

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

VOLUME 22

ISSUE 3

VERSION 1.0



Global Journal of Human-Social Science: A Arts & Humanities - Psychology

GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: A ARTS & HUMANITIES - PSYCHOLOGY

VOLUME 22 ISSUE 3 (VER. 1.0)

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Offset Typesetting

Global Journals Incorporated 2nd, Lansdowne, Lansdowne Rd., Croydon-Surrey, Pin: CR9 2ER, United Kingdom

Packaging & Continental Dispatching

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Global Journal of Human-social science: A Arts & Humanities - Psychology

Volume 22 Issue 3 Version 1.0 Year 2022

Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal

Publisher: Global Journals

Online ISSN: 2249-460x & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Gaslighting & the Petito Case: Assessing Risk Factors for Law Enforcement

By Scott A. Johnson

Abstract- Psychological abuse can look like many things. It is the tool for abusers and sex offenders to belittle and control their victims. The term "gaslighting" has been used to describe the techniques and process of psychologically controlling and abusing victims. Gaslighting refers to the more serious and extreme form of psychological force/abuse, commonly used by physical abusers, child molesters, human traffickers, and rapists to confuse their victims into believing that the abuse, assault or rape was the victim's fault. The perpetrator uses gaslighting to make their victim appear less credible and appear psychologically unstable. In the same way, the perpetrator makes themselves appear to others as a caring victim of their victim, innocent of any wrongdoing. The recent case of Gabby Petito in Florida (2021) highlights the need for law enforcement and the public to gain understanding of gaslighting and a better understanding of abuse in general.

I will use the term "perpetrator" to refer to the person engaging in gaslighting and psychological abuse/force. Perpetrator includes abusers and sex offenders, some who are psychopaths, some narcissistic, but all dangerous.

Keywords: gabby petito, brian laundrie, gaslighting, psychological abuse, domestic abuse, relationship violence.

GJHSS-A Classification: DDC Code: 362.76 LCC Code: HV6626.5



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I will use the term "perpetrator" to refer to the person engaging in gaslighting and psychological abuse/force. Perpetrator includes abusers and sex offenders, some who are psychopaths, some narcissistic, but all dangerous. The term "victim" and "partner" will refer to the person the perpetrator is abusing and gaslighting. Police intervention in domestic abuse situations is imperative. Arrest has powerful impact on slowing-down violent reoffense as does other police interventions.

Keywords: gabby petito, brian laundrie, gaslighting, psychological abuse, domestic abuse, relationship violence.

Psychological Force I

sychological abuse refers to the attacking of someone's self-esteem and self-worth, but the attacks are made against the whole being of the victim. Psychological force, which means psychological strategies used against victims, is the most used type of force in abusive situations as well as by most sex offenders. One of the primary reasons is that psychological force may not always be accurately labeled by others when they witness it, and it is difficult to prove.

Examples provided by Johnson (1995) include:

- Attacking the person's self-worth & self-esteem
- Name-calling
- Put-downs
- Degrading the victim
- Finding things to criticize
- Belittling of accomplishments

- Swearing/vulgar language directed at the victim
- Using emotions, such as love, against the victim
- The perpetrator implying that they are worth more or more intelligent than the victim
- Placing their own needs over the wellbeing of the
- Expressing contempt towards the victim
- Threatening to harm the victim
- Threatening to or destroying the victim's belongings
- Hitting or destroying property
- Threatening to or taking or harming the children or pets
- Monitoring the victim's actions, harassment, stalking
- Withholding and/or controlling the victim's money, including taking money and making the victim buy things for the abuser or pay the abuser's bills
- Interrupting eating and/or sleeping patterns
- Forcing the victim to do anything degrading, humiliating or dangerous
- Criticizing the victim's thoughts, beliefs, or behaviors
- Belittling the victim's accomplishments
- Treating the victim as if inferior or a servant
- Objectifying the victim
- Name calling \triangleright
- Pressuring into any sexual contact
- Statements such as "Leaving me proves that you always run away when you fail. If youloved me, you would stay", or "if you love me, prove it".
- Hearing others say: "that's just the way/she is" when the perpetrator makes negative comments about the victim- a strong indication that the victim's support network hasbeen compromised.

GASLIGHTING II.

Gaslighting is perhaps the most severe form of psychological force/abuse. Gaslighting is used by perpetrators of abuse and sex crimes to control others, including by those who are narcissistic and/or psychopath. Narcissism is about characteristics and behaviors that involve a grandiose sense of self (superiority) and the belief that they are special compared to others. They tend to have a constant need for attention and admiration and have a sense of entitlement. The narcissistis exploitive, a user of people, and lacks normal degrees of empathy. They can appear arrogant, misogynistic, and believe they are superior in intelligence (APA, 2013).

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Psychopaths demonstrate callousness, unemotional mindset, and remorselessness. Psychopathy involves patterns of affective, interpersonal, and behavioral characteristics more extreme than Antisocial Personality Disorder (Johnson, 2019). The psychopath has a need to hurt others, whether psychologically, physically, sexually, or financially. They can exhibit superficial charm, grandiosity, the need for pathological lying (lying for the sake of lying), are cunning and conning, have limited remorse and empathy, tend to have shallow, limited emotions, and fail to accept responsibility for their behavior. They can be impulsive and exhibit behavioral control problems (Hare, 1991, 2003). For a more indepth examination of psychopathy, see Johnson (2019). Perpetrators may exhibit psychopathic traits, but not all are true psychopaths.

Psychopaths and narcissists may be abusers and sex offenders, which makes them more proficient in utilizing gaslighting.

Psychology Today (2021) defines gaslighting as a form of manipulation and control in which a victim is continually led to believe false information to cause the victim to doubt themselves. This impacts the victim's memory, perception of situations, as well as their own sanity. Over time, the victim begins to have doubts about their sanity, self-worth, and of their ability to make decisions.

The goal of the perpetrator of gaslighting is to break the victim- to have the victim experience selfdoubt about their sanity and experience doubt about reality, eventually they come to believe whatever the perpetrator says. The perpetrator increases the lies and control over the victim. The lies become more serious, involving sensitive information about the victim. Anything the victimshared with the perpetrator is fair game to use against them.

In the beginning, the perpetrator may shower the victim with positive remarks, kindness, and love. The victim becomes enamored with the perpetrator, often sharing personal information which the perpetrator will use against them. Perina (2017) describes the following five gaslighting tactics used by the psychopath and narcissist-however, these can be used by anyone engaging in gaslighting even if not a psychopath or narcissist:

1. Confiding in their victim immediately. This involves revealing personal information about themselves far too early in a relationship and almost always describing themselves as a victim of current and prior partners. This forces the victim to trust too soon and to view the perpetrator as a victim and have sympathy for them. The victim divulges sensitive information far too early in a new relationship. Almost always, however, this

- information is a lie and used to garner sympathy from the victim.
- Repeats private or confidential information. This information portrays the perpetrator as a victim, constantly repeating the information reinforces the details as if they are true. It is as though the perpetrator is a salesman selling their lies. However, remember that "pathological lying" is one characteristic of a psychopath. Pathological lying is the relentless need to lie simply for the sheer pleasure it brings the perpetrator.
- Either asking few if any personal questions of the victim or very pointed questions of the victim to elicit sensitive and vulnerable information. This is an important sign of disrespect and control. The perpetrator asks little about their new partner, which typically is what first dates are about. The lack of interest in the victims' life should be a red flag immediately. The perpetrator also asks direct questions about the victims/partner's life to eventually use that information against them. However, psychopaths and narcissists are only focused on their own wants and needs and could care less about the wellbeing of their partner and lack any genuine interest in their partner, other than to control and undermine their partner's/ victim's sense of psychological wellbeing.
- Askes for special favors. This is done to test the victim's willingness to comply or to further manipulate the victim into compromising to the perpetrator's wishes and demands. This may involve financial or sexual favors as well. The perpetrator then uses any compromise against the victim when the victim refuses to comply.
- Makes odd sides/comments about the victim. This involves making compliments or criticism or both about the victim's abilities and worth. This is done in private and in front of others, including the victim's family and friends. This takes a toll. The victim hears positive comments followed shortly by criticism. This can cause a state of confusion for the victim. It is also an ongoing test to assess how easily the victim can be manipulated into debasing thoughts about themselves. This confusion causes the victim to doubt the perpetrator and the victim is forced to deal with the perpetrator's complementary and kind gestures. This is a form of manipulation and brainwashing.

Tracy (2019) adds several other gaslighting techniques and examples:

- 1. Withholding involves ignoring the victim's conversation or concerns and refusing toreveal any personal reaction or information.
- 2. Countering & Trivializing involves countering the victim's recollection of an event or concerns the

victim may have by telling the victim how wrong they are or were. Basically, the victim says one thing while the perpetrator tries to prove their own point of how the victim is confused. The perpetrator demeans the victim and trivializes the victim's concerns and feelings.

- 3. Blocking & diverting are techniques used by the perpetrator to deflect the discussion to the victim's shortcomings and avoid discussing what the victim wants and needs to discuss- refusing to acknowledge the victim's personhood.
- 4. Forgetting and Denial involves the perpetrator conveniently "forgetting" previous disclosures from the victim and denying previous discussions or promises made orbehavior engaged in.

As a result of psychological abuse and gaslighting, the victim may experience fear-of the abuser, of being harmed, or of others finding out about the abuse—as well as feelings of being trapped, worthless and exploited.

a) Breaking the Victim Down

The goal of a perpetrator of gaslighting is to cause the victim to experience psychological stress, doubting their own sanity and competence. The perpetrator uses personal information about the victim against them, belittling and attacking the victim for their perceived faults or negative life experiences. The perpetrator begins to attack the victim's positive qualities and positive life experiences and demeans and minimizing accomplishments. The perpetrator lies, they fail to keep their promises, and will blame the victim for either expecting them to do something or denythat they ever made a promise. Mix this with the perpetrator then portraying the nice, loving partner and the victim is trapped with more confusion. Basically, an extreme form of psychological abuse. The perpetrator also accuses the victim of being crazy despite evidence they are not! This likely results in further confusion of the victim.

b) Telling Lies

Psychopaths and Narcissists have a need to tell lies, just for the sake of conning (pathological lying). For the perpetrator of gaslighting, lies are an important weapon. First, to tell stories about their own life to evoke admiration and trust from the victim. Second, the lies conceal the truth about the perpetrator. The reality is that when people tell us something, we hear only their side of the story. Third, the perpetrator denies making requests or promises they blatantly made. Lying for the sake of lying and for the purpose of eventually hurting someone. Over time, the perpetrator of gaslighting, like the psychopath and narcissist, increases the amount and degree of the lies told to the victim.

The lies continue by attacking the victim's credibility. The perpetrator tells the victim to do something, but then criticizes the victim for how they did it, despite likely

doing it correctly. Inaddition, the perpetrator accuses the victim of lying about anything, and then uses that against the victim, even though the victim did not lie. The brainwashing continues, attacking the victim with accusations that they are lying and then perhaps treating the victim nicely to play more mind games. The lies may be told to the victim's family and friends, which further embarrasses, confuses, and isolates the victim. In addition, the perpetrator denies that they ever did or said something, leaving the victim more confused and doubting their own sanity.

c) Projection

Another behavior of the perpetrator of gaslighting is to use projection. Projection is when a person engages in a behavior they should not have, but then accuses their partner of doing the same thing, even though their partner has not done so. One example is the perpetrator may engage in relationships or sex with others, but then accuse the victim of doing the same thing, even when the victim did not. This is an effective tactic for the perpetrator to avoid being held accountable for their actions and make the victim increasingly more confused. The perpetrator may accuse the victim of inappropriate behavior in front of their friends and family, which places even more stress and confusion on the victim, further straining the relationships with friends and family. Basically, the perpetrator accuses everyone else of lying but themselves, even when the evidence proves otherwise. Imagine the impact on the victim of always being called a liar when in fact they are not lying or continually being accused of things they did not do.

d) Assault on the Victims Support Network

Not too long into the relationship, the perpetrator often either bonds with the victim's friends andfamily or pushes the victim's support system away. If the perpetrator bonds with the victims' support network, the main goal is to outwardly portray themselves as a "nice guy", perhaps even portraying themselves as a "rescuer" to the victim. In this case scenario, the perpetrator highlights to others how feeble or mentally unstable the victim is, despite this all being based on lies. The ultimate goal of the perpetrator is to gain the trust of the victim's support network which allows them to increase the verbal, physical and sexual abuse of the victim. When the victim's friends or family begin to doubt the victim's sanity or credibility, the victim has nowhere to go for help. The victim's support network may believe the perpetrator over the victim, giving the perpetrator even more power over the victim. This is a significant sign of gaslighting and of a psychopath.

