orientation and general self efficacy ($r = 0.45$, $P < 0.05$). Similarly students' academic achievement was significantly correlated with goal orientation ($r = 0.33$, $P < 0.05$) and general self efficacy ($r = 0.23$, $P < 0.05$).

Table 11: Regression statistics of mastery, Performance and work avoidance goals

Independent Variables	R ²	F	Regression coefficient	T
Mastery goals	0.097	7.515	0.173	2.624*
Performance goals			0.166	2.514*
Work avoidance goals			0.173	2.635*

* $P < 0.05$

VII. DISCUSSIONS

The analyses of results in relation to the research questions raised are presented in the discussion section. Besides, this section attempts to relate the results with past findings and literatures. Thus, the purpose of this study is to examine the interrelationship between students' gender, goal orientation, general academic self efficacy and academic achievement. The study is also attempt to investigate the independent /joint contribution of the predictor variables to academic achievement.

In line with the purpose of the present study, the research questions raised at the beginning are restated as follows:

1. Are there a significance gender difference among students' goal orientation, general self efficacy and academic achievement?
2. Are there a significant interrelationship among gender, goal orientation, general self efficacy and academic achievement?
3. Do students' gender, goal orientation, general academic self efficacy independently and/or jointly contribute to a significant variation in academic achievement?

a) Gender Difference in Variables under Study

Results of t-test (see table 2 and 3) indicated that there was statistically significant gender difference in students' academic achievement. The mean CG.P.A of male students were significantly higher than female students' CGPA. Unlike the results of the present study, various researchers (e.g Dayioglu and Asik, 2004; Kumar and Lai, 2006; Lioyd et'al. 2005) reported that female students perform better than their counter parts in both general and domain specific academic tasks.

Moreover, the mean difference comparison (t-test) between female and male students indicated that there was statistically significant gender difference in academic achievement between students with high level of goal orientation. However, no statistically significant gender difference in academic achievement among students with low goal orientation was obtained. (see table 3)

Similarly, statistically, significant gender difference in academic achievement between females and males students with high general academic self efficacy was obtained. There was also a statistically significant gender difference between females and

males students with low general academic efficacy. The mean CGPA of male students with low general academic self efficacy was significantly higher than female students with low general self efficacy.

b) Interrelationship among Variables

Results of correlation analysis indicated that there was a significant positive relationship between students' gender and their academic achievement as explained by CGPA. Like the present study, Betts and Morell cited in Dayioglu and Asik (2004) reported that gender is significantly related with students' academic performance.

Regarding the interrelationship between students' goal orientation and academic achievement, a significant positive interrelationship between goal orientation and academic achievement was obtained. This indicates that the higher the students' goal orientation, the higher the grades students' obtained. This result is consistent with the study of Jeng and Shih (2008). The study generally reported that students with higher goal setting have performed better than those with lower goal setting. Unlike the former researchers, a local study conducted on college students revealed that there was statistically non significant relationship between academic achievement motivation and academic achievement. (Tsigie, 2006)

The correlation analysis results also revealed that general academic self efficacy was positively and significantly related with academic achievement. These indicate that the higher students' general academic self efficacy, the higher is their grade point average they obtained in various courses. Moreover, results of the multiple regression analysis also indicated that student's general academic self efficacy added significantly to the prediction of students' academic achievement. This result agrees with the studies of Hackett & Betz; and Lent, Brown and Larkin cited in Zimmerman (2000). The study generally reported that there is a significant correlation between self efficacy and academic achievement of students. Zimmerman (2000) also disclosed that there is a positive relationship between self efficacy beliefs and academic achievement. The study further indicated that self efficacy improves students' method of learning and predicts academic achievement achievement.

Regarding to the relationship between gender and goal orientation, results of correlation analysis indicated no significant relationship between students'

relationship between students' gender and general academic self efficacy was obtained in correlation analysis though gender alone has a significant contribution to students' academic achievement.

The results of correlation analysis of the present study revealed that there were statistically significant relationship between goal orientation and general academic self efficacy. Like the present study, despite their study is on primary grades, Middleton, Kaplan & Midgley (1988,2004) cited in Was (2006;543) found that there was a positive association between goal orientation, particularly performance goals and self efficacy belief. They further noted that students with performance goal orientation are likely to have a high self efficacy. Besides the result revealed that significant relationship between gender and academic performance; goal orientation and academic performance; and general academic self efficacy and academic achievement (see table 9) was obtained.

