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Balzac and the Literature of Complexity

By Alex Galeno & Gustavo Castro

Universidade de Brasília

Abstract- From a critique of journalistic practice, this article works on the hypothesis that the work of Honoré de Balzac approaches a literature of complexity, through the engendering of a network of characters, knowledge, plots and actions. Through primary and secondary literature review, we observed that Balzac recovers the etymological meaning of the word complexus "what weaves together" (MORIN, 1996). In our view, Balzac adopts a recursive, hologrammatic and knowledge reconnection methodology. Our analysis identifies communicational, aesthetic and literary aspects in the French author, and classifies him as a transdisciplinary artist-researcher, of diffuse poetic interest and endowed with immense imagination. Our conclusion suggests the need for further research between the communicational, literary and complexity fields.

Keywords: *balzac. complexity. literature. journalism.*

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Balzac and the Literature of Complexity

Balzac e a Literatura de Complexidade

Alex Galeno [α] & Gustavo Castro [σ]

Se a imprensa não existisse, seria preciso não inventá-la.
Honoré de Balzac. *Os jornalistas.*

Por alguma razão imponderável os jornais
não são laboratórios nem centros de pesquisa
do espírito, o que poderiam ser para bem de todos,
mas comumente são magazines e bolsas de valores.

Robert Musil. *O homem sem qualidades*.

O espírito do romance é o espírito da complexidade.
Milan Kundera. *A arte do Romance.*

Resumo- **A partir de uma crítica à prática jornalística, este artigo trabalha a hipótese de que a obra de Honoré de Balzac se aproxima de uma literatura de complexidade, mediante o engendramento de uma rede de personagens, saberes, tramas e ações. Por meio de revisão bibliográfica primária e secundária, observamos que Balzac recupera o sentido etimológico da palavra *complexus* "o que tece em conjunto" (MORIN, 1996). A nosso ver, Balzac adota uma metodologia recursiva, hologramática e de religação dos conhecimentos. Nossa análise identifica no autor francês aspectos comunicacionais, estéticos e literários, e o classifica como artista-pesquisador transdisciplinar, de interesse poético difuso e dotado de imensa imaginação. Nossa conclusão sugere a necessidade de novas pesquisas entre o campo comunicacional, o literário e o da complexidade.**

Palavras-Chave: balzac. complexidade. literatura. jornalismo.

Abstract- **From a critique of journalistic practice, this article works on the hypothesis that the work of Honoré de Balzac approaches a literature of complexity, through the engendering of a network of characters, knowledge, plots and actions. Through primary and secondary literature review, we observed that Balzac recovers the etymological meaning of the word complexus "what weaves together" (MORIN, 1996). In our view, Balzac adopts a recursive, hologrammatic and knowledge reconnection methodology. Our analysis identifies communicational, aesthetic and literary aspects in the French author, and classifies him as a transdisciplinary artist-researcher, of diffuse poetic interest and endowed with immense imagination. Our conclusion suggests the need for further research between the communicational, literary and complexity fields.**

Keywords: balzac. complexity. literature. journalism.

Author α: Professor do Instituto Humanitas-UFRN. Rio Grande do Norte, Brasil. e-mail: alexgalenno@gmail.com
Author σ: Professor do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação da Universidade de Brasília (UnB). e-mail: gustavo.castro@fac.unb.br

Introdução

As palavras de Musil (1880-1942), Balzac (1799-1850) e Kundera (1929) citadas na abertura desse artigo indicam que partimos de um pensamento crítico ao jornalismo, sobretudo exposto na frase: "os jornais não são laboratórios nem centros de pesquisa do espírito" (MUSIL, 2018). A frase do escritor austríaco sugere a impossibilidade de o jornalismo ser um espaço experimental de investigação, cultivo e exercício de formação mental e social do espírito humano. Balzac foi igualmente contundente ao afirmar a não necessidade da imprensa. Em sua obra, pululam visões críticas à atividade.

A rigor, os autores citados na abertura do artigo denunciam a perda de exercício de escrita como espírito por parte dos jornalistas, comprometendo as "sensibilidades conectivas e sensibilidades conjuntivas" (BERARDI, 2017). Castro (2010) ao trabalhar a arqueologia da relação entre jornalismo e literatura cita Balzac como criador do realismo crítico, precursor de correntes jornalísticas e literárias posteriores. Além de Balzac, Fiodor Dostoiévski (1821-1881), Charles Dickens (1812-1870) e Mark Twain (1835-1910) são autores citados como modelos paradigmáticos para jornalistas e escritores no século XX. Apesar de o *New Journalism* (EUA), ter chamado para si a atenção enquanto corrente estética, a "literatura de complexidade" (CASTRO, 2010) é um "sistema de conhecimento" anterior à escola norte-americana. Desde os primórdios do jornalismo, as questões artística e comunicacional vivem uma difícil relação. Neste sentido:

> O jornalismo ocupa a posição singular de escuta social, observação ativa, às vezes manipuladora e calculadora, mas também capaz de respeitar e estimular a sociedade que faz falar. A abertura do jornalismo à literatura é fundamental para a melhor compreensão do seu papel junto ao homem, por isso a necessidade de fazer intercomunicar jornalismo e literatura e, de forma mais ampla, comunicação e arte, equivale a reconhecer que uma e outra são sistemas de conhecimento úteis à sociedade. (...) Assim visto, a literatura 'empurra' o jornalismo para a arte enquanto que o jornalismo traz a literatura para a vida real. Desse inusitado encontro, nasce o Jornalismo Literário ou o que prefiro chamar de Literatura de Complexidade (CASTRO, 2010, p. 27).

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Neste artigo, buscaremos esta "literatura de complexidade" em Balzac, sobretudo devido às "conexões existentes entre grandes grupos de objetos" (MORETTI, 2011, p. 71-72) e na maneira como ele operou e atuou nos registros jornalístico e literário. A partir da revisão da bibliografia primária e secundária, propomos uma crítica do jornalismo e uma reflexão acerca da literatura do francês, cogitando-a a partir de seu caráter problemático, recursivo, hologramático, multifacetado e, numa palavra, transdisciplinar. Nossa hipótese é a de que a literatura de Balzac, construída mediante uma rede complexa de personagens e a articulação de realismo e imaginário, pode ser lida e interpretada hoje como um campo dialógico, aberto e convergente de saberes. Entendemos que Balzac recupera o sentido etimológico da palavra *complexus* "o que tece em conjunto" (MORIN, 1996).

I. Balzac: Escritor-Jornalista

Em *Litérrature au Quotidien: Poétiques Journalistiques au XIX Siécle* (2014), Marie-Ève Thérenty, ao analisar "o regime de imprensa" da sociedade francesa, observa ali uma "imaginação essencialmente literária", o empoderamento do romance mediado pela "ficcionalização da informação":

> Esse regime de imprensa amplamente ficcionalizado leva toda a população francesa a mergulhar em uma imaginação essencialmente literária e, obviamente, induz a consequências culturais e sociais de longo alcance, incluindo a eleição do romance como gênero cognitivo, didático e heurístico. O empoderamento do romance e de suas virtudes pedagógicas, contemporâneos da ascensão dos meios de comunicação de massa, explica-se, entre outras coisas, por esse momento de ficcionalização da informação. (THÉRENTY, 2007, p. 15) [1]

Enquanto nas tradições americana e britânica a ficcionalização da imprensa foi limitada pelo pragmatismo das técnicas sintonizadas com o desenvolvimento industrial da época, na tradição francesa a ficcionalização foi ampla, singular e teve duração significativa, com destaque para os anos 1830 a 1881. Na França, a relação entre jornalismo e literatura aprofundou-se a ponto de tornar-se dialógica e híbrida, uma peculiar combinação das duas matrizes. De um lado, o jornalismo praticado a partir de quatro regras: periodicidade, atualidade, editorias e coletividade; do outro, a literatura constituída de ficção, ironia, conversação e escrita íntima.

> É a combinação dessas matrizes que permite a criação de gêneros jornalísticos modernos (...) a crônica, a reportagem, a notícia, a entrevista, cada gênero acentuando algumas das funções das matrizes. A reportagem, por exemplo, baseia-se inteiramente na urgência da notícia e usa a escrita pessoal para estabelecer suas visões de mundo, enquanto a entrevista é baseada em uma tradição de conversa revisitada e modernizada. (THÉRENTY, 2007, p. 32) [2]

Portanto, a tradição francesa abriga uma longa experiência na combinação e ampliação das matrizes jornalísticas e literárias. Esse hibridismo é o que caracteriza a história e a prática jornalística daquele país face à sua plêiade de escritores. Dentre eles, Balzac, George Sand, Théophile Gautier, Stéphane Mallarmé, Guy de Maupassant, Alexandre Dumas, Eugène Sue, Octave Mirbeau, autores que Thèrenty (2007, p. 40) chama de "panteão de escritores-jornalistas". Para ela, Balzac, a partir de 1836, estabelece uma nova relação com a imprensa, inaugurando, com suas publicações, naquele ano, o romance-folhetim.[3]

Ele publica "A Solteirona" no *La Presse* entre 23 de outubro e 04 de novembro daquele ano (1836). Os leitores acompanhavam a publicação das partes do romance como novelas e séries da atualidade. Entre 1836 e 1849, foram publicados trinta e três romances em treze jornais diferentes. Uma média de dois romances e meio por ano. Os romances *A prima Bete* (1846) e *Esplendores e Misérias das Cortesãs (1836)* são considerados os de maior sucesso.

Rolland Chollet (1983) chama atenção para o que considera uma virada na vida e obra de Balzac em 1830. Pressionado pelas cobranças de credores e pessimista diante do mercado editorial para a literatura romanesca, Balzac assume de vez a prática do escritor-jornalista. Embora o ano de 1830 seja considerado o da virada, Chollet (1983, p. 9) assinala: "Jornalista, Balzac foi antes de 1830, depois, e nunca deixou de ser". Chollet registra que a atuação jornalística de Balzac começa no jornal *Feuilleton littéraire*, de opinião liberal. É importante destacar que Balzac já havia publicado alguns de seus principais romances: *Fisiologia do*

[1] "Ce régime largement fictionnalisant de la presse conduit toute la population française à être plongée dans un imaginaire essentiellement littéraire et induit évidemment des conséquences culturelles et sociales d'ampleur, parmi lesquelles l'élection du roman comme genre cognitif, didactique et heuristique. L'habilitation du roman et de ses vertus pédagogiques, contemporaine de l'essor de la grande presse, s'explique entre autres par ce moment de fictionnalisation de l'information".

[2] C'est la combinaison de ces matrices qui permet la création des genres journalistiques modernes (... la chronique, le reportage, le fait divers, l'interview, chaque genre accentuant certaines des fonctions des matrices. Le reportage, par exemple, se fonde tout entier sur l'urgence de l'actualité et use de l'écriture personnelle pour asseoir ses visions du monde, alors que l'interview s'appuie plutôt sur une tradition revisitée et modernisée de la conversation.

[3] Segundo Thérenty, o folhetim era apresentado como algo à parte no jornal. Era separado das informações por uma marca preta na parte inferior.

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casamento (1829); *A Pele de Onagro* (1831);[4] *A Bretanha em 1799* (1829), seu primeiro romance histórico. Além disso, assegura Chollet, devemos considerar o período anterior no qual ele publicou obras menores: oito romances assinados com pseudônimos, dentre eles *Lord R´Honne* (1822) e *D'HorSAubin* (1822) em romances de juventude.

Em 1831, Balzac dirige seu foco para as revistas.[5] Thérent (2014) destaca que antes mesmo de ingressar na fase do romance-folhetim, ele praticou a *littérature-périodique.* Em outubro de 1831, idealizou o projeto "Société d'abonnement géneral" (1830-1833), que visava aproximar o romance do periódico, baseando-se no princípio da assinatura. Por 120 francos ao ano, os assinantes receberiam vinte e quatro romances. Como se vê, além de escritor e jornalista, Balzac voltava-se para os negócios do livro e da imprensa. Segundo Karklins-Marchay (2021), Balzac chegou a ser proprietário de jornais. Controlou o *La Chronique de Paris* (1835), revista de cunho literário e político na qual tinha como colaboradores Victor Hugo, George Sand, Théophile Gautier e outros. A revista teve vida relativamente curta, em julho de 1836 se dissolveu restando a Balzac prejuízos e dívidas. Ele foi obrigado a fazer negócio com Béthume (gerente da revista) em condições obscuras e não satisfatórias, especula-se que Balzac perdeu 46 mil francos nesta operação (THÉRENTY, 2014.pag.20).

Sem dúvidas, Balzac é a referência mais importante como escritor-jornalista do século XIX.[6] É a partir de sua *Comédia Humana(1842)* que podemos constatar *avant la lettre* sua literatura de complexidade (CASTRO, 2010). Balzac foi capaz de demonstrar a combinação, ambivalência e ambiguidade de cada campo, fazendo combinar matrizes contraditórias, antagônicas, complementares de diversas formas. Como exemplo desta literatura da complexidade, combinação híbrida entre conhecimento, imaginário, jornalismo e literatura, destaca-se a magistral obra *Ilusões pedidas* (1837). Encontramos ali diversas passagens nas quais são narradas críticas ao jornalismo feitas pelos membros do "Cénaculo"[7] ao personagem Lucien de Rubempré. "Por várias vezes falou em lançar-se no jornalismo, e sempre seus amigos lhe diziam: — Evita fazer isso" (BALZAC, 2011, p. 261). Conforme Thérenty, em *Ilusões Perdidas,* assistimos aos dilemas de um jovem poeta de província tendo de fazer concessões à imprensa comercial numa Paris bela e trágica: "o jovem poeta Lucien de Rubempré perde a alma ao enfrentar, sob a Restauração, os três mundos venenosos das livrarias, teatros e pequenos jornais" (THÉRENTY, 2014, p. 7).[8]

Ilusões perdidas revela os dilemas éticos, políticos, tecnológicos e estéticos em torno da modernização e dos negócios do mundo editorial, preconceitos de classes, incompreensões sobre o papel da poesia e da literatura por parte das elites culturais e econômicas de Paris e, também, de Angoulême, sua cidade natal. Revela as tramas amorosas e fracassos financeiros e, sobretudo, as dimensões éticas expressas pela prática de jornalistas nas redações parisienses. Trata-se de uma narrativa na qual podemos perceber uma sequência de tragédias vividas por Lucien de Rubempré, entre elas, os amores, a literatura e o jornalismo. A seguir, pensaremos a materialização de cada uma dessas ilusões.

II. Primeira Ilusão: Amores

Ilusões Perdidas é um libelo ao anti-herói da modernidade e aos arrivismos daqueles que propalam o discurso dos vencedores. Rubempré é o anti-herói da tragédia poética e também o anti-Rastignac, pois sua poética e condição social são Infamiliares aos olhos e costumes da burguesia parisiense à época. Ao contrário, Éugenie de Rastignac foi aceito pela elite de Paris e tornou-se um burgês. Concordando com Kundera(2016), são personagens imaginários que atuam no mundo como "egos experimentais". Dois modelos éticos estão presentes em *A Comédia Humana* que permitem reflexões sobre o mundo do jornalismo e o do mercado editorial, isto é,jornalismo e mercado editorial se aproximam na busca da influência intelectual e política. Em Paris, dois jovens provincianos

[4] *Fisiologia do Casamento* e *A pele de Onagro*, são marcantes por inserir Balzac entre os autores de destaque e pelo sucesso de vendas e publicidade. Thérenty (2014) assinala que o primeiro foi escrito sob a influência do mercado editorial à época. Isto é, entre os anos de 1820-1830 havia uma tendência em publicar "Fisiologias" de todo gênero. No caso de Balzac, a inspiração se deu a partir do célebre livro *Fisiologia do Gosto* (1825), de Brillat-Savarin, seu contemporâneo.

[5] Dentre as mais importantes em sua atuação, destacamos: *Revue de Paris, Revue Deux Mondes, La Revue parisiense.* Destaca-se a última que foi criada por Balzac em 1840 e que não teve mais do que três números.

[6] Conforme ressaltado por Alexis Karklins-Marchy. *Notre Monde Selon Balzac. Relire La Comédie humaine au XXI siécle*. Paris: Ellipses Editions Maketing, 2021, p. 321. Balzac colaborou ou fez parte de jornais e revistas importantes, publicadas na Paris do século XIX: "Il collabora ainsi avec plusieurs revues et journaux de l'époque comme *Le Vouler*, *La Silhouette, Le Temps, Le Constitutionnel, Le Siécle ou La Caricature"*. Acrescentamos, ainda, *La Mode*. Para uma maior investigação sobre jornais e revistas, sugerimos a leitura da obra de Roland Chollet, *Balzac Jounaliste. le tournant de 1830.* Paris: Klicksieck, 1983. Sobre as revistas, especificamente, indicamos o item II do Capítulo XI, *Pour un autre journalisme: la publication en revue.*

[7] O Cenáculo é um grupo composto de "nove personagens onde a estima e a amizade faziam reinar a paz entre as ideias e doutrinas mais opostas" (BALZAC, 2011, p. 251). Membros que compunham o grupo: Daniel D'Atrhez, Horácio Bianchon, José Bridau, Fulgêncio Ridal, Leão Giraud, Luciano de Rubempré, Miguel Chrestien, Louis Lambert, Meyraux.

[8] "le jeune poète Lucien de Rubempré perd son âme en affrontant, sous la Restauration, les trois mondes vérolés de la librairie, des théâtres et des petits journaux."

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da cidade de Angoulême cedem aos caprichos de Mefistófeles[9] em troca de fama e prestígio. O tema fáustico é relevante em *A Comédia Humana*.

Em *A Pele de Onagro* (1831) a relação de Raphael de Valentin e a obsessão da realização de seus desejos pela "pele" encontrada em uma loja de antiguidades, a tentativa de pactos de Vautrin (também metamorfoseado de Carlos Herrera e Jacques Collin) com Luciano é bem-sucedida em *Ilusões Pedidas* e em *Esplendores e Misérias das Cortesãs*. Já com Eugène de Rastignac - personagem de *O Pai Goriot* (1834) -, o pacto não foi bem-sucedido. Lucien levou a pior. Viveu a ambivalência de ter que optar entre o mundo romântico do grupo Cenáculo, que era composto de poeta, escritor, pintor, filósofo, médico (Bianchon reaparece em *Ilusões Perdidas,* neste momento, já como médico e humanista importante em Paris), e aquele do soberbo mundo literário e jornalístico francês. As tragédias propriamente ditas são aquelas relacionadas a seus amores. Como em outras experiências da vida de Lucien, são amores intensos e não duradouros. Dentre eles, destacamos sua relação com Madame de Bargeton[10] e com Coralie[11] A primeira, uma mulher culta, casada com o Sr. de Bargeton, que estava com 58 anos e ela com 38, pertencente ao universo burguês de Angoulême, portanto, distinto do grupo social de Lucien.

A Sra. Bargeton foi tomada de amor e admiração poética por ele, mas as diferenças de classes explicitadas, sobretudo, nos momentos de aparição pública dos dois impediram a continuidade do sentimento. Dois episódios são paradigmáticos desta situação conflituosa. Primeiramente ainda em Angoulême, quando Madame de Bargeton convida Lucien a visitar sua casa – o Palacete de Bargeton – e fazer uma amostra de seus poemas aos presentes, há constrangimentos, pois a maioria dos convidados não têm menor interesse na poesia de Lucien. Além de não apreciarem arte e literatura, não reconhecem no jovem atos de nobreza:

> Com exceção de Laura de Rastignac, de duas ou três pessoas moças e do bispo, todos os assistentes se aborreciam. Sem dúvida, os que compreendem a poesia procuram desenvolver em sua alma aquilo que o autor pôs em germe nos seus versos; aqueles ouvintes frios, porém, longe de aspirar a alma do poeta, nem sequer ouviam suas inflexões. Lucien sentiu então um desânimo tão profundo que um suor frio molhou-lhe a camisa. Um olhar de fogo, lançado por Louise, para a qual se voltou, deu-lhe coragem para ir até o fim; mas seu coração de poeta sangrava por mil feridas. (BALZAC, 2011, p. 114)[12]

A distinção de Lucien de Rubempré se dá por Madame de Bargeton, dada sua erudição e sensibilidade para o mundo das artes: "A sra. de Bargeton amava as artes e as letras, gosto extravagante, mania altamente deplorada em Angoulême, mas que se deve justificar esboçando a vida dessa mulher nascida para ser famosa, mantida na obscuridade por circunstâncias fatais, e cuja influência determinou o destino de Lucien" (BALZAC, 2011, p. 60-61). Não seria sem fundamento afirmar que Louise/ Naïs/Bargeton transgrediu costumes provincianos e burgueses de seu tempo. Afinal de contas, viver a situação de ter um poeta como amante e, ao mesmo tempo, manter um casamento selou seu destino social numa cidade do interior e posteriormente na capital. A cidade da ilusão amorosa, poética e profissional ou a Paris burguesa dos salões e dos teatros frequentados por uma elite econômica burguesa pela qual Lucien não poderia ser aceito.

Quando Louise resolveu se mudar para Paris, dado os mexericos e receios de vingança dos Chandour – após duelo entre seu marido e o sr. de Chandour –, atrelou de vez o seu destino ao de Lucien. Ela sugere que ele a acompanhe, pois o sr. de Bargeton irá para L'Escarbas. E, assim, numa madrugada, tomam o rumo da cidade das luzes. Por um lado, inicia-se a concretização de uma fantasia da sra. de Bargeton e, por outro, a descoberta por Lucien do ethos parisiense com seus salões, teatros, imprensa etc.

Sua primeira ilusão perdida não demorou a acontecer. Quando foi a uma ópera se deparou com a dureza de ser rejeitado e descartado pela aristocracia local. Quem primeiro o desdenhou foi a sra D'Espard: "A reprovação da aristocracia parisiense não se assemelhava à dos soberanos de Angoulême: esforçando-se por ferir Lucien, os nobres, lá, admitiam seu poder e olhavam-no como a um homem, enquanto para a sra. d'Espard ele nem sequer existia"

[9] Regina Cibelle de Oliveira (2019) desenvolve importante reflexão sobre as dimensões Fáusticas em seu artigo, *Representações do mito Faústico em Balzac: o pacto na era do capital* https://periodicos.fclar.unesp.br/lettres/article/view/12490

[10] Todos a chamavam de Naïs (espécie de apelido), mas ela preferia que Lucien a chamasse de Louise.

[11] Destaca-se também a relação entre Lucien e Coralie em *Ilusões Perdidas*. Uma atriz de destaque no teatro parisiense, que se ligou profundamente ao poeta. Coralie e Lucien- reencontro com o amor, a fama e a miséria. Reaparecem em *Esplendores e misérias das cortesãs*. Sem dúvida, se constitui numa outra tragédia íntima para o poeta de Angoulême. É nesta obra que o personagem Lucien completa seu ciclo trágico a partir da repetição da impossibilidade de viver outro amor. Além disso, destaca-se a cena do seu suicídio na obra. Segundo Oscar Wilde, é uma das cenas mais comoventes da literatura: "One of the greatest tragedies of my life is the death of Lucien de Rubempré. It is a grief from which I have never been able completely to rid myself. It haunts me in my moments of pleasure. I remember it when I laugh." https://www.jstor.org/stable/4338678?seq=1. Mesmo assim, enfatizaremos apenas as relações amorosas vividas em *Ilusões Perdidas*.

[12] Balzac, Honoré de. *Ilusões perdidas*. São Paulo: Penguin-Companhia da Letras, 2011.

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(BALZAC,2011, p. 213)[13] Prima da sra. de Bargeton, que também foi tida como provinciana e estranha aos modos civilizados citadinos, pois não se vestia nem parecia habituada ou educada como os frequentadores dos espetáculos de ópera, madame d'Espard, ao saber das origens de Lucien, aconselhou sua prima a desistir daquele amor desprovido de nobreza e bens. Além disso, sra. d'Espard temia que a prima fosse criticada pela aristocracia parisiense por manter relações sociais e afetivas com um poeta. Assim, sugeriu a madame de Bargeton que saísse do relacionamento.

Nos dias seguintes, Lucien procurou madame de Bargeton mas sempre recebia informações negativas dadas pelos criados da casa. Isto é, em geral, recebia a desculpa de que ela não se encontrava em casa ou pelo fato de que a sra. d'Espard não se sentia bem naquele momento. Em uma das idas à procura da sra. de Bargeton, ele se deparou com o sr. Châtelet na residência – que sempre torceu para o fim do amor entre os dois, pois tinha interesses em se relacionar com madame Bargeton. Lucien descreveu sua angústia com a situação e pediu-lhe um favor: "Como está saindo da casa da senhora de Bargeton, explique-me a razão de minha desgraça junto a ela e à senhora d´Espard" (BALZAC, 2011, p. 214). A explicação do senhor de Châtelet selou o destino de Lucien e materializou sua tragédia:

> — Sr. Chardon — respondeu Du Châtelet, com falsa bonomia —, sabe por que essas damas o deixaram na Opéra?
>
> — Não — disse o pobre poeta.
>
> — Pois bem, foi prejudicado já de saída pelo sr. de Rastignac. O jovem peralta, interrogado a seu respeito, informou pura e simplesmente que o senhor se chama Chardon e não De Rubempré; que sua mãe cuida de parturientes, que seu pai era quando vivo boticário no Houmeau, bairro de Angoulême; que sua irmã é uma interessante menina que engoma camisas admiravelmente e que vai desposar um impressor daquela cidade, chamado Séchard. O mundo é assim. Põe-se alguém em evidência? Ele o discute. De Marsay veio rir-se do senhor com a sra. d'Espard e imediatamente as duas mulheres fugiram achando que se comprometiam ao seu lado. Não tente ir à casa de uma ou de outra. A sra. de Bargeton não seria recebida pela prima se continuasse a vê-lo. O senhor tem gênio, trate de vingar-se. A sociedade o desdenha, desdenhe a sociedade. Refugie-se numa mansarda, faça obras-primas, alcance um poder qualquer, e verá o mundo a seus pés; retribuirá então os golpes que ela lhe tiver dado, justamente onde ela os tiver dado. Quanto mais a sra. de Bargeton lhe tinha manifestado amizade, tanto mais se afastará do senhor. São assim os sentimentos femininos. Mas não se trata neste momento de reconquistar a amizade de Anaïs; trata-se de não fazer dela uma inimiga, e eu lhe vou proporcionar os meios. Ela lhe escrevia; devolva-lhe todas as cartas e ela será sensível a esse procedimento fidalgo; mais tarde, se tiver precisão dela, ela não lhe será hostil (BALZAC, 2011, p. 214).[14]

Tais passagens explicitam as primeiras tragédias vividas por Lucien em Paris. Madame de Bargeton pressionada pela prima e pelos nobres, abandona o poeta, pois ele se chamava antes "Chardon e não De Rubempré", conforme mexericos e o desdenho de Rastignac e De Marsay que "veio rir-se do senhor" para as senhoras D'Espard e Bargeton. Assim, o jovem poeta provinciano de Angoulême inicia seu périplo de abandono e de não reconhecimento nas cenas sociais parisienses. Em uma carta enviada a sua irmã Ève, são comoventes as descrições de sua situação:

> (...) a senhora de Bargeton teve vergonha de mim, renegou-me, despachou-me, repudiou-me no nono dia de minha chegada. (...) Depois de ter morado no bairro elegante, estou hoje no Hotel Cluny, na rua de Cluny, uma das mais pobres e mais escuras de Paris, apertada entre três igrejas e os velhos prédios da Sorbonne. Ocupo um quartinho mobiliado no quarto andar desse hotel e, embora, muito sujo e pobre, ainda pago por ele quinze francos por mês" (BALZAC, 2011, p. 219-20).

III. Segunda Ilusão - A Literatura e o Jornalismo

> — Seria a sepultura do belo, do suave Lucien que amamos e conhecemos — disse D'Arthez. — Não resistirias à constante alternativa de prazer e de trabalho de que é feita a vida dos jornalistas, e resistir é o fundamento da virtude. Ficarias tão encantado por exercer o poder, por ter direito de vida e morte sobre as obras do pensamento que te tornarias jornalista em dois meses. Ser jornalista é passar a pro cônsul na república das letras. Quem tudo pode dizer chega a tudo fazer! Esta máxima é de Napoleão, e é fácil de compreender. (BALZAC, 2011, p. 261-2)

Eis o dilema ético de Lucien anunciado nas passagens acima. Seguir os conselhos dos membros do Cenáculo ou ceder ao fetiche do mundo jornalístico e literário parisiense. Os comportamentos dos sujeitos da imprensa e os processos de produção de informação produzem um ethos cultural, político, econômico e estético, que define a relevância de uma obra pelas lentes dos críticos e interesses do mercado em comercializá-la. Em *Ilusões Perdidas* as tramas políticas e históricas do mundo editorial e da imprensa na Paris da época são recorrentes. Um fato ou um não-fato será narrado de várias maneiras a depender do interesse, relativizando, portanto, a ideia de verdade. Vemos, por exemplo, como mexericos e a prática de versões falsas na imprensa eram costumeiras na época: "O jornalismo é um inferno, um abismo de iniquidades, de mentiras, de traições, que não se pode

[13] Balzac, Honoré de. *Ilusões perdidas*. São Paulo: Penguin-Companhia da Letras, 2011.