What is more commonly seen is that the perpetrator increasingly causes conflict between the victim and their support network. This often occurs rapidly in the relationship. The ultimate goal is to isolate and control the victim. The perpetrator demands that the

victim terminate all contact with loved ones and focus exclusively on them. The perpetrator often insults and demeans the victim's friends and family and demands that the victim spend all their time and money on the perpetrator. Jealousy is often aggressively displayed until the victim cuts ties with everyone except the perpetrator.

In either of the two above scenarios, the perpetrator at times expresses loving behavior mixed with anger and control. The victim's support network finds it difficult to communicate with the victim. In general, in contact with the victim's family and friends, the perpetrator expresses concern about the victim's behavior and portrays the victim as the primary problem. Conversely, while in front of the victim's family and friends, the perpetrator often accuses the victim of things they did not do, portraying the victim as lying or delusional or emotionally unstable (e.g., they have OCD, depression, substance abuse issues- though not true). This places the victim in an emotional turmoil of wanting to defend themselves, angry and shamed about the accusations, the victim appears more unstable as they try to defend themselves. In essence the victim now appears to be the unstable one, even though they are

e) Sexual Gaslighting

The perpetrator may be adept at the use of psychological abuse to control consenting and nonconsenting sex partners, which often involves "gaslighting" to make their partners/victims question their own sanity and role in a rape. I will use the term "rape" to include sexual assault, rape, child molestation, any forced sexual contact.

It is common for a sex offender to blame the victim for the sexual assault, molestation, or rapewhile at the same time portraying themselves as a victim of the situation. Perpetrators often claim that they were "out-ofcontrol" or "mislead" by the victim, neither of which are true. Sexual gaslighting is a form of psychological abuse used to rape, to gain unwanted sexual contact. Wahl (2017) describes sexual gaslighting as an attempt to cause confusion around a sexual situation. We hear this often occurring in sexual assaults and rapes. The victim may have been unconscious, impaired, or simply not wanting the sexual contact to occur. The perpetrator attempts to confuse the victim by questioning the victim's intent and accusing the victim of really wanting the sexual contact, when in fact they did not. If the victim was intoxicated, drugged, or unconscious when the sexual contact/rape occurred, the victim is likely to struggle with the perpetrator's lies and blaming statements. In addition, when the victim is in an impaired state or unconscious, others may not believe them. The goal is to cause confusion in the victim by challenging victim resistance as consent or as a sign that they do not love the perpetrator.

This can lead to the victim, as already discussed above, to distrust their own experience and memory. This can also result in a victim appearing more confused and unreliable in their recollection of the sexual assault or rape. But that is the very reason the perpetrator engages in sexual gaslighting. This has been discussed by numerous researchers as psychological force and is used by sex offenders to justify their behavior. The term gaslighting, in my opinion, helps to understand this type of force as a more extreme and effective form of abuse.

Unfortunately, many people hold false beliefs about sexual assault and rape. Many blame the victims of sex crimes or abuse as somehow being the victim's fault. This makes the perpetrators actions even more of an effective weapon. Consider the following about sexual gaslighting, as research demonstrates about sexual assault and rape.

Johnson (1995) conducted a study involving over 2,000 Minnesota high school students who were surveyed following a two-day presentation on sexual assault, rape, and child molestation. The results indicated that up to 75% of the males and up to 38% of the females endorsed that they condoned the use of psychological force by a male to obtain sexual contact from a female incertain circumstances. Up to 4% of the males and 2% of the females condoned the use of physical force by a male to gain sexual contact from a female. In that same study, Johnson also surveyed 115 convicted sex offenders who were currently on probation and currently involved in outpatient sex offender treatment. The goal was to compare with the responses of the high schoolstudents and convicted sex offenders about types of force used to justify forced sexual contact.

The sex offenders indicated that they used psychological force (13-48%) more than physical force (22%). These findings suggest that adolescents and sex offenders hold beliefs that condone the use of psychological force to gain sexual contact and that the convicted sex offenders primarily utilized psychological force in the commission of their sex crimes.

Johnson (1997, 1998, 2011) conducted a study comparing the types of force used by sex offenders who were in the community (on probation and currently involved in outpatient sex offender treatment) with incarcerated sex offenders (who were in Minnesota prisons and currently involved in sex offender treatment). Both groups utilized primarily psychological force and some physical force in the commission of their sex crime. Interestingly, the incarcerated sex offenders utilized a slightly higher degree of psychological force than their community counterparts. However, 100% of the sex offenders in both groups utilized psychological force and approximately up to 21% also used physical force.

Perpetrators are adept at blaming their victim as well as their alcohol use for their violent behavior. Time and time perpetrators of violent crime use alcohol intoxication as an excuse for reprehensible behavior (e.g., Critchlow, 1986). Female victims who are intoxicated are often lessbelieved and often portrayed as deserving of the rape in some way (Harrison, Howerton, Secarea, & Nguyen, 2008; Wenger & Bornstein, 2006). As a contradiction, sex offenders and offenders in general who are intoxicated at the time they commit their crime are often portrayed as being less culpable for their actions (Qi, Starfelt, & White, 2016). Interesting situationblame the victim and support the offender. Stone (2013) provides an interesting legal opinion on this matter. There is a direct association between men's attitudes about women (e.g., misogyny, use of coercion, misinterpretation of women's behavior) and sexual assault and rape in general (Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, & Tanaka, 1991). When the victim of gaslighting is interviewed, he/she likely appears to be a messdistraught, depressed, angry, yet the perpetrator often appears blaming and calm, too calm.

Research has found that perpetrator sobriety plays no role in the degree of rape victim injuries (Abbey, Clinton, McAuslan, Zawacki, & Buck, 2002). Others (e.g., Testa, 2002) suggest that perpetrators who are more violent may drink more on the rape day and may also be sociopathic, though that does not imply what degree of intoxication the perpetrator had at the time of the offense, only that they were drinking that day. Whether intoxicated or sober, the perpetrator planned the rape, maintained control over the victim, completed the rape, and successfully escaped afterwards. Many perpetrators blame alcohol use for their violent behavior.

How these findings relate to gaslighting is simple. Psychological force is the most used force against victims of domestic/relationship violence as well as against victims of sex crimes. There appears to be an attitude of acceptance for the use of psychological force to gain sexual contact, which makes it more likely that 1) an offender would rely on psychological abuse to manipulate their victim and 2) that this acceptance of psychological force makes it more difficult for victims to be fully supported and believed (see Johnson, 2014 for an explanation of attribution theory and how victims are often held more responsible for being raped than perpetrators; extrapolate for how others may be conned by the perpetrator of gaslighting to blame the victim as well and to cause others to question the mental wellbeing and credibility of the victim).

Personality factors have been correlated to violence in general, including sex crimes. Those with personality traits including, but not limited to narcissism, antisocial, psychopathic and other deviant traits may simply not be concerned with the risks involved in violent crime. In addition, such individuals may give little if any regard to the consequences or punishments for their

behavior (Strang & Peterson, 2013; Zawacki, Abbey, Buck, McAuslan, & Clinton-Sherrod, 2003). Those who engage in the more severe form of psychological abuse of gaslighting appear more likely to present with psychopathic traits: high degrees of cunningness, being able to calmly con others (lie, manipulate- even towards law enforcement), and their apparent lower degree of anxiety or fear expressed when others are present.

Non-Verbal Cues

Victims of psychopaths or narcissists often experience a feeling that something is off, that the perpetrator exhibits cruel behavior, cruel comments, and just a bad feeling. But when the victim is getting to know the perpetrator, they have good intentions and may ignore the warning signs (Perina, 2017). For law enforcement, there is a sense that the perpetrator, or alleged perpetrator, appears too calm, joking, and projecting of blame onto the victim. The perpetrator appears to not demonstrate an affective or behavioral response that would be normally experienced. An innocent or guilty perpetrator generally demonstrate anger and anxiety, but do not appear too calm as the psychopath or narcissist.

When the perpetrator is confronted by the victim or others:

- (a) They often deflect responsibility, blaming the victim for their own (perpetrator's) shortcomings or role in the problem, despite the victim likely having minimal if any rolein the problem at hand.
- (b) They often become verbally and physically abusive. blaming the victim for not agreeing with them or blaming the victim for "causing" them to yell, assault, and/or rape.

How to Identify Gaslighting III.

Below are some indicators that suggest gaslighting has likely occurred. Family, friends, law enforcement, child protection, probation officers may observe the following (though not an exhaustive list). Some overlap and are a bit redundant, but each are important.

1. Context: The victim is hysterical but offender calm, lacking concern normally expected in situation- too calm, rarely may be overly angry. If the partner is genuinely concerned about their partner's situation and mental state, they should demonstrate concern. For officers, never forget why you responded to the call, what was alleged? When the allegedperpetrator is too calm, belittling the victim, blaming the victim. and portraying themselves as an innocent victim of their alleged victim- that does not fit the expected context of attitude and behavior. Why is one person upset or distraught and the other calm? Even guilty suspects may demonstrate concern for their victim's response to the assault/ abuse/rape.

- Befriending the officer, Child Protection Worker, or victim's family and friends: In a law enforcement contact, it is expected that a person experiences some degree of anxiety and at times anger, but in moderation. Someone who appears too calm or too angry is generally not the victim. Victims may appear confused, scared, upset, but these same observations are not made of the perpetrator. Being overly friendly is a concern because it is not normal to remain calm during a law enforcement contact, or in a crisis situation. Being able to befriend the officer or others is an indicator that the perpetrator has psychopathic traits-especially traits of being cunning, conning, lacking normal emotional or empathetic responses, and demonstrating a lack of concern for the consequences- it is simply a game for the perpetrator.
- Laughing off concerns/minimizing the situation: The ability to minimize the seriousness psychologically, physically, or sexually violent situation demonstrates psychopathic traits. Only a guilty individual would do so. An innocent person, accused of such a wrongdoing would likely experience anxiety, anger and fear of being wrongfully held accountable or accused.
- 4. Portraying concern for the victim but appearing calmer than expected: Again, if the victim is mentally distressed, yet the perpetrator is calm, making jokes, or blaming the victim, they are not demonstrating appropriate concern but rather that of a guilty perpetrator with psychopathic traits.
- 5. Blaming the victim: It is common for perpetrators of abuse, rape, and gaslighting to attack the victim. This may involve many areas of the victim's life. For example:
- a. Mental health: Telling others that the victim has a mental health diagnosis, yet no one in the victim's family or friend network is aware that the victim has any mental health disorder. It is common to claim that the victim is depressed, bipolar, has OCD, substance abuse, and that the victim is the psychologically or physically assaultive person, not the accused perpetrator. Again, context matters as discussed above. In many cases, the family and friends of the victim have never witnessed the psychological concerns or when they have noticed the concerns, everything appeared to begin when the victim and perpetrator began dating.
- b. Temper: Blaming the victim of being the one who is aggressive is a common claim by the perpetrator. The victim of aaslighting has experienced ongoing verbal and likely physical and sexual attacks. The victim is constantly bombarded with the perpetrator being nice and loving at other times and then psychologically mean or cruel. So yes, the victim

- appears psychologically stressed and confused, and may well have acted in an aggressive manner following the powerful gaslighting that has occurred. However, the victim's response would be considered normal given the ongoing gaslighting.
- c. Depression/Bipolar: As mentioned above, the victim is likely depressed-victims naturally become depressed. In most situations, however, the depression began after the relationship with the perpetrator began. However, likely no official diagnosis has ever been given. Many victims never seek help or if they attempt to do so are stopped by the perpetrator of gaslighting to avoid detection or the perpetrator may support the victim obtaining mental health services and portray to the mental health professional that the victim is the one with the problem. Again, family and friends of the victim can attest to when the mental health concerns did not begin (if are even present) until after the relationship with the perpetrator began.
- Projecting blame onto the victim, justifying their own behavior as somehow normal or caring in nature: perpetrators of abuse, sexual assault, rape, and of course, asslighting are adept at blaming the victim for anything that occurs that draws attention. Likely, again, the perpetrator of gaslighting remains much calmer than expected in the situation and may even laugh-off/minimize their involvement in the problem at hand. In addition, the perpetrator likely attacks the victim based on personal information the victim disclosed. Using things against the victim is an ongoing problem, an attack on the trust and vulnerability of the victim, which may result in the victim experiencing more guilt and shame about their own history that the perpetrator is using against
- Identify when the victim allegedly developed any personal problems: Usually the alleged problems began after the dating relationship with the perpetrator began. Again, the victim's family and friends are likely to have not noticed said problems until the dating relationship began.
- Identifying if You or a Friend Are Being or Have Been a Victim of Gaslighting