In addition, results of partial correlation analysis controlling gender indicated that academic achievement was significantly correlated with students' goal orientation. This result contradicts with the results found in Tucker et'al. (2003) studies that no significant relationship was found between goal orientation and grade point average. However, general academic self efficacy is significantly correlated with students' academic achievement. This result is consistent with the study of Caraway et'al. (2003). Their result showed that there was a significant relationship between general academic self efficacy and academic achievement.

c) *Interrelationship between sub levels of Goal Orientation and Academic achievement*

In order to see the relationship between goal orientation sub levels and academic achievement, as well as the relative contribution of each sub level of goal orientation to academic achievement, correlation analysis, multiple regression and step wise regression analysis were computed. The result of correlational analysis revealed that academic achievement (CGPA) was positively and significantly related with mastery and performance goals.

The multiple regression analysis results indicated that the goal orientation sub levels jointly contribute significantly in the predication of academic achievement which accounts 9.7% of the variation in academic performance. Similar findings were reported by researchers (e.g. Continho, 2007; Grant and Dweck, 2003;). For example, a study conducted by Continho(2007) revealed that mastery goals are associated with GPA achievement. The result of the present study also agrees with the study of Grant and Dweck (2003). The study reported that mastery goal orientation has positive effect on students' intrinsic motivation and academic achievement. Besides, in relation to performance goals, Elliot and his colleagues

(Elliot and Church, 1997; Elliot and McGregor, 1999, 2001) indicated that performance approach goal orientation have a positive effect on exam achievement.

A step wise regression analysis was also computed to see the independent contribution to each goal orientation sublevel. The result indicated that the highest contribution, which is 3.9% of the variation in students' academic achievement, is accounted for by mastery goal orientation. This implies that college students need to set and achieve mastery goal orientation and the act of setting mastery goal and being mastery goal oriented can be encouraged by teachers. Besides 3.5% of the variation in academic achievement of students is accounted for by performance approach goal orientation. This result is consistent with several researchers (e.g. Mattern, 2005; Grant and Dweck, 2003; Continho, 2007). For example, Mattern (2005) disclosed that compared to students' with performance goal orientation, students with mastery goal orientation demonstrated higher level of academic achievement.

The result of the present study generally implies that the study provides an insight to teachers and the college about deficiencies of students in their academic achievement and techniques that can improve students' academic performance. One important information that was obtained in the result of the study was students with high goal orientation and general academic efficacy are likely to get better grades in the college. The result of the study further suggest that students who are encouraged to set goals and plan for academic tasks in various courses are likely to be goal oriented to perform various tasks. Thus, teacher educators need to encourage students to acquire new knowledge and to understand course contents at hand in various courses. It is important to note that together with encouragement of students to be mastery goal oriented, students need to be supported to achieve better academically in various tasks. The result of the study also suggest that students who are supported to plan academic tasks in various courses are tend to achieve academically than those who are not encouraged to plan.

The result of the study also implies that students with mastery goals are likely to have better academic performance than students with performance goals. Therefore teacher educators need to encourage students to adopt a mastery approach learning. The other implication of the result of the study is students who are adequately prepared for various courses and those who made maximum effort and persistent in difficult tasks have a tendency to develop the belief that they can perform various academic tasks.

The study further point to the need for altering instructional methods that involve the improvement of students' goal orientation and general academic self efficacy belief. Therefore, teacher educators need to use instructional methods, in their teaching, that help

students to develop or improve their belief about their ability to perform various tasks.

d) *The effect of independent variables on dependent variable*

Results in multiple regression analysis indicated that students' gender and goal orientation combined together have statistically significant contribution to their academic achievement that accounts for 27.2% of the variation in academic achievement. However, general academic self efficacy alone does not contribute to academic achievement.

The multiple regression analysis is also revealed that gender and goal orientation combined together have significant contribution to academic achievement that accounts 26.5% of the variation in academic achievement. Like the results found in the present study, Midgley, Middleton and Kaplan(2001) reported that performance approach goals are more facilitative for boys than girls. Similarly, Urdan cited in Midgley et'al. (2001) disclosed that performance approach goas are positively correlated with male students whose peers have positive orientations to schools, but not for females.

The step wise regression analysis indicated that the independent contribution of students' gender to their academic achievement is 17.8%. That is, 17.8% of the variation in academic achievement of students is accounted for by gender. This implies that male students outperform female students academically. The reason for variation in academic achievement between female and male students could be because of the stereo type of the society towards females and the negative perceptions and beliefs that female students have about their ability.