[14] Balzac, Honoré de. *Ilusões perdidas*. São Paulo: Penguin-Companhia da Letras, 2011.

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atravessar e de onde não se pode sair puro senão protegido como Dante pelos divinos louros de Virgílio" (BALZAC, 2011, p. 262).

A diferença para o tempo atual é que não existia WhatsApp, Twitter, Facebook, Telegram, embora fosse comum a propagação de *fake news* nas redações, como lembra Peter Brooks[15] em *Balzac Invents Fake News—and the Modern WorldLost Illusions, Honoré de Balzac* (2018). Para quem estuda a questão ética da verdade e a criação de *fake news* no jornalismo, a obra de Balzac é pródiga em exemplos do tipo. Ao ouvir os conselhos de seus colegas de Cénaculo, em especial, do poeta D'Arthez – um dos seus primeiros amigos em Paris –, Lucien escuta que aderir ao jornalismo seria a ruína de sua alma e o abandono das quimeras literárias:

> — Não estarão vocês, por acaso, a meu lado? — perguntou Lucien. — Não estaremos mais — exclamou Fulgêncio; — jornalista, não pensarias mais em nós, assim como a corista da Opéra, adorada e brilhante, no seu carro forrado de seda, não pensa em sua aldeia, em suas vacas e em seus tamancos. Já tens em demasia as qualidades do jornalista: o brilho e a rapidez do pensamento. Não te privarias nunca de um dito de espírito, embora fizesse ele chorar a um teu amigo. Vejo os jornalistas nos saguões dos teatros; eles me causam horror (BALZAC, 2011, p. 262).

Mesmo com toda consideração aos membros do Cenáculo, o desejo em publicar seus dois livros – *O arqueiro de Carlos IX* (romance) e *As Margaridas* (poesia) – e em obter reconhecimento das elites locais, leva Lucien a aderir ao jornalismo. Percebemos aqui uma nova 'ilusão perdida', agora com a literatura, em função do espaço que o jornalismo costuma ocupar na vida de seus profissionais. Assim como o desalento amoroso, a decepção de Lucien com o jornalismo e a literatura não foi menos dolorosa.

A nosso ver, o projeto da *Comédia Humana* antecipa, *avant la lettre*, a noção de rede social da internet. Sobretudo se pensarmos na estrutura comunicacional a partir do retorno ou o reaparecimento de personagens em várias obras e na linguagem da web como narrativas (e imaginários) que se conectam uns aos outros.

IV. *A Comédia Humana* Como Literatura de Complexidade

Não teria Balzac, com a sua *A Comédia Humana,* antecipado uma comunicação hipertextual, na medida em que criou o método narrativo do reaparecimento de personagens e romances que se conectam indefinidamente? O universo rizomático da *Comédia* é a própria literatura de complexidade por seu modelo aberto, recursivo, dialógico e de religação entre saberes distintos. Balzac recupera o sentido etimológico da palavra "complexus", o que tece em conjunto; *communicatio* (comunicação) e *communicare* (estar em comunhão). Hipóteses nessa direção têm sido apresentadas pelas pesquisas de Franco Moretti. A partir da sua literatura vemos construído graficamente redes de personagens, saberes, tramas e ações:

> Para quem trabalha com novelas e obras de teatro, o estilo é apenas parte do quadro. O que há na trama? Podemos quantificá-la? [...] Se trata de uma teoria que nos permite analisar as conexões existentes entre grandes grupos de objetos (qualquer objeto: bancos, neurônios, atores de cinema, investigações, amigos...) aos quais denominamos 'nós' ou 'vértices', unidos entre si pelas chamadas 'arestas ou 'arcos'. [...] Uma rede consta de vértices e arestas; uma trama, de personagens e ações (MORETTI, 2011, p. 71-72).

A nosso ver, Balzac contribui para uma literatura de complexidade e para a comunicação, ao explorar e "analisar as conexões existentes entre grandes grupos de objetos" e ao evocar o imaginário das redes, mediante o que hoje se chama de Teoria de Redes[16] pela comunicação interativa presente em *A Comédia Humana.* Tais evidências se comprovam pela quantidade de personagens ali catalogados, 2472 segundo Marceau (1989). Desses, 573 reaparecem em outros romances. Destacam-se: Rastignac, Bianchon, Nucingen e Henrique de Marsay. Pode-se compreender *A Comédia Humana* como espécie de rede na qual Balzac antecipa a invenção das mídias sociais, no sentido das interações baseadas em conexões múltiplas e relações por perfis de proximidade. Neste sentido, ele cria a sua própria rede de personagens, acontecimentos e narrativas. Por meio da recursividade (de personagens e acontecimentos), Balzac construiu sua obra máxima como uma unidade complexa (*unitas multiplex*), ao elaborar um circuito retroativo, dialógico e hologramático, em que uma parte se conecta ao todo, em que as ações de um indivíduo repercutem, e ele se relaciona com outros indivíduos e com a sociedade, recebendo dela suas retroações.

Trata-se de uma obra arquitetada por uma divisão geral de Estudos e Cenas, assim compreendidas: 1) Estudos de costumes composto pelas Cenas da vida privada; Cenas da vida provinciana; Cenas da vida parisiense; Cenas da vida política; Cenas da vida Militar e Cenas da vida rural (Essas "Cenas" equivalem aos treze volumes da *Comédia*); 2) Estudos Filosóficos apresentam os volumes XV e XVI, denominados Cenas da vida política e Cenas da vida militar; 3) E por último, os Estudos analíticos que é composto pelo volume XVII.

[15] https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=6687950

[16] Sobre a ideia de rede, Bruno Latour sugere em *Reagregando o Social – Uma introdução à teoria do Ator-Rede* (2012), que devemos buscar outras referências, além daquelas comumemente conhecidas. Ele sugere, por exemplo, que o romance *O Sonho de d'Alembert* de Denis Diderot (1769), "inclui nada menos de vinte e sete acepções da palavra *réseaux*." (LATOUR, 190)

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Segundo Paulo Rónai (1993), organizador da *Comédia Humana* no Brasil, tal divisão se deu logo após o vislumbre de Balzac em estruturar sua obra pela recursividade e reaparição das personagens. Em 1834, ele propõe o título *A Comédia Humana* como a estrutura que unifica o conjunto de seus 89 romances, contos e novelas. Assegura Rónai que a forma balzaquiana de fazer reaparecer personages ou tipos em obras distintas, constitui-se em uma técnica minuciosamente estudada e aperfeiçoada, cuja aplicação se deu da seguinte forma:

> 1) O protagonista de um romance ou conto aparece noutra narrativa num papel secundário; 2. Um comparsa de segundo plano passa, numa obra nova, a ser protagonista; 3. As personagens de determinada obra, no meio de uma conversa ou numa carta, mencionam outras criaturas balzaquianas como pessoas vivas de seu próprio ambiente ou de notoriedade geral; 4. Os figurantes de um romance fazem alusões aos acontecimentos de outros romances como a fatos realmente acontecidos, sem lhes nomear os protagonistas; 5. O próprio autor indica as ligações (amizade, parentesco) das personagens novas com as que apareceram antes; 6. Finalmente - e este é de todos os recursos o menos artístico - o romancista remete o leitor, por meio de notas, a obras anteriores em que a mesma personagem já apareceu. A este processo, convém notar, Balzac só recorreu depois de certo momento, quando começou a recear que o público não mais se orientasse na sua produção demasiado extensa. Talvez o considerasse também um meio de publicidade indireta (RÓNAI, 1993, p. 19).

A montagem da rede descrita acima por Rónai configura o que estamos chamando de literatura de complexidade. Como toda abordagem no campo da complexidade, tal literatura não prescinde de problematizar questões ontológicas e epistemológicas. Nas obras de Balzac experimentamos imagens e sentidos filosóficos, sociológicos, estéticos e comunicacionais que expressam a condição do sujeito no mundo. Dois de seus romances nos lançaram numa experimentação intensiva: *O Pai Goriot e Ilusões Perdidas.* Ambos atuaram semelhante a um bloco de sensações (DELEUZE, 1987), isto é, como uma obra de arte que desloca sentidos e transforma o leitor. Fomos tomados de compaixão pelo sofrimento de O Pai Goriot. Como na peça *O Rei Lear* de William Shakeaspeare, assistimos às agruras causadas pelas trapaças e abandono de suas filhas. Nos impactamos diante de duas éticas, praticadas pelos personagens Horace Bianchon (estudante de medicina, posteriormente, médico romântico e idealista) e Eugénie de Rastignac (estudante de direito e protagonista em outras obras da *Comédia Humana*). De um lado, a ética da magnanimidade (Bianchon), de outro, a ética do arrivismo (Rastignac). Há passagens apoteóticas no romance, sobretudo as da pensão Casa Vauquer, onde moram os estudantes Goriot e Vautrin. As cenas do enterro de Goriot acompanhado apenas pelos criados das filhas, religiosos, Cristóvão (espécie de funcionário da pensão Vauquer), dois coveiros e Rastignac, são comoventes. Por fim, o desfecho que revela toda a ambição do estudante de direito:

> Ficando só, Rastignac encaminhou-se para a parte alta do cemitério e de lá viu Paris, tortuosamente deitada ao longo das duas margens do Sena, onde as luzes começavam a brilhar. Seus olhos fixaram-se quase avidamente entre a coluna da Place Vendôme e os invalides, no ponto em que vivia aquela bela sociedade na qual quisera penetrar. Lançou àquela colmeia sussurrante um olhar que parecia sugar-lhe antecipadamente o mel e proferiu esta frase suprema: — Agora, é entre nós dois! E como num primeiro ato de desafio à sociedade, Rastignac foi jantar à casa da sra. de Nucingen (BALZAC, 2012, p. 345).

A *Comédia Humana* pode ser tomada como uma visada sobre o social e como dispositivo discursivo epistêmico. Neste sentido, destacam-se as referências de Karl Marx e Friedrick Engels, que consideravam Balzac como um historiador que desnuda as relações entre classes sociais e a importância dos bens materiais para o reconhecimento social.[17] Milan Kundera (2016) pontua que, nos primórdios, o romance europeu se voltou para uma espacialidade do deslocamento e para uma viagem mundana ilimitada. Para ele, com Balzac constatamos o desaparecimento do universo longínquo presente nos primeiros romances europeus:

> Meio século após Diderot, em Balzac, o horizonte longínquo desapareceu como paisagem atrás dos edifícios modernos que são as instituições sociais: a polícia, a justiça, os mundos das finanças e do crime, o exército, o Estado. O tempo de Balzac não conhece mais a ociosidade de Cervantes ou Diderot. Ele embarca no trem que se denomina História (KUNDERA, 2016, p. 16).

Assim, a *Comédia Humana* se compõe com os movimentos da modernidade e continua a influenciar a literatura contemporânea e, também, o cinema, conforme Chantal Marsol em *Balzac Contemporain* (2018). Para Marsol (2018), a imprensa atual não deixa de saldar o surgimento de "novos Balzac", como por exemplo, Michel Houllebecq e Mathias Énard. Destacamos ainda, a influência da literatura balzaquiana sobre epistemologias para problematizar os fenômenos e acontecimentos da sociedade moderna. Wolf Lepenies na obra *As três culturas* (1916), destaca Balzac como referência fundamental na história das ciências humanas, especialmente, no surgimento da Sociologia. Mais recentemente, podemos mencionar as pesquisas de Thomas Piketty em *Capital e Ideologia*

[17] MARX, Karl; ENGELS, Friedrick. Cultura, arte e literatura. Textos escolhidos. São Paulo: Expressão Popular, 2010.

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(2020), que se utiliza da literatura balzaquiana para pensar o problema da desigual econômica mundial.[18]

Além de ser referência para a sociologia, antropologia, história, economia, direito, política, arquitetura e filosofia, o que demonstra o poder dessa literatura de complexidade, identificamos em Balzac características inter e transdisciplinares. Além das áreas supracitadas, Balzac também influencia os estudos em jornalismo e comunicação, como revelam os trabalhos de Eduardo Ritter (2011), Maria Inês Canedo Arigoni (2014), Melissa Raquel Zanetti Franchi (2017), entre outros. Se pensadas juntas, as questões literárias e as comunicacionais podem favorecer uma nova visão do próprio campo comunicacional. Em sua *Nova Teoria da Comunicação - Principio da Razão Durante* (2012), Ciro Marcondes Filho, faz uma proposição epistemológica para a comunicação a partir da literatura. A partir de Marcel Proust ele observa:

> Para Proust, os signos, conforme leitura de Gilles Deleuze, representam fielmente o alcance da comunicabalidade; eles 'violentam' o pensamento e é isso que precisamos investigar nas práticas comunicacionais. Juntando a isso, dizemos que eles nos fazem pensar, nos forçam a pensar, nada mais que isso, é a comunicação. (MARCONDES FILHO, 2012, p. 77-78)

Ciro Marcondes pensa o fenômeno da comunicação em sintonia com o fenômeno literário e estético. A arte favorece e permite a alteridade e a empatia; os "signos" literários "nos fazem pensar, nos forçam a pensar, nada mais que isso, é a comunicação". Acreditamos que Proust e Balzac têm muito a contribuir para o campo comunicacional, além do fato de ambos se intercambiarem. Embora *Em Busca do Tempo Perdido* e *A Comédia Humana* sejam distintas, não são completamente opostas. Nesta direção corroboram as reflexões de Annick Bouillaguet (2000), quando assegura que a escrita de Proust guarda tributos à obra de Balzac. A autora destaca semelhanças e imitações, por exemplo, entre Mme de Guermantes (de *Em Busca do Tempo Perdido*) e Mme de Cadignan (de *Os segredos da princesa de Cadignan*, da *Comédia Humana*, vol. 9, Cenas da Vida Parisiense).

> Assim, a Duquesa, durante o jantar descrito em Le Côté de Guermantes para o qual o narrador é convidado, orquestra uma conversa feita de réplicas cuja colocação em texto revela processos já sistematizados no pastiche de Balzac. Durante este jantar, o Sr. de Guermantes é levado a manifestar o seu gosto pelo escritor. No entanto, os fragmentos de diálogo que antecedem e que seguem como declaração (<Eu amo Balzac>), induzem à imitação sintática que se configura em torno do núcleo constituído pela referência ao escritor (BOUILLAGUET, 2000, p. 164-65).[19]

Nas passagens acima, Bouillaguet apregoa que devemos evitar compreender Proust e Balzac como antípodas, isto é, o primeiro como uma espécie de analista da vida íntima e o segundo como o sociólogo da vida social.[20] No que tange ao fenômeno comunicacional de em *Em Busca do Tempo Perdido*, Deleuze em *Proust e os Signos* (1987), relembra que quando Proust compara a obra a uma catedral constituída de fragmentos ou a um vestido, é para expressar não uma totalidade, mas a imensa costura feita de remendos inacabados a partir dos acontecimentos narrativos. E, por isso, faz-se desnecessário a busca da unidade das partes que pudesse dar coerência absoluta à obra:

> Uma comunicação que não seria colocada como princípio, mas que resultaria do jogo das máquinas e de suas peças separadas, de suas partes não comunicantes. (...) Proust era tão consciente desse problema que chegou a assinalar-lhe a origem: foi Balzac quem soube colocá-lo e que, por essa razão, soube criar um novo tipo de obra de arte (DELEUZE, 1987, p. 162-64).

As ideias, como definiu Balzac em seu romance autobiográfico *Louis Lambert,* são como florações da natureza. Aqui relembramos mais uma vez Deleuze, quando diz:

> Seria necessário comparar o conjunto final do tempo redescoberto com o Prefácio de Balzac: o sistema das plantas substituiu o que era para Balzac o Animal; os mundos substituíram o meio; as essências substituíram os caracteres; a interpretação silenciosa substituiu a 'conversa genial'" (DELEUZE, 1987, p. 166)

V. A *Comédia Humana*: Conjunção e Conexão

Somos da opinião de que a lógica conectiva presente em *A Comédia Humana* se desdobra hoje em nossos dias na rede mundial de computadores, a Internet. A palavra conexão advém do latim *connectare* (atar junto ou atar um ao outro). A junção do prefixo "Com" (junto) e "Nectere" resulta em 'ligar' e 'atar' e de

[18] PIKETTY, Thomas. *Capital e Ideologia*. Rio de Janeiro: Intrínseca, 2020. Assim como na sua obra anterior *O Capital no Século XX* (2014), Piketty faz uso da literatura para pensar questões econômicas e sociais na atualidade: "(...) em especial textos de Balzac e Jane Austen, que oferecem um ponto de vista insubstituível sobre sociedades de proprietários que prosperaram na França e no Reino Unido nos anos 1790-1830. Esses dois romancistas têm um íntimo conhecimento da hierarquia da propriedade vigente no mundo que os cercava." (PIKETTY, 2020, pag.25.

[19] "Ainsi la duchesse, lors du dîner décrit dans *Le Côté de Guermants* auquel le narrateur est invité, orchestra une conversation constituée de repliques dont la mise em texte fait apparaître des procédés que systématise déjà le pastiche de Balzac. Lors de ce dîner, M. de Guermantes est amené à exprimer son goût pour l'écrivain. Or les fragments de dialogue qui précèdent et qui suivent as déclaration (<j'adore Balzac>), induisent l'imitation syntaxique que se met en place autor du noyau constitué par la référence à l'écrivain."

[20] Para maiores referências sobre a importância de Balzac para Proust, recomendamos *Contre Sainte-Beuve. Notas sobre crítica e literatura* (PROUST, Marcel. São Paulo: Iluminuras, 1988).

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sua raiz surgiu "Nexo". Esta comunicação, portanto, opera por fluxos sem inícios e sem fim, sendo, simultaneamente recursiva, hologramática e dialógica. Ela age no meio ou entre as coisas, sendo, por isso, um *intermezzo*; realiza "concatenações abertas de conjunções" (BERARDI, 2017). Para Berardi, se, por um lado, a comunicação se realiza a partir de uma "compreensão empática", denominada de "conjunção", por outro lado, se realiza a partir da conexão. Embora o autor chame a atenção para a diferença entre conjunção e conexão, seus argumentos corroboram nossa ideia de uma literatura de complexidade para pensar a comunicação e a própria literatura. O autor encontra numa passagem de *Guerra e Paz* (2017),[21] de Tolstói, uma distinção sutil e fundamental entre conjunção e conexão:

> (...) chamo de conexão o tipo de entendimento que não está baseado em uma interpretação empática do sentido dos signos e intenções que vêm do outro, senão, em conformidade e adaptação a uma estrutura sintática. A melhor explicação da diferença entre conjunção e conexão a encontramos na terceira obra de Tolstoi, *Guerra e Paz*, quando o príncipe Andrei Bolkonski compara o jogo de xadrez com o jogo da guerra (BERARDI, 2017, p. 25).

Essa nova 'comédia humana' é doravante feita de conexões e conjunções, suportes e canais midiáticos, e redimensiona o lugar da escrita e o do sujeito. Basta que citemos a proliferação de blogs, posts do Facebook, Twitter, Instagram etc. Em uma simples mensagem de Twitter podemos relacionar imagens, sons e escritas. A partir da performance dos *influencers*, o fluxo contínuo de mensagens e a lógica interativa, presenciamos a supremacia do sujeito enunciador, seguido por uma multidão de outros sujeitos. Celebridades seguem outras celebridades e uma multidão de fãs se conectam a elas e são por elas conectados. Parece quase impossível não se atar e não se ligar aos outros mediante essas redes de celebridades, o que não significa compromisso, a priori, de comunhão, de ideias e pertencimentos. Na conexão e na conjunção, nos soldamos inexoravelmente ao mundo das coisas e dos seres humanos. Nada somos sem elas e sem eles! Vinculamo-nos mesmo, por vezes, na condição de estranhos. Estranhos, mas não separados. Uma alteridade que expressa de maneira radical o estar atado, ligado e conectado. A comunicação é uma ação sintática entre conjunções e conexões:

> A oposição entre conjunção e conexão não é, sem dúvida, uma oposição dialética. O corpo e a mente não são reduzíveis de maneira oposta nem a conjunção nem a conexão. Sempre há uma sensibilidade conectiva em um corpo conjuntivo, assim como existe uma sensibilidade conjuntiva em corpo humano formatado em conexões conectivas. É uma questão de gradientes, matizes e transfundos, não de oposição antitética entre polos (BERARDI, 2017, p. 26).

Outro importante aspecto comunicacional a ser destacado é no campo da linguagem. A obra de Balzac e a de Edgar Morin, por exemplo, nos lançam diante do desafio das interconexões processadas pela grande polimáquina – a linguagem. De igual modo, vemos o caráter de literatura de complexidade confirmado em Balzac e Morin nas críticas ao barateamento das ideias pela imprensa e à vulgarização da mídia, assim como às condutas éticas. Como diz Morin: "A perda do saber, muito mal compensada pela vulgarização da mídia, levanta o problema histórico essencial da democracia cognitiva" (MORIN, 2011, p. 139). Em *O Método IV – As ideias* (1998), Morin apresenta a linguagem como uma máquina auto-sócio-organizadora que se movimenta subsumida na máquina sociocultural e auto organizadora. Além disso, a polimáquina da linguagem apresenta-se em três níveis:

> Num primeiro nível, a linguagem é uma máquina de dupla articulação, na qual conjuntos de fonemas sem sentido constituem enunciados com sentido. Essa máquina obedece, em cada língua, a regras gramaticais, sintaxe, vocabulário, e as próprias regras obedecem a determinações e 'estruturas' profundas, ainda misteriosas e controvertidas. Num segundo nível, a linguagem é uma máquina que funciona em associação com as maquinarias lógica e analógica, dependentes das regras fundamentais da computação/cogitação próprias à maquinaria cerebral humana (ver *La Méthode* 3). Lógica e linguística são duas máquinas em uma, íntima e profundamente integradas uma na outra, mas irredutíveis uma a outra. Num terceiro nível, a linguagem é uma maquinaria que coloca (e por eles é colocada) em atividade os paradigmas, categorias, esquemas, modelos de pensar, característicos de cada cultura, integrando, portanto, a maquinaria cultural (MORIN, 1998, p. 206).

O mais extraordinário para Morin é que cada uma das máquinas se processa numa interdependência contínua. Isto é, cada uma se compõe de peças da outra e, assim, dialogizam dependência e autonomia, simultaneamente.

[21] TOLSTÓI, Liev. *Guerra e Paz.* Vol.2. São Paulo: Cosac Naify, 2011, pag. 1612. Vejamos as passagens referidas por Berardi: "A guerra não se parece, diz-se, com uma partida de xadrez? — Com uma pequena diferença — disse o príncipe André: — é que ao xadrez ninguém te apressa e tens tempo, à tua vontade... Além disso, o cavaleiro não é sempre mais forte do que o peão, e dois peões mais fortes do que um, ao passo que na guerra um batalhão é às vezes mais forte do que uma divisão e às vezes mais fraco do que uma companhia? A relação das forças de dois exércitos fica sempre desconhecida. Crê-me: se o resultado dependesse sempre das ordens dadas pelos Estados-Maiores, eu teria ficado neles e teria dado ordens como os outros; mas em vez disso, como vês, tenho a honra de servir com estes senhores, de comandar um regimento, e estou persuadido de que o dia de amanhã dependerá mais de nós do que deles! O êxito não pode ser e nunca foi consequência, nem da posição, nem das armas, nem do número. — De quê, então? — perguntou Pedro. — Do sentimento que está em mim, que está nele — e apontou para Timokhine — que está em cada soldado."

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O desafio contemporâneo é o de compatibilizar a dialógica entre maquinaria cerebral e máquina da cultura científica, midiática e literária. Saber ler é também um exercício de como o espírito/cérebro percebe o mundo, pois tudo aquilo que percebe e narra é a tradução das lentes da realidade. Desta maneira, diz Morin, possuímos as ideias que nos possuem. São imunologias que, a depender do paradigma que as organiza, poderão se transformar em racionalização do próprio pensamento.

VI. Conclusões

A partir do que pesquisamos acima, sugerimos algumas ideias finais a título de conclusões. Em primeiro lugar, percebemos na obra de Balzac a senha de compreensão da gramática do mundo e em sua literatura um meio de acessar mistérios e revelações da condição humana. Não nos referimos, aqui, ao sentido da literatura como formação de seitas de alfabetizados para a formação de cânones e de esoterismos de sujeitos treinados pela leitura, conforme denunciou Sloterdijk em *Regras para o Parque Humano* (2000). Muito menos a formação de leitores especiais com acesso ao mundo racional e geometricamente perfeito da Academia. Ora, se literatura é revelação, viagem, ruminação, pensamento etc, significa que também é um ato comunicacional. Como relembram Bataille (1989) "literatura é comunicação" e Morin (1997) para quem a "literatura é antena para o mundo e vestimenta para vida".

De acordo com nossa percepção, a crítica contundente feita por Balzac ao longo de sua obra ao jornalismo permanece atual. A rotina produtiva, os interesses comerciais e políticos muitas vezes escusos, somados à confusão entre informação e conhecimento, pouco preparo e ética arrivista de seus profissionais seguem atuais. Do mesmo modo, a presença das *fake news* em nosso meio segue atual. E, como nos casos dos personagens balzaquianos, a rotina jornalística segue desviando e afastando os escritores da literatura, sobretudo devido à sua característica laboral e a seu sistema de negócios.

Por fim, devemos dizer que, como leitores de Balzac, vivemos o dilema da biblioteca infinita. Infinita pela impossibilidade de navegação completa em seus oceanos. Por isso existe sempre a necessidade de estabelecermos rotas e escolhas a partir das experiências e dos códigos da cultura. Para nós, a obra de Balzac funciona como bússola que pode indicar direções, caminhos e descobertas de novos continentes existenciais, profissionais e poéticos, assim como pode levar a equívocos e erros. Neste sentido, nossas escolhas buscaram em Balzac a concreção de uma literatura de complexidade: seu caráter infinito, aberto, problemático, difícil, recursivo, hologramático, multifacetado e enciclopédico confirmam isso. A partir de Morin, podemos dizer que a literatura de Balzac é uma polimáquina complexa, ou seja, composta simultaneamente de interdependências e autonomias, e que possui o espírito e a prática dos saberes transdisciplinares. Sua literatura corrobora e convida os leitores e estudiosos a novas conjunções e conexões. Entre essas estão aquelas do campo jornalístico e literário.

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Light as the Structure-Forming and Semantic Basis of Carlos Reygados' Film "Silent Light" on the Problem of the Holonomic World

By Lyudmila Borisovna Klyueva

Annotation- There was no particular problem to come up with a topic for an article on the work of Carlos Reagados, since it was the Light that was issued by the author in the title of the film. The problem arose later. The internal understanding of the film, which absolutely "responded", resonated with this name, suddenly turned out to be torn, the concept, as it were, bifurcated, parted to two rather autonomous parts. And although, in principle, these components did not contradict each other, the cleanliness of the work demanded to determine the new position. Oddly enough, the reason for the “schism” was an event that, although at first glance, was not directly related to Reagados and in general,to cinema, this reason became the epidemic of coronovirus literally falling on our heads.. What an amazing paradox and what an evil irony is - what is the same. We received the "crown", which immediately discovered the fullness of the bitter truth - "the king is naked."

Keywords: light, holonomic world, transcendental discourse, cinematic letter, integral world, unity, david bom.

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Light as the Structure-Forming and Semantic Basis of Carlos Reygados' Film "Silent Light" on the Problem of the Holonomic World

«Свет» Как Структурообразующая и Смысловая Основа Фильма Карлоса Рейгадоса «Безмолвный Свет». К Проблеме Холономного Мира.