Identifying if you have been or are being gaslighted is difficult. No one wants to admit they wereor are a victim. However, identifying if you have been or are a victim of gaslighting or any type of abuse is the first step to getting yourself to safety and improving your mental wellbeing. Some of the indicators include the following, especially if these begin when in a new relationship or worsen in a relationship:

- constantly second-guessing yourself
- experiencing self-doubt or depressive symptoms

- questioning if you are crazy or too sensitive or often questioning your decisions
- avoiding bringing-up certain topics or issues out of fear of how your partner may react
- isolating you from family, friends, support people
- not engaging in usual activities
- feeling like you are not your usual self (e.g., less assertive, less outgoing, more sad, less confident, less social)
- withholding information about your relationship or partner from your family and friends
- lying to others to survive and to not appear unstable
- 10. allowing your partner to make decisions for you
- 11. not feeling safe or confident to stand up for yourself or express your wants or needs
- 12. apologizing for your views, wants, or needs
- 13. defending your partner to others when you know your partner is wrong
- 14. making excuses for your partner's abusive behavior (psychological, physical, and/orsexual abuse/rape)
- 15. questioning your worth as a partner, person, or
- b) Leaving a Gaslighter or Any Abusive Relationship

It is important to understand that leaving an abuser is challenging and difficult. Regardless of how severe the abuse, whether just beginning or having occurred for some time, there are safety considerations. Leaving an abusive relationship can be dangerous. Abusers, especially those who gaslight or engage in psychical and/or sexual abuse, may become more dangerous and homicidal when they learn about the victim's intent to leave. Here are some of the most important things tokeep in mind for victims:

- 1. Talk with others about your concerns and your plan to leave. Utilize any and all support networks you have available- family, friends, victim advocates, police. If you are isolated, please, please, please utilize services for battered women/men, advocates for sexual assault/rape victims, and the police. Never go it alone. You deserve support- yoursafety is the most important thing.
- Take your cell phone and computer.
- 3. Have any important papers you need. This includes your driver's license, social security card, passport, bank cards, etc. Take everything with you. Assume that you may not get another opportunity to retrieve your belongings.
- Leave when the abuser is gone, at work, out with friends, whatever, so that you can safelyleave.
- Have support people with you as you leave in case the abuser returns. Utilize the police for protectionthey will help you leave with your belongings.
- 6. If you have a shared bank account, transfer money into a new account that the abuser does not know about or have access to. You can always return money later if you took more than you should have,

- but it will be very difficult to get the money once you leave.
- Terminate contact with the abuser. Utilize an email or letter or another person to tell them you are leaving- after you leave! The abuser, especially one who gaslights, is very able to convince you to meet and to rekindle your relationship. Cease contact.
- Do not tell the perpetrator where you are going or 8. livina.
- 9. Inform your support network, including your coworkers of the situation so that they are aware and can provide more protection should the abuser show up at your home or workor friend's or family's home.
- 10. Never, ever, under any circumstance, meet the abuser to discuss why you left or have further communication. This almost always ends badly with further assault, rape, or murder. The abuser will try to demonstrate love and concern, only to harm you once you are alone together. If a meeting is necessary, never do it alone and keep the meeting in a public place, during the daytime, and again, with a support person/s. Meeting in front of apolice station offers more protection because there are always security cameras. Let the police know about the situation in advance so that if you need to call 911, they already have information. Preferably, never meet again with the abuser.
- 11. If you need to meet with the abuser for a legitimate reason other than getting backtogether, do so with others present, in front of a police station if possible.
- 12. Report them to the police if they continue to contact you or show up where you are at. Remember, if they truly loved you, they would not have abused you in the first place They should want you to move on and be happy. If they continue to contact you, that is abuse and control and gaslighting- it is also harassment and stalking.
- 13. It is always ok to say "I love you, but this relationship is toxic". It is understandable that you may have positive memories and believe that the abuser has some good qualities. However, once they began to abuse you, the relationship is over. Move on.
- 14. Contact local or national helplines/centers for domestic abuse (Domestic Violence Support | The National Domestic Violence Hotline (thehotline.org)

What the literature has to Say About Police Intervention in Cases of Domestic Violence Law enforcement often takes the blame for their intervention in domestic violence situations. They cannot prevent a future violent situation and cannot force a victim to leave an abusive relationship. In fact, most victims return to the abusive relationship for many reasons, some of which may include shame and guilt, loss of self-esteem, self-doubt about who is responsible forthe abuse, and of course, because they have been abused long enough to

defer to the perpetrator for any place of blame and decision making.

It is common for officers to separate perpetrators and victims. At times this may be the only option if an arrest is not made. When officers separate the victim and perpetrator, especially for 1-3 days, is more likely to result in increased anger and rage by the perpetrator. Remember that most victims return to their abusers. The perpetrator is aware that the victim will likely return, and the perpetrator can gaslight again, appearing loving and then increasing the degree of abuse up to and including murder.

The research demonstrates that the victim leaving the relationship or separating from the perpetrator can be the most dangerous time. More serious violence and even lethal violence ismore likely to occur during or shortly following a period of separation (e.g., Campbell, 1995; Campbell et al., 2003; Dunkley & Phillips, 2015; Logan & Walker, 2004; McFarlane et al., 1999).

Whether the perpetrator of abuse is arrested or not appears to have mixed results. Several studies demonstrated that arrest decreased the subsequent abuse for up to the follow-up period of approximately six months (Berk & Newton, 1985; Maxwell, Garner, & Fagan, 2001; Schmidt & Sherman, 1993; Sherman Berk, 1984; Wooldredge, 2007) with at least one finding that a longer period of incarceration (hours to days) is more effective (e.g., Sherman & Berk, 1984).

Others found that police intervention with or without arrest decreased reoffense within the follow-up period(Berk et al., 1982; Maxwell et al., 2001; Tolman & Weisz, 1995).

Some found that police intervention (other than arrest) made more of a difference on subsequentabuse (Hirschel & Hutchison, 1992; Dunford, Huizinga, & Elliot, 2006; Hoppe et al. 2020; Maxwell, Garner, & Fagan, 2001; Schmidt & Sherman; 1993) although some studies include more chronic abusers who may be less responsive to any police intervention or incarceration.

One issue that may have impacted studies on the impact of arrest is that approximately 40% of the perpetrators of abuse left the scene prior to police arriving (Buzawa, & Hirschel, 2009; Dunford, 1990; Feder, 1996; Hirschel & Hutchison, 1992:894). This may have impacted the overall studies because arrest may have been delayed or in some cases not occurred because the offender was not on scene. It has been found that perpetrators of abuse who leave the scene prior to the arrival of the police are more dangerous and more likely to reoffend (Buzawa et al., 1999).

Caveats for the literature Reviews on Police Arrest and Impact on Subsequent Violence/Reoffense for Domestic Violence

Problems in the above studies and in the current literature appear worthy of mention. The

problems related to the operational definitions of abuse; not always clearly specifying the follow-up period; and not clearly defining reoffense. Perhaps the most significant issue, that arrest versus no arrest is not a measure of whether abuse ends, but rather does it delay reoffense, which allows the victim to obtain support to address the abuse and protect themselves. It appears that arrest does not end domestic abuse, which was never the intent of arrest. However, even in the above studies, there is support that arrest appears to delay reoffense which allows the victim more time to seek help.

The issue of arrest/no arrest is complex because there are numerous other factors to consider, (e.g., see Broidy, et al., 2016). The research also presents with limitations in that not all incidents of domestic abuse are reported or reported in a timely manner, including subsequent acts of violence. This may suggest that the overall percentage of perpetrator reoffense is underreported. In addition, failing to arrest likely emboldens the perpetrators as they have no serious consequence for their violent behavior. It also decreases the likelihood of the victim calling the police on subsequent abuse events. Arrest gives the perpetrator and victim of domestic abuse the message that domestic abuse is serious and not tolerated. It is not nor has it ever been the case in the mental health field that arrest, in and of itself, ends abuse.

CASE EXAMPLE- GABBY PETITO IV.

I will use the most recent televised example of gaslighting that involves the murder of Gabby Petito. Please see the following news clips to appreciate the point as well as other footage available from television coverage (WATCH: Police Body-Cam Footage of Missing 22 Year-Old Gabby Petito and 'Person of Interest' Fiancé Prior to Disappearance (msn.com); Gabby Petito: New bodycam footage offers details of what police were told about a domestic dispute with fiancé Brian Laundrie - CNN; Bodycam footage raises more questions about missing woman (cnn.com);

The officers who made the traffic stop based on a 911 caller's witnessing Brian physically assaulting Gabby missed important clues that Brian demonstrate psychopathic traits, this is a training issue for officers. However, the officers interrogating Gabby as the primary perpetrator missed her appearance as being distraught and the victim. They also missed that Brian was far too calm and jovial when questioned by the officers, and even took a sigh when the officer toldhim he was not the primary perpetrator and not going to jail- this further emboldened Brian, a clue of psychopathic traits.

Here is my breakdown of some of the missed important behavioral indicators (though only a summary):

- 1. A caller to 911 indicated that he witnessed Brian physically assaulting Gabby. This should have guided the officers to approach Brian more assertively and to assume that hedid in fact assault her. This is the context that begins the contact with police.
- The alleged victim, Gabby, appears as a victim, not a perpetrator of violence, based onher appearance and attitude. She is more than cooperative with police, and like any domestic abuse victim, accepts blame for the incident and protects the perpetrator. Sheassumed responsibility and blame for the entire
- 3. When questioned about slapping Brian, she appears confused, dazed, and unsure about her comments. This response and appearance is typical of most victims, not most perpetrators. It now appears likely that he took her cell phone and that is when she slapped him to get the phone back. It is against the law to take someone's cell or home phone to prevent them from calling 911. Not sure if that was the situation, but some information suggests it that he took her cell phone. He had his cell in his pocket.
- 4. As Gabby described the situation, she blames herself because Brian was telling her toshut-up, and she quickly assumed the blame claiming she has OCD. Nothing justifies violence, Brain should have walked away even if she would not "shut-up".
- 5. Gabby claims that she slapped him for yelling at her, and that he grabbed her arms and by the jaw, causing noticeable injury to her face.
- 6. Gabby's appearance appeared appropriate for a victim of recent assault- distraught, crying, unable to focus, and taking the blame for another's actions. Even most important, she appeared to look through the officers. She appeared confused and out-of-it, stressed, and fearful. Officers' forceful questions of her being the primary perpetrator, appearing to prompt her to admit she slapped Brian first and then minimizing his grabbing her arm and jaw, is of significant concern. The officers were blaming of Gabby when they should have been asking more gentle questions for details, not accusing her. Remember that this began with a 911 caller who witnessed Brian slapping her.
- 7. It is common for abusers, especially the more severe perpetrators who appear to present with psychopathic traits, to instigate their victim into initiating a physical assault in order to portray the victim as the aggressor and then being able to justify physically assaulting or killing their victim. And even if Gabby did first slap Brian, his response of grabbing her arms and jaw (again, visible injury) was a gross over-reaction to being slapped. She isa small stature female, likely not causing any harm with her slap.

Interview with Brian

- 1. Again, the situation began with a 911 caller who witnessed Brian slapping and verbally berating Gabby.
- Brian's demeanor was out-of-context for the situation. One would expect him to be upset, confused about why she slapped him, perhaps somewhat angry if he were the actual victim of the situation. His appearance and attitude, however, were far too calm. In fact, he is smiling and overly cooperative with officers, conning the officers to lighten-up and befriend him. They treated Brian not as a suspect of assault/abuse, but rather as the victim. Only a person with psychopathic traits is capable of going from a negative and violent emotional state to a calm, friendly state. He also lacked empathy or compassion for Gabby- his alleged loved one. In situations where the alleged perpetrator may have actually been the victim, one would expect that he would be upset and confused about she assaulted him and concerned about her as well- neither of which were observed in the bodycamera footage.
- Brian stated that he did not want her to leave when she attempted to leave the situation, and then claimed that he did not have a cell phone and that he would be stranded. Interestingly, however, he produces his cell phone. This was a direct lie to the officers, yet neither officer appears to take note. In addition, it was never clarified or questionedwhether he took her cell phone.
- The van belonged to gabby. If she wanted to leave, Brian did in fact have a cell phone and financial means to separate, as evident in paying for his hotel when officers askedthem to separate.
- Throughout the police interaction with Brian, he significantly minimized the seriousness of the situation, failed to acknowledge any fear for his safety at the hands of Gabby, only that he did not want to be kicked out of the van without any means to call anyone becausehe claimed he did not have a cell phone- which again was a lie. Brian appeared relaxed with officers, unconcerned about Gabby's wellbeing, and in fact blamed her for the situation. portraying himself as the victim, which again should have been challenged because of the 911 caller's witnessing Brian as the aggressor.
- Brain appears to take a sigh and relax more after officers told him that Gabby was theperpetrator and likely the one to go to jail, not him. Though one could understand a perpetrator or victim being relieved about not being the primary suspect, he did not defend Gabby.