Compared to the contribution of gender to academic achievement the independent contribution of goal orientation to students' academic achievement was small. That is, 9.5% of the variation of students' academic achievement is accounted for by their goal orientation. Although the contribution of goal orientation to academic achievement was small compared to gender in the present study, goal orientation has a significant contribution in the prediction of academic achievement. This result is consistent with several studies (Elliot and Church 1997; Middleton 1997, Continho 2007; Demrkaya, 2008; and Walter 2004). For example, Continho,2007) reported that goal oriented students who orient themselves to doing well can perform better. The result of the present study also agrees with Demrkaya (2008) and Walter (2004). Their study revealed that goal orientation is associated with academic achievement. Similarly, seijts et'al (2004) confirmed that goal orientation predicts students' academic achievement.

The independent contribution of general academic self efficacy to students' academic

achievement was the smaller and non- significant though, 4.6% of the variation in students' academic performance is accounted for by general academic self efficacy. This result contradicts with the findings of Tucker et'al. (2003). Their result revealed that those young adolescents with high general self efficacy score higher grades in various school tasks. They further indicated that general self efficacy is a significant predictor of students academic achievement. Similarly, Shelton; Sherer et'al cited in Yeo and Neal (2006) disclosed that general academic self efficacy has a positive association with achievement. They also indicated that individuals with high general academic self efficacy have better performance in variety of tasks. Besides, Mone Baker & Jefferies as cited in Ayiku(2005) disclosed that there was statistically significant interrelationship between self efficacy and academic achievement. They further reported that academic self efficacy is a significant predictor of academic achievement. Like the former researchers, Zimmerman & Bandura (1994) cited in Zimmerman (2000)evidenced that the self efficacy belief and goal setting significantly predict academic achievement. Similarly Rodesevich et al.(2008)found that performance goal orientation is positively associated with academic achievement.

VIII. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, The independent t-test analysis results indicate that there exist statistically significant difference on students' general academic self efficacy, and academic achevement on sex. In this regard, male students were found to have higher academic self efficacy and academic achievement than female students. In contrast, there were no significant sex difference on students' goal orientation.

Inaddition, this study gender, goal orientation , and accddemic self efficacy are significantly and positively correlated with the WCTE students' academic achievement. The multiple regression analysis reveal that gender, goal orientation and a general academic self efficacy positively and significantly predict the students' academic achievement.

In general conclusion, this study clearly shows that gender, goal orientation, general academic self efficacy have effects on WCTE students' academic achievement. Thus, we have to find ways to foster the students' goal orientation, general academic self efficacy for better academic achievement.

IX. RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings and conclusion of the study tht following recoendation are forwarded.

1. Students should be trained with learning and motivational deficiencies by modeling specific self regulatory methods and cognitive processes.

2. Teachers need to encourage students to set their own proximal goals instead of distal or long term goals in college classrooms.
3. When students encountered difficult and challenging tasks in different courses offered in college classrooms, students need to be encouraged to set further goals and exert more effort to achieve these goals.
4. The College and teacher educators should organize training programs that guide student on how to master contents of various courses instead of seeking to perform well in these courses.
5. The interpretations of the results of the present study should take into account some limitations. First the sample participants of the present study was relatively small (n=482), was chosen only in Teacher Education college and did not represent students from other teacher education colleges in Amhara region, Ethiopia. Therefore concluding the results of this study to other colleges is difficult. The other potential problem is that data were only obtained from students. Better results would be obtained if data were gathered from teacher educators.

The way students respond to the questionnaire might be susceptible to response set. It is the act of students' that respond to each item in the questionnaire in uniform manner irrespective of what they feel. Besides, what students respond to the questionnaire items might not be what they feel, but they respond what is generally accepted by the society. This is social desirability. This also limits the result of the study. Besides, participants in the present study might have reported their perceived goals and efficacy belief, not their actual goals and competencies, which may be different. This could be one of the potential limitations that may change the results of the study.

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- (c) Up to ten keywords, that precisely identifies the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
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- (f) Results should be presented concisely, by well-designed tables and/or figures; the same data may not be used in both; suitable statistical data should be given. All data must be obtained with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage. As reproduced design has been recognized to be important to experiments for a considerable time, the Editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned un-refereed;
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- (h) Brief Acknowledgements.
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- Try to present substitute explanations if sensible alternatives be present.
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