Lyudmila Borisovna Klyueva

Annotation- There was no particular problem to come up with a topic for an article on the work of Carlos Reagados, since it was the Light that was issued by the author in the title of the film. The problem arose later. The internal understanding of the film, which absolutely "responded", resonated with this name, suddenly turned out to be torn, the concept, as it were, bifurcated, parted to two rather autonomous parts. And although, in principle, these components did not contradict each other, the cleanliness of the work demanded to determine the new position. Oddly enough, the reason for the "schism" was an event that, although at first glance, was not directly related to Reagados and in general,to cinema, this reason became the epidemic of coronovirus literally falling on our heads .. What an amazing paradox and what an evil irony is - what is the same. We received the "crown", which immediately discovered the fullness of the bitter truth - "the king is naked." All of us or almost all, by default, believing ourselves kings of nature, were in complete unpreparedness and confusion before meeting with this very nature, which without a special announcement gave us the long -awaited "crown" ... In an instant, science revealed its helplessness and inefficiency, encountering. With the phenomenon of the coronovirus, which literally turned the world. Croovirus brightly demonstrated that the old idea that is going to the era of education that a person is omnipotent and capable of abbreviated and control the world, is an illusion. And the illusion is dangerous. Today we reap the fruits of our rampant and "victorious" activity. And only serious failures suddenly give rise to the question, are we acting correctly? And how does the world respond to our sometimes "shameless" intervention and irresponsible attempts to finally adapt this world to its needs? Coronovirus contains a tough message - we moved to a dangerous line and we must radially change our vision of the world and the attitude towards it. But no changes will happen until a person realizes that first of all he needs to remember himself, his own properties. And it was in the context of this in the full sense of the word of the world event, the films of Reagados began to play with a new meaning, which allowed to more accurately identify the core of his special philosophy and directorial discourse, which we define the picture of the world, which we define as the "single world" and which, however, further enhances The semantic significance of the category "Light" as a structural -forming mechanism of the film. Thus, the task was complicated by the need to enter into consideration at once two concepts of concepts - "light" and ""single world".

Keywords: light, holonomic world, transcendental discourse, cinematic letter, integral world, unity, david bom.

Teaches the disciplines: "Theory of Cinema", "Theoretical Analysis of the film", "Semiotics of art and semiotics of cinema", "postmodern discourse in the cinema", "Actual problems of the modern language of audiovisual arts"

Developer of the course "Methodology for analyzing the literary text".

The author of monographs and scientific articles devoted to the problems of cinema theory and analytical work in the field of feature analysis

Аннотация- **Не было особой проблемы придумывать тему для статьи, посвященный творчеству Карлоса Рейгадоса, поскольку именно свет вынесен автором в заглавие фильма. Проблема возникла позже. Внутреннее осмысление фильма, которое абсолютно «отзывалось», резонировало с этим названием вдруг оказалось разорвано, концепция как бы раздвоилась, «разъехалась» на две достаточно автономные части. И хотя, в принципе эти составляющие не противоречили друг другу, но чистота работы требовала определиться с этим новым положением. Как ни странно, причиной раскола стало событие, которое, хотя, на первый взгляд, и не имело прямого отношения к Рейгадосу и вообще к кино, этой причиной стала буквально свалившаяся на наши головы эпидемия короновируса. Какой удивительный парадокс и какая злая ирония – мы получили «корону», которая тут же открыла полноту горькой истины – «король-то голый». Все мы, или почти все, по умолчанию полагая себя царями природы, оказались в полной неготовности и растерянности при встрече с этой самой Природой, которая без особого объявления вручила нам эту «корону»… В одно мгновение – наука выявила свою беспомощность и неэффективность, столкнувшись с явлением короновируса, который буквально перевернул мир. Короновирус ярко и убедительно продемонстрировал, что старая, восходящая к эпохе Просвещения идея о том, что человек всесилен и способен безраздельно владеть миром, есть иллюзия, и иллюзия опасная. Сегодня мы пожинаем плоды своей безудержной и «победоносной» активности. И только серьезные неудачи неожиданно рождают вопрос, а правильно ли мы**

Author: Doctor of Art History, Professor of VGIK, Professor of GITR.
e-mail: helga_an@list.ru

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действуем? А как мир отзывается на наше порой «беспардонное» вмешательство и безответственные попытки окончательно приспособить этот мир под свои нужды? Короновирус содержит в себе жесткое послание – мы придвинулись к опасной черте и необходимо радикально менять свое видение мира и отношение к нему. Но никаких изменений не произойдет, пока человек не осознает, что в первую очередь ему надо вспомнить о себе.

И именно в контексте этого в полном смысле слова мирового события, фильмы Рейгадоса заиграли новым смыслом, который позволил точнее выявить ядро его особой философии и режиссерского дискурса, реализующего картину мира, которую мы определим как «холономный мир», и которая, впрочем еще более усиливает смысловую значимость категории «свет» как структурообразующего механизма фильма. Таким образом, задача усложнилась необходимостью «войти» в рассмотрение сразу двух значимых для творчества Рейгадоса понятий – «свет» и «холономный мир»

Ключевые слова: *свет, холономный мир, «остраннение», трансцендентальный дискурс, «кинематографические письмо», интегральный мир, единство, дэвид бом.*

Начнем со «света».

> Знай, что прежде чем произошли эманации и
> сотворено было сотворенное, Свет,
> величественный и простой,
> заполнял собою все сущее и
> нигде не было пустоты.
>
> Исаак Лурия, XУ1

I. Introduction

Кажущая легкость определения конституирующей основы выбранного нами фильма К. Рейгадоса на самом деле буквально пугает не только глубиной самого понятия «свет», которое является базовым ключевым для всей человеческой истории и культуры, но и той дерзостной попыткой режиссера воплотить эту субстанцию как живое ядро концепции фильма, как ту невидимую конструкцию, которая удерживает бытие мира и человека, как тот Закон, который скрыт, но только для того, чтобы через его раскрытие и постижение человек обрёл себя.

В контексте нашей темы работа со светом это не просто работа с качеством освещения или демонстрация виртуозного владения техниками спецэффектов, но тот особый случай, когда именно свет становится концептуальным центром картины. Центром, который иррадиирует из себя все события и придает им особый смысл. Когда свет проявляется не просто как физическое явление, но манифестируется как некая сила, обладающая бесконечным набором и уровнем свойств и характеристик и таким же бесконечным диапазоном воздействия. Наша задача – попытаться раскрыть особенности этого «светоносного» почерка Карлоса Рейгадоса.

II. Искомая Дуальность.

Свет и его отсутствие, то есть - тьма есть основная проблема этого мира, которая сама по себе бесконечна и безгранична, поскольку в каком-то смысле свет содержит в себе весь комплекс вопросов, которые отличают исключительно человека. Естественно, животные и даже растения тоже реагируют на свет и развиваются в зависимости от того или иного воздействия света. Но только человек поставил перед собой неразрешимую задачу постичь свет как в физическом, так и в метафизическом смыслах. Тьма, что есть, отсутствие света и в физическом мире – вполне решаемая проблема. Но только не в метафизическом. Все возникает из темноты, но не потому, что нет света, а исключительно наоборот, поскольку нет ничего, кроме света. Свет есть сила, которая может проявиться лишь через что-то, что не является светом. Даже в физическом мире мы воспринимаем свет или его отсутствие используя особые механизмы и устройства. Свет и Тьма это вечная и неразлучная дуальность, которая буквально держит человека в плену, как жизнь и смерть или добро и зло..

Заузим вопрос. Любое искусство связано со светом – и в физическом и в метафизическом смыслах. В физическом – это живопись, фотография, кино….поскольку требуют особых приборов для работы со светом. В метафизическом проблема Света и Тьмы может мощно проявиться, например в музыке или литературе. В любом случае, кино напрямую связано с работой света, как бы символизируя возникновение мира из темноты. Реальность, запечатлевается на пленке, как и на фото с помощью света, и его взаимодействия с серебром, входящим в состав покрытия пленки. В зависимости от количества пропускаемого света на пленке отображается тот или иной объект. С другой стороны – на пленке уже существует дуальность нашего восприятия мира и вся гамма человеческих чувств и отношений потенциально присутствует в фильме, реализуясь через то или иное взаимодействие со светом. На пленке – не только свет и тень, но и белое и черное, но и день и ночь, но и добро и зло……. Свет неожиданно открывается как сверхчувствительный индикатор, способный выявить бесконечный диапазон чувств, свойств, мыслей, особенностей реагирования…. Перед нами некая универсальная и совершенная система, способная проявить весь спектр отношений человека и мира, выявить этот особый баланс света и тьмы в каждом отдельном объекте, событии, мысли или эмоции… Всякий раз возникает некая новая форма, новая система, новая конфигурация, как то или иное реагирование на свет, раскрывается живая подвижность вселенских процессов, включая и человеческую психику. Свет и его «отсутствие» есть ключевые понятия самого мироздания, его основные свойства,

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характеризующие сущность и состояние любого объекта. «Преимущества света познаётся из тьмы».

все раскрывается в своем истинном виде – из противоположности. С помощью противоположности можно постичь суть, противостоящую ей. Невозможно прийти к любви и слиянию прежде чем не почувствуешь разбиение и разделение .

III. Искусство Светотворчества

Метафора свет-тьма весьма востребована в искусстве. Тем более в кино, где свет может быть манифестирован в самых разных смыслах и значениях – от физического до метафизического. Существуют особые теоретические концепции, которые исходят из понимания светоносной сущности природы кино, пытаясь приоткрыть эту одновременно самую видимую (проявленную) и одновременно невидимую сущность света и его значимость для построения кинообразности и, соответственно, пытаясь освоить и обосновать эстетические механизмы и техники работы со светом. В первую очередь, это, конечно же, блестящие французские теоретики и практики кино – Луи Деллюк и Жан Эпштейн. Формат статьи не позволяет входить во все тонкости их эстетических построений, мы можем лишь отсылать читателя к авторитету классиков.

К. Рейгадос уникален как художник и как мыслитель, хотя, в нашем разумении, настоящий, а тем более, уникальный художник не может не быть мыслителем, потому как творит, словами Мунье, «из своей собственной материи», которая есть ничто иное, как его мировидение или мирочувствование, составляющие основу этой внутренней материи, собственного внутреннего опыта и, одновременно, указывая на порядок «мерности» этого художника.

IV. «Мерность» Художника

Под «мерностью» мы понимаем вектор, специфику и «объем» его «мыслечувствия». Существует много комбинаций режиссерских «типов мерности». Кто-то работает в линейной горизонтали привычного нашего мира, перемещаясь в его пределах и исследуя его аспекты, кто-то, напротив, стремиться «оторваться» от привычного мира и выстроить непредставимую невообразимую реальность (а сегодня, техника позволяет этому типу режиссерского мышления достичь определенной виртуозности). Нас интересует некий промежуточный тип режиссуры, который в определенном смысле заложен режиссурой Робера Брессона, с его «поверхностной» узнаваемой «приземленной» реальностью, которая в процессе движения фильма, вдруг начинает трансформироваться и меняться удивительным образом – физика мира истончается и сходит на нет, оборачиваясь обманом и иллюзией, а вместо нее мы начинаем ощущать наличие и присутствие некого другого мира – мира тонкого и во многом – обратного нашему миру. Мерностью мы называем, когда условное «двумирье» , (на самом деле – любая многомерная картина мира, отличная от нашего мира модель мироздания), не просто изначально заложена в сознании художника, но является ядром его мировоззрения и в той или иной степени присутствует в каждой из его работ. По-другому, этот тип режиссуры мы подвели под поднятие трансцендентальный дискурс в своей работе «Трансцедентальный дискурс в кино». Сегодня возникает желание определить режиссерскую стратегию Рейгадоса как «холономный дискурс»

V. Холономный[1] Мир Рейгадоса

Фильм «Безмолвный свет» был первым, который открыл, по крайней мере для меня имя этого режиссера и не только имя, но совершенно особый мир, особую эстетику. Фильм поразил меня. Как-то по-особому заворожил своим уникальным космизмом и воплощением некой идеи, которую позже мне показалось возможным увязать с идеей интегральности или идеей холономного мира . Безусловно, К. Рейгадос обладатель уникального кинематографического «письма». Глубоко втягивая зрителя в экранное зазеркалье, режиссер каким-то удивительным образом делает обычные вещи вдруг незнакомыми, загадочными, противоречивыми, а конфликты – практически неразрешимыми….и, достигая пика, эти неразрешимости вдруг обретают «разрешения» (эпизод «оживления» Эстер через поцелуй соперницы), при этом настолько неожиданные, парадоксальные, «нездешние», что вся ситуация начитает существовать как бы в двух измерениях, формируя дополнительную латентную смысловую композицию, в которой антиномии сливаются в гармонию, обретают завершенность и

[1] Сегодня целый ряд научных дисциплин выявляют ориентацию на постижение единства мироздания. Именно установка на это изначальное единство мыслится нами как холономная структура бытия. Сегодня встает задача – вписать в эту структуру человека, который давно утратил ощущение этой живой связи и общности и для которого мир существует как некий фон, требующий упорядочивания и приспособления под свои нужды. Сегодня мы ощутили пропасть, очень опасный провал между миром природы и миром человека. И этот «провал» необходимо осмыслить и преодолеть. В рамках большого междисциплинарного синтеза возникает идея утверждения новой холистической парадигмы, ориентированной на новые культурные смыслы и ценностные приоритеты.

…о единстве мироздания говорили в свое время М.Планк, основатель квантовой теории и автор гипотезы «матрице сущего» и его выдающийся современник В. Гейзенберг, который писал, что мир предстает перед нами в виде сложной ткани из различных событий, в которой соединения различных типов чередуются, накладываются друг на друга или сочетаются определяя таким образом структуру целого.

Сегодня квантовая физика создает сложный т для обыденного сознания образ мироздания как единого живого системно эволюционирующего целого. Все части его переплетены и слиты друг с другом, и каждая несет в себе информацию о всей системе, каждая часть как бы отражает целое в себе, а целое в свою очередь изоморфно части. Таким образом мы мыслим холономность как фундаментальный и неустранимый модус всего сущего.

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полноту, и ты вдруг, возможно впервые в жизни, ощущаешь некое новое и глубокое чувство Единства мира и своей принадлежности к этому Единству. А. Чижевский не прошел мимо того факта, что в науках о природе идея о единстве и связанности всех явлений в мире, и чувство мира как неделимого никогда не достигали той ясности и глубины, какой они мало помалу достигают в наши дни. И мне кажется, в первую очередь – в искусстве.

Композиция фильма «Безмолвный свет», представляет собой рондо, манифестируя идею интегральности, живой целокупной сферичности мироздания, куда включен человек и с ним – вся тьма вещей, обладающих внутренней зависимостью и целеполаганием в этой единой и общей для всех живой системе, которую мы называем Космос.

a) Космос. Уровень первый

Фильм открывается завораживающим планом-эпизодом восхода, филигранно прорисовывая медленный выход из полной ночной тьмы, выявляя все промежуточные стадии и циклы этого процесса.. В темноте загорается звезда… еще одна… и еще….. и вот уже мы видим бездонное небо, усыпанное миллиардом живых, пульсирующих точек…. Облачная туманность на мгновение частично прикрывает пульсирующее звездное полотно…Неожиданно как бы весь небесные свод приходит в движение (панорама камеры) , что рождает ощущение сферичности мира, его бесконечности и гармонии….Предрассветные звуки, стрекот цикад, множество тончайших оттенков и нюансов, проявляемых на фоне усиливающейся светности.

Мы ощущаем полноту жизни космоса, особый ритм мироздания и совершенство этого мира. В правой части кадра возникает световое пятно в форме треугольника, и нашему взору открывается линия горизонта и фрагмент пейзажа в глубине кадра. Небесный свод как бы отделяется от земной сферы, и завороженному глазу из рассеивающейся темноты предстает огромное древо с раскидистой кроной (на первом плане), сквозь ветви которого видны живые пульсирующие звезды. Великолепие пейзажа усиливается появлением цвета: яркие, всех оттенков красного полосы прорезают предрассветное небо. Камера делает едва заметный наезд, открывая пространство кадра в глубину, туда, где на горизонте земной сферы начинает играть восходящее утреннее солнце… Цвет, свет, музыка цикад … Темнота легко рассеивается, и вот уже прохладная и живительная предрассветная голубизна наполняет пространство.

Этот эпизод снят одним планом, полным завораживающей суггестии. Структура эпизода воздействует, рождая эффект остранения, когда, по словам В.Шкловского перед нами не очередная «запакованная вещь», но «мир как новый». Мы воспринимаем эпизод не просто как роскошную видовую картинку, но как некое «откровение», неповторимое событие жизни Космоса, события самого в себе, вне человека и без человека. Живой мир, его дыхание, его ритм, его цикличность есть проявление и выражение некого высшего порядка, эманация высшей сути и высшей силы, пронизывающей каждый атом мироздания. Мир самоценен сам по себе. Быть может, впервые режиссёр не просто снимает великолепные и даже «опасно красивые» (по Деллюку) картины восхода-заката, но – в полном смысле - пишет восход и закат как особое значимое и автономное со-бытие Мироздания. Ритм мироздания. Живое дыхание живого космоса. Мир самоценен и полон смысла. Человек вписан в космос, который живет по своим разумным законам. Но человек так занят собой, так погружен в свои желания, что толщина нашего эго практически полностью закрывает ощущение живой связи с этим миром. Человека заботят не законы мира, вернее лишь те законы, которые он пытается постичь на уровне материи, чтобы использовать в своих целях и по собственному усмотрению. Человек определил для себя право создавать собственные законы и распространять их на все, что его окружает. И К. Рейгадос один из немногих режиссеров, кому под силу раскрыть неделимость и целокупность мироздания и те процессы или те воздействия, которые даются человеку в том или ином опыте. Пролог фильма позволяет нам почувствовать эту высшую красоту и гармонию, ощутить масштаб, помыслить бесконечность, подумать о цикличности и вечности. И лишь затем – внутри этой неизмеримости мира мы выявляем присутствие человека. Завершается фильм таким же трансформативно-плавным переходом в сумерки и звездную ночь.

b) Дом. Человек. Уровень второй

После долгого медитативного созерцательного плана-эпизода восхода Солнца - статичный общий план – фрагмент пейзажа с аккуратным одноэтажным строением. Локализация места: переход из космического измерения на уровень человеческий. Статичная картинка Дома делает этот переход плавным, не разрушающим созерцательности восприятия, и тем не менее, давая возможность ощутить наличие самих этих уровней как автономных и одновременно неразрывно связанных.. Архетип Дома – один из самых мощных, с которым связано бытование человека. Если не толковать авторский пролог как нечто значимое для фильма, и придерживаться обычного человеческого уровня и обычной бытовой психологии, то фильм может рассматриваться как некая семейная драма, основанная на банальной любовном треугольнике и которая к тому же – неожиданно уводит нас из натурализма «описания» самой истории в некий явно «сказочный» финал. При этом остается ощущение не просто недоговоренности, парадокса, некого авторского «обмана», но и очень неприятное для

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зрителя чувство неуверенности в своих собственных способностях корректной интерпретации событий…И тогда может возникнуть вопрос к автору – а что это вообще было? Но само начало фильма, этот необычный пролог, подсказывают нам, что эта история обречена на какое-то особое видение и прочтение, ибо она «облачена» в бесконечность космоса и является частью Вселенского бытия, его ритмов, его дыхания.

Дом - небольшой, но аккуратный, обустроенный. Внутри –светлая комната, большой стол, за которым собрано все семейство. Утренняя молитва. Он (отец, глава семьи) Йохан – средне-крупный план – аккуратная белая рубашка со шлейками голубого джинсового комбинезона - глаза закрыты, лицо спокойно, и сосредоточено: человек погружен в себя, в молитву. Эстер (жена, мать, хозяйка дома)–темное платье, аккуратный темный платочек на голове, закрытые глаза, обращенные внутрь молитвы. Дети, мал мала меньше смиренно и безмолвно ждут окончания молитвы. Рейгадос строит систему невидимых, но очень важных для фильма границ – от внешнего – к внутреннему и , наоборот. Энергия большого мира как бы переходит во внутреннюю молитву, объединяя Йохана и Эстер своей обращенностью к Богу. Затем также молча они смотрят друг на друга…находясь как бы на границе миров, в переходе состояний, … переключаясь на наш мир, после чего звучит «аминь». Семья приступает к завтраку. После завтрака семейство вереницей, один за другим покидает дом. Остается только Йохан. Он по-прежнему сидит за столом. Неожиданно быстрым шагом возвращается Эстер и останавливается рядом с Йоханом с фразой: «Тебе надо побыть одному». «Я люблю тебя, Эстер» - произносит Йохан. «Я знаю, Йохан, я тоже тебя люблю». Эстер покидает дом. Йохан по-прежнему в неком особом заторможенном состоянии продолжает сидеть за пустым столом. Затем медленно подымается. Берет табуретку, встает на нее, и останавливает гири больших стенных часов. Часы перестают издавать звуки. Время остановлено. Йохан возвращается за стол. Сидит молча, делая какие-то странные жесты рукой по поверхности стола. Он явно сосредоточен на чем-то своем. Его что-то мучит. Мы не знаем этих причин и даже не можем о них догадываться. Неожиданно Йохан начинает тихо всхлипывать, затем громче и громче. Кажется еще немного и он разразится рыданиями. Но все же как-то сдерживает себя и затихает. Его рука механически скользит по поверхности стола. Наезд камеры фиксирует состояние «зависания», пустоты, отсутствия решения…Наконец Йохан покидает дом.

c) *Вложенность миров*

Безусловно, решающее значение имеет то, как этот начальный эпизод монтируется с прологом. Земной человеческий эпизод уже «вписан» в пространство большого мира. И если первый уровень, обозначим его как космос, поражает нас своей гармонией и совершенством, то второй, земной, похоже, не столь безупречен и содержит в себе возможность любых серьезных проблем.

Так вводится и закрепляется идея вложенности, связи миров. Энергетические взаимодействия существуют не только между отдельными людьми, но и всем миром, внутри которого они обитают. И это сразу строит «вертикаль» фильма. Немногочисленные события фильма таким образом обретают развитие сразу в нескольких проекциях, проходят особые фильтры, и обретают дополнительные измерения и смыслы.

Очень скоро мы обращаем внимание, что нас интересуют даже не сами события, которые мы видим на экране, но тот авторский «почерк», которым этим события «пишутся», режиссерский дискурс. Мы ощущаем авторскую сосредоточенность на внутренних состояниях персонажей, причем акцент всегда – на процессе или смене состояний, и этот процесс визуализации изменчивой внутренней жизни ощущается особо отчетливо на фоне статики кадра. Внешняя статика и внутренняя динамика - характерная черта режиссерского метода Рейгадоса. Сосредоточенность на внутренних состояниях выявляет и утверждает доминанту субъективного начала. По мере развития сюжета, мы как бы начинаем обретать способность видеть сквозь телесность, привычную внешнюю телесную оболочку человека начинаем ощущать меняющиеся текучие внутренние потоки - желания. Общение между людьми каким-то образом мыслится и реализуется в кадре как общение на уровне «внутреннего человека». Быть может именно поэтому здесь так мало привычной актерской игры, эмоций, но, наоборот, есть некая деллюковская бесстрастность, закрытость, блокировка состояний. Так мало слов и так часто закрыты глаза героев. Фильм предстает подвижной «картой внутренних состояний». Наезд камеры дается как приближение к «внутреннему» человеку, происходит субъективация изображаемого и визуализация этого субъективного восприятия события. Иногда мы воспринимаем видимое как «диалоги внутренних проекций». Мы как бы «выходим» за границы «тела», которое – всего лишь форма облачения внутренних состояний.

Еще одна особенность почерка Рейгадоса - камера часто держит «пустой» кадр, пустой, в смысле – отсутствия человека. Машина Йохана проехала и чей-то «взгляд» держит этот человеческий «след», оставленный во вселенной. Это в свою очередь создает определенное «остранение» и так же «остраненно» воспринимаются кадры, когда камера немотивированно выбирает для себя объекты для идентификации и тогда любой второстепенный персонаж вдруг обретает особую значимость и даже тайну (см. сцена купания детей, когда после купания камера долго задерживается на странном особо задумчивом выражения лица лежащей на траве девочки, чей взгляд

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сосредоточен и устремлен вверх, и затем также долго и неподвижно камера рассматривает густую крону дерева, –то, к чему привязан взгляд девочки).

d) Банальная история?

Итак, банальная, казалось бы история. Переселенцы с севера – большая полноценная семья, воспитанная на христианских ценностях и традициях живут своей достаточно изолированной жизнью в одной из мексиканских деревень. Неожиданно выясняется, что Йохан, отец многочисленного семейства, страстно влюблен в местную красавицу Марьяну, продолжая испытывать чувства к своей верной и любящей жене Эстер и очень от этого страдая. Как мы узнаем из разговора Йохана с отцом, Эстер давно знает об измене, но все прощает ему, поскольку он обещал прекратить с Марьяной все отношения.

Именно эта предыстория, которая до поры неизвестна зрителю, объясняет странности поведения Йохана и Эстер в самом начале фильма, сцене завтрака. Эти, с одной стороны, странные взгляды, обращенные друг к другу, за которыми скрыты какие-то вопросы, это и странное поведение Йохана, который как бы заторможен, словно под тяжестью невыносимого груза. Это неожиданное возвращение Эстер и поразительный диалог из двух фраз: «Я люблю тебя, Эстер.» И « Я знаю об этом, Йохан»-….с точки зрения нашей психологии получает какое-то вменяемое объяснение: а именно, что Йохан буквально «застрял» между двумя женщинами и на самом деле – не готов ни к какому решению, и что Эстер это прекрасно понимает, и будучи глубоко травмированной, все же надеется, что все завершится и вернется на круги своя.

Дальше мы видим цепочку событий.

e) Особенности режиссерского «письма»

Йохан за рулем.. . Камера держит кадр дороги, мы видим удаляющуюся машину Йохана, и после того, как она исчезает из виду, камера продолжает держать «пустой» кадр, выявляя присутствие незримого наблюдателя. Рейгадос много и по-особому снимает дорогу, используя ее для построения медитативного состояния, в которое погружается не только герой, но и, соответственно, зритель. Взгляд через лобовое стекло движущегося автомобиля суггестивен по определению. Это было известно еще пионерам кино. Сюда же добавляется однообразие картинки, монотонность звука…и вот мы уже невольно идентифицируемся с внутренним состоянием героя.

Эпизод в мастерской производит странное впечатление. Мы знаем, что Йохан едет в мастерскую, чтобы починить коленчатый вал машины. Обыкновенное бытовое событие. Ощущение странности задается работой камеры. Этот кажущийся неоправданно длинным план-эпизод с сменой фокализаций и имитацией субъективного взгляда, работает на создание непростого внутреннего состояния героя, и мы интуитивно начинаем проникаться этими внутренними эмоциональными импульсами, передаваемые через работу камеры. Разговор с механиком весьма примечателен. Характерна композиция кадра: в центре кадра - машина Йохана. Симметрично - справа и слева от нее – Йохан и механик. Оба в белых рубашках и широкополых соломенных шляпах с лихо загнутыми полями. Статичный план, немного позерский, как бы подчеркнуто «киношный» ироничен и анахроничен одновременно. Парни хорошо знакомы. Об этом свидетельствует их разговор. Механик, то ли утвердительно, то ли вопросительно говорит о встречах Йохана с Марьяной. Йохан ничего не отрицает, и с горечью говорит о том, что причиняет боль своей жене. На что механик, подумав, философски рассуждает, что может быть эти отношения – судьба, и они даны и освящены свыше, даже если мы этого не знаем и не понимаем…Похоже, именно это Йохан и желал услышать. И, несмотря на то, что Йохан продолжает винить себя за эту связь, мы видим, что его состояние явно меняется. Из мастерской раздаются звуки музыки, и Йохан вдруг начинает подпевать, негромко, но уверенно. Он почти пританцовывает. Мы ощущаем внутренний подъем, буквально «гормональный всплеск». «Тебе эти отношения идут на пользу» - замечает механик. Йохан пританцовывая движется к машине, садится за руль и не прекращая пения, начинает кружить по территории двора. И этот «машинный танец» великолепно передает то особое состояние, особый драйв, знакомый каждому, кто хоть раз прикоснулся к запретному плоду. Все хорошо. Адреналин. Драйв. Машина выезжает из кадра. Камера снова держит «пустой» кадр, имитируя точку зрения незримого наблюдателя…..

Тайная встреча любовников.

Совсем другие ощущения возникает в следующем эпизоде. Лесная поляна. Чье-то тяжелое дыхание и такие же тяжелые шаги. Ручная камера. Мы видим идущие ноги в грубой обуви. Это ноги мужчины. Шаг тяжелый, мнет цветы. Но шаг неотвратимый. В следующем кадре – Он и Она. Йохан и его возлюбленная Марьяна. Средне-крупный план. Орлиный профиль Марьяны и мягкий профиль Йохана. Их долгий поцелуй и долгое молчаливое, какое-то задумчивое объятие. Персонажи буквально замирают, застывают в этом кажущимся вечном объятии как роденосвские герои, и камера долго держит этот статичный план.

Совет отца.