Overall Petito Case Analysis

The officers' missed obvious indicators that Brian was the suspect in the assault and missed that

Gabby was terrified, confused, and appearing to be the victim of both physical abuse and psychological terrorism (psychological abuse and the extreme of gaslighting). This suggests that the officers were not trained about the impact of psychological abuse nor of the extreme of gaslighting.

The officers appeared to be conned by Brian from the beginning. Any professional can be misled or fooled by an abuser with psychopathic traits (cunning, conning, minimal emotionality, being able to turn-on and turn-off emotions, and the skill to make their victim appear the aggressor- though not overly concerned about it). Gabby's appearance and attitude was that of a victim of extreme abuse and control. She would have confessed to any allegation the officer accused her of. She was unable to think clearly, she was obviously confused and distraught (again, not the appearance or demeanor of a perpetrator), and again the focus should have been on the 911 caller's observations. Brian did a great job of guiding the situation, causing Gabby to confess toinstigating it, when she likely reached the end of her coping skills with his berating and threatening behavior.

Later, the is evidence of prior violent episodes by Brain, one in a café, and others against Gabby. In hindsight, the responding officers would not likely have this knowledge at the point in time they were at the scene.

When a victim, even if portrayed as the perpetrator, takes the blame for most/or all of everything leading up to a violent situation, appear distraught, confused, and protecting of the perpetrator, should be a red flag to extreme victimization. Regardless of whether a victim initiates a physical altercation, that does not justify the victim/perpetrator engaging in more force than what had originally occurred. A slap does not justify grabbing her jaw.

Gaslighting creates a situation where the victim appears unstable and often appears to be the perpetrator- at least from the perpetrators' view. Officers need more training on how victims react to abuse and of the more extreme form of psychological abusegaslighting. The arrest of Brian Laundrie may have been the most appropriate intervention given eyewitnesses viewed him assaulting her and she had injury to her face as a result. Imagine that if an arrest was made, Petito would still be alive, though likely he would have killed her at a later date.

VI. SUMMARY

Psychological abuse and the more extreme form of gaslighting are the most dangerous unseen types of abuse and control over any victim of relational violence. It is imperative that law enforcement be trained to understand what the effects of gaslighting look like in a victim. Also, how the perpetrator appears calmer and more unaffected by the police interaction is indicative of psychopathic traits, including the ability to portray the victim as the perpetrator and as mentally unstable. For law enforcement, pay attention to the alleged perpetrator's behavior, attitude, demeanor- is it appropriate to the situation at hand? If not, this is likely a more seriously violent offender with psychopathic traits. A victim who appears highly distraught, unable to focus, and accepting blame for the violence is likely the genuine victim of the circumstance. Arrest of the perpetrator appears to delay violence reoffense in the short-run.

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Global Journal of Human-social science: A Arts & Humanities - Psychology

Volume 22 Issue 3 Version 1.0 Year 2022

Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal

Publisher: Global Journals

Online ISSN: 2249-460x & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Urban Regeneration and Human Rehabilitation - Thriven by Fourth Nature

By Simone Back Prochnow

Introduction- It is nowadays quite usual to hear the affirmation 'everything is connected' and this banalization makes us sometimes not take its real importance into account. We live in an intrinsically complex living world. Everything breathes, everything moves, everything dances. What about being able to hear the same music? Once we allow our senses to perceive our surroundings, a previous unknown dimension of life opens for us. Andreas Weber (2016) says that "only in the mirror of other life can we understand our own lives. Only in the eyes of the other we become ourselves". This reinforces the Fourth Nature Concept: that talks about the reciprocity existing in the relation man/Nature through a new consciousness (PROCHNOW, 2020).

Once we bring Nature back to our every day lives, we will be able to see ourselves as Nature again. Amerindian people do not have in their language a specific term to define "Nature", they conceive reality as a continuum, where humanity, animals, plants and stars are connected and have responsibilities to creating and recreating life. In the 3rd Millennium, it will be fundamental to restore this idea, concerning our survival on this planet, as well as its continuity.

GJHSS-A Classification: DDC Code: 616.8106 LCC Code: RC388.5



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Once we bring Nature back to our everyday lives, we will be able to see ourselves as Nature again. Amerindian people do not have in their language a specific term to define "Nature", they conceive reality as a continuum, where humanity, animals, plants and stars are connected and have responsibilities to creating and recreating life. In the 3rd Millennium, it will be fundamental to restore this idea, concerning our survival on this planet, as well as its continuity. We must review what and how we build. Our everyday activities, as well as our houses, our settlements and our cities — of any size. Considering them all connected and as one form of Nature, not different from Nature. But how?

My research inquiries, like this one above for example, are mostly solved when I look for answers evoking very old concepts in balance with, let's say, very fresh ideias. This kind of correspondence ends up in a third view, normally intriguing. When thinking about how to treat, feel and build cities as one form of Nature, one of the seven basic laws of Nature seemed very appropriate - polarity: known as part of the Hermetic Principles - to configure an answer. Nature and cities are normally taken as opposites. This law says that everything in the world has two poles, its corresponding opposite, but they are in fact one only thing, identical in source but different in grade, different in intensities. For example: heat and cold, dark and light, love and hate.... cities and Nature! It is only a question of grading both extremes - in mental or physical manifestation.

It is said also that there can be infinite grading in between the different poles. It is relevant to notice,

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however, that things belonging to different categories can not be modified in between them, only the ones that are in the same order. For example: dark can be changed into light, but fear can not be changed into cold, only into courage. Even more exciting: the law says that the extremes touch each other, the opposites have an inherent power that always searches for balance, all paradoxes can be reconciled. In this sense, we can start understanding cities and Nature as belonging to the same order, once we recognize two important facts: first of all, we humans are Nature, and second, we are the ones that transform Nature into our culture, into art, into architecture! Everything you see created, developed, designed or produced in the world before being materialized was in someone's mind. A chair, a glass, a book, a window, a building — all this is Nature transformed by us humans. Isn't it amazing?

In his book 'The Biology of Wonder', Andreas Weber says that life is feeling. So the challenge for living is to be able to feel amazed again, to be capable of understanding and balancing the poles - this is what is missing in our lives at most. Being animated means being governed by feeling and the desire to grow; animation is the biological power of self construction and continuity. This is the feeling we share with all creatures. The genuine experience of good and bad, the deep waves of misery and joy - but indeed, human consciousness often misses the point (WEBER, 2016, p. 68).

Taking Cities and Nature as Merely OPPONENTS IS A FALSE ASSUMPTION

It is in our hands, literally, as humanity, to find the balance which is inherent in the polarity city/Nature. As living organisms, our cities of any size are in eternal metamorphosis, just like we are, as says Emanuele Coccia (another contemporary philosopher that inspires me hugely). We, as "thinkers" and designers of cities, shall understand the way this balance can be more easily and intelligently achieved. Allowing and enabling change. Not designing against Nature, as we normally see in nowadays projects, but allied to it. Once we have this balance in mind, and knowing that everything is alive and permanently changing, it is easier to understand how Nature's forces are highly intelligent and grand. And that we shall be smart enough to join these forces. This is what I call a Genius Loci Approach: when we, architects and urban planners, see, understand and perceive the natural environment "spirit" which we are going to work with, using all our being and sensibilities but also with all technology available - and being visionaries. How can this happen? What is the ideal scenario we can have in mind? It is our responsibility making it possible for Nature to cohabit a space with our creations, turning it into a place — with meaning and purpose (PROCHNOW; CASTELLO, 2021).

We have the chance to make the balance between cities and Nature reachable — in all its nuances. In this way, it is possible to regenerate urban landscapes, healing places and therefore healing also human souls that inhabit these place, by making them connect again. We are already seeing many ways emerging, like urban farming, blue-green infrastructure design, green roofs and walls of many different kinds, that bring Nature back into cities, also using it in favor of urban processes. This is good, but we need more. We need to build communities in all its senses, respecting people and their need for social interaction and the environment, aiming for a whole well being, in a holistic way. By connecting people to other people, outsides and insides, private and public, built and natural, evolution and consciousness, the equation starts to stabilize.

III. This is What the Fourth Nature DOES: RECOVERS UNITY IN MULTIPLICITY

Our species is suffering from what Richard Louv (2011) calls NDD - Nature Deficit Disorder. Our disconnectedness from nature has a huge impact on our health and well-being. We are living sick in sick cities. It is very important to observe however, that 'health is not only the absence of disease or pain, it is also physical, emotional, mental, intellectual and spiritual capacity - in short, concerns the joy of being alive' as Louv says. The Fourth Nature concept says this is an inherent capacity inside each one of us and Nature can spark it.

Science has some difficulties in describing the way we perceive Nature - because it is also about intuition and senses, not practical, not obvious and has no unified results. At all. This must be considered when we try to answer some questions that drive urban design challenges nowadays; which role can open spaces play in recovering public life? How can public spaces effectively contribute to making social interaction possible? How to reinvigorate cities' landscapes, mitigate climate problems and above all enhance life quality in urban scenarios? It seems that bringing Nature back as protagonist in urban design is already considered one of the most recurrent solutions, due to its effectiveness. Together with temporary and malleable

the dynamics are prevailing over permanence and creativity is overcoming regulations. Creating and recreating places through interventions that can articulate public interactions with low cost greening actions create a positive impact on urban habitat. All these are possible features that somehow increase the connection of city dwellers with the natural world, with positive side effects in urban structures. In this sense, mutating strategies based on citizens as decision makers appear as solutions very well accepted, once they commute the most evident needs with different resources available in different places and time.

We humans are unique and each of us is a unity of sensations and backgrounds. The presence of Nature in cities is able to bring us back to a common base of principles, where we feel somehow equal and where we are back in the mood of letting ourselves enjoy our characteristics of not only humans but also social beings. This idea is brought about by the Fourth Nature concept, which envisions the evolution of our relation to the natural world through being conscious of its presence and of our own presence in the world. This can influence absolutely all our feelings and actions and lead us to optimal outcomes based on consensus and aiming at the collective well-being - recovering uniqueness in multiplicity.

Urban planners are now seeking for continuity and compactness in cities - this is where Nature can enhance its presence and also the good results. Former 'empty spaces' can easily be changed into green spaces, being the turning point in urban regeneration processes. Being present in different scales and positions within the urban tissue, it can provide fluidity as well. Parks and smaller green areas can be connected through green streets, where not only trees but also rain gardens, edible gardens and planted balconies, adding value to the whole surroundings, spreading like a positive metastasis. When we promote this green presence and we will inhabit these places reinvigorated by nature's presence, we start feeling different and certainly better. It is more than just letting nature grow, it is about taking part in the decision of having nature again in our near and being conscious of its role in our existence. It's a reinvigorated sense of belonging that nurtures change.

It is proven that states of meditation, states of being connected to Nature, even by the simple fact of allowing it to amaze us, already provides our body and cells regeneration. Grounding for example, walking barefoot in grass or on earth, brings our inner system slowly into balance. Again, isn't it amazing? Let 's do it! Let's plan places where this is possible as part of our routine. Not as an exception.





We are part of a fascinating cosmos, in which there is already no doubt that a supreme intelligence coordinates and reorganizes the fluxus and all systems (KAKU, 1994). We just have to not disturb it, but comprehend it and connect to it. The way we have built our settlements must be reviewed urgently. And it can sometimes be more simple than we imagine. We are not talking about giving back technology or everything that is part of evolution, we just have to be aware that this is not enough. We are a perfect conjunction of matter and energy, and the vital energy evolution/perception/flow is what is lacking. The Nature Deficit Disorder studies summarizes all this and explains its consequences when it says that inspiration is another form of health. When we go to the woods knowing that our health will be better, when we have the chance to gaze at the sky and the birds that fly in the rain, the colors that spontaneously pop up, the benefits come in the form of physical, psychological and spiritual gains. We can feel a natural euphoria when we are taken by a sensation of light, of energy and a kind of reverenced admiration (LOUV, 2010). We find again the sense of humility. This is one one the most significant happenings for a heal to begin.

IV. WHAT CAME FIRST, OUR SICKNESS OR THE DISCONNECTION FROM NATURE?

Hard to explain. It is just essencial to perceive that this negative spiral in which we are trapped must stop and reverse. The Fourth Nature concept sees this

as totally possible, once it is not opposing evolution, but reinforcing it - in an holistic way. Our civilization and culture is also part of the universe flow, that is why we are here, to experiment and discover new ways of not only surviving, but harmonic living and evolving, transforming, relating, learning. We are social beings, our identity and the recognition of the community are part of our well being, fundamental for feeling healthy. New ways of planning and designing cities, respecting Nature's existence will make it flourish and consequently we as part of it, will feel so much valuable too. We know how great it is when we are able to live and express ourselves with authenticity. So why don't we allow nature to do the same and lead us in this direction? The connection body/mind is something already very disclosed. The antidote for the NDD is a body/mind/ nature connection, in other terms, I would say a body/ mind/soul balance, once what makes us equal to Nature is the vital force that goes through us all and sustains life.

We relate to others and to the world through our sensitivity, we live under the perpetual influence of the sensitive. This becomes so obvious when we realize that our senses define our reality and bring meaning to our thoughts. All bodies can become a way to another form that exists out of them in so far as they can receive it, without resistance (COCCIA, 2010). This is also part of Fourth Nature essence, that thrives on bringing together urban regeneration and human rehabilitation. Nature that provokes us, to break up the resistance and the distance, allowing ourselves to perceive, to feel, to receive its energy in all forms - other human presence,

plants, animals, art, culture, food, sun heat, sounds, voices, light, touch, smiles.



Some Momentary Conclusions

A fresh start is not necessarily a new place, but it is ultimately a new mindset. Humanity is facing challenges upcoming from its own development, its own decisions about ways of living. We are here to learn, to experience, but it's about time to be aware of new steps. it's about time to create a new definition of mental health, based on environmental issues (ROSZAK in LOUV, 2010).

We humans, as culture creators, can make urban regeneration possible, coworking with nature. When we align with this intention, we realize something stunning: we are the solution, not the problem. For sure we learn in the process, but along its duration, we also profit by discovering new possibilities of life, new ways of becoming truly human again by getting connected to our inner power and purpose. While performing new visions to heal our cities, we will certainly match modes of healing ourselves. When we become conscious that the real meaning of life can be found in this very subtle (and damaged) relation, we will start changing. A very interesting point of view comes from the oriental wisdom and reinforces the idea: it is explained in the wabi-sabi context (KOREN, 2008), where Nature means many things. It refers to the dimension of physical reality untouched by men, things in their pure, original state. In this sense, Nature means all things of the earth, such as plants, animals, mountains, rivers, and also forces sometimes calm, sometimes violent - of wind, rain, fire, and so on. But Nature in the wabi-sabi ethics also encompasses the human mind and all its artificial or unnatural thoughts and creations. In this sense, Nature means everything that exists, including the underlying principles of existence. Once again, under this philosophy, cities and Nature can be seen as the same object, as well urban regeneration and human rehabilitation can be faces of the same process.

Not only connected, but intertwined, thriven by Fourth Nature.

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Global Journal of Human-social science: A Arts & Humanities - Psychology

Volume 22 Issue 3 Version 1.0 Year 2022

Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal

Publisher: Global Journals

Online ISSN: 2249-460x & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Public Practical Theology and Public Pastoral Care Intersection with Christian Ethics Within the Context of *Ubuntu* and Hospitality to Migrants

By Clement Kholopa

Abstract- This article explores the current state of public practical theology in South Africa in shaping public policy and its responses to issues affecting communities, with particular emphasis on xenophobia. The proponents of public practical theology while having the same or similar approaches on how it should be practised, seemingly differ on the pastoral mode of advocacy. The differences in perspectives vary from being occupied with the more abstract paradigmatic, epistemological and methodological concerns by the scholars in this field. This obviates the fundamental practical theological dimension of the task of public practical theology, which should prioritise a concern with the agency role of the church and other religious communities – albeit not in isolation from other role players— in shaping public policy. In doing so, this article firstly, will explore the interconnection between public practical theology and Christian ethics. Secondly, practical theology as a conceptual and functional understanding within the context of xenophobia with a shift in emphasis to public practical theology.

Keywords: public practical theology; public pastoral care; christian public ethics; ubuntu and hospitality; xenophobia; pastoral theology and care; practical theology; pastoral care; altruism.

GJHSS-A Classification: DDC Code: 325.4 LCC Code: JV7590



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Keywords: public practical theology; public pastoral care: christian public ethics: ubuntu and hospitality; xenophobia; pastoral theology and care; practical theology; pastoral care; altruism.

I. Introduction

he aim of this article is not an attempt at analysing the nuances underlying the differences perspectives on practical theology but to focus on the state of practical theology in shaping public policy in South Africa. Therefore, being conscious of the limitations, the article will address on of the tasks of a public theology that tends to reflect on the role of religion in the public sphere in modern or modernising societies such as in South Africa in challenging public theologians to reflect on, among other things, the issues in the public sphere by different religious claims (Dreyer & Pieterse, 2010:2). Thus, the emphasis will centre on xenophobia as it pertains to public practical theology and public pastoral care intersection with Christian public ethics within the context of Ubuntu and hospitality to migrants in South Africa.

Theology operating in the public domain will be transformational by considering the ethos of *Ubuntu* in South Africa. This entails ongoing learning from contexts and reflecting on them to discern 'what God is saying', in particular to xenophobic instances, by bridging the three epistemological spheres by exploring: theological, historical Western approaches and African wisdom and tradition, and being able to engage with issues on an ongoing basis (Magezi, 2018:8). Public theology concerns itself with theological engagement with the public and making sense out of these interactions, especially focusing on issues in the public sphere outside of the confines of the church and placing them on the church's agenda. By applying the public practical theological approach, theology engages in meaningful conversations that foster unity, coexistence, mutual trust, peaceful and compassionate existence (Magezi, 2018:6). Thus, meaningful conversations lead the pastoral care practitioner to develop a theological language that is devoid of a binary approach of 'them' and 'us, victim and perpetrator, and migrant and native (Magezi, ibid.).

The pastoral task is to facilitate Christian living in the contemporary world by relating actions and behaviours to the deeper underlying meanings, analysing concrete events, their contexts and causes, their significance and desirable outcomes (Gerkin, 1997: 118). Gerkin (1997:132) asserts that "the role of theology is determined by its ability to transform the world through its epistemological status by which sources are validated". This transformation in Christian life should be borne out through hospitality as through it some have unknowingly entertained angels (Hebrews 13:2), as being hospitable is not intended for some, but for all, especially local churches in South Africa in the face of xenophobia and hostility towards migrants. There is a need to emphasise the caring side, revisiting our Ubuntu heritage, and the Christian value of hospitality to foster a culture of Philoxenia.

Public Practical Theology and H. Interconnection with Christian ETHICS

The paradigmatic shift to the 'public' needs to be sensitive to the contexts, such as cultural, economic, social, political, racial, religious, ethnic, etc., therefore, there needs to be sensitivity to the plurality of the

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situations depending on the plurality of world views in each geographical space (Meylahn, 2017:1). Meylahn further asserts that the paradigm needs to be radically hermeneutical according to his understanding of Caputo's (1987:1) interpretation of the notion of radical hermeneutics as non-betrayal of the original difficulty of life with metaphysics. This entails that there should be an awareness that all that there is are texts/ interpretations or stories and there should not be a single interpretation or a single story (Meylahn, ibid). Therefore, cognisance should be taken of the role of language in a world where the inability to escape language closing the door to the underlying universal structures or essential truths exits. The paradigm needs to be open to and be aware of the multiple ways of interpreting knowledge and texts (Meylahn, 2017:2).

It is important to note that the focus of public practical theology is not limited to inter-human or intrahuman behaviour but is particularly concerned with the religious dimensions of lived life viewed according to the prevalent dynamics and of its involvement in particular situations (de Wet, 2017:83). The importance of the pastoral hermeneutic cycle, as developed by Holland and Henriot, and adapted for South African contexts by Cochrane, De Gruchy and Peterson (1991:13-25) cannot be discounted, as it offers an analysis of the context to give meaning to cause-effect reasoning.

Public pastoral care involves "the shift from the "public" of the church and academy to the "public" of contemporary society informed by public theology in that it develops for public debate and political interpretation such things as acts directed towards the healing, sustaining, guiding, reconciling and nurturing of persons whose troubles and concerns arise in the context of daily interactions and ultimate means and concerns (Tracy, 1981:5; Graham, 2000:12).

To achieve the task of moving to the public sphere, pastoral care should move away from care that is only care of the human soul (cura animarum) to also include care of the human web. This could be achieved by contributing to a humane society, fostering values such as unconditional love and service to those in need, preservation of the earth and safeguarding it against violent exploitation and for telecommunication to foster equality to counter threats of domination (Louw, 2002: 347-348). Therefore, the shift to the public arena involves a mind shift on the part of the Christian pastoral caregiver in that they should be mindful of the tensions in the pastoral mandate of whether to "love God by loving the stranger as a neighbour (Luke 10:27) or making the disciples of all nations" (Matthew 28:18-20).

Christian public ethics

The Christian public ethic towards migrants can be aptly captured in two main messages in the New Testament or specifically the teachings of Jesus Christ. The first message is captured in Matthew 7:12, "Do to others whatever you would like them do to you. This is the law and the prophets", which one would consider as the 'golden rule'. It is this scriptural passage that prohibits us subjecting others to the brutality, violence and mistreatment that migrants are subjected to (Koenane, 2018:1-7). The second biblical text "The second is like it: You shall love your neighbour as yourself" (Matthew 22:39), which is the second commandment of Christ, hence, a moral imperative that suggests it is morally binding. It therefore compels the Christian to express his love to strangers instead of mistreating or oppressing them, as everybody desires to be treated with courtesy, compassion and kindness. Gula (1989:179) observes that in the scriptures the Greek word agape means love. According to him (Gula), it seems to be more appropriate to translate the word agape as 'hospitality' in contemporary terms as the Greek concept does not work for many these days, since within the Christian framework nowadays, love is expressed more profoundly as 'hospitality'. This is reinforced by the beatitudes, (Matthew 25:35-36), with Jesus suggesting that the way a person was treated as a stranger would be the measure that will decide a person's fate, (Koenane, 2018:6)

To advance the narrative further, it will be useful to quote briefly the views held by Vorster (2012) in his insightful article on 'Christian ethics in the face on secularism'. Vorster's understanding of secularism was shaped by the views of Laeyendecker (2005:903) and Martin (2011:105). He asserts that it is a sociological concept that describes the marginalisation of religion in society and the declining influence of the Christian religion in certain parts of the world (Vorster, 2012:1). The decline in the influence of Christianity can be ascribed to the surge of rationalism, pluralism and relativism in the modern secular thought and action. Vorster (2012:1) poses the question: what exactly is Christian ethics? Christian ethics can be defined from the perspective of a Roman Catholic approach that is characterised by the insistence on mediation, acceptance of natural law and the role of the church; or, from the perspective of Protestant Christian ethics which is moulded around the emphasis on freedom, the importance of scripture and the theological nature of the discipline (Gale, 2015:265).

Vorster (2012:2) argues that Christian ethics has a future as an important role player in the morality of secularised society if the discipline is based on a welldefined and plausible meta-theoretical foundation. Vorster asserts that the meta-theoretical foundation is based upon John 1:1 as the three manifestations of the revelation of God, namely, (1) the creational word (the book of nature), (2) the written word (the Bible), and (3) the incarnate Word (Jesus Christ), and these being necessary for a Christian ethical epistemology for contemporary secularised society (Vorster, 2012:5).

Vorster is of the view that God bestowed on every human being a sense of morality in His revelation in the book of nature, which was called natural law in the early Reformation period, as embodied in the Catholic Tradition. He prefers to call them creational gifts as they were given by God to all humanity, not to bring about their own salvation, but to preserve law and order in human society through good moral norms (Vorster, 2012:5). However, the concept of natural law has fierce critics, especially among Protestants, who otherwise have very little in common except their vehement opposition to natural-law thinking, with the opposition not only limited to revisionist thinkers but also embraced by those who are confessed to be orthodox. Therefore, across the spectrum of Protestantism there is broader consensus on the rejection of natural law as a metaphysical notion of morality, namely, a law that God communicates to all people without the need for special revelation (such as the Bible), and that therefore it applies to all people at all times and in all places (Charles, 2015).