Ферма родителей. Сын идет к отцу. Разговор с отцом: «Я влюбился в другую. И Эстер знает об этом». Вместо вопросов мы слышим историю отца, который тоже в какой-то момент испытывал чувства к другой женщине, но смог себя обуздать. «Боль потери пройдет. Эстер – твоя жена. Она любит тебя, как твоя мать любит меня». (При этом мать Йохана поглощена уходом

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за коровами и никоим образом не вмешивается в разговор мужчин) Но Йохан настаивает, что ему по-настоящему хорошо только с Марьяной. «Тогда действуй, -говорит отец. - Только быстро, иначе потеряешь обеих». И в конце, как бы про себя тихо звучит: « Я тебе завидую». Так, без криков, упреков, каких-то объяснений и оправданий они говорят об очень тонких и важных для всех вещах. В этой беседе нет ни тени морализаторства со стороны отца, к которому Йохан явно пришел за советом, которого он, фактически так и не получил. Отец (не смотря на «состав преступления» – сын собирается оставить семью с верной женой и мал мала меньше) уходит не только от осуждения, порицания, но фактически уходит от любого конкретного совета, кроме одного - решение должно быть принято сыном и как можно быстрее «иначе потеряешь обеих». У нас будет возможность оценить эту мудрость отца Йохана.

Наконец, очень важный не только для всей драматургии, но и для всей концепции фильма эпизод - эпизод совместной поездки Йохана и Эстер в город. Эпизод, который снят Рейгадосом таким образом, что буквально впечатляет до внутренней дрожи…

Быть в любви – быть в резонансе с Вечностью…

Вечер. Шоссе. Субъективный план из автомобиля. Суггестия дороги. Молчание. Поворот дороги.

Эстер – профиль; «Кто приходил?»

Йохан – профиль: «от Марьяны. Она хотела меня видеть».

Эстер: «Проклятая шлюха».

Йохан: «Ей тоже трудно».

Начинается дождь. «Дворники» скользят по лобовому окну

Йохан признается, что виделся с Марьяной: «Я старался, но не справился»

Эстер: «Бедная Марьяна»…

Машина движется по мокрому шоссе в глубину, к горизонту….

Пауза…

Эстер: «Помнишь как мы любили такие поездки. Мы пели, смеялись. Я чувствовала, что живу, что я – часть мира. Теперь я отделена от всего этого».

Йохан: « Я чувствую тоже самое»

Эстер: « Пусть бы это был дурной сон. Проснуться и оказаться в том мире, с теми же чувствами…»

Удивительный диалог и очень важные откровения персонажей, которые буквально прорисовывают или проговаривают суть концепции интегральности мира. Любовь как полное взаимовключение и отдача, есть Сила, которая правит миром. Именно эту силу человек очень часто интуитивно и называет Свет. Любовь, которая связывала этих людей наполняла их радостью, делала их сердца открытыми не только друг другу, но и всему миру и давала чувство полноты жизни.. Там, где есть полнота любви… чувства начинают резонировать с Вечностью, и тогда Свет наполняет эти души, как чистые сосуды, ощущением счастья, подымая над рутиной материи и наполняя непередаваемыми ощущениями….

«Разбиение сосуда»

Утрата любви - это обрыв и крушение связи.

Очень часто, как, впрочем, и в фильме Рейгадоса, у нас нет ответов, как это случилось и почему. Иногда это вовсе кажется необдуманной и непростительной глупостью, которую невозможно объяснить. Неразумным поступком с непредвиденными последствиями…. Сначала уходит близость и взаимовключение друг в друга, затем – процесс затрагивает уже всю семью, меняя суть и характер внутрисемейного существования, хотя внешне это какое-то время может почти не проявляться.

Затем этот разрыв связи как бы «выбрасывает» героев из полноты восприятия мира. Единый прекрасный мир словно распадается на части, хаотично заполняя образовавшиеся пустоты . И это смешение частей переживается как крушение, как непереносимое страдание, нехватка. Разрыв открывает место депрессии, обиде, страху, экзистенциальному одиночеству. В фильме, мы видим как страдает Эстер, для которой обрушившаяся на нее горечь или правильней, горе незаслуженного предательства и измены, пропастью отделила ее не только от любимого супруга, но и **от всего мира**, оставив лишь крошечную надежду, которая таяла на глазах, уносимая дождем.

Дождь переходит в яростный ливень. Дворники на лобовом стекле не справляются с потоками воды. Жуткий ливень делает видимость нулевой. Эстер начинает кашлять: «Грудь болит». Дальше - Эстер решительно требует остановить машину. Решительно и бесповоротно! «Останови машину! Меня тошнит! Не ходи за мной!» - один приказ звучит за другим. Не оставляя шанса.

«Мне холодно, Йохан !!!»

Эстер выходит из машины в проливной ливень с большим ярко синим зонтом. Ей явно плохо. Она движется в сторону деревьев, обрамляющих шоссе. Ливень кажется только усиливается. Взгляд изнутри машины. Это Йохан. Ожидание. Танец дворников на стекле

Мокрая до нитки Эстер. Тихий плач. Она снимает платок с головы. Шепчет: «Мне холодно, Йохан». Затем медленно оползает, оседает и исчезает из кадра… и только зеленая трава… И отброшенный в сторону ярко-синий зонт…

Дерево…. Лежащая фигура Эстер….

Синий зонт….

Шум дворников. Йохан выходит из машины. Движется в сторону леса, куда пошла Эстер. В глубине

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кадра – лежащая фигура….и большой раскрытый синий зонт…Пауза. ..

И этот раздирающий душу крик Йохана «Помогите!!!»…

«Меня зовут Хуан. Это моя жена – Эстер».

Йохан несет Эстер на руках. Оседает с ней около машины.

Две неподвижные фигуры у машины под проливным дождем..

Мимо по дороге движется большегруз с прицепом. Проезжает, но через какое-то время возвращается (задний ход). Мужчины из грузовика идет к Йохану: Что с вами? У вас авария? Что с вами?»

«Меня зовут Хуан. Это моя жена – Эстер».

Это все, что смог произнести Йохан….

Приятие судьбы

Больница. Медицинская сестра.

Йохан сидит на лавке, спиной к окну.

Выходит Доктор: «Коронарный тромбоз. Причина смерти - сердечный приступ». «Спасибо, доктор»

Камера снаружи – держит план через окно – спиной сидящий Йохан и его голова на плече у доктора…

Прощание

Отпевание. Камера статична, Снимает фронтально сидящих на лавках многочисленных членов семьи и родственников, приехавших на похороны Эстер. Белые стены, молитвенное пение, погруженность в себя….

Параллельно - эпизод обмывания тела Эстер. Белая салфетка касается ее ног. Длинные волосы разложены вокруг головы для удобства расчесывания. Тщательность действий. Бережная и вместе с тем уверенная манипуляция с телом…

Белая дверь. Из двери комнаты выходят те, кто « готовил» Эстер. «Йохан, можешь зайти попрощаться с Эстер» - зовет ее мать.

Съемка снаружи. Окно – щебет птиц. Наезд – видим, как внутри комнаты накрывают тело Эстер. Йохан встает на колени.

Стол. Свечи по обе стороны стола. Невероятная белизна комнаты. Полное отсутствие каких-либо вещей…Только Эстер и свет….

Йохан, который не может подняться с колен: «Все рухнуло. Это я сделал». И тихий голос отца: «Она покоится с миром. Ты не при чем. Так было предначертано»

Разлучница? Или Ангел, исполняющий то, чему надлежит быть?

Звук подъезжающей машины. Из машины выходит Марьяна…

У стены дома останавливаться, чтобы обнять рыдающего Йохана: «Я все бы отдал, чтобы обратить время вспять». «И это единственное, чего мы не можем сделать»,- звучит тихий ответ. Марьяна запрокидывает голову верх и прикрывает рукой яркий свет: «Я хотела бы повидать Эстер до того, как ее похоронят…».

Поцелуй Марьяны

Йохан ведет Марьяну к своему дому, она проходит с каким-то особым тихим достоинством мимо сидящих родственников и заходит в комнату, где находилась Эстер. Заметим, никаких косых взглядов, никаких «привычных» упрёков, грязных слов и пр. пр

Эпизод прощания Марьяны с Эстер является удивительным с точки зрения авторской концепции и в плане дискурсивной реализации. То, что мы видим – абсолютно завораживает. Ты буквально ловишь не только каждое движение или взгляд – внимание становится сферичным, охватывая каждую деталь этой встречи. Вот Марьяна стоит у гроба Эстер, долго всматривается в спокойное и по-своему прекрасное лицо бывшей соперницы, затем медленно наклоняется и медленно ее целует….

Дальше мы становимся свидетелем того, что обычно в «нормальном» кино как и «нормальной» жизни не происходит. Сначала дрогнет кадык на шее Эстер, как будто нечаянная оплошность актрисы, но нет – чем больше мы будем всматриваться в лицо Эстер, тем больше мы начнем обнаруживать в нем признаков жизненности….и фраза по-прежнему неподвижной Эстер: «Бедный Йохан» звучит вполне отчетливо и повергает нас в шок не менее, чем абсолютно спокойная реакция Марьяны, для которой во всем этом «оживлении» Эстер нет ничего удивительного. «Теперь с ним все будет хорошо», - отвечает Марьяна и, постояв еще какое-то время у гроба Эстер так же тихо и спокойно выходит из комнаты….и зовет детей, чтобы они «поговорили» с мамой… а те, в свою очередь, начнут дергать Йохана, чтобы и он тоже пошел с ними ….

Нет, мы не увидим счастливого Йохана, ласково беседующего со своей недавно почившей женой. Как не увидим и Эстер, которая, подобно библейскому Лазарю, покинет границы своей белой комнаты, чтобы воссоединиться с семьей, как не услышим возгласов восторга или страха, или чего-то такого, что тем или иным образом подтвердит нам «материальность» и реальность увиденного события.
И, разумеется, это не случайно.

Что это было?

Рейгадос оставляет нас можно сказать, в шоковом состоянии, поскольку манифестированное невероятное событие во-первых, остается незавершенным, а от того не набирает нужной степени «материальности», чтобы мы могли рассуждать о нем, как о неком феномене или пусть, даже свершившемся чуде. Напротив, эта неподвижность Эстер и это спокойное и даже невозмутимое состояние Марьяны, рождают впечатление, что то, что мы видели и даже слышали не есть свидетельство чудесного «воскрешения» Эстер, но скорее – манифестация некой

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силы любви и отдачи, которая проявляется лишь для тех, кто обладает достаточной чистотой (или скорее - правильной частотой) восприятия, чтобы стать свидетелем, что называется - события нематериального.

И в этом Рейгадос!

«Оживление» Эстер – крайне неожиданно, но совершенно закономерно.

Неожиданно на уровне фабулы, как сюжетный поворот с точки зрения здравого смысла и бытовой психологии – но абсолютно закономерно на уровне события языка, авторского дискурса, который направлен исключительно на то, чтобы этот самый «здравый» смысл опрокинуть и преодолеть. Особенность дискурса Рейгадоса и отсюда особая сложность интерпретации этого эпизода заключается в том, что Рейгадос до конца не порывает с физикой этого мира, но как бы раздвигает некие границы, позволяя соприкоснуться с тем, что дает место проявиться миру более тонкому.

«Оживление» Эстер – не есть оживление физического тела, а, следовательно, не есть событие материи, нашего мира. Подобная интерпретация скорее «ложный знак» и, несмотря на то, что мы видим, что не только Марьяна, но и дети реагируют на Эстер как на «проснувшуюся», тем не менее, вся логика фильма не подтверждает эту интерпретацию. Более того, есть ощущение, что любая проявленная настойчивость критика на той или иной версии –« ловушка от режиссера», поскольку любая версия оставляет цепь разомкнутой. В ней либо чего-то недостает, либо, напротив, как мы это определили в своей работе по постмодернизму, возникает «третий лишний элемент».

Оживление Эстер это манифестация и даже в каком-то смысле «материализация» внутренней проекции, внутренней сути человека. К этому «прочтению» данного события фильм вел нас с самых первых кадров. В этом смысле, данное событие есть абсолютная реальность языка этого текста в манифестации главного свойство мира, который открывается нам с экрана. Неожиданное «оживление» Эстер это восстановление утраченной связи с миром через то чувство, которое душа Эстер в ответ на искреннее чувство Марьяны выстраивает над ненавистью, восстанавливая общую гармонию.. Это доказательство того, что в каком-то смысле абсолютно был прав механик, утверждавший, что все дается и освещается свыше, даже когда мы этого не понимаем….

Все дается свыше?

Все дается свыше.

Дается для нашего пробуждения, продвижения и развития. В зависимости от силы, толщины и особых свойств нашего эго, мы так или иначе реагируем на то, что происходит нами и вокруг нас. Дается определенное событие, что-то случается в жизни и меняет ход ее протекания…или, человек, который вдруг возникает на пути , что называется, выбивает вас из привычного течения событий, той жизни, которая вполне устраивала вас и делает это не потому, что хочет навредить вам, а потому, что это ему как бы «предначертано», хотя он сам про это ничего не знает. И тогда мы можем сказать, что данный человек действует как ангел, ибо просто безоговорочно исполняет волю Высшего. И это понимание глубоко заложено в этих людях, в их кажущейся такой простой, но такой непонятной и необъяснимой для нас философии, что есть только Единая Сила, которая правит миром и все зависит, насколько ты совпадаешь или не совпадаешь с этой силой по своим свойствам, насколько ты вписываешься или не вписываешься в ее законы. И эта сила – Любовь как универсальное свойство Единой Системы. Но постичь эту силу человеку дано как и все в этом мире, исключительно из противоположного - из разбиения, отдаления, часто ненависти и т.д.…Любовь это и есть Свет, который простой и неизменный, но который раскрывается и постигается лишь из тьмы. И осознание зла и полное приятие судьбы как самой правильной линии твоего развития и в резонансе с законами природы… - это огромный шаг в продвижении. Еще одни важный аспект. Как-то само собой отпадает вопрос о дальнейшей судьбе Йохана и его семьи. Если мы находимся в логике этих людей – и в логике интегрального мира – будет так, как должно быть. По моим ощущениям, там нет места ни Эстер, ни Марьяне в нашем обычном понимании. Будет как-то совсем по-другому, в зависимости от того, как пройден урок и что необходимо исправить тому или другому персонажу.

Зачем Рейгадосу нужны кадры, в которых нет человека?

В фильме довольно много кадров, где отсутствует человек. Повторяемость этих кадров (не говоря о прологе и эпилоге) выявляет наличие особой стратегии в использовании данного приема. Фиксация камеры на природных объектах без присутствия человека выявляет:

а) значимость этих объектов для концептуального целого фильма,

б) дает возможность ощущать и переживать особую жизнь Природы, ее ритмы и состоянии.

в) кроме того, эти кадры природного ландшафта создают особый контекст, позволяющий по-новому взглянуть на события, связанные с человеком, чья жизнь тем или иным образом «вписывается» или, напротив, «не вписывается» в природный мир.

г) эти кадры могут читаться как относительно «нейтральные», но они могут усиливать те или иные впечатления, либо контрастировать по своему настроению с тем, что происходит в жизни людей.

f) Вхождение в концепцию

Иногда самые простые вещи в фильмах К. Рейгадоса буквально ускользают от понимания и объяснения. Дело в том, концепция холономного мира

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при всей своей кажущейся простоте далеко не так проста. В любом случае она вводит нас:

– в новую систему координат,
– меняет фокус видения мира и задает:

а) новые параметры его восприятия и
б) новые оценки и интерпретации тех или иных явлений.

В таком случае, само «вхождение» эту концепцию (а это необходимая предварительная работа, которая позволяет дать то или осмысление явлению или тексту) – достаточно трудный процесс.

Непременно хочется отметить, что чаще всего это трудность связана не с рационально-логическим ее осмыслением, но скорее обретением необходимой «чувственной настройки», которая открывает возможность уяснения и восприятия происходящего.

Как правило, для обретения этой особой настройки требуется время и определенных усилий. Но именно этот механизм позволяет «открыть» определенные тексты, которые все чаще возникают сегодня.

Можно сказать, что Рейгадос уловил и передал в своем творчестве призыв о необходимости решительного пересмотра представлений о Вселенной и месте человека в ней, о характере связей между человеком, обществом и природным универсумом.

В новой формирующейся постнеклассической картине мира именно теория интегральности начинает выходить на первый план, скрываясь под разными терминами. Один из них и является «холономный мир».

Начало и конец фильма – не просто фантастические эпизоды восхода и захода солнца – не просто современная декоративная рамка, но возвышенное созерцание жизни природы, открывающее возможность соприсутствия и сопричастия космическому ритму как проявлению высшей силы и высшего закона, управляющего мирозданием.

Эти впечатляющие эпизоды задают особое измерение. Изначально моделируется область трансцендентного, выявляется особый масштаб, соотносимый с понятиями бесконечности и вечности, с одной стороны, ритма и цикличности, с другой. Это моделирование живого и разумного Космоса, как высшего начала, безусловно, является не только структурообразующим композиционным ходом, но задает тот философский контекст, который в конечном итоге и определяет наше прочтение изложенной истории. Человек и мир не просто автономные и параллельные сферы, но единое целое, одно в другом, пронизанное общими токами жизни.

g) Немного о Дэвиде Боме

Нам видятся в фильмах Рейгадоса не столько обращенность к прошлому, а именно – мифологическому мышлению, сколько отголоски современной постнеклассической мысли, в частности идеи Дэвида Бома, ученика Эйнштейна и пионера квантовой физики.

Бом считал все мироздание одним неделимым целым. Вселенная суть непостижимая система энергообмена. Вселенная есть базовая структура, которая содержит в себе все мыслимые и немыслимые вариации и формы материи. Очень важно - Вселенная есть разумная и открытая система, и использует сложную обратную связь с существующими в ней организмами. Нобелевский лауреат Джордж Уолд пришел к выводу, что разум возник не в качестве позднего продукта эволюции; он существовал всегда.

В 1951 году Бом опубликовал свою книгу «Квантовая теория», которая сразу стала бестселлером и классикой. По утверждению Д. Бома - материальная действительность и вся наша повседневная жизнь есть – иллюзия. Это одно из бесчисленных проявлений огромного скрытого первичного пласта реальности, порождающий все объекты нашего мира. Бом так и называет этот пласт скрытым (свернутым) порядком, а бытие, соответственно, явным – или развернутым порядком. Все существующее во Вселенной есть результат свертывания и развертывания: целое сворачивается в части, а части и разворачиваются в целое. Поскольку этот процесс порождает все сущее, Бом считал неправильными рассуждать о Вселенной как о чем-то состоящем из частей. Как о чем-то статичном. Он предпочитал термин **«голодвижение»,** чтобы выйти из статики понятия голограмма, ибо Вселенная есть непрекращающееся развитие. При этом Бом был абсолютно уверен, что разум присущ не только присущ всему Вселенскому полотну и тому, что в него вплетено. Бом со главу угла ставил мысль о неделимой **целостности мира, его холономности.** В этом мире холономность есть фундаментальный и неустранимый модус всего сущего.

И снова Рейгадос и другие

Творчество Рейгадоса какое-то время оставалось в тени. Не потому, что его фильмы – даже если вам удалось посмотреть лишь один из них, оставили вас равнодушным. Нет , скорее вы испытали очень сильное и странное чувство, которое как бы не умещалось в привычное восприятие, но тем не менее, оставляло ощущение чего-то очень важного, необъяснимого и загадочного. Как если бы вам еще не доводилось испытывать нечто подобное и вы теряетесь в оценке и фильма и своих ощущений.

Как ни парадоксально это может звучать, творчество Рейгадоса можно рассматривать как провидческое предупреждение о надвигающихся бедствиях, в которых повинен сам человек. Кому-то может показаться странным даже параллельное упоминание фильмов Рейгадоса и современной ситуации с пандемией короновируса, неожиданно накрывшей мир. Так ли неожиданно? И какое сообщение несет нам это бедствие, которое в невиданно

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короткий срок изменило мир. Точнее наше понимание мира. а еще более точно- понимание своего места в этой мире, превратив всех невзирая на лица, в узников и пленников, запертых, в лучшем случае в стендах собственного жилища. Про худшее – знают все.

Что может произойти, если человек не проснется и не увидит всю эту ситуацию в совершенно новом для него ракурсе. Не в ракурсе всемогущего и возвышающегося над природой, но в ракурсе того страшного разрыва между тем, что он о себе мыслит и чем является на самом деле.

И какова мера его возможностей та или иначе влиять на ход событий. Идти обычным путем – изобретая противоядие, которое возможно на какое-то время позволит вернуться к прежнему образу мышления и жизни или – начать действовать с совершенно другого конца, фокусируя внимание на себе и быть может впервые задаться вопросом о мере зла в себе. Или по-другому – вплотную подойти в к вопросу осознания зла…И тогда – возможно нам станет немного ближе и понятней не только К. Рейгадос, но и другие блестящие мастера кино, такие как А. Тарковский, А.Сокуров, М. Ханеке, Л.фонТриер, Герман-старший и др.

Герои Рейгадоса в определенном смысле «встроены» в биокосмические ритмы и могут ощущать их. Как может ощущать эти ритмы и сам Карлос Рейгадос. Идея антропокосмического единства имеет под собой сегодня самые веские основания, хотя изучение особых неосознаваемых «настроек» человека на космос, принципов, по которым они работают и эффектов, которые они могут дать, еще только начинается. Эдгар Морен полагал, что познание мира как целостного становится одновременно интеллектуальной и жизненной необходимостью. И сегодня идёт процесс «переоткрытия» колоссальных культурных пластов прошлого и их инкорпорация в современную культуру. Сегодня значимость этих процессов осознается и академической наукой и современным искусством. Сегодня самоограничение и самовоспитание - с целью адаптироваться к природному универсуму – гораздо важнее, чем бесконечные граничащие порой с преступлением, попытки «переделывания» этого мира. И в этом контексте – можно сказать, что именно Карлос Рейгадос стоит в кино у истоков новой перспективы….

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Identity Politics Related to the Yao Muslims through a Post-Colonial Theoretical Framework

By Time Matola
Bindura University of Science Education

Abstract- *Purpose:* The study seeks to assess an important question that needs to be asked. How can we get a clearer picture of the socio-cultural history of the Yao, than that exists in general among Yaos themselves as well as people who oppose the Yao? This is a very large topic, and this study will only start to trace some of the important historical facts and perceptions.

Design/Methodology/Approach: The study will undertake a critical scrutiny of the data with the help of two significant theoretical concepts borrowed from work of Marxist thinker, Antonio Gramsci1 (1891- 1937) which have been appropriated by postcolonial theory with deliberate intent, namely, the (subaltern) and the (organic intellectual). The study of these theories will enable us to engage in a conceptual investigation of the historical formation of subjectivities specifically marked by European colonialism. The article will be qualitative gathering data from secondary and related sources.

Practical Implications: The study seeks to give a voice to the Yao ethnic group, who have been silenced by European colonialists and fellow African ethnic groups across Central, East and Southern Africa.

Keywords: *achawa, mabhurandaya, mujao, machawa, manyasarandi, subaltern, yao.*

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Findings: The study reveals that societies across Central, East and Southern Africa have negative perception towards the Yao ethnic group and this is derived from misconception about Islam and belief systems.

Originality/Value: The study will also provide Yaos with an opportunity to ask or speak out against outdated and wrong perceptions against their ethnic group, religion and that is Islam. Above all the investigation will provide the Yao ethnic group with an opportunity to break out of the Manichean dichotomy that distinguishes exclusively between good and bad. The study will also present an overview of most of the critical perspectives evident in these works. It is hoped that this present study will contribute in encouraging scholars to continue to critically study and evaluate the Yao Ethnic Group of central, and Southern Africa.

Keywords: achawa, mabhurandaya, mujao, machawa, manyasarandi, subaltern, yao.

I. Introduction

The main reason that led me to embark on this research article is that I have been born a Yao. During my life I have experienced marginalization to some extent and exclusion due to my Yao-Identity. My main impetus is to study the Yao background to clarify some of the major issues in scholarship. I am confident that this study will provide valuable information to fellow Muslims and Africans in general. Generally, the study will aid our understanding of the Yao identity. On the one hand the research article seeks to give a voice to the Yao ethnic group, who have been silenced by European colonialists and fellow African ethnic groups across Central, East and Southern Africa. My study will also provide Yao Muslims with an opportunity to ask or speak out against outdated and wrong perceptions against their ethnic group. Above all the investigation will provide the Yao ethnic group with an opportunity to break out of the Manichean dichotomy that distinguishes exclusively between good and bad (see the publications by Abdul R. Jan Mohamed)[1].

The study will undertake a critical scrutiny of the data with the help of two significant theoretical concepts borrowed from the work of Italian Marxist thinker, Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) which have been appropriated by postcolonial theory with deliberate intent, namely, the (subaltern) and the (organic intellectual).[2] The study of these theories will enable us to engage in a conceptual investigation of the historical formation of subjectivities specifically marked by European colonialism. It appears that the negative perceptions of the Yao are derived from socio-cultural interactions of the Yao with other African communities during the 19th century and 20th centuries. This study will highlight and provide us with information about the socio-cultural interactions between other African ethnic groups and the Yao ethnic group. This study will also provide information on the Islamization and the cultural change experienced by the Yao. It is a fact that in the distant past, the Yao existed as an African ethnic community independent of Islam. The fact though is that they became Islamized as ethnic community prior to 19th century colonialism. Available evidence suggests that the Yao were originally Islamized and also proselytized fellow Yao and other African groups. Available research also suggests that the Yao became part of the Arab-Swahili trade systems. It is also known that the Yao became co-opted into the Arab slave trade along the east coast of Africa for some time in the past. The nature of slave trading and their participation in the Arab-Swahili trade systems need to be researched as well. There is also an evidence of Yao resistance to colonialism. The true nature of this resistance visa-a-vis the Portuguese, British and Germans as well as their

Author: Candidate: M.Sc International Relations, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities: Department of Peace and Governance, Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE), Zimbabwe.
e-mail: timematola@gmail.com

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opposition to Christian colonization need to be researched.

a) The Subaltern in Postcolonial Studies

Post colonialism is a term that has been used primarily in discussions of the geographical areas of the former colonies of the British, French, German and Portuguese empires. Today, the term has turned out to have relevance to much wider context (Shands, 2008:8). It is a general term used to describe the variety of events that have arisen in the aftermath of European decolonization since the nineteenth century. Among the events include under the rubric are social change, cultural redefinition, and political upheaval on both the small and large scale. The term also implies a breaking free or a breaking away from a colonizing force, but essentially the study of post colonialism addresses issues of power, subordination, race, gender inequity and class. It examines how these issues linger far after the colonizer has existed (Coasta, 2008:393). Post-colonial theorists like all critical scholars have tried to shift the classical thinking in the discipline and save it from the hegemony of Western conceptions by challenging "Western-theorizing" and "decolonizing" it (Tepecikliogl u, 2012:1). Therefore, post-colonial theory is a literary theory or critical approach that deals with literature or discourse produced in countries that were once, or are now, colonies of other countries. It may also deal with literature written in or by citizens of colonizing countries that take colonies or their people as its subject matter. The theory is based around the concepts of otherness and resistance. Post-colonial theorists can trace much of their initial discourse to the Italian Marxist thinker. Antonio Gramsci, who, in his *Prison Notebook* (1929-1935) examined the subaltern, or those who were exclude from power by virtue of their race, class, gender, ethnicity or colonial status. This notion of post-colonial theory was later taken up by Partha Chaterjee (1993), among others, Fanon, in the Wretched of the Earth (1961), a work considered a landmark in anticolonial studies, expressed clear anti colonialist sentiments in his discussion of the Third World. In his highly influential 1978 book, Orientalism, Edward Said argued that a set of attitudes he dubbed Orientalism was a way for the West (Euro-America) to separate itself from its progenitors. Even though Europe in its modern form was essentially a product of the East through many means, including the physical and economic.

Gayatri Spivak another significant post-colonial theorist, has like Chaterjee, focused on the subaltern, though gendered categories, both in terms of those who are colonized and those who have colonized. It has been developed in various fields, such as philosophy, literacy studies and sociology. From its beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, with Frantz Fanon and Edward Said, post-colonial theory has addressed issues such as identity, gender, race, ethnicity and class. In literary studies, post-colonial theory addresses the question of how the writing produced by the colonized and by those who colonize them responds to colonial legacies (Costa, 2008:393). This study will attempt to answer an important question that needs to be asked: How can we get clearer picture of the history of Yao socio-cultural identity formation through the lens of the subaltern in post-colonial theory? This is a very broad topic, and this study will only start to consider some of the important historical facts and perceptions. The main theoretical concepts of 'Orientalism' by Edward Said and Gayatri Spivak's understanding of the subaltern will be employed. Drawing on my interests in Said, Foucault and Gramsci, the research project will attempt to examine how the Western-Euro-American texts and discourses have represented and framed the Yaos and what this meant and may still mean for their identity formation in relation to the different African cultures with which they had immediate contact. To demonstrate this assertion this research project will examine all available literature by explorers and missionaries during the colonial and post-colonial epoch through a post-colonial lens and understanding of the subaltern.