The recognition of natural law safeguards Christian ethics from its exclusive claim of moral authority and Biblicism (the literal and a-historical reading of the Biblical text), however, it fulfils one condition. Therefore, such morality should not distrust the other sources of Christian moral thinking being the written, and the Incarnate Word. The importance of the scripture in the classic Reformed view, is seen as the book containing a continuous message unfolding in various underlying themes, such as God's election of his people through to transience and resurrection, with the main theme being the kingship of God and His entering into a personal relationship with mankind (Vorster, 2012:6). The justification of scripture as the divine authority is presented as an argument based on acceptance of its 'scope of the whole' in agreement with the 'consent of all parts' as espoused in Acts 10:43 (ibid). The Incarnate Word is Jesus Christ himself (John 1:1) from whom many exemplary Christian moral theories flow from His teachings and conduct (self-sacrifice, humility, servanthood, forgiveness, obedience to God, etc.), that require Christians to follow in his footsteps by promoting peace and bringing hope to their fellow mankind. The morals of the Incarnate Word instil in Christians the need to be the custodians of justice for the poor, oppressed and marginalised of society and the powers of the day (Vorster, 2012:7). According to Vorster it is imperative that Christian ethics is practised in accordance with the book of nature, the written word and the Incarnate Word.

There are many differing perspectives concerning the approaches to issues pertaining to Christians in contemporary society, such as: the elimination of xenophobia in South African society, synergies from public practical theology, public pastoral theology, and public Christian ethics. Ubuntu and hospitality are essential to achieve this end, as both rely on the context of the situation. As Williams (2011:2) puts it, Christian communities are duty-bound to inculcate civic virtues that create social flourishing and endeavour to exercise those tasks of decision-making within the social milieu for maintaining and sustaining a humane environment. This is attested by Mnyadu (1997:81), who posits that "from an Ubuntu perspective it is the very human essence itself, which finds expression in daily living by acts of love and efforts to create harmonious relationships in the community and the world beyond". Koenane (2018), thus argues that "from the Ubuntu and Christian perspectives, in which the community is a foundational basis for the principles of becoming are established, it is unsurprising that collective guilt is not far-fetched". This he interprets from the "socio-moralist point of view in that Christian morality and Ubuntu go against the current response from the South African public towards nationalist prejudices and xenophobia in its Afrophobic form". It is in this context that both Christian values and Ubuntu principles can foster a culture of Philoxenia, "the principle of loving, caring and showing compassion to strangers as set out in the Bible" (Koenane, 2018:2).

III. PRACTICAL THEOLOGY AS A CONCEPTUAL and Functional Understanding WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF XENOPHOBIA -A SHIFT IN EMPHASIS TO PUBLIC PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

Christian communities are called to act against all kinds of dehumanisation, which entails not opting out of public and social issues either current or existing but providing a different vision and identity in the lived world. Hence, every person has inherently good character, even though humans suppress the goodness and demonstrate bad behaviour, (Gyekye, 1991:324). This involves moving from the church existing within its own walls; including a clerical paradigm and its own praxis in the world, to examining the church's strategy for creating and influencing the structures of care in the wider secular society (Browning, 1996:57). This is reinforced by the view espoused by Gathogo (2007:119) that theological practitioners in Africa have to pursue an agenda that is pastorally holistic in society, in that it strives for relevance and engages with pressing public challenges for African Christianity and social development, while disentangling itself from Western theological approaches. It is therefore useful to be cognisant of the fact that, taken together and independently, both *Ubuntu* and Christian values prevail on human beings to act and treat vulnerable migrants or strangers with respect and kindness, and with compassion as was extended to the stranger in the parable of the Good Samaritan.

The theological studies undertaken by clergy are basically theory-laden, so practical theology attempts to demystify the underlying theory. The actions, as such, of the dominant theory are laid bare by the practical theological studies that are involved with the actions of the church as the guardian of moral values. According to Browning (1996:55-56), to understand and practise practical theology one must ask or undertake the four fundamental questions/tasks, that is:

- 'how do we understand this concrete situation in which we must act?' - this relies on of the interplay of institutional systems and how they converge on the situation.
- 'what should be our praxis in this concrete situation?' - the bringing together of symbolic and actional norms into an intimate relationship with the particularities of the situation.
- 'how do we critically defend the norms of our praxis in this concrete situation?'- the defence of these norms is what distinguishes the revised correlational approach to practical theology, and,
- 'what means, strategies, and rhetoric should we use in this concrete situation?'- this poses the issue of where people are in the process of transformation.

Osmer (2008:4) maintains that the task of practical theology entails answering the following questions: first, what is going on, what is the situation and contextual analysis? second, why is this going on? This is an interpretation and understanding of the situation. Third, what ought to be going on? This entails developing a perspective and understanding from the normative texts. Fourth, what are the specific, concrete steps that should be taken to respond to the situation? As by its very nature, practical theology should result in strategic actions.

Muller (2004:300) postulates that practical theology consists of seven movements which are informed by:

a specific context and interpreted experience; in-context experiences are listened to and described; interpretations of experiences are made, described and developed; a description of experiences as they are continually informed by traditions of interpretation; a reflection on God's presence, as it is understood and experienced in a specific situation; a description of experience, and augmented through interdisciplinary investigation and the development of alternative interpretations that point beyond the local community.

Miller-McLemore (2012:26) rightly stated that practical theology has disrupted the space occupied by academic theology by pushing for a fresh theology that is not abstracted from life. It is about taking theology out to the streets and using what is learned from the streets to assess the adequacy of biblical, historical and doctrinal claims.

Miller-McLemore (2012:20) usefully describes practical theology as referring to four distinct enterprises with different audiences or objectives. She (Miller-McLemore 2012: 20) stated that practical theology is:

{a} discipline among scholars and an activity of faith among believers. And it has two other common uses; it is a method for studying theology in practice and it is a curricular area of sub-disciplines in the seminary. Practical theology refers to an activity of believers seeking to sustain a life of reflective faith in the everyday life, a method or way of analysing theology in practice used by religious leaders and by teachers and students across the theological curriculum, a curricular area in theological education focused on ministerial practice and sub-specialities, and, finally, an academic discipline pursued by a smaller subset of scholars to support and sustain these first three enterprises.

Miller-McLemore (2012:20) noted that each of the aspects of practical theology points to different locations, that is: from daily life to the library, and fieldwork to classroom, congregation to community, academic guild and global context. She (Miller-McLemore 2012:26) remarked that practical theology is about returning theology to the people. She added that, as an academic discipline, practical theology is secondary to the work and practice of most Christians and scholars. It is also primarily a way of doing in daily life what is fundamental to Christian faith. This is emphasised by Grab (2005:196) that practical theology needs to explore the symbolic strength of Christianity in the face of today's complex socio-cultural conditions, for making sense of life and successfully coping with its needs.

Poling (2011:161-168) addresses his definitions of practical theology by acknowledging that reflection in practical theology begins with the recognition of the presence of difference and otherness in experiences. This reflection then leads to the awareness of tensions within the self and the tension between oppression and liberation in the institutions and ideologies of community. He further posits that, the reflection leads to one's ultimate horizon, one's understanding of truth or God and whether these truths, which are part of our inherited and constructed religious vision, are abusive or redemptive. This reflection reaches a critical point when, he observes, God calls the researcher into practices of transformation and uncovers the resistance thereof.

The relevancy of these methods and definitions of practical theology in this work are crucial and important, as they will act as a guide alongside the research context without being pedantic to any of them, as Van Huyssteen (2000:428) is of the opinion that all theology should start from the context. Thus, public practical theology directed and in collaboration with Ubuntu and hospitality towards migrants in a multicultural context could only emerge from the moment of praxis, bearing in mind that *Ubuntu* itself has been used in diverse contexts by different people for various purposes (Buga, 2016:21)

IV. Public Practical Theology within THE CONTEXT OF XENOPHOBIA

In recent years, practical theology has evolved from being primarily concerned with the practice of the church and clergy to include public issues such as poverty and the plight of migrants. Dreyer (2004:919-920) argues that practical theology should not be solely understood as focusing on the church and clergy. The vision for practical theology should be broadened to include the everyday life of people at local, national and global levels. This position that practical theology should include a public dimension was noted by Dreyer (2004:919). Practical theology should critically reflect on both the Christian tradition as well as social and political issues (Dreyer 2004:919). Magezi (2019:133) in his insightful article 'Practical Theology in Africa situation, approaches, framework and agenda proposition' rightly observed that "Practical Theology in Africa is faced with a challenge of developing a holistic practical theological framework that includes practical spirituality, social, physical, political and economic issues" (Magezi, 2019:133).

The shift in emphasis of practical theology to public practical theology is a major development that is acknowledged by many practical theologians (Magezi, 2018; Dreyer, 2004, 2011; Dreyer & Pieterse, 2010; Osmer & Schweitzer, 2004). Osmer and Schweitzer (2003: 218) helpfully explain that the task of public practical theology is discerned in three ways: first, it is about ensuring that the public is one of the audiences of practical theology. Second, it is to ensure that practical theology includes everyday concerns and issues in its reflection. Third, practical theology should facilitate a dialogue between theology and contemporary culture. Vanhoozer and Strachan (2015: 16-17) in 'The pastor as public theologian' advised that the pastor should be a theologian by asking 'what is God saying in Christ'. At the same time the pastor should be a public figure which means that they should 'publicly be involved in and for the community'. The focus on public issues in public theology is to ensure that theology engages key social issues such as poverty (Miller-McLemore, 2005:95-106).

Graham (2017:1) argues further that the churches in the face of denominationalism and disunity could advance in a common cause of practical witness to society, and embrace the causes of social reform, justice and human welfare as living expressions of the Gospel. This will entail a move away from a primary objective as training for ordained ministry, towards an investigation into the church as a community of practice (Graham, 2017:3). Stoddart (2014:321-329) in his article 'Public Practical Theology in Scotland: with particular reference to the independence referendum' submits that practical theologians had to engage themselves with public issues such as spirituality in health care, violence against women, poverty, anti-sectarianism, peace building and cultural identities as well as the independence referendum.

He (Stoddart, 2014:345) observed that 'critical faithfulness' is a slippery objective that bears within it tensions for all practical theologians, as it is not selfevident as to the relative weight that should be ascribed to biblical and theological traditions in relation to people's contemporary experiences. Therefore, the practical theologian should help Christians to discern the tension and feel empowered to articulate their own struggles with the text without feeling that their ambivalence is maverick or 'unfaithful'. The more urgent issue will be how Christians in congregations are helped to draw on the Bible and theological traditions to develop a stance on specific public issues (Stoddart, 2014:345).

Migration has been described by Pope Benedict XVI (Benedictus, 2005) as the 'sign of the times', meaning that it is a feature of our contemporary times that challenges the church to reflection and a new praxis (Field, 2017:2). Therefore, practical theology in the South African context must go public in response to the kairos (ie xenophobia) facing the church that affords a time of challenge and opportunity, that requires a response in praxis, ethics and theology (ibid.). Thus, practical theology in moving to the public sphere/issues ensures it will be in line with the argument of the Kairos Document, that an adequate theological response must be grounded in social analysis that obviates glossing over the kairos, hence, offering a proper and adequate response to the *kairos*.

Public theology as described by Kim (2007:1) as a "deliberate use of common language in a commitment to influence public decision-making, and also to learn from substantive public discourse". In the South African context, the approach to public theology cited in Dreyer's article also highlights the separate but similar views taken by De Villiers and De Gruchy. De Villiers (2005:530) states that:

The crucial question with regard to the effective promulgation of the Christian vision of a good South African society is: Should it be promulgated in the broader South African society in its distinctively Christian form, or is some translation of it needed to ensure its wider acceptance.

In his second thesis of the seven theses on the formulation of public theological praxis, he writes:

...good public theological praxis requires the development of language that is accessible to people outside the Christian tradition, and is convincing in its own; but it also needs to address Christian congregations in a language whereby public debates are related to the traditions of faith.

The observations of placing public theology in the public sphere and the subsequent impediments it may encounter, will be discussed in more detail later as we explore the meaningful contribution of Ubuntu, hospitality and Christian ethics in addressing the kairos (xenophobia).

Pieterse (2017:140), writing in the context of missiology, asserts that theology today should engage itself in public themes being global in scope, have a holistic depth and reach, and be robust in clarifying Christian truth as public speech. Pienaar and Muller (2012:7) assert that a theology that allows for personal stories, in the present study - xenophobia, and takes them seriously, has the possibility of being authentic and relevant, therefore can be acknowledged as public theology. Magezi (2018:6) asserts that in the South African context, where theology has a baggage of association with apartheid, a concerted effort should be undertaken to explore the opportunities and possibilities of explicitly making practical theology assume a public practical theological approach, and pastoral care assume a public pastoral care role. Therefore, theology will enter the public debate and make its contribution through a public practical theology nexus.

Public Pastoral Care within the CONTEXT OF XENOPHOBIA

The diverse challenges for the churches in the South African contextual synopsis is to respond to public issues that engulf and directly affect the lives and progress of people, and the need to participate in discourses that tend to address the socio-public issues such as xenophobia, corruption, oppression, et cetera. This necessitates a need to respond to public issues as a concern for theological disciplines such as practical theology, public theology and pastoral care (Magezi, 2018:1). Osmer and Schweitzer (2003) are of the view that practical theology should be a facilitator of a dialogue between theology and contemporary culture. This is emphasised by Koppel (2015:151) in his assertion that practising public theology will require that both the pastoral care practitioner and theologian be cognisant of the issues that concern groups of people (migrants facing xenophobia in South Africa) and the population as a whole (South Africans perpetrating acts of xenophobia), rather than individuals in isolation. This will enable theorists and practitioners to refine their methods and purposes through the broader lens of framing pastoral care ministries.

Lartey and Sharp (2015:134) maintained that public pastoral practice encourages engaging with multiple public conversation partners, negotiating complex tensions in society and being accountable to those where pastoral theology is implicated, to discern thoughtful dialogue. Williams (2011:2-3) contends that this shift to public pastoral care, effectively posits theology to engage with social issues to participate in creating a healthy community in addition to spiritual

issues. Forrester (2005:39) warns that "existing religious debates and reasons from the public sphere takes away an important tool for understanding the current climate that is the post-Christian, post-secular world that needs new practices of theological interpretation". This new location of accountability poses a dilemma for pastoral theologians as it requires a new language, new rules of engagement, and new conversation partners where it is important to note that there is no such thing as a generic public or society (Leslie, 2008:83). This has been aptly described, by one of the leaders in pastoral care, Miller-McLemore (2018:318) as moving from the exclusive focus upon "living human documents", to attend also to the "living human web".

Practical theology at this public intersection is 'murky' and unclear (Magezi, 2019:1). Magezi (2019:1) writing in the context of a public pastoral care definition, rightly noted that:

Despite the recognition of the need for pastoral care to address broader social issues, the vexing questions and issues that currently remain somewhat like a black box or lacking clarity are the following: what does public pastoral care look like? How should public pastoral care be conceptualised in practice? How can public pastoral care be done? What does pastoral mean when engaging with social issues?

However, it should be noted that public theology has been practised for centuries as it is about the lived experiences of Christians where a Christian interacts with social, political and practical issues and challenges. Mannion (2009:151) rightly observed that public theology is about public ecclesiology as it is concerned with ecclesiological questions of the church's relevance to issues affecting people today. Unsurprisingly, public ecclesiology, pastoral care and diakonia intersect indicating a clear public pastoral role for the church. Pastoral care needs a "theological theory that enables practical theological reflection of pastoral ministry that can draw insights from the core task of practical theological interpretation" (Osmer, 2008:4):

- as descriptive-empirical practice it will inform the pastoral theologian/practitioner to gather information that is useful to discern patterns and particular contexts, episodes, or situations
- as an interpretive task to draw on theories of the humanities and sciences to better understand and explain why these patterns and dynamics are occurring
- as a normative task it will enable the pastoral theologian/practitioner to draw on the biblical concepts to construct ethical norms to guide and provide responses to the existential questions in order to interpret the situations, episodes, or hermeneutical contexts presented from а perspective
- as a pragmatic task to devise holistic specific, concrete causes of action that will influence

desirable through situations in ways that are emotional-narrative support and cognitive behavioural interventions.

Therefore, the usefulness of the cycle proposed by Osmer (2008:4) "serves as a development of praxis that functions as a constructive expression of the interplay between tradition (Scripture), context and interpretation" (Smit, 2015:2).

Kim's (2017:61) concluding analysis of current public approaches to public theology promoted two key approaches that are relevant to pastoral care. The first emphasises the interplay between theory and practice, between theology and the church and practical theological disciplines, while the second appraises particular issues in different socio-political contexts to develop methodologies for contextual public theology (Magezi, 2019:4). The two approaches as espoused by Kim (2017:61-62) directly apply to a public pastoral care approach, as it pertains to our discussion on xenophobia in South Africa, taken with the fourth gap in current public theological conceptualisations supporting minorities, the poor, marginalised and the voiceless, which needs to be given a top priority. Moving pastoral theology and care into the public sphere requires a re-think on the part of the pastoral theologian/ practitioner to modify their theological assumptions and mandates (Leslie, 2008:95).

According to Tracy (1981:5), this involves being mindful of the three publics that should be engaged by theology: society, academia and the church. The church must embody and influence the ethical and moral standards expected by society as public theological approaches challenge and refute methodologically the bipolarity and division of secular and sacred, it is interdisciplinary and dialogical. The public theology approach resonates with practical theology and pastoral care as its discipline is embedded into such a dialectic and spiral approach (Magezi, 2019:4).

The love of neighbour and of God and bearing witness to Christ's love is expressed clearly when acted out within a Christian context, despite our differences, as we claim a central connection to God and Christ (Leslie, 2008:95). She (Leslie) further asserts

that when we move pastoral care outside the Christian context of following Christ and bearing witness, complexities arise in loving a stranger as a neighbour, particularly when we have to bear in mind that others who are not Christian are not viewing it from a Christian context (ibid).

Leslie (2008:95) warns that "the pastoral care practitioner/theologian must be aware of the theological tensions involved in the shift into the public sphere about the pastoral theological mandate: Is the pastoral mandate to love God by loving the stranger as neighbour" (Luke 10:27) or is it to make disciples of all nations (Matthew 28:18-20)? Therefore, the salient point in this conundrum is to come to terms with "how to strike a balance between the Great Commandments and the Great Commission" (Leslie, 2008:95).

Hiltner (1958:17) stated that

the notion of Christians caring for each other's well-being as observed in spontaneous expressions of mutual love and in formal ministry of the church, is a lived Christian experience borne out of their relationship with God and to other people as inseparable and based on the commandment of love presented by Jesus as the ultimate ethical goal, encapsulated in Matthew 22:37-40.

Therefore, as such, 'pastoral ministry forms an integral part of the theological encyclopaedia'. Hence, pastoral care as cura animarum (care of souls) is shifting from an individualised focus to addressing public issues (Louw 1999, 2014; Miller-McLemore 2004, 2005, 2018; Leslie 2008). This, Louw (1999:7) observed, was the challenge to pastoral care as "how should the church in all her expressions listen to people in order to understand and interpret the human existence in terms of God's revelation". The shift to addressing public issues has been aptly captured by Miller-McLemore (2018:311) by "identifying at least three trends behind this shift as: the interest in congregational studies; the call for new public theology; and most importantly in her (Miller-McLemore) view, the rise of liberation movements". She (Miller-McLemore, 2018:315) further opines that "the metaphor of the living human web emphasises the need to identify and attend to social inequities and injustices that perpetuate suffering, and therefore have an impact on the shape of health, and illness care". Therefore, pastoral care should socialise practitioners to have particular understandings of the church and the social ethics of public care because religion has public consequences.

Graham (2000:12) argues that shifting pastoral care into the public domain in order for the efforts of care to bear upon individuals and society, the task of pastoral theology will be to develop public pastoral strategies for healing, sustaining, guiding and liberating individuals, cultures and the natural order. Leslie (2015: 95) notes that

the pastoral care practitioner's task is to meet a person where they are, theologically, emotionally, physically, culturally and communally with his/her best tools of intercultural empathy to help them reflect on how they make meaning in the light of ultimate distress and help them mend their own brokenness.

Pastoral care should transform the lives of people by addressing the three publics of society, academy and the church. Therefore, the practitioners of pastoral care in the public sphere should be equipped to work in the public space by arming themselves with the requisite tools for the fundamental work of reflection and theorising. This, however, entails translation of language to suit the public space. De Gruchy (2007:39) is of the view that public theology should use a common

language that is understandable by people outside the Christian tradition.

This view is shared by Koopman (2012:16) in expressing the need for a language for public discourse. Koopman (2012:1) drawing from lessons from Etienne de Villiers' theology, posits that prophetic public theology should include a vision of a redeemed and new society (habitat) of people, with new habits (habitus), who engage in challenging public issues of their time. Drever (2011:3) in his informative article 'Public theology and the translation imperative: A Ricoeurian perspective' argues that a communicative approach in the public sphere in a multicultural and multi-religious democratic society (South Africa) requires "a translation of our Christian language in a language that is understood and accessible in the public sphere". It is notable that the need to position pastoral care in the public sphere has been met with confusion concerning the language of public pastoral care. Leslie (2008:96-97) has clarified the somewhat interchangeability at one level of public pastoral care, public practical theology and public theology and she has clarified that public pastoral care is pastoral care practised in a public sphere. Therefore, public pastoral care entails committing and striving to be experts in many areas for pastors to engage in the public space (Magezi, 2019:5).

VI. Public Practical Theology, Public PASTORAL CARE AND CHRISTIAN PUBLIC ETHICS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF XENOPHOBIA

In the context of xenophobia, the practices of public practical theology, public pastoral care and Christian public ethics represent the health of the church, an apt metaphor for the church as an "organism" - the "sent" church - that has a public role to play. The church should not be akin to cancerous cells that only reproduce in the body but do nothing for the benefit of the rest of the body. The church rather needs to be what human life would look like under the lordship of Christ. The purpose of the church is to serve the Lord in serving the world filled with people who are reaching out and repairing the society. The task of public practical theology, public pastoral care and Christian public ethics according to Osmer (2008:4), is

to interpret situations or contexts presented from a hermeneutical perspective relying on biblical concepts to construct ethical norms to guide and provide responses to the existential questions and devise holistic strategies of action that will influence situations or public policy in ways that are desirable.

The pastoral hermeneutic cycle adapted for the South African context by Cochrane, De Gruchy and Peterson (1991:13-25) is important in this study for addressing the kairos (xenophobia) as it offers an analysis of the context in order to give meaning to cause-effect reasoning. Essentially the hermeneutic cycle considers the role of scripture, tradition and reason in addressing everyday concerns and issues in its reflection. Grab (2005:196) contends that practical theology needs to explore how the symbolic strength of Christianity in today's complex socio-cultural conditions can make sense of life and for successfully coping with life under the guidance of the church.

Practising pastoral and practical theology in the African context requires that one should be mindful that African society, even South African society in this instance, warns Magezi (2016:3) in his thoughtprovoking article on the assessment of the conundrum, is not simplistically homogeneous but heterogeneous. Second, in African terms there is a discernible gulf between academic reflection and arassroots congregational ministry. Third, the practise of pastoral care ministry is diverse among denominations with a noticeable difference between traditional missionary started churches and the budding emerging African founded churches with a largely Charismatic and Pentecostal outlook. Fourth, he (Magezi, 2016:3) states that practitioners from different theological persuasions have a significant diversity of pastoral care approaches. Last, Magezi (2016:3) observes that there is a lack of narrowed focus on questions considered in pastoral care. Magezi, however, concedes that this should not be a hindrance in addressing the current challenges in pastoral care in Africa.

One of the leading proponents of pastoral care in Africa, Daniel J. Louw, has stated that public theology must be humanised by dealing and engaging with real life practical issues such as xenophobia and democratised with its focus on ethical questions and public issues as its mainstay (Louw, 2014). Therefore, pastoral care in Africa should adopt an intentional address of real-life practical issues by placing issues on the church agenda to both intentionally reflect on and explore practical solutions. Christian ministry and public theology should intervene, and pastoral care should be used as leverage, when social and community challenges, such as poverty, xenophobia, gender-based violence, and abuse, are experienced. This view of public practical theology is reinforced by Juma's (2015:3) assertion that public theology is about interpreting and living theological beliefs and values in the public sphere. This entails strengthening capacity of churches to think (theological reflection) and exemplify (model) Jesus and His kingdom. This involves a grassroots incarnational Christianity where the church demonstrates what "it means to be truly human by living" and expressing the desired human-human interaction that God desires for humanity (as people created in His image) and in this way the church becomes a mirror of good.

Public Christian ethics should draw from people's life experiences and capacities, which Magezi

(2007) called natural potentials. Ubuntu serves as a crucial natural ethic potential that enforces and engenders hospitality, neighbourliness and care for the rest of humanity. Ubuntu, like the Christian fellowship, means being bound together and seeking the good of the other. Metz (2007:335-337) rightly observed that Ubuntu is summarised by two concepts in Africa: solidarity and identity. One must identify with others and act in solidarity with them. Solidarity and being identified with the other person entails being on the 'same team'. There is no Jew or Greek (Galatians 3:28) from the perspective of God's image.