Gayatri Chaktravorty Spivak in her influential essay "Can the Subaltern Speak" made a profound contribution in a wide-ranging critical debate ranging around the process of recovering subaltern agency and voice in history. The aim of Spivak's essay was to clearly state criticism of the notion that subaltern voices can be heard from within Western discourse, including Marxism and post-structuralism. Spivak's narrative of colonialism exposes the exclusion and gaps in the representations of the subaltern subject in colonial records. She directly challenges and subverts the production of colonial history in the West and twisted representations of the colonized. Spivak's analysis compels theorists whatever their origin or place, to examine their political position as well as their interest of their critical approaches. Knowledge is not innocent it is always operated by power (Foucault). This Foucauldian notion informs Edward Said's book, Orientalism examines the vast tradition of Western "construction" of the Orient. It has been a corporate institution for dealing with the Orient dealing with it by making statements about it authorizing views of it. Describing it, by teaching it, setting, it, ruling over it (Said, 1978:3). Accordingly, Jan Mohamed (1995) argues that 'colonialist literature is divisible into two broad categories: the 'imaginary' and the 'symbolic'. The emotive as well as the cognitive internationalities of the 'imaginary' text are structured by objectification and aggression. In such works the native functions as an image of the imperialist self in such a manner that it reveals the latter's self-alienation. Because of the subsequent projection involved in this context the 'imaginary' novel maps the European's intense internal rivalry. The 'imaginary' representation of indigenous

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people tends to coalesce the signifier with the signified. In describing the attributes or actions of the native, issues such as intention, causality, extenuating circumstances, and so forth, are completely ignored, in the 'imaginary' colonialist realm, to say 'native' is automatically to say 'evil' and to evoke immediately the economy of the Manichean allegory. The writer of such texts tends to fetishize a non-dialectical, fixed opposition between the self and the native (Jan Mohamed, 1995:19).

II. Literature Review

a) Historical Background

Historically, the Yao Muslims were referred to as Ajawa, Achawa, Mujao, or Machawa. Here reference is made to wills (1962) who attributes the term Achawa to the Yao. Wherever the Yao worked as labour migrants on the mines or on commercial farms, particularly in the countries of southern Africa mentioned by Wills, they have variously been called by these names. These names are well-known among the indigenous people of southern Africa, especially in Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe. If you were born or lived in Zimbabwe where the term Muchawa or Machawa in plural form is used, you would have an image of a Malawian immigrant (Yao Muslim) whenever you heard this word[3].

The first publication on the Yao people was a monograph titled *Chiikala Cha WaYawo* written by a Yao historian, Canon Yohanna Barnaba Abdallah. (Abdallah: 1919). This monograph adds value to the accounts of Yao customs and their historical background. Abdulla's *Chiikala Cha WaYawo* was published in both Yao and English by the Nyasaland Government Press. Abdallah states that his aim in writing a book that would tell about the customs of the Yao was to remind ourselves whence we sprang from and our beginnings as a nation (Abdallah 1919). Abdallah discusses the origins of the Yao, how they became as a nation and how they later split into sub-tribes. He also touches on ancient customs of the Yao tribe before the advent of Islam. Abdallah further describes wars that occurred between the Europeans and the Yao. In addition, he outlines how the trading activities of the Yao began and how the Yao interacted with the East Coast of Africa. In his discussion he includes the Yao trade in trade activities and the Proselytization of Islam that occurred in among the Yao. Although there are countless excellent scholarly works and valuable literature on the Yao people, it may be argued here that a number of these academic works, to some extent, were flawed. Arab Muslims were settled on the East Coast of Africa since 700A.D, long before the arrival of Europeans. They were a mercantile people, and their trading network was so well advanced that by the end of the twelfth century they had founded Kilwa, east of Lake Nyasa, as a commercial centre. When Vasco da Gama sailed up the East Coast of Africa in 1498, he found that the Arabs had already entrenched themselves all along the coast.

Yohanna Abdallah (1919) contends that "if you consult literature written by Europeans you would find that they say the tribe of the Yaos are the Ajawa the Achawa and the Angulu. Abdallah further argues that it is not the Europeans who are to blame, it is the Wanyasa and the Amakuwa ethnic groups and the Europeans went astray in following their lead. The Origin of this mistake emanates from mis-pronouncement of the term "Wayao" the Amakuwa Alolo cannot pronounce it properly, but they say Ajao and hence they say Ajao'wa: these, or the Ajao, and this is the mistake which the Europeans made they imitated the Amakuwa Alolo. The term Anguru came from the are Nyasa, they made the mistake through not knowing about other countries (than their own), by not travelling. Mangulu is a hill south of Blantyre near that hill live some Walolo, Amanganja and Yaos mixed together and their speech is similarly mixed. Those people who live part of that country are the Anguru but they are not the Yaos. The Europeans in imitating the Anyasa came to say the Yaos are the same as the Anguru confusing the matters as if Mangulu were in Yao region. The Yaos are from the hill Yao situated in the area between Mwembe and the Luchilingo river (the range) extending from Wisulu through Lisombe, where Malinganile used to dwell as far as Likopolwe, and up to Mkuya, that is Yao. The word Yao refers to a hill, treeless and grass grown from that hill the Yao originated and that is in norther part of Mozambique and Southern part of Tanzania Yohanna Abdallah (1919:6-7). Today the Yao Muslims are dispersed over a vast area between southern Malawi and southern Tanzania, with many more currently domiciled in northern Mozambique. A minority are also living in countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia and South Africa. The Yao Muslim's presence and their impact on the spread of Islam and socio-economic conditions of Southern Africa and Central Africa remain an enigma to date.

Jan Mohamed argues that the "perception of racial difference is influenced by economic motives" even though ultimately not reducible to these. Prior to colonialism, Africans were "perceived in a more or less neutral and benign light" whereas afterwards, they came to be characterized "as the epitome of evil and barbarity". Nonetheless, the relation between the Europeans (British, Germans and Portuguese) and Yaos had a Manichean structure where the Europeans as Christians were the exemplary ones and the Yaos as Muslims the evil ones. All the positive qualities were characteristics of the white man as opposed to the evil qualities that were represented by the Yaos as barbaric This relates to their association with a tradition of folk Islam and the institution of slavery. In this context the colonial society provided a strong separation between the self and the other. However, The European (white

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man) needed the African (black man) to be assured of his own existence and his superiority, whereas the African (black man) could see him or herself as inferior through the presence of the European (white man). This condition was responsible for the permanent tension between Europeans and the Yaos. Gayatri Chaktravorty Spivak in her influential essay "Can the Subaltern Speak" made a profound contribution in wide ranging critical debate raging around the process of recovering subaltern agency and voice in history. The aim of Spivak's essay was to clearly state criticism of the notion that subaltern voices can be heard from within Western discourse, including Marxism and post-structuralism. Spivak's narrative of colonialism exposes the exclusions and gaps in the representations of the subaltern subject in colonial records. She directly challenges and subverts the production of colonial history in the West and twisted representations of the colonized. Spivak's analysis compels theoreticians, whatever their origin or place to constantly examine their political position as well their interest of their critical approaches.

The Yaos like many another African ethnic groups that resisted European presence during the colonial period were imprisoned into European prejudices for a long period of time. Saussure (1960) argues that some people regard language when reduced to its elements as naming-process only simply a list of words each corresponding to the thing that it names "signified". According to Saussure the linguistic unit is a double entity linked to the psychology, the signifier and the signified (Saussure, 1960:65). The linguistic sign is therefore a two-sided psychological entity that is a combination of sound-image and a concept. Saussure's philosophy of language indicates that the way we use language can affect our world view because of the indivisible link between our concept of something and the language we use to represent it (Mumisa, 2000:66). The most interesting example of naming-process is to be found in T. Price (1964) in the Rhodesian (Zimbabwe) Native Affairs Department Annual (NADA, 1955) in which a Swedish academic, Dr. Harald von Sicard, records traditions of the clans which make up the Lemba (Varemba) who lived along the Limpopo River. A Zimbabwean informant explains that the "Lemba people are Machawa of Muhammad", which Dr. von Sicard dismisses as Yao Muslims (Price, 1964:14). There are also two discourteous terms attributed to the Yao among the indigenous people of Zimbabwe this being maBhurandaya and maBwidi (meaning any one from Nyasaland now Malawi). MaBhurandaya is a plural form of muBhurandaya. The term muBhurandaya has been coined from Blantyre, the name of a well-known city in Malawi. As for the term MaBwidi, the origin is not known but I specifically attributed to Yaos too. The disrespect lies in the fact that when you call another ethnic group by another name you are in fact denying that ethnic group its rightful identity.

Above all, the term muBhurandaya is also highlighted several times by a prolific Shona novelist Genius T. Runyowa in "AkadaWokure" simply mean: 'she is in love with a foreigner' or she fell in love with foreigner." Across a broad spectrum of Shona literary *genres* of Zimbabwe "AkadaWokure" is one of the most ironic novel ever to be written in Shona language. According to Genius T. Runyowa (1981) a girl falls in love with her father's employee. To the parents' consternation the man is a Malawian, muBhurandaya. The parents believe it is a disgrace to have a muBhurandaya as their son-in-law. The situation is made worse by a Shona suitor whose jealousy encourages him to take drastic action to win the girl from the Malawian, muBhurandaya. Genius T. Runyowa's (1981) novel is important to the study because it possesses the power to appeal to our sense of know-how on socio-relations amid Malawian immigrants and indigenous Zimbabweans. Above all, the novel renders us with exactness of that detailed narrative of indigenous Zimbabweans and Malawian immigrants which is associated with realism of fiction. In his novel Genius T. Runyowa (1981) has commented that "Wadzanai akadaro kukanganisika, izwi rokuti muBhurandaya usarishandisa nokuti rinozvidza" Wadzanai is perturbed by Rungamirai's attribution of the term muBhurandaya to Aleke 'a Malawian' and she is cautioning Rungamirai not to use the term muBhurandaya as it is a discourteous word (Runyowa, 1981:11).

The Yao ethnic group took their ethnonym from a barren hill where they originally resided, between Mwembe (Portuguese East Africa) and the Luchinga range. It is clear that the Yao emerged from the various scattered African tribes in the East African and Southern African regions and that the distribution of the Yao today reflects the history of their movement across Southern Africa, where they played a pivotal role in the pre-colonial era. It is has been convenient to divide the history of the Yao into two major episodes, these being the movement between hills and the movement into and within the Nyasaland protectorate (Malawi). Today, the Yao tribe is dispersed over a vast area between southern Malawi and southern Tanzania, with many more currently domiciled in northern Mozambique. A minority of Yao are also living in countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia and South Africa. However, the Yao's presence and their impact on the spread of Islam and the political and social-economic conditions of Southern Africa remain an enigma to date. Mitchell (1956) commented that one of the earliest references to the Yao is recorded by Dr Francisco Jose de Lacerda in a letter dated March 22nd 1798 addressed to the Minister of the State of Portugal. In his letter he outlines

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his proposed visit to the Kazembe of the Luapula regions, known then as Wisa country. When it comes to trading Mitchell highlights that "It is evident from this letter that the Yao were serious competitors for the land trade against the Portuguese" (Mitchell, 1956:21).

Lacerda Writes: "The dry goods hitherto imported into this country [i.e.Wisa] have been brought by the Mujao (Yao), indirectly from the Arabs of Zanzibar and its vicinity. Hence these people received all the ivory exported from Kazembe; whereas formerly it passed in great quantities through our port of Mozambique" (Mitchell, 1956:22). Mitchell (1956) reveals that the Yao are one of the most important ethnic groups of Nyasaland because of their long-standing history as intermediaries in the trade between the coast and the highlands. Long before the arrival of the Europeans in East Africa, the Yao supplemented their agricultural activities with trade and thus became indispensable, first to the Arabs and later to the Portuguese. Above all, Fisher contextualizes the historical and religious background of the Yao and enlightens that the first Yao Muslims went to the coast for initiation; later, coastal "ulama" teachers came to Yao-land, and subsequently the Yao ulama themselves took on the main role of proselytization "dawa". Islam therefore began to spread amongst the Yao, particularly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and became a distinguishing feature of Yao nationality. the exact period for the Yao to adopt the religion of Islam is not known. However, some academics tend to claim that it was not until the 1870s that the Yao began to adopt the religion of their trading partners. It is certain that the Yao contact with Arabs had been going on for some time, for at least 200 years before the Europeans appeared on the scene. The Yao traded along the East Coast of Africa in the early decades of the nineteenth century and entertained in their villages Arabian Muslims and Swahilis who were from the East Coast of Africa (Bone, 1982:127). Fisher also highlights the trading routes of the Yao that occurred late in the eighteenth century, whereby the Yao were sending caravans to the coast as part of their trading network, which stretched from the Indian Ocean to Katanga (Fisher, 1970: 392).

David S. Bone (1982) ascertained that the first stage in the spread of Islam among the Yao was the conversion of some of their chiefs. In the early 1870s Mkanjila 1 adopted Islam as his personal and court religion. In the same decade his example was followed by his powerful neighbours Mataka, Jalasi, and Muponda. Bone further argues that the reasons for taking on the Islamic faith included a desire to strengthen their ties with their prestigious trading partners, a desire for literacy and modernization and a needy to consolidate their authority over their village headman by enhancing their own status. The second stage in the establishment of Islam resulted from the European colonization of East Africa and the reaction of Swahili and their Yao associates to what they perceived as a threat to their mutually partnership in trade of slaves and ivory. Alpers, E.A. 1969 highlights the trade of the Yao that occurred during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries whereby the Yao were the greatest long-distance traders in East Central Africa. Through their involvement with the coast they became subject to external economic pressures.

In the eighteenth century these pressures combined to produce several major changes in the routine of Yao trade goods to the coast. Alpers, E.A 1969 study is very important to this study because it provides the historical background of the Yao trading activities. Alpers highlights that the Yao before the beginning of the long-distance trade led a very self-sufficient way of life. Primarily agriculturist, they also lived from hunting and fishing. They were also known for making backcloth, and salt. Iron was abundant in Yao-land, so they were well supplied with hoes and essential implements. Some Yaos travelled the breath and length of the area and established furnaces and trading their iron. The Portuguese and the Arabs became rivals for the trade of the African interior, a rivalry that was to continue for many centuries. In 1698 the *Imam* of Oman drove the Portuguese out and the Arabs obtained sole control of the East Coast. One of the earliest references to the Yao is recorded by Dr. Francisco Jose de Lacerda in a letter dated March 22nd 1798 addressed to the Minister of the State of Portugal. In his letter he outlines his proposed visit to the Kazembe of the Luapula regions, known then as Wisa country. It is evident from this letter that the Yao were serious competitors for the land trade against the Portuguese (Mitchell, 1956:21). Lacerda writes: The dry goods hitherto imported into this country [i.e.Wisa] have been brought by the Mujao (Yao), indirectly from the Arabs of Zanzibar and its vicinity. Hence these people received all the ivory exported from Casembe; whereas formerly it passed in great quantities through our port of Mozambique (Mitchell, 1956:22).

At the end of the eighteenth century the Yao emerged as the leading transporters of goods between the interior of East Central Africa and the coast. By the early nineteenth century a well-established trade in ivory and slaves existed between the Yao and the East African coast at Kilwa (Thorold, 2002:6-9). Most of what is known about the Yao before the imposition of colonial rule was in fact documented by contemporary European observers; nearly all of them were Portuguese, until Livingstone travelled through the Yao territory in 1866. Europeans only knew the Yao as traders, as the Yao arrived once a year on the mainland opposite Mozambique Island or at Kilwa to trade in ivory, slaves and other commodities, and would then return to the interior until the next dry season (Alpers, 969:405).

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The Yao tribe is the only major ethnic group south of Somalia to have adopted Islam before colonialism. Living midway between Lake Nyasa and the Indian Ocean, the Yao were, by the late eighteenth century, sending caravans to the coast as part of their trading network, which stretched from the Indian Ocean to Katanga. The first Yao Muslims went to the coast for initiation; later, coastal *ulamā* and teachers came to Yaoland, and subsequently the Yao *ulamā themselves* took on the main role of Proselytization or *"dawa"*. Islam therefore began to spread, particularly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and became a distinguishing feature of Yao nationality (Fisher, 1970: 392). Notably, the Yao, like any other African tribe that resisted European presence during the colonial era, were similarly trapped in European prejudices. To demonstrate this assertion, a broad spectrum of academic works in the form of monographs, anthropological studies, historical books, journals and accounts by explorers, missionaries and administrators during the colonial epoch were perused. Where a discussion of the Yao appears in these mentioned works, the Yao people are depicted as the agents of the Arabs or acting as middlemen for the Arabs and Swahili Muslims. One example of this possibly erroneous depiction is from Fallers, where he points out that the Yao interaction with the East Coast had left them with a tradition of folk Islam and the institution of slavery (Fallers, 1957:731). Pertinent to Islam, Arabs, slavery, the indigenous Africans (Yaos) or West African Muslims, Daniel asserts that while the Europeans still thought of Muslim influence on Africa largely in terms of the slave trade, some Africans were thinking very differently. Daniel argues that the best illustration of this sentiment as it existed at the end of the eighteenth century is to be found in the writings of a remarkable scholar, Edward Wilmot Blyden. From the perspective of Daniel Blyden does not attribute the spread of Islam in Africa to slavery. His view is that such an explanation is at once unworthy of a great religion and insulting to the black race, although it is one to which some later European travellers, more qualified to traduce an unfortunate people rather than to engage in the philosophical investigation of their character and history, have been quick to attribute its rapid spread and its widespread influence. The use of this insulting argument was widespread in Christian polemic against Islam. Blyden's dominating idea about Islam was that it was African and that it was not dominated by Arabs, as Christianity had been by the Europeans. On the contrary, Islam was easily and regularly Africanized; it helped Africans give it a new and attractive character (Daniel 1966:311).

On the other hand, Uya argues that the European administrators in the course of colonialism were understandably impressed by those African tribes that offered the least resistance to their expanding frontier of white domination. All in all, European records in varying degrees reflect the activities of these European elements in Africa. Where they describe African affairs, they reflect European prejudices, as is obvious from the well-known infatuation of all these segments of European actors in Africa with a large-scale political structure (Uya, 1984:4). In Weinstein & Rubi (1977), Harry Thuku and Kenneth King (1970) describe how the Kikuyu, who had no centralized system of government, did not react in sustained fashion to the imposition of foreign control, partly because they failed to perceive the threat of the European presence on their land. For example, a Kenyan recalls in his autobiography that one day his family noticed that a European "had quietly slipped onto our land. We did not know he was coming to stay, since he had just built a little mud and grass house. The Kikuyu gave him the nickname Kibara as he was always beating people, but he did not seem to do much actual planting; he did not plant any crops or coffee, and did not come into any Kikuyu village. I think he was afraid probably. No one thought that Kibara had come permanently. Suddenly, they heard that the land occupied by this European was apparently "sold" by him to another European, which was rather curious since he never owned it. But, then our people, including Waweru, the chief, were asked to move a little further west. Of course it was government policy to sell land without telling the occupiers. Then later the new owner would come along and say, "This land is mine; I bought it from the government"" (Weinstein & Rubi, 1977:69). After signing a treaty of friendship with the Italians, the Ethiopians discovered that the Italians were claiming that the Emperor had signed a protectorate treaty. They rejected the claim and in a forceful statement to Europe in 1891, Emperor Menelik I declared that Ethiopia was an independent political state and that it would remain so. Italy sent troops to support its claim. Growing conflict led to aggressive confrontations. In 1896, Menelik, with a well-organized and a well-trained military force of 100,000 men under his command, crushed the Italians (Weinstein & Rubi, 1977:69). Weinstein & Rubi asserts that there is a difference between the Kikuyu and Ethiopian scenarios. The Kikuyu lost because they failed to perceive the threat to their interests from European presence and claims.

However, the more astute Ethiopians understood the implications of sovereignty and what they stood to lose (Weinstein & Rubi, 1977: 69). With regards to the Yao, the Germans demanded the surrender of the Yao in southwest Tanzania. Machemba, the Yao Sultan, responded in Swahili that he would rather die than agree to obey the Europeans, because obedience was what the Yao perceived the Germans to be demanding; "If it should be friendship, be it friendship that you desire, then I am ready for it, today and always; but to be your subject, that I cannot be…. if

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it should be war you desire, then I am ready, but never to be your subject" (Weinstein & Rubi, 1977:69). Although it is fairly certain that the Jesuits from the Zambezi had explored the valleys and the lake regions, there are no available records of the inhabitants of these areas. The reason for this lack of archives is not known. However, we may argue here that perhaps the Jesuits, to some extent, were not willing to record anything of those inhabitants or it may have been difficult for them to collect data at that time because they were new to that part of the world. However, we do know that the Jesuits domesticated European culture and supplied intelligence data on the communities whose souls they sought to capture.

Mitchell (1956) demonstrates that the Yao are one of the most important people of Nyasaland because of their long-standing history as intermediaries in the trade between the coast and the highlands. Long before the arrival of the European in East Africa, the Yao supplemented their agricultural activities with trade and thus became essential, first to the Arabs and later to the Portuguese. Regarding the Yao migration from their home-place, it is convenient to divide the history of the Yao into two major episodes: firstly the movement from the Yao hill to other hills, and secondly, the movement into and within the Nyasaland protectorate. Mitchell subsumes two episodes of migration; the first is the scattering of the tribes from the Yao hill. The second episode is the displacement of the divisions from their homes. A detailed discussion of these episodes will be outlined below. The exact cause of the scattering of the tribes from their traditional home is not clear (Mitchell, 1956:24). Abdallah (1919:8) suggests that it could be ascribed to some internal dissension. It may be that the Yao ancestors quarreled among themselves and separated into different groups and dispersed to different countries. This exodus happened before the wars between the Amakuwa and Alolo, Msoma, Kaondo and Angoni tribes. However, irrespective of the cause, the tribe broke up into a number of sub-tribes, each of which settled at yet another hill from which it took its name (Mitchell, 1956:24). There are ten sub-tribes or divisions of the Yao, each of which took its name from the place to which it moved after the dispersal from the Yao hill. Abdallah (1919:8) lists ten sub-tribes which are:

i. The *Amasaninga* settled near the Lisaninga hill, near the Lutwesi River.
ii. The *Amachinga* settled near the Madimba hills (*Amachinga* is derived from the word '*lichinga*' meaning a ridge with a serrated outline).
iii. The *Amalombo* settled in the plain near Lisaninga
iv. The *Wambemba* settled in Mbemba hill.
v. The *Amakale* settled at Makale, the plateau extending from Mchisi hills to those near the Lake and hence the name Amakale.
vi. The *Amangoche* settled at Mangoche hill.
vii. The *Wamkula* settled in the Mkula hills which can be seen from the Mwembe area which is close to the Rovuma, on the way from Wela to Mwembe.
viii. The *Wanjese* inhabited the Njese hills.
ix. Others again, crossed the Rovuma to dwell in the hills called Chingoli Mbango.These are the *Wamwela*or *Achimbango*, who now live near the coast and their language is mixed with Chindombe.
x. The *Achingoli* settled near the Chingoli hill along the Lujenda River.
xi. Others settle near the *Chingoli* hill by the Lujenda river, and they are called Achingoli.

The above represents the first ancient Yao migration and the origin of their division into sub-tribes. As they migrated into different directions they adopted the name of their new home as that of their tribe. However, all the customs which they observed at Yao hill they also observed at their new home, although new customs arose here peculiar to them.

The Yao subsequently burgeoned in their adopted countries, and interacted on a social basis with each other. Each tribe had its own elders which led to the election of a chief who ultimately was responsible for the decision making regarding village matters. Mitchell provides the details of four different sub-tribes which migrated to what is today known as Malawi. However, Mitchell subsumes that only these four sub- tribes penetrated into British Nyasaland (Malawi) and they are as follows (Mitchell 1956: 24-25).

1) The *Achisi* Yao are represented in Nyasaland (Malawi) by the people under the authority of Katuli in the Fort Johnston district.
2) The *Amasaninga* Yao are represented in British Nyasaland (Malawi) by the people under the authority of Makanjila.
3) The Amachinga Yao are of much greater importance, and at present constitute half of the Yao population.
4) The *Amachinga* Yao were probably displaced from their traditional home, at Mandimba on the Lujenda River in Portuguese East Africa by attacks from the Lomwe inhabitants in the east.

Widespread famines forced the above-mentioned sub-tribes to migrate. Present day representatives of this group are Nkata, Jalasi, Mponda, Kalembo, Nsamala, Nyambi, Kawinga, Liwonde, Malemia and Ntumanje in the Fort Johnston and Zomba districts in Malawi. The Yao invasion into Nyasaland was not a military incursion of the Nguni, a tribe which migrated from South Africa to Malawi. Mitchell pointed out that conclusive evidence on the exact form of the invasion is not possible but it is believed that the first immigrants of the Yao came into the country peacefully and in family groups *(mbumba*). Often the immigrants were supported from the Nyanja groups. The Yao

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however took the opportunity presented by the internal struggles among the Nyanja to consolidate their position (Mitchell1956:25). Commentators have postulated a process consisting of three stages south of Sub-Saharan Africa. The first manifestation came from merchants involved in the Trans-Saharan trade. These entrepreneurs and their families lived principally in towns; often in quarters that were labelled "Muslim"; this phase is often called the "minority" or "quarantine" Islam. The second phase often goes by the name of "court" Islam, because it features the adoption of Islam by rulers and members of the ruling classes of states, in addition to the merchants. The third phase can be called the "majority" Islam stage whereby the faith spread beyond the merchants and ruling classes to the rural areas where most people lived. The three phases are thus associated with a growth of Islam in quantity and quality (Robinson, 2004:28).

However, the first Muslim on the East African coast followed in the wake of many other maritime travellers from Middle East and South Asia, primarily the Arabs who were interested in acquiring ivory, gold, other metals, leather goods and some slaves. They interacted with the local fishing and agricultural populace who spoke the language we now call Swahili. Over time the Swahili language evolved to include a considerable Arabic vocabulary in addition to some Malay and other infusions, within a simplistic African language structure. The language formed the basis for a culture and both were entrenched in small towns along the ocean, stretching for almost 2,000 miles, from Mogadishu (in today's Somalia) to Sofala in the south (now Mozambique). The inhabitants of these city states were committed to the vocations of agriculture, fishing, ship building and trade and they practised Islam (Robinson, 2004: 32-33). It can be argued that the exact period for the Yao tribe to accept Islam is not known. However, western academics tend to claim that it was not until the 1870s that the Yao began to adopt the religion of their trading partners (Bone, 1982:128). We are certain that Yao contact with Arabs had been going on for some time, for at least 200 years before the Europeans appeared on the scene. Nonetheless, the Yao traded along the East Coast of Africa in the early decades of the nineteenth century and entertained in their villages Arabian Muslims and Swahilis who were from the East Coast of Africa (Bone, 1982:127).

However, there is a view that in the course of the existence of the Islamic Kilwa Empire during the reign of Sultan Daûd bin Suleiman (d. 1158) who reigned between the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era, he sent out six caravans to Ethiopia, Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Malawi, the then Nyasaland, to invite all these African ethnic groups into the fold of Islam. Another view of the advent of Islam into Malawi is that it came to the said countries from East Africa via Mozambique through the *Muwalimus* (*Mu'allims* or scholars) who were well versed in the Qur'an, Sunna and other Islamic studies. This was the reason why the Yao were the first to be influenced by Islam. The early arrivals included learned scholars (sheikhs) who influenced the local population due to their charismatic personalities. As soon as these scholars arrived in these areas they established *madrasahs* (Islamic schools) apart from leading prayers in the humble mosque structures that they put up throughout the areas that came under their influence. Islam was accepted with passion by a large proportion of the Yao, one of the country's main tribal groups which formed the majority of Malawian Muslims (Mumisa, 2010:281).Pertinent to the Yao at a later stage they developed a distinct cultural identity. They regarded themselves as Yao and were politically and economically clearly distinct from other people in the region. Despite the disagreements within their own ranks, they were traders and the followers of powerful chiefs. Where they settled among the *Nyanja* tribe near the lake, their villages were visibly different.

They soon established their dominance over their neighbours wherever they moved to in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Virtually every description of the Yao from that time, including the missionaries, who often found themselves in opposition to the Yao chiefs, emphasized the political hegemony and evidence of superiority over other people in the region. Their involvement in the trade and contacts with the East Coast of Africa appeared not only to have given them political and economic advantage in the region, but also to have led to the development of a sort of identity pride. In 1891 a British protectorate was declared over Nyasaland (modern Malawi). The most important aspect is the fact that the Yao maintained a clear sense of cultural identity throughout the colonial and post-colonial epoch in Malawi, Mozambique and Tanzania. Wherever they settled specifically across Southern African in countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, and South Africa, they determinedly maintained their cultural identity. This was pivotal to their conversion to Islam, which set them apart from other groups in Malawi, if not throughout the Southern African region. The period after independence was however not positive for the Yao. In Mozambique they were caught up in civil war and in Malawi they were marginalized by the regime of Hastings Kamuzu Banda. Their fortunes improved in Malawi with the election in 1994 of a new government headed by a Yao Muslim, Bakili Muluzi. (Thorold, 2002: 7-9). Secular education in Malawi was first introduced by the United Free Church of Scotland (in Livingstone) and established by the Church of Scotland (in Blantyre) Missions. However, Islam and Christianity in Malawi embarked on aggressive competition to capture the same target market. Since their arrival in Malawi, Christian missionaries saw Islam as an immoral religion which encouraged the slave trade. For their part,

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Muslims frowned upon secular western education for a number of reasons. Apart from the derogatory missionary attitude which expected all the tribes to obtain a bible-centred education, the use of the Chichewa vernacular in the mission village schools in the Southern and Central regions of Malawi was an affront to Yao speakers who generally considered Chichewa as the language of infidels. Furthermore, the use of English, which was viewed as the language of colonial oppressors rather than Arabic in post-vernacular stages in school instruction, failed to appeal to the Muslims (Lamba, 1999:1).

The Yao most of whom are Muslims have often chosen domestic employment or outside jobs such as tailoring or fish mongering which require very little or no reading skills or English proficiency. If western schools providing religious indoctrination and de-culturalisation, Muslims were prepared to avoid them and continue in their own ways. At times the Christian schools were prepared to make concession to Muslims. In 1924, for example, the Dutch Reformed Church Mission (DRCM) experimented with Arabic teaching at their Chitundu School at Manyani in the Dedza district among the predominantly Muslim Yao population. In practice, however, it was soon Chewa who mainly patronised the mission school which was avoided by the Yao (Lamba, 1999: 2) German presence was becoming increasingly noticeable on the East African coast and this exacerbated Muslim anger, and in 1889 Abûshîrî bunu Salim al-Harith took up arms. The flash-point occurred during *ramadhan*, aggravated by incidents like lowering an Islamic flag and defiling a mosque by bringing dogs in. The resistance spread and the Yao and the Kilwa joined forces. However, it was swiftly crushed, and in 1889 Abûshîrî was hanged. A poem written by Hamid al-Buahriya, Utenzi*WA Vita Uya Wadachi Kutamalaki Mrima,* depicts the armed struggle led by Abûshîrî bunu Salim al-Harith as a *jihad* against the Germans. Although Buhriy's poem suggests that Abûshîrî bunu Salim al-Harith's resistance against the German rule was religiously motivated, Mbongoni asserts that evidence shows that it was politically motivated (Mbongoni, 2005: 27). Due to many centuries of exposure to the Arabs, the Yao eventually became almost completely Islamized. However, towards the end of the nineteenth century, many began to move away from Portuguese pressure into Nyasaland (now Malawi). Alpers pointed out that the Portuguese conquest of Northern Mozambique was difficult and protracted; for the Portuguese it assumed the character of a modern crusade against the combined forces of Islam and paganism. Not surprisingly, the Portuguese found the success of Muslim Proselytization troublesome, especially when viewed against the failure of Roman Catholicism in gaining converts.

They feared Muslim alliance with African chiefs in opposition to the Portuguese rule and influence, and specifically attacked Muslim strongholds in their quest to establish effective colonial domination. At the beginning of the 19th century, the *region of* Angoche is reported to have supported fifteen mosques and ten Qur'anic schools. Nearly all the *monhés*" (a term applied to mixed Afro-Muslims, as opposed to Swahili, i.e., Coastal Muslims) knew how to write in Arabic characters. On the island of Angoche, there are even numerous Swahili women who knew how to read and write. This was a threat the Portuguese could not tolerate, and in 1903 they sacked Angoche, destroying all its houses and mosques (Alpers, 2000:309). The British population in the shire-lands was increasing rapidly, so much so that in 1883 a British Consul was appointed. From then on, until the close of the century, the British followed a militant policy against all slave traders, amongst who were the Yao (Mitchell, 1956: 28). It is reasonable to assume that because of their geographical position, the Yao conducted a considerable trade between the interior and the coast, mainly in clothing and guns in return for slaves and ivory; their trade in slaves leading to major conflict with the British. However, Nwulia contends that an aspect of the African slave trade that seriously engaged the attention of Britain was the one plied by Christians from the European world. Britain also began to participate in this trade in the sixteenth century, graduating to the top of the list of white buyers and exploiters of Africans by the end of the eighteenth century (Nwulia, 975:11).

III. Conclusion

Today, the Yao ethnic is dispersed over a vast area between southern Malawi and southern Tanzania, with many more currently domiciled in northern Mozambique. A minority of Yao are also living in countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia and South Africa if not across Southern Africa. However, the Yao's presence and their impact on the spread of Islam and the social-economic conditions of Southern Africa remain an enigma to date. It can be thus be assumed that the interaction between the Yao and the Arabs began at least two hundred years before the Europeans appeared on the East coast of Africa. Arguably, the Yao ethnic is the only major ethnic group south of Somalia to have adopted Islam before colonialism. Domiciled midway between Lake Nyasa and the Indian Ocean, the Yao were sending caravans to the coast as part of their trading network, which stretched from the Indian Ocean to Katanga. The Yao Muslims also took on the main role of Proselytization so that by the early twentieth century Islam had spread significantly and so became a distinguishing feature of Yao nationality, as is evident even today.

Footnotes

1. See especially the two books by Mohamed: *Manichean Aesthetics: The Politics of Literature in*

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Colonial Africa; *The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse* (co-edited with David Lloyd); (ed.) *Reconsidering Social Identification: Race, Gender, Class, and Caste*. See also his "*The Economy of Manichean Allegory*" in Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1995).

2. See especially Gramsci's Selections from the Prison Notebooks, and Spivak's "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1995).
3. Yao commonly known as *Machawa, and Mabhurandaya* in Zimbabwe in Zambia *Bakachawa* and *Achawa* in Malawi. Yao came into Zimbabwe as labour migrant workers to service in the capital-intensive mines, plantations and commercial farms they are scattered across Zimbabwe see, *African Cultures, Memory and Space: Living the Past Presence in Zimbabwean Heritage* (2014).

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The Light of a Single Candle; A Study of Mama in Lorraine Hansberry's Raisin in the Sun

By Dr. Kalyani Anbu

Introduction- Lorraine Hansberry in the character of Mama in Raisin in the Sun presents positive solutions for feministic issues. She has proved that God is the ultimate solution for life's problems. Mama is blessed with a spirit of love, and deep faith which enables her to live a life of self sacrifice, free of grudges and bitterness. Her total surrender and the unshakable faith are grounded in the faithfulness of God and the immutability of His word. She suffers pain, but her faith in God enables her to deal with pain in such a way that it does not make her bitter, but makes her better.

Lorriraine Hansberry creates a world of love, concern and compassion in her play where the execution of God's will in the lives of individuals results in restoration of peace, joy and hope. Inspite of the tragic situations of life. Mama, has a clear vision of life. She proves that with spiritual clarity one can triumph over emptiness.

Mama is a powerful example of emotional maturity and mental health. Her ability to love and care for others is directly related to her undying faith in God. The following lines reiterate the view.

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Lorriraine Hansberry creates a world of love, concern and compassion in her play where the execution of God's will in the lives of individuals results in restoration of peace, joy and hope. Inspite of the tragic situations of life. Mama, has a clear vision of life. She proves that with spiritual clarity one can triumph over emptiness.

Mama is a powerful example of emotional maturity and mental health. Her ability to love and care for others is directly related to her undying faith in God. The following lines reiterate the view.

Mama (kindly): 'Course you going to be a doctor, honey, God willing.

Beneatha Entry: God hasn't got a thing to do with it.
Mama: Beneatha – that just wasn't necessary.
Beneatha Well – neither is God. I get sick of hearing about God.

Mama: Beneatha!

Beneatha: I mean it! I'm just tired of hearing about God all the time. What has He got to do with anything? Does he pay tution?

Mama: You 'bout to get your fresh little jaw slapped!
Ruth: That must what she words, all right!

Beneatha: Why? Why can't I say what I want to around here, like everybody else?

Mama: It don't sound nice for a young girl to say things like that – you wasn't brought up that way. Me and your father went to trouble to get you and Brother to church every Sunday.

Beaneatha: Mama, you don't understand. It's all a matter of ideas, and God is just one idea I don't accept.

Author: Advisor, VIT, Chennai, Indore.
e-mail: drkalyanianbu@gmail.com

It's not important. I am not going out and be immoral or commit crimes because I don't believe in God. I don't even think about it. It's just that I get tired of Him getting credit for all the things the human race achieves through its own stubborn effort. There simply is no blasted God – there is only man and it is he who makes miracles!

(Mama absorbs this speech, studies her daughter and rises slowly and crosses to Beneatha and slaps her powerfully across the face. After, there is only silence and the daughter drops her eyes from her mother's face, and Mama is very tall before her.)

Mama: Now – you say after me, in my mother's house there is still God. (There is a long pause and Beneatha stares at the floor wordlessly. Mama repeats the phase with precision and cool emotion.) In my mother's house there is still God.

Beneatha: In my mother's house there is still God.

The courageous, long suffering stead fast nature of Mama is revealed at the time of crises when Walter loses all the money. Her ability to cope with any new situation is remarkable. She has a strong self will and the ability to face life, even disappointment and not allow circumstances to destroy her.

"Beneatha is hart broken, because the money set apart for her study is also lost. She asserts that individual in that room is no brother of mine." In the course of conversation Mama says that she has taught her children to love to which Beneatha retorts, Love him? There is nothing left to love. Mama diligently follows the idea that one must positively and definitely extend forgiveness especially to the one who has injured one in any way. The following words of Mama throw light on her character.

There is always something left to love. And if you ain't learned that, you ain't learned nothing. (Looking at her.) Have you cried for that boy today? I don't mean for yourself and for the family 'cause we lost the money. I mean for him: what he been through and what it done to him. Child, when do you think is the time to love somebody the most? When they done good and more things easy for everybody? Well then, you ain't through learning – because that ain't the time at all. It's when he's at his lowest and can't believe in hisself' cause the world done whipped him so! When you starts measuring somebody, measure him right, child, measure him right. Make sure you done taken into

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account what hill and valleys he come thorough before he got to wherever he is.

By patient listening, wise probing, enlightened questioning and timely counseling she leads her family from a life of insecurity, frustration and restlessness to a life of fulfillment, forgiveness and love.

The words of Emmet Fox Concur with her experience, "There are few people in the world, who have not at sometime or other bear been hurt, really hurt, by someone else; or been disappointed, or injured, or deceived or misled. Such things sink into the memory which usually cause inflamed and festering wounds and there is only one remedy; they have to be plucked out and thrown away. And the one and the only way to do that is by forgiveness." (86).

Courageous endurance of hardships imposed on her ministrations of love to others, Mama becomes a symbol of sacrifice and suffering. Sorrows and disappointment gives substance to her life. Hardships make her character. Thus she stands our as an outstanding figure. Life of Mama concurs with the Maxim which says, 'There is not enough darkness in the whole world to put out the light of a single candle'.

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By Basudev Paul, Beauty Mondol, Nishat Tarannum, Purabi Matin & Md Saeem Sajid Haque

Begum Rokeya University

Abstract- Social media has been one of the most effective and influential forms of communication in providing day-to-day information during the COVID-19 pandemic. The study demonstrates the effectiveness of social media platforms in raising public awareness in Bangladesh during the pandemic. The study employs a quantitative method based on 833 (Male 86.8%; Female 13.2%) valid responses from citizens of Bangladesh, disseminated through an online questionnaire using social media channels. Datasets were analyzed through statistical tools using Microsoft Excel and SPSS version 26 (IBM Corp), e.g., Frequency and Percentage, Descriptive Statistics, Principal Component Analysis (PCA), and Pearson's Correlation Matrix (PCM). Based on the findings, Facebook (78.3%) has been the most used social media platform during the pandemic in Bangladesh. However, statistics of the majority (44.1%) indicate that only 37% of awareness (37%) related posts on social media attract their attention.

Keywords: *social media use, public awareness, citizens, covid-19 pandemic, bangladesh.*

GJHSS-A Classification: *DDC Code: 004.678 LCC Code: TK5105.875.I57*



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Basudev Paul [α], Beauty Mondol [σ], Nishat Tarannum [σ], Purabi Matin [ρ] & Md Saeem Sajid Haque [ω]

Abstract- Social media has been one of the most effective and influential forms of communication in providing day-to-day information during the COVID-19 pandemic. The study demonstrates the effectiveness of social media platforms in raising public awareness in Bangladesh during the pandemic. The study employs a quantitative method based on 833 (Male 86.8%; Female 13.2%) valid responses from citizens of Bangladesh, disseminated through an online questionnaire using social media channels. Datasets were analyzed through statistical tools using Microsoft Excel and SPSS version 26 (IBM Corp), e.g., Frequency and Percentage, Descriptive Statistics, Principal Component Analysis (PCA), and Pearson's Correlation Matrix (PCM). Based on the findings, Facebook (78.3%) has been the most used social media platform during the pandemic in Bangladesh. However, statistics of the majority (44.1%) indicate that only 37% of awareness (37%) related posts on social media attract their attention. The study indicates that social media has been essential in raising awareness amongst the majority of the citizens (Mean 4.14), providing updates (Mean 4.05) and accurate (Mean 4.05) information to the masses. Awareness through social media has resulted in citizens becoming highly aware of the necessity of washing hands, maintaining social distance, wearing masks, and learning about vaccination, authenticating the influence of changing citizens' behavior. Although there is a risk of spreading incorrect information via social media, its effective utilization can significantly raise public awareness during a global crisis, such as COVID-19, influencing citizen behavior.

Keywords: social media use, public awareness, citizens, covid-19 pandemic, bangladesh.

I. Introduction

Access to internet connectivity and accessibility has led to social media platforms being one of the most effective and widely used communication tools in the world today (Kaya, 2020). Globally, there were 4.2 billion active social media users and 4.54 billion active internet users as of January 2021 (Statista, 2021). Bangladesh's context shows a similar picture. According to the Bangladesh Telecommunication Regulatory Commission (BTRC)'s reports, the country boasts 116.14 million internet subscribers (Bangladesh Telecommunication Regulatory Commission, 2021). Additionally, as of January 2021, there were 45 million active social media users, according to The Digital 2021 Report (The Digital Report, 2021). Communicating with family members, relatives, colleagues, and friends has been the primary reason for the widespread usage of these platforms, significantly changing the lives of citizens in every aspect (Hossain, S. M., Islam, N. M., Prodhan, R. T. M., 2020). The COVID-19 pandemic has emphasized the power of social media in raising public awareness for citizens (Z. Shah, J. Chu, B. Feng, S. Qaisar, U. Ghani, Z. Hassan, 2019). These days, social media has played a significant role in disseminating news, expert opinions, and updates about the spread. With such a broad scope of responsibility and overall power over information distribution, social media is scrambling to assist in every way it can, including donating to relief efforts, taking steps to prevent fake news, and providing an update to the public. Social media is taking its position in the crisis seriously, and it is constantly conducting new creatives to raise awareness about the urgency of the COVID-19 combat pandemic disinformation (Jena et al., 2020). Social media can play a more effective role in creating public awareness during the crisis period, while governments, INGOs, NGOs, and private sectors can provide the necessary information through social media to raise public awareness using integrated and well-planned communication methods (Kaya, T., Sağsan, M., Medeni, T., Medeni, T. and Yıldız, M., 2020). Due to social media, two-way interaction between stakeholders has replaced the traditional one-way communication between citizens and policymakers (B. Gokalp, N. Karkin, and H.S. alhan, 2020). Policymakers used social media heavily during the COVID-19 pandemic. State Minister of ICT Division, Mr. Zunaid Ahmed Palak MP, Minister of Health and Family Welfare, Mr. Zahid Maleque MP, Director General of the Directorate General of Health Services (DGHS), Prof. Dr. Abul Bashar Mohammad Khurshid Alam, are using social media to disseminate information and interact with the public. These are just a few examples

Author α: Programme Assistant (HD Media), Aspire to innovate (a2i) Programme, ICT Division, Bangladesh. e-mail: basumcj18@gmail.com
Author σ: Lecturer, Dept. of Mass Communication and Journalism, Begum Rokeya University, Rangpur, Bangladesh.
e-mail: beautymcj@gmail.com
Author σ: Assistant Professor, Dept. of Mass Communication and Journalism, Khulna University, Bangladesh.
e-mail: nishat.tarannumku@gmail.com
Author ρ: HD Media Manager, Aspire to innovate (a2i) Programme, ICT Division, Bangladesh. e-mail: purabimatin.a2i@gmail.com
Author ω: Young Professional, Aspire to innovate (a2i) Programme, ICT Division, Bangladesh. e-mail: saeem09@gmail.com

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from Bangladesh's perspective. As a result, social media is assisting governments, INGOs, NGOs, and private sectors in making behavioral changes as well as making fast decisions, which is bringing good results in raising public awareness of the current crisis (A. Abd-Alrazaq, D. Alhuwail, M. Househ, M. Hamdi, Z. Shah. 2020). According to the existing studies, social media is one of the leading factors in the COVID-19 pandemic. Citizens have been actively using social media for updates about COVID-19 symptoms and prevention strategies, and also the availability of basic needs, including food, drink, and medical equipment (Susumu Cato, Takashi Iida, Kenji Ishida, Asei Ito, Hiroto Katsumata, Kenneth Mori McElwain, Masahiro Shoji., 2021 and Rovetta, A., Bhagavathula, AS., 2020). Due to the use of social media, citizens are becoming more aware than in regular times (Kaya, 2020).

II. Objective

The paper's objective was driven by the problem statement and the significance of the studies. The study's main objective was to discover the effectiveness of using social media to raise public awareness during the COVID-19 pandemic in Bangladesh.

III. Research Questions

A research question is a specific question to which the research aims to respond. It is at the core of systematic examination and assists in defining a clear route for the research process. The study will also provide answers to the following questions:

- Which social media platform has seen the most usage in Bangladesh during the COVID-19 pandemic?
- How has social media played an influential role in the COVID-19 situation?
- Did citizens get updated and accurate information through the use of social media?
- What impact did social media have in raising public awareness during COVID-19?

IV. Literature Review

Tugberk Kaya explored the effects of social media use during the COVID-19 pandemic. This study applied a quantitative approach, and an online questionnaire was used to collect data. He claimed that because people use social media to monitor the latest news and are aware of fake news, using social media does not cause panic or worry (Kaya, 2020). Shoaei and Dastani Dastani looked into how social media was utilized to share opinions, access to healthcare, and distant studies during the pandemic in Iran. Governments and professionals can use social media as a helpful tool to stop the spread of this disease and even in future emergencies (Shoaei and Dastani, 2020). Araz Ramazan Ahmad and Hersh Rasool Murad discovered that social media, particularly Facebook, had a significant impact on how much concern there was about the COVID-19 outbreak in Iraqi Kurdistan. However, depending on a person's gender, age, and education degree, social media fear can take many forms. Five hundred sixteen social media users were sampled for this study, conducted via an online questionnaire, and content analysis was employed to analyze the data (Ahmad and Murad, 2020). Cato et al. assessed the influence of social media use on individual behavior during the early stages of the COVID-19 pandemic in Japan using data from online surveys and the entropy balancing model. They discovered that there are both positive and negative aspects to knowledge sharing on social media (Cato et al., 2021). Sahni and Sharma investigates social media's effects on healthcare professionals and the general public during coronavirus epidemics. However, social media may be a potent instrument for changing people's behavior and advancing individual and societal health if used carefully and judiciously (Sahni and Sharma, 2020). According to Islam et al., innovative social media use improves COVID-19 precautions online, and this important information helps to stop the COVID-19 outbreak in Bangladesh (Islam et al., 2021). In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, M. Kobiruzzaman investigated the impact of social media on disaster management in Bangladesh. He discovered that using social media for citizen journalism, raising public awareness, preserving communication during an emergency, accelerating recovery efforts, and boosting charitable donations are all positive uses. At the same time, its adverse effects include disseminating false and fabricated information about the coronavirus (Kobiruzzaman, 2021). Using online questionnaires, Jena et al. collected data from 200 students and working people and found that 74.2% of students and 25.3% of working people use online platforms for awareness during COVID-19 in India (Jena et al., 2020). Al-Zaman et al. examined the rumors that are frequently spread on Bangladeshi social media. The collected data was examined using the content analysis method. The content analysis method was used to examine the data that had been gathered. According to the findings, social media rumors fall into seven theme-based categories: political, health and education, criminal and human rights, religion, religiopolitical, entertainment, and others. Most health-related rumors are unfavorable and peak during crises like the COVID-19 outbreak (Al-Zaman et al., 2020). Radwan et al. studied how social media affects the spread of COVID-19 panic among primary and secondary school pupils in Gaza, Palestine. A sample of 1067 school students was collected using an online questionnaire and found that social media has a huge impact on panic spreading, with a potential negative impact on their mental health

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and psychological well-being, and the effect of social media panic depends on a student's age and gender (Radwan et al., 2020).

V. Methods

In this study, researchers used a quantitative survey method to collect data from Bangladeshi social media users. The data was collected using a questionnaire written in Bengali and surveyed 833 social media users. The findings were analyzed and tested using Microsoft Excel (Ms.) and SPSS version 26 (IBM Corp). The social media participants took part in a random online survey to see how important it was to use social media to raise public awareness during the COVID-19 pandemic.

a) *Study procedure*

Considering the effectiveness of using social media to raise public awareness during the COVID-19 pandemic in Bangladesh, researchers have used Google Form to prepare the questionnaire and conduct the online survey. The prepared questionnaire, which included an introductory paragraph detailing the study's objective, was then shared with related citizens using the random sampling method via email, Facebook, Messenger, LinkedIn, and WhatsApp. Researchers have also requested to share the Google Form on the CORONAinfo Facebook page of the Aspire to innovate (a2i) Programme, Information and Communication Technology Division to increase participation from all occupations and citizens of all ages. A questionnaire survey was conducted from April 13 to April 20, 2021. A five-point (1-5) scenario-based Likert scale was used to determine if each respondent understands the statements mentioned, ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

b) *Research sample and population*

The target population consisted of general Bangladeshi citizens aged 15 and up. Respondents came from various groups, including government officials, private officials, businessmen, entrepreneurs, farmers, students, housewives, and others. The responses to the survey questionnaires were given on a purely voluntary basis. During the survey, a total of 833 responses were collected. According to the survey results, the male to female ratio was 8.7 (n = 723): 1.3 (n = 110). The percentages of respondents in each age group were 31.6% (15-22 years old), 24% (23-29 years old), 14.3% (30-36 years old), 12.7% (37-43 years old), 8% (44-50 years old), 6% (51-57 years old), 2% (58-64 years old), and 1.3% (>64 years).

c) *Data analysis*

The frequency distribution and percentage of the Microsoft Excel system have been used to analyze the gender, age, division, profession, and reasons for using social media in the COVID-19 pandemic situation of respondents in the study. Datasets were analyzed using statistical methods such as Descriptive Statistics, Principal Component Analysis (PCA), and Pearson's Correlation Coefficient analysis using the statistical package for the SPSS version 26 (IBM Corp). The descriptive statistics (e.g. Mean, Standard error of mean, Standard Deviation, Variance, Skewness, Kurtosis, Minimum, and Maximum) were employed to understand the respondent's effectiveness in using social media to raise public awareness. Principal Component Analysis (PCA) is a population data reduction approach that displays each variable's potentiality and significance level in a large sample size. A Pearson Correlation Matrix (PCM) is used to depict the relationship among the variables of using social media to raise public awareness.

d) *Ethics*

Before the questionnaire filled up, the respondent's consent was acquired, and they maintained their anonymity. All participants were informed of the precise goal of the study before beginning to complete the questionnaire. Any participant could stop the survey at any time, and they could only finish it once. The data were treated with confidentiality and secret. While conducting this study, researchers took into account a variety of formal ethical concerns.

VI. Results and Discussion

Table 1 highlights the demographic data of the respondents, who made up the 833 users who took part in the survey. According to Table 1, respondents come from a variety of age groups, places, and occupational backgrounds. Based on the survey outcomes, the ratio of male to female respondents was 8.7: 1.3 (n = 723; n = 110), while the composition of the age categories was 31.6% (15-22 years old), 24% (23-29 years old), 14.3% (30-36 years old), 12.7% (37-43 years old), 8% (44-50 years old), 6% (51-57 years old), 2% (58-64 years old), and 1.3% (>64 years old), respectively (Table 1). Among the respondents, young people use social media more than older people, with 31.6% of 15–22 year old and 24% of 23–29 year old, respectively. However, 29.5% of participants lived in the Dhaka division, 27.1% in the Chittagong division, 10.6% in Khulna, 8.3% in Rajshahi, 6.2% in Sylhet, 5.8% in Rangpur, 6.8% in Barishal, and 5.6% in Mymensingh. Most of the social media users live in the Dhaka and Chittagong Divisions. Nearly 38.9% of the respondents were mainly students, and they are highly active groups in the Bangladeshi communities and on various social media sites. The remaining 46.2% were from different professions, such as government employees (11.5%), private employees (24.7%), businessmen (8.3%), entrepreneurs (3.4%), farmers (0.8%), housewives (2.2%), and others (10.2%).

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Table 1: Demographic information of the respondents.

Statements	Value	Frequency	Percentage
Sex	Male	723	86.8
	Female	110	13.2
Age	15-22 years	263	31.6
	23-29 years	200	24.0
	30-36 years	119	14.3
	37-43 years	106	12.7
	44-50 years	67	8.0
	51-57 years	50	6.0
	58-64 years	17	2.0
	>64 Years	11	1.3
Division	Dhaka	246	29.5
	Chittagong	226	27.1
	Khulna	88	10.6
	Rajshahi	69	8.3
	Sylhet	52	6.2
	Rangpur	48	5.8
	Barishal	57	6.8
	Mymensingh	47	5.6
Profession	Government Employee	96	11.5
	Private Employee	206	24.7
	Businessman	69	8.3
	Entrepreneur	28	3.4
	Farmer	7	0.8
	Student	324	38.9
	Housewife	18	2.2
	Others	85	10.2

Based on the survey outcomes, Facebook was the most used social media platform in Bangladesh during the COVID-19 pandemic. Table 2 indicates that 78.3% (n: 652) of the respondents frequently use Facebook. However, 4.9% (n: 41) of the respondents use YouTube, 0.1% (n: 1) of the respondents use Twitter, 0.4% (n: 3) of the respondents use Instagram, 2.2% (n: 18) of the respondents use WhatsApp, 0.1% (n: 1) of the respondents use LinkedIn, 0.5% (n: 14) of the respondents use IMO, and 13.6% (n: 113) of the respondents use all of the above social media. In the COVID-19 pandemic situation, the majority of respondents (44.1%, n: 342) indicated that awareness, education, news, service, comics, government instructions, and rumors related to social media posts grab their attention. However, 37% (n: 308) of the respondents noticed awareness posts, 3.6% (n: 30) noticed educational posts, 7.3% (n: 61) noticed news-related posts, 1.9% (n: 16) noticed service-related posts, 0.6% (n: 5) noticed comic-related posts, 7.8% (n: 65) noticed government instructional posts, and 0.7% (n: 6) noticed rumors-related posts. Most (24%, n: 200) of the respondents are spending approximately 2 to 4 hours daily on social media during the COVID-19 pandemic, which is followed by less than 15 minutes (2.6%), 15 to 30 minutes (7.2%), 30 minutes to 1 hour (14.6%), 1 to 2 hours (23.5%), 4 to 6 hours (14.4%), 6 to 8 hours (6.2%), and more than 8 hours (7.3%), as can be seen from the Table 2.

Table 3 indicates the statistics of different statements on the effectiveness of using social media to raise public awareness during the COVID-19 pandemic. The study shows that social media use is important to raise awareness of most of the respondents' lives during the COVID-19 pandemic (S1), with a mean score of 4.14 on the scale of 1-5 (1 indicates strongly disagree to 5 indicates strongly agree). The mean score of the effectiveness of using social media to raise public awareness S2-S7 reaches from 3.90 to 4.00, indicating strongly agree with the statement. Respondents claimed that they used social media in COVID-19 situations and learned about government instructions, vaccination, lockdown, wearing a mask, keeping a social distance from the people, and washing their hands frequently. However, respondents are getting updated and accurate information about COVID-19 using social

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media (S8, S9). The mean score (4.00, 4.05) of the respondents indicates the strength of the states, respectively. In addition, Statement S10 shows that it is difficult for them to get information about COVID-19 in the absence of social media, with a mean score of 3.69 on a scale of 1-5. Fear and panic are spreading among social media users (Rothschild and Fischer, 2020). Similarly, in the discussion on social media, people rely on it to get information and facts regarding COVID-19, but that social media provides some information but not all of the facts (Cellan-Jones, 2020). Statement S11 proves that social media is responsible for the rapid spread of fake information. The respondents' mean score (3.72) reflects the statement's strength. However, social media is playing an effective role in creating public awareness during the COVID-19 pandemic and the mean score is 4.00.

Table 2: Reasons for using social media in COVID-19 pandemic situation and approximately spending time.

Statements	Value	Frequency	Percentage
Most used social media in COVID-19 pandemic situation	Facebook	652	78.3
	YouTube	41	4.9
	Twitter	1	0.1
	Instagram	3	0.4
	WhatsApp	18	2.2
	LinkedIn	1	0.1
	IMO	4	0.5
	All	113	13.6
COVID-19 related social media posts grab attention	Awareness	308	37.0
	Education Related	30	3.6
	News Related	61	7.3
	Service Related	16	1.9
	Comic Related	5	0.6
	Government Instructions	65	7.8
	Rumors	6	0.7
	All	342	41.1
Approximately daily spent time on social media	Less than 15 minutes	22	2.6
	15 to 30 minutes	60	7.2
	30 minutes to 1 hour	122	14.6
	1 to 2 hours	196	23.5
	2 to 4 hours	200	24.0
	4 to 6 hours	120	14.4
	6 to 8 hours	52	6.2
	More than 8 hours	61	7.3

Table 3: Descriptive statistics of different statements of the effectiveness of using social media to raise public awareness.

Statements	Mean	Std. error of mean	Std. Dev.	Variance	Skewness	Kurtosis	Min.	Max.
Importance of using social media to raise public awareness during COVID-19 pandemic (S1)	4.14	0.032	0.916	0.839	-1.408	2.407	1	5
Learned about maintaining social distance from social media (S2)	3.95	0.034	0.975	0.952	-1.249	1.387	1	5
Learned about hand washing from social media (S3)	3.96	0.033	0.966	0.933	-1.305	1.623	1	5
Learned about the use of masks from social media (S4)	3.90	0.035	1.013	1.025	-1.136	0.838	1	5

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Learned about the vaccination from social media (S5)	3.96	0.033	0.940	0.884	-1.256	1.579	1	5
Learned about various Govt. instructions from social media (S6)	4.00	0.031	0.894	0.799	-1.394	2.426	1	5
Learned about the lockdown situation from social media (S7)	3.99	0.031	0.903	0.815	-1.392	2.308	1	5
Get accurate information about COVID-19 using social media (S8)	4.00	0.032	0.920	0.846	-1.212	1.677	1	5
Get updated information about COVID-19 using social media (S9)	4.05	0.030	0.872	0.760	-1.321	2.428	1	5
Difficult to get information about COVID-19 in the absence of social media (S10)	3.69	0.038	1.089	1.187	-0.904	0.164	1	5
Social media is responsible for the rapid spread of fake information (S11)	3.72	0.038	1.093	1.194	-0.864	0.106	1	5
Social media is playing an effective role to create public awareness during COVID-19 pandemic (S12)	4.00	0.029	0.849	0.721	-1.223	2.115	1	5

In this study, the Pearson Correlation Coefficient Matrix (PCCM) is used to depict the relationship among the variables (S1, S2, S3, S4, S5, S6, S7, S8, S9, S10, S11, and S12) of using social media to raise public awareness (Table 4). The correlation between respondents' S8 and S9 has the highest score (0.784) among all variables, while the correlation between S11 and S12 has the lowest score (0.090). The statements between S8 and S9 have a strong significant correlation, indicating that respondents get updated and accurate information via social media during the COVID-19 pandemic, which is highly effective for creating public awareness in their daily lives. Besides, there is a strongly significant correlation between statements S3 and S4, illustrating the relationship between hand washing and mask-wearing, which creates public awareness for most of the respondent's life. Again, a significant encouraging correlation is found within the statements S5, S6, and S7, which creates public awareness during the pandemic situation. However, there is a strong positive relationship between all of the factors.

Table 4: Pearson correlation matrix of different statements of using social media to raise public awareness.

Statements	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12
S1	1.											
S2	.423**	1.										
S3	.346**	.704**	1.									
S4	.347**	.643**	.718**	1.								
S5	.376**	.582**	.653**	.604**	1.							
S6	.380**	.586**	.552**	.619**	.620**	1.						
S7	.352**	.518**	.549**	.568**	.614**	.675**	1.					
S8	.443**	.486**	.507**	.543**	.493**	.557**	.559**	1.				
S9	.417**	.462**	.455**	.510**	.496**	.568**	.543**	.784**	1.			
S10	.267**	.337**	.345**	.395**	.366**	.413**	.419**	.515**	.554**	1.		
S11	.05	.01	.05	.06	.06	.087*	.128**	.03	.070*	.100**	1.	
S12	.441**	.447**	.422**	.474**	.480**	.502**	.453**	.506**	.546**	.407**	.090**	1.

*N = 833. * p < .05; **p<.01.*

*Note: **correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed) *correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)*

In this analysis, principal component analysis (PCA) was used to examine the correlation between respondent's perceptions and statements responsible for raising public awareness. PCA was conducted with Varimax rotation and Kaiser Normalization to maximize the sum of the variance of the statement's coefficients, which better describes the potential effectiveness of using social media to enhance public awareness (Bodrud-Doza et al., 2019). Table 6 shows the illustrated statement loadings, as well as the cumulative percentage and variance percentages. PCA yielded a total of 2 factors, or principal components (PCs), which

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account for 59.562% of the variance. In general, the loading score is classified into three categories: strong (>0.75), moderate (0.75-0.50), and weak (0.50-0.30), respectively (Wang et al., 2017).

Table 5: Varimax rotated principal components analysis of different statements.

Statements	Factors	
	1	2
Importance of using social media to raise public awareness during COVID-19 pandemic (S1)	0.434	0.383
Learned about maintaining social distance from social media (S2)	0.833	0.089
Learned about hand washing from social media (S3)	0.855	0.077
Learned about the use of masks from social media (S4)	0.815	0.187
Learned about the vaccination from social media (S5)	0.781	0.207
Learned about various Govt. instructions from social media (S6)	0.723	0.354
Learned about the lockdown situation from social media (S7)	0.670	0.390
Get accurate information about COVID-19 using social media (S8)	0.559	0.602
Get updated information about COVID-19 using social media (S9)	0.506	0.677
Difficult to get information about COVID-19 in the absence of social media (S10)	0.309	0.667
Social media is responsible for the rapid spread of fake information (S11)	-0.191	0.538
Social media is playing an effective role to create public awareness during COVID-19 pandemic (S12)	0.495	0.520
Initial Eigenvalues	6.076	1.072
% of Variance	50.632	8.930
Cumulative %	50.632	59.562
Scale: 1= Strongly disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither agree nor disagree, 4= Agree, 5= Strongly agree		

The first principal component (factor 1) explained 50.632% of the total variance and included a significant level of strong positive loading of the effects of using social media to raise public awareness about hand washing (S3: 0.855), maintaining social distance (S2: 0.833), using masks (S4: 0.815), and learning about vaccination (S5: 0.781); and moderate positive loading of learning about government instructions (S6: 0.723), lockdown situation (S7: 0.670), getting accurate information (S8: 0.559), and getting updated information (S9: 0. 506) (Table 6). From this discussion, it can be said that Bangladeshi citizens are learning about maintaining social distance, hand washing, mask use, lockdown situations, accurate information, and updating information through the use of social media in the current COVID-19 situation, which is playing an effective role in promoting public awareness. However, factor 2 explained 8.930% of the total variance, with moderate positive loading of getting accurate information (S8: 0.602), getting updated information (S9: 0.677), and difficult to get information in the absence of social media (S10: 0.667), the rapid spread of fake information (S11: 0.538), and creating public awareness during the COVID-19 pandemic (S12: 0.520) (Table 4). According to the preceding discussion, citizens have received updated and accurate information on the COVID-19 situation, which has facilitated the creation of public awareness. On the other hand, it has also played a negative role in spreading false information. Based on the socio-economic structure of the country and access to internet facilities, Bangladesh's government, including the DGHS (Directorate General of Health Services), the IEDCR (Institute of Epidemiology, Disease Control and Research), and Aspire to innovate (a2i) Programme, Information, and Communication Technology Division, has issued a national alert and implemented a massive public awareness campaign using traditional media, the internet, and social media to completely engage the citizens in learning about the outbreak's seriousness and their role and duty in reducing COVID-19 severity (Banik et al., 2020).

VII. Conclusions

The current study was conducted when Bangladesh was going through the repulsiveness of the COVID-19 pandemic. The research objective was to determine whether social media plays an effective role in raising public awareness of the COVID-19 situation. Study results show that the level of social media use in the COVID-19 situation is higher than usual. In regular times, when a social media user needs a solid will to like, comment, or share someone else's post, they have constantly acted on someone else's post in COVID-19 situations. Especially in Bangladesh, most citizens have used Facebook at this time. However, they have also used social media like YouTube, Twitter, WhatsApp, IMO, etc. According to the study, the citizens of Dhaka, Chittagong, and Khulna have consistently used social media more. These are the most populated divisions of Bangladesh. In the COVID-19 situation, students have extensively used social media, most of whom are 15–22 years old.

The study results show that social media's use is essential in creating public awareness. In particular,

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social media raises awareness about issues such as hand washing, maintaining physical distance, and wearing a mask, which increases the chances of preventing COVID-19. The Directorate General of Health Services (DGHS), the Aspire to Innovate (a2i) Programme of the Information and Communication Technology Division, and UNICEF, in collaboration with around 35 partner organizations, created the Risk Communication and Community Engagement (RCCE) Pillar, which has played an influential role in providing various types of information through social media. According to the Bangladesh government's far-sighted plan, using social media has encouraged citizens to know about COVID-19 warnings or prohibitions, which can be considered one of the strategies to create public awareness. Social media has also assisted in getting various information about government guidelines and lockdowns, which can effectively deal with any crisis like the COVID-19 epidemic.

According to current research, social media has played an important role in raising public awareness because it's one of the most popular forms for citizens to obtain accurate and up-to-date information about the situation in COVID-19. Citizens have come to know about various immediate issues, such as where to get health care by calling, which hospitals are being tested for COVID-19, where to get treatment for COVID-19, from which center to get the COVID-19 vaccine, and where to get generic medicine, food, or daily necessities, etc. However, excessive use of social media has acted as a catalyst for spreading rumors or fake news in the COVID-19 situation, as evidenced by the study results. In this case, the citizens shared and spread the information on social media without verifying or selecting it. Sometimes they are influenced and spread it on social media, and sometimes they do it out of self-motivation or a sense of well-being, which has created chaos among the citizens across the country. During this crisis, the media has regularly reported various news items to the government and the public, such as diseases, recovery, and deaths. As a result, the general public has been informed about the nature and scale of the pandemic, and policymakers have been given direction (Mondol, B. and Paul, B., 2021). Above all, the creative use of social media in the COVID-19 situation has played a significant role in raising awareness among the citizens of Bangladesh. The study's results suggest that effective use of social media can play an essential role in raising public awareness of any epidemic, such as the COVID-19 situation.

VIII. Study Limitations

This study has several limitations. The study used an online survey method to collect data, and 833 respondents from different Bangladesh districts participated. Because the data is gathered through online survey methods, respondents risk the chance of filling out the forms with whatever they see fit, potentially underestimating the quality of the research. There were also no face-to-face interviews in the study. The field of study would be strengthened even further if qualitative research could be conducted through face-to-face interviews. Despite the current study's limitations, data collected from 833 respondents can be considered pretty standard for a population of social media users.

IX. Declaration of Conflicts of Interest

The authors state that they will have no known competing financial interests or close connections that could appear to have compromised the work described in this article. The authors have given their approval for the final manuscript.

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Labot in Dual Spaces and Land Conflict in Post-Conflict Northern Uganda: A Gender Discourse Analysis

By Donnah S. Atwagala
Makerere University

Abstract- This paper seeks to discuss the dual spaces which *labot*[1] occupy within the post-war land-conflict setting in Amuru District. From a gendered perspective, this is a critical discussion contesting the dominant discourse that represents women as occupying the dual spaces. This perspective has been accepted by society and women have been supported accordingly. However, *labot* in these same dual spaces have not been embraced in the same way. Analyses of the narratives and lived experiences of *labot* challenge the notion that men are less affected than women by land conflicts in post-war areas. Three themes emerged from the narratives: woman as security for land, *labot* and land conflict, and social navigation to reclaim land. This paper interacts with feminist discourse that tries to explain the relationships and interactions of women within the feminine master-narrative in relation to ownership, access and control over resources. Therefore, the paper argues that *labot* have crossed into the private space as well and taken on the character of dual spaces.

Keywords: *land conflicts, labot, gender analysis, landownership, and dual spaces.*

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Labot in Dual Spaces and Land Conflict in Post-Conflict Northern Uganda: A Gender Discourse Analysis

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Abstract- This paper seeks to discuss the dual spaces which *labot*[1] occupy within the post-war land-conflict setting in Amuru District. From a gendered perspective, this is a critical discussion contesting the dominant discourse that represents women as occupying the dual spaces. This perspective has been accepted by society and women have been supported accordingly. However, *labot* in these same dual spaces have not been embraced in the same way. Analyses of the narratives and lived experiences of *labot* challenge the notion that men are less affected than women by land conflicts in post-war areas. Three themes emerged from the narratives: woman as security for land, *labot* and land conflict, and social navigation to reclaim land. This paper interacts with feminist discourse that tries to explain the relationships and interactions of women within the feminine master-narrative in relation to ownership, access and control over resources. Therefore, the paper argues that *labot* have crossed into the private space as well and taken on the character of dual spaces.

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I. Introduction

From a feminism perspective, scholars like (Agarwal, 1997; Agawal, 1994; Agarwal, 2003; Adelman et al., 2014; Deininger et al., 2006) reveal women as taking on the head of the family roles and how them occupying these dual spaces is challenged by land conflicts. Society has accepted and supported women in dual spaces through feminism movements in post-recovery reconstruction (Mwambari, 2017; Rose, 2000; Peters, 2004); Kimkung et al., 2013; Ajala, 2017). On the contrary, the *labot* in the same dual spaces have been embraced differently. Dual spaces refer to the double gender roles that women and men perform in the absence of the other. In the Acholi community, *labot* is a man who does not have a wife either because he has never married or lost his wife and never re-married.

This paper focuses on *labot*, who married and lost his wife during the civil war and never re-married. A labot is less respected in the Acholi community than a married man. His power and control in the clan are limited, his identity is seen as an unmarried man. Before the civil conflict that rocked Acholi from 1987 to 2007, the traditional Acholi social systems supported the *labot.* His sister-in-law would assist *labot* in raising the children and the community assisted him to re-marry; helping him to pay his bridewealth. After the war, *labot* found himself in a changed community where people have migrated in their thinking, and social support systems collapsed—such circumstances in the community place *labot* in dual spaces against his will.

The paper focuses on how *labot*, who occupies the dual spaces as father and mother, relates to land and land conflicts in the study area of Amuru District, northern Uganda. This paper challenges the Social Feminist notion that women are disempowered in land relations with men. The individual narrative cases in post-conflict reconstruction land conflicts challenge this assumption. In the case of *labot*, we also see men disempowered in land ownership and use. The situation has forced him to occupy dual spaces simultaneously, in a model that depicts man as the landowner and woman as the land user. *Labot* has to perform the role of a father by paying school fees and similarly perform the role of a mother by cultivating food for the children after the death of his wife. This situation shows the gap left upon his wife's death, indicating the woman's vital role concerning land. The above land-use model makes the woman the "owner of crops" and the "mother of the garden". Thus, *labot's* narratives challenge the Social Feminist notion that women are disempowered in land relations. The paper shifts the importance of landownership to land use, thus positioning the woman as using and adding value to land.

Subsequently, we seek to show how this dual space plays out in a situation of *labot*. To examine this, we employ a case study approach expounding the narratives and experiences of the *labot*. A qualitative approach is applied through semi-structured interviews to understand *labot's* life experiences. Ten *labot* and 22 key informants were interviewed and emerging issues framed to validate arguments based on individual cases.

Author: Ph.D Student in the Department of Religion and Peace Studies, Makerere University. She is also a Lecturer at the Institute of Peace and Strategic Studies, Gulu University. e-mail: atdons@gmail.com

[1] In the Acholi community, *labot* is a man who does not have a wife either because he has never married or lost his wife and never re-married. However, its meaning is disputed by the local and elite Acholi. To the local Acholi, *labot* can be used to mean a man who has never married or a widower. To Acholi elite, *labot* applies to only the man who has never married. Their assumption is that there is no permanent status of the widower in Acholi. This paper will take *labot* to mean a man who has never married or one who has lost his wife and never re-married.

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The paper critiques the Social Feminist perspective on gendered land relations. It contests the presentation of women as victims of land conflicts and as more disempowered in land relations. The paper argues that *labot* is disempowered and expresses the view that men too are victims of land conflicts. The death of his wife makes *labot* vulnerable and exposes him to numerous land conflicts. This is elaborated by analysing individual cases and expounding on previous studies on experiences of *labot* and land conflicts.

II. Land Conflicts and Labot

Land conflicts have gained notoriety in the last two decades and remain a global concern attracting many international scholars. Scholars like Krieger et al. (2016); Jackson (2003); Hacker (2010); Buvinic, Das, Ursula, and Philip (2012); Rubio-Marín (2015); Lombard (2016) and Socpa (2017), among others, have researched extensively on women and land conflicts, land conflicts and development, widows and land conflicts, and how land conflicts affect more women than men, sometimes making them acquire new positions and responsibilities as heads of families. Grabska (2013) argues that land conflicts affect women more than men in post-conflict areas. For example, in the case of South Sudan, Nuer community women who are house-heads are referred to as *wut pany*, meaning a 'real man'; women who have assumed the role of a father (Grabska, 2013). Adelman et al. (2014); Arostegui (2013); Stapleton and Wilson (2014); Agarwal (2003); Bob (2012); Bogale, Taeb, and Endo (2006) have also advanced the same claim.

In Acholi community, an unmarried man, occupying dual spaces is considered useless and called a *labot*. When men perform women's gender roles in the Acholi community, they are not respected and not considered 'real men'. This situation confirms that men experience similar challenges as women when their wives die, invalidating the assumption that women suffer more than men when their husbands die. Agarwal and Bina (1994); Agarwal (1997); Rugadya (2009). Doss et al. (2013) and other academicians claim that land conflicts affect women more, making them significant victims of conflicts than men in post-conflict reconstruction. Although there is another body of literature suggesting that conflicts affect the entire community irrespective of gender (Maganga et al. 2007, as cited in Massoi, 2016), there is little attention on how land conflicts affect *labot* who have assumed double spaces especially in post-conflict reconstruction.

Bogale et al. (2006) focused mainly on how the conflicts affect women in terms of placement, where to get food, water and firewood to enable women to play their social gender roles in the family. *Kimkung et al. (2013)* assessed land conflicts and gender dimensions that resulted from a government intervention that displaced Dorobos from their ancestral home on the slopes of Mount Elgon to the lower lands, thus causing land conflicts. However, Kimkung et al.'s analysis focus on the same women alone. *Massoi et al. (2016)* looked at land conflicts and their effect on pastoral Maasai women's livelihood in Tanzania. Therefore, much evidence has been provided on how land conflicts affect women in post-conflict areas, but little is known on how land conflicts affect the *labot* in similar situations. Therefore, the contribution of this paper is to address this gap by focusing on *labot* who have assumed dual positions in post-conflict situations of Amuru district, northern Uganda.

It is argued by *Nakirunda (2011); Cheng (2016)* that the underlying problems regarding land conflicts are that of equity and the inequitable power relations inherent in socially entrenched African land relations. This is further confirmed by *Kimkung et al. (2013),* who contends that land conflicts affect women and men differently relative to the social design of the community. Women and men have different roles in land matters, different levels of understanding and knowledge about land, and varying rights to land. The variations result in differing power relations and decision making at societal and family levels. These variations continue to manifest differently between women and men in society *(Deininger and Castagnini 2006; Adelman and Peterman 2014).* As conflicts unsettle the social design and gender power ideology that previously defined the community, power relations change hands in terms of decision making and responsibilities. Manhood also changes in situations where *labot* takes on the female gender roles in the family and is not respected by society *(Grabska 2013; Deininger and Castagnini 2006).*

III. Research Methodology

This research embraced a qualitative approach mainly using semi-structured interviews to understand how individuals form meaning in their lives as narratives that could not be achieved with a quantitative approach. The approach allowed a deep understanding of individual life experiences from a small sample size.

Thematic analysis was also adopted by coding different data relating to particular narratives. There are four major analytic approaches to narrative analysis including thematic analysis, performance or dialogic analysis, visual analysis, and structural analysis (Riessman, 2005; Braun & Clarke, 2006). For this study, Narrative analysis which is an analytical methodology was used in this research to generate, understand, and interpret individuals' lived experiences (Squire et al., 2019). It was used to understand the different ways of knowing and studying the lived experiences of *labot*. The methodology allowed capturing data within lived experiences, including insights into beliefs, feelings, images, and values of labot's culture and behaviours in

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post-conflict areas. It also considered labot's experience within the social and cultural context of Amuru District. Through narrative analysis, knowledge was created and constructed by listening to stories and making sense of *labot* experiences.

Ten *labot* were interviewed on their lived experiences during the civil conflict that lasted almost two decades (1986-2007) in northern Uganda (Cakaj, 2010). However, it was not easy to identify the *labot* from the community since they are not prioritised in post-conflict reconstruction and development. Therefore, Local Council Ones (LC 1s) were used to locate the *labot* in different sub-counties (Schiltz and Büscher 2018).

The selection criteria was based on having *labot* status; one who lost his wife during the LRA civil conflict, not yet re-married by the time of fieldwork and is consequently facing land conflicts. In order to validate the data from *Labot*, the researcher also interviewed one LC I chairperson and one LC II chairperson in each of 4 sub-counties (Amuru, Lamongi, Pabbo and Atiek), one female representative at LC II from each sub-county, four traditional leaders among whom was a female, 1 District Community Development Officer (DCDO), 1 District Gender Officer (DGO) and 1 elder from each sub-counties.

During the interviews, a recorder was used. For the labot a research assistant interpreted some statements from Acholi language to English for the researcher to follow while the Key Informants interviews were done in English. The storytelling evoked memories of them missing their loved ones and, in some cases, the *labot* shed tears (Senehi, 2002; Mwambari, 2019). In most African societies, a man is not expected to shed tears in front of a woman; the respondents, sometimes felt embarrassed (Shipton & Goheen, 1992) and excused themselves for a few minutes, returning after composing themselves.

Thematic analysis was used to analyse data collected through interviews and conversation patterns of experiences and stories of *Labot* and key informants. All experiences that fit a specific pattern were placed with the corresponding themes, highlighting some individual cases as seen in the discussion of findings section. The following themes emerged from the analysis: Woman as land security; *labot* and land conflicts; social navigation of *labot*; and, Living in guilt. The analysis of the individual cases included all ten interviews and twenty-two key informants. However, six out of the ten individual cases and one camp leader are included in the article to present experiences of *labot* who are in most cases forgotten during post-conflict reconstruction programs in Northern Uganda.

IV. Theoretical Framework

a) Socialist feminists' theory

Socialist feminists theory views patriarchy as a social system in which the role of men as the primary authority figure is central to the social organisation; men hold authority over women, children, property and influence resource governance in society (Kimkung and Espinosa 2013; Robins, 2008; Agarwal, 1994; Simpson, 1989). Socialist feminist theorists have argued that the patriarchal system promotes women's marginalisation and disempowerment in society (Deininger et al., 2008; Bayisenge et al., 2014; Peters, 2004). The theory further argues that establishment of private property in land, tools, and livestock created the possibility for men to exercise control over the means of production.

Socialist feminists theory argues that customary laws were eroded and transformed in ways disadvantageous to women's resource ownership (Tripp, 2004; Burke & Kobusingye, 2014; Bayisenge, 2015). This view is strengthened by scholars who argue that customary laws in the present day context have been used to selectively preserve practices that subordinate women (Jackson, 2003; Peters. 2004). Socialist feminists' theory continued to argue that women's resource ownership inequalities have contributed towards retarding women's economic development *(Agarwal, 2003; Bayisenge, 2015).* Women's ownership of land is essential from an equity and economic empowerment perspective, which is associated with positive outcomes for women and households (Kieran et al., 2017). Therefore, it should be noted that customary law should not promote women's subordination but be used as a tool to secure landownership for women. In customary law, the security of land tenure for women is, in essence, rooted in their structural role as lineage wives (Njoh et al., 2017; Agarwal, 1994; Grabe, 2010).

This paper contests views of Socialist feminists theorists who argue that as women perform their roles in the private sphere, they are burdened with additional roles when they become heads of the households and are at risk of poverty due to denial of landownership (Kieran et al. 2015; Kieran et al. 2017). Inequalities in landownership limit women's ability to perform their roles effectively because they have no security on the land they use (Doss et al., 2014). The theory assumes that all men are in a position of power over resources in society. However, it is evident that as men lose their wives, they also take on additional roles and thus live in dual spaces. The socialist feminist theory has ignored this as they narrow their focus on women as the most disadvantaged group. Although men dominate and own most of the resources, some men do not own and control land. In conclusion, it is essential to note that the patriarchal system is dominated by men as argued by

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socialist feminist theory; but not all men are in control and have power over resources like land in society.

V. Lived Experiences and Voices of Labot and Land Conflicts

Cases of individual men who lost their wives during the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) conflict that lasted for two decades were identified. The wives died under different circumstances. Some were captured by the rebels and killed instantly using machetes and axes; others stepped on landmines laid by the LRA rebels and were blown up. Others were captured by the rebels and tortured to death, others were raped, infected with diseases, and died slow, painful deaths after failing to get proper treatment from the health centres. When they were in Internally Displaced Peoples' (IDPs) camps, the sick only received first-aid from humanitarian agencies. Patients with serious ailments were referred to the hospital, but they couldn't go there because there was no transport. They also feared being waylaid and killed by the LRA rebels. Although all the ten interviewed *labot* lost wives in different circumstances, their experiences also vary according to their age and the number of people in their families.

The older *labot* quickly adapted and accepted the situation by coming to terms with their new reality. It was challenging for the younger ones who had just married to accept their new reality. One confessed that he was about to commit suicide because he did not know how to look after the children in the camp environment without food, water, and healthcare services. He had to look for food and at the same time take care of the children all by himself.

Similarly, the size of the family *labot* had to take care of determined how he reacted to losing his wife. *Labot*, who had many brothers, sisters, cousins, uncles, aunts and whose parents were still alive, were assisted in recovering faster from the shock and depression. Despite being together in the same IDP's camp, children were distributed among the different members of the family since *labot* could not manage alone. This made the life of *labot* much easier; he could manage the few children who remained with him.

In northern Uganda, a woman plays a central role in land use; that is why most of the wives killed during the LRA conflict were on their way back from the gardens. Therefore, a man who lost his wife lost his family's capacity to use the land upon return from the displaced people's camp. This affected the amount of food produced for his family and the size of land to be utilised, leaving most of the land unutilised. Since land was among the crucial resources for resettlement, fighting for land was much easier for those who returned with all their family members than *labot* who returned with only young children. These land conflicts made life hard for *labot* in dual spaces because they could not leave children alone at home while following up on land conflict cases in courts of law in Gulu or Kampala.

a) Case Scenarios

In order to understand the personal experiences of the *labot* in the dual spaces in relation to the land conflicts, it was essential to listen to their stories. Out of the ten interviews, only sex and one camp leader were presented as case studies since they offered something new and responded well to the research questions. Also, having more than seven cases would be too many for an article. The remaining four cases were also analysed, and their views are included in the article. Also, 22 key informants were interviewed to validate the told experiences of *labot*.

i. *Case 1*

Joseph had much land given to him by his father as an inheritance. He had four sisters and three brothers. Before the civil conflict, he cultivated the land with his wife and children; it was a happy family. However, in 1996 they were forced to move to the camp when the LRA rebels started to attack homesteads.

> It was late in the evening as we were preparing to have dinner, we started hearing people shouting that the rebels were moving towards Labilaom village to attack us. The local leaders told people to leave their homes and go to the camps. We did not eat our dinner; we left everything the way it was. We just picked a few things like clothes for the children, saucepans and decided to join the rest of the people to go to Amuru displaced people's camp. Since we had young children, we moved slowly while other people were in front of us. When we reached the camp, we found some people had already settled there. On arrival, the camp chief had to register everyone who had arrived, and they allocated us space in the tent where we stayed for the night. The tent was small and more people continued to join later. We were told to leave the tent and build our hut. We were given a small plot to construct our hut on.
>
> Food was distributed by the World Food Program (WFP), but it was not enough for the family… So we started growing foodstuffs until the Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF) started restricting men's movements. The reason was that some men might decide to join the rebels since the camp life was also not good. Another reason was the fear of being kidnapped by the rebels and forcing them to join the rebel group. So the men stopped going to the gardens, which was left for women. One morning, as usual, my wife sneaked out with my younger brother to collect some food from the garden. On their way back, they met the rebels. The rebels captured my wife and brother and killed them…. that was the end of my family members.
>
> In 2010, like other people, I also returned to my village with my six children without their mother. On our arrival, I noticed some of my land had been taken by those who came earlier than me. The children remained with me but were later taken by their aunt to look after them and take them back to school since I was financially unstable. I remained alone in the family house with much land underutilised, and other community members pressured me to sell it. I was being confronted by the issue of re-marrying, and the woman

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takes care of my property. I wondered whether I could manage a young woman at my age and that she would not mistreat my children. (Joseph, 54, Amuru Town Council, Amuru District, 2017)

ii. *Case 2*

Charles did not move to the camp; the camp moved to him. The land where the camp was established was his father's land. The huts were constructed everywhere, including in his compound. He lived with his parents in a crowded camp where people destroyed the environment. The camp life was depressing and stressful because there was not enough food for the family. The land where we used to grow food was taken over by the displaced people's settlement. A cousin gave us a garden; it was about four kilometres away from the camp.

In 2002, as his wife was going to the garden, she was captured by the LRA rebels. She was severely beaten, raped and left to go back home.

My wife came back from the garden when she was very sick due to severe beatings. We did not have money for transport to the hospital and medical treatment. I treated her using traditional herbs... She stayed for a few weeks and then died while at home... One thing that I will not forget is that I failed to protect my wife because of the restrictions on men's movements by the UPDF army. The UPDF army caused the death of my wife. She left seven children with me in the camp. This was a challenge because I had to look for food for them. For the older children, I gave them items like tomatoes and onions to sell within the camp. I was engaged in small businesses that made us survive in the camp. They gave us food, but my family had seven children, so it was insufficient. As the situation returned to normal again, I moved outside the camp and did business. In 2006, people started returning to their homes, and we thought that all of them would leave our land and we would receive it back. However, the case has been different because some people have refused to go back after discovering that others took their land… Some people are pressurising us to sell the land to them, but we do not want to sell it... This land was freely given to the local government for temporary resettlement of the people, but it has become complicated now. The land now is full of graves everywhere, nowhere to cultivate food for my family. My parents are very old and cannot pursue the land case at different government administration offices. In addition to that, I do not have a wife who could support me in pursuing the land case. I have to look for money to educate my children and, at the same time, chase land conflict cases. Now the children have grown and can cook for themselves.

The first three children do not stay with me; they went to look for jobs in Gulu and Kampala. The challenge I have is that the community is pressurising me to re-marry. Re-marrying is a good thing, but I am scared that I may fail to get the right woman for my children. Also, these days everybody has HIV/AIDS, which will kill me very fast. I survived the LRA bullets; I do not want to die of AIDS. In addition to that, the new wife will want to produce her children, yet I already have 7. Having more children will be a challenge to look after even if I had land to cultivate their food. I do not know when this land conflict case will be resolved. (Charles, 49, Amuru Sub-county, Amuru District, 2017)

iii. *Case 3*

Martin had no parents by the time he went to the camp in 1998. He used to stay with his uncle. However, when war came, it scattered them and up today, he has never seen him again. He started schooling in the camp and stopped in primary five at the age of 15. After dropping out of school, he decided to start a small business selling cooking oil that WFP was distributing. He saved some money until he got enough to marry a wife in 2007 and produced three children; two boys and one girl.

One morning when my wife was coming back from the garden, she stepped on a landmine as she was running away from the rebels. One leg was blown off, and she bled to death. Men were restricted to move because the army thought they could willingly or forcefully join the rebels. Women were the ones allowed to go to the garden. The women, including my wife, did not have the protection of men. The army restricted men from protecting their women, and it is the same army that did not protect our women. The army was aware that our women were in danger by moving alone without men's protection. In my culture, it is the role of men to protect women. The army refused men to protect their women, thus violating our cultural norms. I have always imagined that if I had escorted my wife to the garden, maybe she would not have died. I live with this thought all the time when I think about my wife.

The guilt that I live with is that I failed to protect my wife. If I had been there, maybe she would not have died. She left three children; the youngest was one year and eight months old. I went alone, and I came out of the camp without my wife but with the children only…It was challenging in the camp to look after one year child. I had to look for food for the children. There was an older woman who assisted me with the youngest child. Whenever I was busy looking for food, this woman looked after the children. She cooked and bathed them whenever I delayed coming back. She was a great woman. She treated me as her son, which made me feel that I had found a mother in the camp. I did not experience my mother's love, but this woman made me feel the mother's love. I did not have any relatives in the camp, but this woman became my relative. So in 2012, I decided to go back to my village, hoping that I would find my uncle back from the camp. When I reached my village, I found that my father's land was being encroached on by other people who thought I had died during the conflict. They knew that I was the only son remaining and my uncle who raised me.. I came back knowing that I had my father's land to cultivate food for my family, but I was confronted by land conflict. I did not have a wife to support me in this case and to raise our children together. I had to work hard for my children. Also, some relatives encroached on my land, assuming that land was big to be used by only me. Much of my land is not utilised as I am alone, and I do not have money for hiring a tractor to open it up. I reported the land issues to all the authorities that I could reach but was unsuccessful.

The remains of my wife are still in the camp. I plan to bring them back, but many rituals require money to perform. I am

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looking for the money, and when I get it, I will bring the remains back home. I cannot think of re-marrying before bringing the remains of my wife. Re-marrying these days is very expensive, and I still have young children to look after and educate. Also, the new wife may not love my children and start mistreating them. I have gone through a lot with my children, and I love them. I do not want anyone to separate me from my children (Martin, 39, Pabbo Sub-county, Amuru District, 2017)

iv. *Case 4*

Ochola got married in 1982 and produced six children; two girls and four boys. Like others, he went to the camp in 1996 with his family due to the LRA insurgency. During his stay in the camp, food was being provided by WFP, but the rations given to his family were never enough. Ochola and his family decided to start farming outside the camp to supplement the food that WFP provided. They used to move to the gardens in groups with other camp dwellers.

One day, when we were coming back from collecting food with my wife, brother, and other people, we were ambushed by the LRA rebels. My wife and brother were killed instantly. I managed to escape, leaving my brother and wife behind. Before that happened, I had been captured and tortured by the rebels. This experience made me leave my wife and brother behind to save my life for the second time.

After the death of my wife, life was not easy. I had to take care of the six children, with the eldest son aged 15 years and the youngest three years. My mother-in-law took all the children away from me, saying that I would not manage to take care of them. Life without my wife and children was the worst situation I had ever experienced. I went through stress and depression until I reconstructed myself and started living another life.

In 2008, I decided to leave the camp and return to my home village. I returned with only two children; four remained with their grandmother in the camp. After I returned from the camp, I was doing well and supporting my children, who had stayed with their grandmother until the government, through Amuru District Land Board, gave away my land to investors. We were chased away from the land. I became landless and homeless with my children. This situation rendered me economically powerless, failing to care for my family. Since the land taken was my home, my two children and I are currently housed by my brother. We are back to camp life of not having enough food for the family.

Life without a wife is not easy. A woman is vital in managing the family because she helps in the garden and ensures that the family has enough food to eat. I wanted to re-marry, but it is difficult because I do not have a home; my brother is housing me. A woman cannot accept me when I do not have a home; even the money to pay dowry is not available. It seems like this kind of life is going to be permanent. Where will I get the money to buy land and re-marry? (Ochola, 50 years, Lamongi Sub-county, Amuru District, 2017).

v. *Case 5*

Okot went to Amuru displaced people's camp with his mother in 1996 when he was six. While in the camp, food was provided by World Food Program. There were no healthcare facilities schools, and the UPDF restricted movements outside the camp.

When I was nine years old, I started going to school in primary one and stopped in primary six when my mother failed to pay school fees. When my mother fell sick, I dropped out of school. At the age of 15 years, I started a small business in the camp with 30,000 Ugandan Shillings (equivalent of US$8). I was buying maise from camp officers and selling it to people in the camp. I used to get 180,000 Ugandan Shillings (equivalent of US$48) in monthly profits. When I had saved enough, I bought piglets and started rearing them while in the camp. I also joined the saving group and managed to save up to 730,000 Ugandan Shillings (equivalent of US$200). In 2008, at the age of 17, I used this money to marry. My wife gave birth to a baby boy in 2009.

One day in the morning, I sneaked out with my wife to the garden as usual. While we were still in the garden, I heard some voices approaching us. When I looked behind, they were LRA rebels. I urged my wife to run very fast but, unfortunately, the rebels caught up with her. I managed to escape from the rebels, leaving my wife behind. The rebels told my wife that they hate people who run away from them. They killed my wife using axes. Her story was narrated by a relative who was hiding in a nearby garden. Our son was eight months old when his mother was killed. A relative of mine took the child and took care of him.

In 2011, I decided to go back to my ancestral home, leaving the graves of my wife and my mother in the camp. I was planning to shift the remains to my home village. When I returned alone without my mother, I did not know where the boundaries of my father's land were and how big the land was. My relatives took advantage of my ignorance to claim some of my inheritance. Most of my relatives on my mother's side had died, and I did not have enough support to claim my land back. My father's relatives told me that I did not have a big family, so I did not need much land compared to my other relatives. I left the land because I was powerless and with no finances to facilitate the land conflict case. I am currently alone, and I cannot re-marry; it adds more problems. Women today do not care like our mothers used to care for their children. Marrying is also expensive. I have to pay the bride price in terms of cows, goats, chickens and other items. I want to give a better future to my son; that is why I am working hard. (Okot, 26, Amuru Town Council, Amuru District, 2017)

vi. *Case 6*

By the time Ocan went into the displaced people's camp in 1996, he was a 16-year-old orphan. Before going to camp, Ocan had a sister who was already married and staying in the camp.

I was born with two boys and one girl; unfortunately, the two boys were captured by the rebels before I went to camp, and I have never heard from them again. I stayed with my sister in the camp. My schooling stopped in primary four, and I never went back to school while in the camp. I started a small business selling produce. Some organisations provided some foodstuff, but the camp officers used to sell them. I would buy some and resell them to make profits. In 1998 I married, and in the same year, my wife gave birth to a baby girl and another child in 2000.

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My wife stepped on a landmine while returning to the camp from the garden, and her leg was shattered. She was rushed to Lacho hospital in an ambulance. Unfortunately, before she got to the hospital, my wife died. She died in 2003; in 2008, I decided to return to my ancestral home. Returning home alone was a challenge because two children stayed with my sister. I settled down and started farming and selling my produce to Kampala and South Sudan traders. I managed to send money to my sister to care for my children. However, because I was alone and had a big piece of land to cultivate, I was being disturbed by relatives and neighbours encroaching on my land, saying that I was not optimally utilising it. Some relatives brought some Indian investors claiming that they had bought some of the land.

My relatives were encroaching on land, saying that I did not have enough family members to utilise the land. In our culture, we are respected according to the family's size. Those who have wives and many children are respected more than me. I lost my mother while in the camp life, and I did not have many people to support, not even the wife to utilise the land. When the wife is around the house, the house is respected. I am confronted by this reality whether to re-marry or not. It is challenging without a wife, and yet still debating whether I can manage to re-marry now because it is expensive and getting a good wife is another factor.

By the time of fieldwork, Ocen was still embroiled in land conflicts with the investors and his relatives. He was facing the challenge of being *labot*. During clan and community meetings, his views were not respected and he could not participate in clan activities like marriage and funeral ceremonies. Ocen was still being confronted by the cultural norms of his community that he must re-marry to be a real man and participate in clan activities. (Ocen, 38, Atiak Sub-county, Amuru District, 2017)

vii. *Case 7*

Opira was a camp leader when most of the people in northern Uganda were displaced by the LRA conflict. He was also the LC11 Chairperson at the time of this fieldwork and had vital information to contribute to this study.

I was among the first people who came to the camp and became camp leader. My village was among the places that rebels attacked first, and many people were killed. When the UPDF came around to check how the rebels had killed people, they forced civilians to go into the camp for their safety, saying that the place had become unsafe for civilians. We picked some few items and moved to the camp. There were few government and Red Cross staff in the camp by that time. They identified among us people who had finished S.4 and above to volunteer and register the people reporting in the camp. I offered myself and started registering people coming from different parts of Amuru. In that way, I was appointed as leader in the camp. I was in charge of all the new people who came to the camp and showed them where to sleep or stay. I was not paid a salary but an allowance that was only enough to facilitate basic needs for survival in the camp. My life in the camp was not as bad when compared to other members.

Camp life, in general, was not easy. It involved much suffering, looking for the food. In the beginning, when people were still few, we used to get enough food for every family. However, as the number increased, the food rations reduced tremendously with time. This forced some people, especially women, to look for food for their children outside the camp. By that time, moving outside the camp was very dangerous. The army tried to restrict them, but some escaped and went out. Most of those who went outside were killed while going to the garden or on their way back. So when people are hungry, you cannot keep them inside the camp; they had to find all means of going outside the camp.

As a leader, I was able to look after my family and close relatives. The facilitation that I used to receive helped me a lot. I started a small business inside the camp, and my wife operated it. Also, the leaders were given some extra food to motivate us. All this support assisted my family and me a lot, and there was no reason to go outside the camp looking for food. Even as a leader, I had to abide by rules governing the camp that no one should go outside without permission from the camp administrators. In 2009, I decided to come back here since the situation had started to normalise again. I thank God that I came back to my village with all my family members. When we came here, we found when some people came before us. This made us confident that the situation was normal for us to come home. In 2011, I was elected as LC11 Chairperson. Our land had no problem because here land belongs to the clan and family but not an individual. It is hard to grab land here as an individual because the family and clan will fight you. There is also no need to grab land since there is enough for every clan member. As a leader, I believe greedy people fuel the current land conflicts. When people came from the camp, their lives had changed, and some had forgotten their cultural norms and beliefs. Before the camp, it was rare to hear that someone had grabbed somebody's land. Our land boundaries were clear and known by all the community members.

The issue of *Labot* is tricky because culturally, we do not have the permanent status of such persons. When one loses his wife/ wives, he has to re-marry after a short period. This is however changing since marriage is becoming expensive. Parents ask for much and want to make businesses from their daughters. HIV/AIDS also scares some people from re-marrying *"…of course, we used to marry many wives for respect and prestige in society"*. The big family symbolised security; many children protected their parents. When a man is of age and has no wife or wives, the community doubt his manhood. This man is taken as someone who fears the responsibility of having a family and hence cannot be given any leadership role in the community. Our culture encourages men to marry to avoid circumstances that are not respected in the community. As earlier said, people's behaviours changed after being in camps for 20 years. This was enough time to make people forget their cultural norms and practices. These days they are grabbing their relatives' land because of greed and lack of respect for their clan and family practices. The Acholi traditional institutions used to resolve such issues disappeared because of the LRA conflict.

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> In most cases, youth are involved in land conflicts due to unemployement yet they need money … Back to *labot*, those who lost their wives during the war are expected to re-marry and live normal lives like other men. An unmarried man cannot live a normal life. Labot is not permanent in our community; they were expected to re-marry and live family life when they came back. Labot cannot utilise land compared to a married man.....They have issues with their land because nowadays, it is looked at as a resource that can bring money when sold. When people see the land that is not utilised or underdeveloped, they think it is wasted. *Labot* faces challenges because he does not have enough family members to use the land. These days, those who have big unutilised chunks of land have rented it out to other people from different parts of the country. Even some Indian investors have leased land, something that was not there before the war. Land conflicts in this region are increasing ad apart from *labot,* other members of the community are facing the same, except that the scenarios are different (Opira, LC11 Chairperson, Pabbo Sub-county, Amuru District, 2017).

VI. Discussion and Analysis of Narratives and Experiences

This section discusses all the ten cases and 22 key informants, making general theorisation across the narrative cases. The section is organised around overarching themes that emerged in this study. The central results demonstrate how the study fits into and expands on previous studies on experiences of *Labot* and Land conflicts. The study has revealed four themes including, 1) Women and Land security: 2) Labot and Land Conflict: 3) Social navigation of Labot: 4) Living in guilt.

a) Woman and Land security

The woman uses the land for cultivation, making it hard for the land grabbers to take the land in use. Cases 1 and 2 present and position the woman as the 'owner of crops', 'mother of the garden' and 'custodian of the land'. This shifts the debate that women are disempowered from land matters, thus challenging the discourse that women are left out from land governance.

In most African societies, women are still at the centre of family management (Odeny, 2013). Women have been culturally socialised as family caretakers, providing food and looking after the children and the elderly. This is reflected in case 1 when Joseph revealed that he was failing to utilise the land because the wife was absent in the house "This issue was confronting me on whether to re-marry, and the woman looks after my property and children". The key informants confirmed what Joseph was facing as *labot*; community pressure to re-marry to secure his land from greedy people. They continued to reveal that the garden with different crops is an indicator that there is a wife or wives in that house. When the land is bushy and not being used, greedy people disturb the owners and sometimes start to encroach on it (Batterbury & Ndi, 2018). Through Acholi socialisation, women's gender roles are specified clearly in the family and the community (Payne & Payne, 2014). These positioned women as the 'mothers of the land', implying that they have to provide for their families. A situation where the 'mother of the land' and 'owner of the crops' is absent challenges the productivity and utilisation of the land and the survival of the family. Therefore *labot* are facing land conflicts, not only because they owned much land, but also because they didn't utilise the land they had.

This paper argues that people's thinking has shifted from seeing land ownership as more important than land usage. From the perspective of the *labot* in Amuru district, owning land alone will not save the land from land conflicts; but having the land under cultivation may solve most of the land conflicts. Therefore, these case studies confirm that women are still central and better positioned in land relations in the post-conflict context

b) Labot and land conflicts

When a man loses his wife, means that the 'owner of the crops' and 'mother of the garden' is absent. This is reflected in case 3, where Martin revealed that "... Some relatives encroached on my land with the assumption that land was big to be used by only me" In African societies, family belonging is an essential principle in defining one's identity (Shipton & Goheen, 1992).

Through marriage, the husband and wife find new identities that define certain rights, responsibilities and duties in the community. In agricultural communities like Acholi, a man obtains his primary identity from his clan. Marriage becomes another defining identity that makes him an independent man, though still belonging to the greater community through its set systems and institutions (Sproule et al., 2016). An unmarried man of age is considered 'incomplete'. Also, unmarried women face the same (Hansen, 2014). Therefore, the man finds completeness in having a wife. With the wife's death, there are no known cultural restrictions after the mourning period for a man to re-marry. However, remaining unmarried would pose a challenge to the *labot* by giving him a new identity that no one deserving to be considered a man would like to be identified with. Such a person would be considered a 'lesser man' of sorts and a topic of discussion by many. Even if he has land and other properties, his net worth would still be less than that of a poor but married man. The tag '*labot'* that the community members and individuals give to him carries connotations of uselessness in the community. This is associated with the failure to utilise the land due to the absence of the 'mother of the garden' (wife) in his home. In this case, the land may be grabbed, not because the grabbers don't know the landowner, but because the *labot* has failed to utilise it. Since the social

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support system disappeared, the *labot* is powerless and cannot defend himself.

Information from Key Informants revealed that land not utilised in the present-day context where it has been commoditised and individualised attracts land conflicts and land grabbers. Sone (2011) argues that the commercialisation of land coupled with land scarcity has increased land conflicts. However, it should be noted that northern Uganda has not reached a level of land scarcity likened to other regions.

The position of *Labot* in society continues to challenge the argument that it is only women who are powerless and cannot defend themselves when their land is being grabbed. On the contrary, Case 3 (Martin) illustrates that the *labot* are also powerless; Martin found when his father's land was being encroached on by other people who thought he had died during the insurgency. He reported the land issues to all the authorities that he could reach, but he had not yet succeeded by the time of undertaking this study. Therefore, this paper argues that land conflicts affect the *labot* and the women equally. Scholars have to start looking at the *labot* as a group of people that is also vulnerable in society. The generalisation of socialist feminists' theory of looking at men as powerful, strong and not needing support overlooks this unique group, the "*labot".,*

c) Social navigation of Labot

As the *labot* tries hard to reclaim his land, he is faced with various options. One of them is occupying the dual spaces of head of the family and 'mother of the garden' and 'owner of the crops'. This narrative is revealed in Joseph's story (Case 1). "In 2010, I decided to return to my village since others had returned. I returned with my six children without their mother....." Joseph's narrative reveals how *labot* had shifted from public to private space (men engaging in gender roles of women). This violated the cultural norms of men only being in public spaces and leaving private space for women. This confirms findings from local and traditional leaders that civil conflict affected and changed the culture and norms of the Acholi people. Also, it has challenged the arguments of socialist feminists' theory that it is only women who are in private space.

Furthermore, the LC11 chairperson of Amuru sub-county revealed that being 'mother of the garden' suggests that the *labot* can utilise the redundant land that attracts the land grabbers. However, according to traditional leaders, this is being challenged by the *labot's* experience during the camp when men got used to doing nothing and receiving food from the World Food Program. The hardships of labot are reflected in Ochola's story in case 4, where all his children were taken away from him. "My mother-in-law took all the children away from me, saying that I will not manage to take care of them. Life without my wife and children was the worst situation that I had ever experienced.....Returning home alone was a challenge because two of my children were still staying with my sister" Ocen, Atiak Sub-county. Ochola and Ocen's stories continue to reflect labot's experiences and challenges in occupying the dual spaces.

The second option was for the *labot* to re-marry. According to traditional leaders, the process of re-marrying in the Acholi community is another hurdle; it requires money and cattle, which the *labot* may not have. They continued to reveal that before the social support systems collapsed, the community and clan members could get the *labot* a woman to marry and contribute to the dowry to be paid. The District Community Development Officer (DCDO) also revealed that gifting land to relatives was used as a navigating approach to reclaim land back by labot and even other land conflict victims was the third option used. "One of the *labot* decided to bring back his sister that had failed in her marriage to assist in managing his land", Amuru DCDO, 2017. Renting out or selling off the land is considered the last option to be applied to reclaim land from the land grabbers in Amuru District. However, selling land has a negative connotation of transferring the family's identity to another one, thus killing the lineage of the original family (Njoh et al., 2017). It should be noted that renting land also has challenging issues, like some people who have rented land wanting to take full ownership through forgery of landownership documents.

d) Living in guilt

From the narratives of the *labot*, UPDF was providing security to civilians by restricting the men from moving out of the camps. This is revealed in Joseph and Charles' stories, where they were restricted from escorting their wives to the gardens. *"We started growing some foodstuffs until the UPDF started restricting men's movements. The reason was that some men could decide to join the rebels since the camp life was also not good. Another reason was fear of men being kidnapped by the rebels and forcing them to join the rebel group" Joseph, Amuru Town Council*. Some of the *Labot* interviewed felt that the UPDF prohibited them from playing their cardinal role of protecting their family members. *"One thing that I will not forget is that I failed to protect my wife because of the restrictions on men's movements by the UPDF army. As a result, the UPDF army caused the death of my wife. She left seven children with me in the camp" Charles, Amuru Sub-county*. Making matters worse, *Labot's* guilt is not addressed because of the breakdown of community support systems that provided its people with psycho-social support.

According to Amone & Lakwo (2014), men in African society are expected to protect their families at whatever cost and when they fail, they are disrespected

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in society and among fellow men. However the UPDF argued that women were not seen as potential fighters and could not be captured by the rebels. On the contrary, many researchers reveal that women participate in conflicts as fighters and spies (Baumeister, 2006; Ntahobari et al., 2003; Mazurana & Proctor, 2013; Jonna, 2013). The UPDF did not realise the importance Acholi men attached to their women including being the 'mother of the land' and 'owner of the crops' who utilises and protects the family resources and property.

According to the narratives, the *labot* are living in guilt after failing to protect their wives in times of trouble. Some *labot* blamed the UPDF who prohibited men from moving out of the camp and failed to provide security to their wives outside the camp. The restriction of men's movement during camp time violated the cultural norms of the Acholi community and preventing men from carrying out their responsibility of protecting their families. It was noted that the UPDF did not involve other stakeholders who were to be affected by their decisions, making the civilians to act contrary. However, the former camp leader noted that during the war, there was no room for consulting all stakeholders. The socialist feminist theory asserts that if the stakeholders were involved, in decision making, these accusations would not have manifested (Jaspers, 2003; Connel, 1979; Graft, 1970; Pickering, 2008; Adelman et al. 2014).

In conclusion, the *labot* living in guilt implies that women have a central role in the life and survival of a man. This challenges the notion that women suffer more when their men die during conflicts. Narratives of *labot* reveal that men equally suffer a lot when their wives die.

VII. Significance of the Findings

a) No permanent labot in Acholi community

In the Acholi community, men used to marry more than one wife. So, when one wife died, the man would remain with the other(s). The Acholi believed that a man could not live without a wife in the house, which meant that there was no permanent status of *labot* in Acholi tradition. That is why an unmarried man is not respected; his manhood amounted to nothing. He could not attend marriage ceremonies or hold leadership positions in the clan. However, the *labot* who returned from the camps along with their children have challenged these beliefs and practices. Although they were excited to be home again, they were confronted with cultural norms and community pressures requiring them to remarry despite their limited capacity.

b) Changing land relationships

In the Acholi community, landownership by clans and families was respected; however, how they used the land was not considered necessary. The community protected the land in case of absentee landowners. As people returned from the camps where resources were limited and struggled for, they realised that land was essential for their resettlement. This changed their thinking from seeing land as a gift from the parents to a valuable commodity and can be sold (Doss et al., 2014). This facilitated commoditising land and shifting focus from ownership to usage as more critical to the community. The focus has thus shifted from landownership to land usage, suggesting that land cannot be owned without utilising it; which furher prevents encroachers. Therefore, the land is valued based on utilisation as opposed to ownership.

c) Coping strategies

It requires an independent mind for the *labot* to survive in a community that believes that their status is not meant to be permanent. Confronting longstanding cultural beliefs and practices is not easy. Thaler's (2012) contention that civil conflicts tear apart the social fabric of the society relates to the dual spaces that the *labot* find themselves in during and after conflicts. However, the *labot* have developed strategies to cope with their new position of occupying dual spaces. From the narratives, it is clear that the *labot* adopted different strategies depending on their circumstances. One *labot* decided to reconcile with his sister and bring her back to assist him in managing the family and utilising the land. This reflects the centrality of a woman concerning land usage. Others acquired practical skills and started businesses, making bricks, farming, or joined village savings associations to earn a living.

d) Relevance of family and community social networks

The *labot* who had many relatives were supported and recovered faster from the depression caused by the loss of their spouses than those who did not have many relatives (Massoi, 2016). The children were distributed among the relatives for care and schooling. This created space for the *labot* to reflect on his new life and adjust to the challenges surrounding him. This situation reflects the importance of a large family as a safetynet for the helpless and powerless, like the *labot*. However, it is crucial to note that despite the importance of the community and family support, it does not replace the figure of the wife/ mother in the family of the *labot*.

VIII. Conclusion

The *labot* is a group of people that have been ignored and neglected by NGOs, researchers and scholars alike. This has resulted from the generalised notion that men are powerful, strong and self-supporting. From the findings of this paper, the *labot* have been affected by land conflicts. Some have failed to reclaim their land due to a lack of social and economic support.

It is also noted that a wife remains central in land usage in northern Uganda, challenging the notion

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that women are disempowered in land issues. Also, having a wife enables the man to reclaim land because the focus has changed from ownership to usage. When the land is not utilised effectively, it attracts land grabbers and reclaiming it becomes almost impossible. To navigate this challenge, the *labot* are forced to change their social status by re-marrying, gifting the land to relatives for effective utilisation, or renting it out to people who can develop it—more on the misconception about women being more disadvantaged than men.

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Fellows/Associates of Social Science Research Council

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Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.



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Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



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Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."



Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

The Administration Rules

Administration Rules to Be Strictly Followed before Submitting Your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc.

Please read the following rules and regulations carefully before submitting your research paper to Global Journals Inc. to avoid rejection.

Segment draft and final research paper: You have to strictly follow the template of a research paper, failing which your paper may get rejected. You are expected to write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The peer reviewers need to identify your own perspective of the concepts in your own terms. Please do not extract straight from any other source, and do not rephrase someone else's analysis. Do not allow anyone else to proofread your manuscript.

Written material: You may discuss this with your guides and key sources. Do not copy anyone else's paper, even if this is only imitation, otherwise it will be rejected on the grounds of plagiarism, which is illegal. Various methods to avoid plagiarism are strictly applied by us to every paper, and, if found guilty, you may be blacklisted, which could affect your career adversely. To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use, please do not permit anyone to use or even read your paper and file.

Criterion for Grading a Research Paper (Compilation) by Global Journals

Please note that following table is only a Grading of "Paper Compilation" and not on "Performed/Stated Research" whose grading solely depends on Individual Assigned Peer Reviewer and Editorial Board Member. These can be available only on request and after decision of Paper. This report will be the property of Global Journals

Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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