Within a pluralistic context where human rights are given a privileged position, the only foundational reference point seems to be human rights as outlined in the South African Constitution's Bill of Rights. Xenophobia or migrants' exclusion in African discussions particularly in South Africa has been blamed on 'African-hood' as represented by Ubuntu and human rights. However, there has been little critique of the actions from the perspective of Christian theological tradition or concepts. While Ubuntu is a very useful integrating concept, its shortcomings should be noted. Collective humanity as denoted by fellowship as spelt out by being one in Christ, is much deeper and broader than *Ubuntu* that focuses on relational bonds. Magezi (2017:116-118) calls for transformation of *Ubuntu* by Biblical principles. Public Christian ethics devoid of Biblically guided principles runs the risk of being a social good that is devoid of Christian telos and motive. Christian telos and motive should be the undergirding principles.

VII. ALTRUISM: SELFLESS CONCERN FOR THE Well-Being of Others

"Altruism is recognised and practiced as a value present in both traditional African cultures and Christian cultures. Like Christianity, African culture also emphasises altruism" (Kholopa, 2016). Kanungo and Mendonca (2004:143) articulate that "Christianity's command to love God and love others as we love ourselves is the most important obligation in Judeo-Christian ethics". Jesus supports this point with the parable of the Good Samaritan when he says "...which of these three do you think was a neighbour to the man who fell into the hands of robbers?... the one who had mercy on him". The story ends with Jesus' request to "go and do likewise" (Luke 10:30-37). African folktales are full of similar stories of generosity and hospitality. Johnson (2001:112) sees the correct understanding of altruism as "an ancient yet contemporary principle and yet new". Thus, there is an invitation and at the same time a challenge in the Good Samaritan's story to do likewise in our communities that are experiencing all kinds of situations of unrest, such as xenophobia, crime and violence.

This is argued by Haught (2001:67) that "evidence suggests that human beings have deeply ingrained tendencies to act in either direction". Foreign nationals were killed, maimed and displaced in South Africa during xenophobic episodes in recent years supposedly because of varied claims labelled against migrants such as stealing their jobs, their women, their housing, they commit crime, and so forth. We now have a great challenge on our hands, as African theologians, to find ways to evoke the better part of human nature. The pluralistic nature of South African society can make it difficult to focus on common values. In the South African context altruism offers significant ethical value and promises to aid in attending to some social ills such as xenophobia, poverty, crime, and so forth. Creating communal altruism will cause the young generation to value and respect human life, their beliefs, traditions and cultures (Kholopa, 2016).

We are called to "love your neighbour as yourself" (Mark 12:31). Applying Jesus' plea, the whole community will function more effectively. According to Sider (2012:111), "this is an example of biblical justice that has a corrective, restorative character that enables the weak and needy to return to a state of wholeness, dignity and participation in community". The Good Samaritan could be everyone who recognises humanity in every suffering person and acts on it as willed by the golden rule precept that we "do to others whatever you would have them do to you" (Mark 7:12), which is akin to how Ubuntu operates. Boff and Boff (1988:4) remind us "that we begin with love of norms, beliefs and values as love is a praxis, not a theory".

The challenge then for the church and society is how can we make our social and religious communities more humane, based on our fundamental human dignity and our identity as people created in imago Dei. Ubuntu should inform our Christian understanding of community, therefore; Christianity should be communitarian. Christians without the spirit of Ubuntu are not truly Christian because the life of Jesus was characterised by *Ubuntu*. The image of the church should be a community of believers, not just in name but authentic in action.

Paul's letters to the Galatian and Ephesian communities (3:28 & 2:10-20) illustrate Jesus breaking down barriers that divide people and gathering them together into a new community. As a result, these communities expanded and it is our belief that love, especially towards migrants and the marginalised in society, will make South Africa expand and develop into a caring society through Ubuntu values and nothing should be allowed to prevent this expansion (Kholopa, 2016).

Thus, when theology operates in the public domain, it will be transformational by considering the ethos espoused by Ubuntu. This involves ongoing learning from our contexts and reflecting on it, as at stake is discerning what God is saying in our situation, the kairos (xenophobia).

Conclusion VIII.

This article provided insight and understanding that in view of the differing viewpoints on approaches to issues pertaining to the Christian in contemporary society, such as the elimination of xenophobia within South African society, synergies from public practical theology, public pastoral care and public Christian ethics; to this end Ubuntu and hospitality can be achieved, as all rely on the context of the situation. This will entail developing a theological language that does not focus on a binary approach of 'them' and 'us', migrant and native, and sojourner and inhabitant. This is important as it entails a shift in thinking about migrants as people who arrived in the country to steal jobs, housing and so forth. The resulting shift in society from a language of destabiliser to contributor will be the ideal result. To quote Irenaeus "Gloria enim Dei vivens homo, vita antem homonis visio" - for the glory of God is the living man, and the life of man is the vision of God. The public practical theologian and the public pastoral theologian therefore must envision the glory of God in their dealings with public issues in the public sphere.

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Global Journal of Human-social science: A Arts & Humanities - Psychology

Volume 22 Issue 3 Version 1.0 Year 2022

Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal

Publisher: Global Journals

Online ISSN: 2249-460x & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

The Configuration of a Professional Historiographical Camp in Argentina during the Government of Raúl Alfonsín (1983-1989)

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Abstract- Starting from a dialogue between political history and the history of intellectuals, this paper attempts to highlight the main scientific policies related to historical science during the presidency of Ricardo Alfonsín after the democratic period. Focusing on the intervening agents and their implemented policies, the impact of the last civic-military dictatorship and the normalizing policies are evaluated, observing ambiguities, continuities and ruptures.

Keywords: science-dictatorship-CONICET-democracy.

GJHSS-A Classification: DDC Code: 363.1 LCC Code: T174.5



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The Configuration of a Professional Historiographical Camp in Argentina during the Government of Raúl Alfonsín (1983-1989)

La Configuración De Un Campo Historiográfico Profesionalizado En Argentina Durante El Gobierno De Raúl Alfonsín (1983-1989)

Agustín Rojas

Resumen- A partir de un diálogo entre la historia política y la historia de los intelectuales, en este trabajo se intenta poner en relieve las principales políticas científicas relacionadas a la ciencia histórica durante la presidencia de Ricardo Alfonsín tras la recuperación democrática. Concentrándose en los agentes intervinientes y sus políticas implementadas, se evalúa el impacto de la última dictadura cívico-militar y las normalizadoras observando políticas ambigüedades, continuidades y rupturas.

Palabras claves: ciencia-dictadura-CONICET-democracia.

Abstract- Starting from a dialogue between political history and the history of intellectuals, this paper attempts to highlight the main scientific policies related to historical science during the presidency of Ricardo Alfonsín after the democratic period. Focusing on the intervening agents and their implemented policies, the impact of the last civic-military dictatorship and the normalizing policies are evaluated, observing ambiguities, continuities and ruptures.

Keywords: science-dictatorship-CONICET-democracy.

Introducción

'n este artículo se examinará un objeto de estudio en constante expansión, es decir, la relación entre la ciencia histórica y el Estado de Derecho en Argentina. Constituye sobre todo un trabajo que continúa una investigación en curso. Ateniéndose al gobierno de Ricardo Raúl Alfonsín (1983-1989), se han desprendido diversas problematizaciones en cuanto al desarrollo científico en escenarios institucionales específicos (Sábato, 1996; Álvarez, 2006; García Moral, 2010; Goebels, 2013; Gárgano, 2015; Fares 2017 y Rodríguez 2017). Estudios pioneros de las últimas décadas, al recorrer los vínculos entre los cambiantes climas políticos y los elencos historiográficos, han revelado la tensa disputa por el control de los recursos públicos entre los productores culturales durante el siglo XX (Quattrocchi-Woisson, 1995; Sigal, 2002; Devoto y Pagano, 2009). Para el caso propuesto, una madura "historia de los intelectuales" implica acercarse a una historia de las culturas políticascon el fin de observar su incidencia en la disputa por significaciones y el rol del Estado (Altamirano, 2013).

Una vez iniciada a partir de 1982 la lenta transición hacia la apertura democrática, aún bajo la presidencia de facto del General Revnaldo Bignone, el sistema político argentino comenzó a transformarse mediante la reaparición de los partidos políticos tradicionales. Reclamaban entonces el principio de la soberanía popular considerado despojado legal e ilegítimamente en 1976 por parte de la dictadura cívicomilitar autodenominada "Proceso de Reorganización Nacional" (1976-1983). Las impugnaciones de la sociedad civil a la corporación castrense se agravaron tras un largo arrastre de cuestionamientos como la crisis financiera de 1981 y, sobre todo, la derrota militar 1982 en las Islas Malvinas. Las presiones internacionales, exponiéndose las violaciones a los Derechos Humanos en los centros clandestinos, habían tornado inviable prolongar expectativas políticas de continuidad. Las elecciones generales celebradas el 30 de octubre de 1983 dejaron en primer lugar a la Unión Cívica Radical, con el 51,7% de los votos, y, en segundo puesto, al Partido Justicialista con el 40,1%.

Democracia se había convertido, finalmente, en un significante republicano entroncado en una ficción radiada por la propuesta refundacional del presidente recién electo Ricardo Alfonsín (Romero, 2011). Se antepuso democracia a dictadura o autoritarismo, a fin de lograr un consenso conceptual. Este proyecto político, surgido de las ruinas de la dictadura, pretendió sostenerse sobre una base dudosa de códigos políticos pluralistas con anclaje en tradiciones democráticas autóctonas¹. Desde la perspectiva de las innovaciones,

¹ El presidente R. Alfonsín, e intelectuales cercanos a su gobierno, eran claramente conscientes del carácter artificial de estas bases míticas proyectadas en el pasado. La propuesta política innovadora se basaba, sobre todo, en la asociación simbiótica entre la prosperidad económica y la plena vigencia del Estado de Derecho. Se invertía preconceptos muy arraigados por otros ciertamente más modernos, cercanos a la teoría del politólogo estadounidense Robert Dahl, los cuales sostenían la efectividad del desarrollo nacional a partir del correcto funcionamiento de las instituciones formales (Aboy Carlés, 2004: p.36).

se introdujeron por vez primera en la agenda pública la violación a los Derechos Humanos comenzando a acelerarse los juicos a los principales responsables del Terrorismo de Estado. El rechazo general a las políticas represivas dictatoriales fundaba nuevas prácticas sobre una ciudadanía en construcción como promesa de un futuro promisorio. Asimismo, la cultura política alfonsinista permitió la normalización esperanzadora de un campo científico aspirando a modernizar especialmente los escenarios universitarios muy afectados durante la dictadura. En este sentido, Nora Pagano (Pagano, 2010) acuña el término de "historiografía postransicional" y "reprofesionalización". Con ello hace referencia a las condiciones institucionales democráticas que, en posibilitaron una estandarización de la producción histórica académica con un anclaje profesional.

En los estudios llevados a cabo sobre estas intervenciones, aún cabe profundizar y matizar el alcance de las remociones (Roias, 2021). Tras el anticipo de elecciones democráticas, el alcance de las intervenciones alfonsinistas sobre los escenarios intelectuales no fue, desde luego, monolítico. Historiadores que integraban el Club de Cultura Socialista forjaron posiciones políticas sólidas y docentes asociados a la administración en retirada sufrieron cuestionamientos morales durante transición. Las universidades de las provincias, en cambio, vivieron con ritmos distintos el proceso encontrando ejemplos de supervivencias notorios. En todos los casos, sin embargo, constituyó un desafío institucional la configuración de una "planta docente democrática".

Los espacios curriculares se transformaron inmediatamente en fuentes incesantes de conflictos. Por disposición del gobierno nacional, los docentes e investigadores depuestos arbitrariamente durante el tercer gobierno peronista y la última dictadura militar debían recuperar la titularidad de las cátedras reconociéndose, asimismo, su antigüedad. La situación se complicaba en la medida que la apertura de los concursos no podía desplazar a la totalidad de los agentes preexistentes los cuales cargaban con el "estigma" de "hombres del Proceso". Sobre estas situaciones delicadas, los rectores designados desempeñaban una función política clave: cumplir con la expectativa del gobierno nacional, negociar con las elites universitarias y los docentes desplazados que exigían recuperar sus cátedras. No tardarían en modificarse los Planes de Estudio otorgándole a los centros de estudiantes un rol activo. El intento de recuperación material de las universidades se lograría a través de una Ley de financiamiento que le confería autonomía en la administración de los recursos.

Otra institución intervenida fue el Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas -en adelante CONICET-, es decir, el principal organismo científico del país de carácter público y, por ende, sensible a los cambios políticos. Se había realizado una auditoría permanente investigándose ilícitos producidos durante la última dictadura militar, en donde el mismo CONICET participaba como entidad querellante. El agente recientemente reincorporado Carlos Abeledo, designado director normalizador, fue un denunciante clave de los delitos ocurridos². Los interrogantes que orientarán el análisis son los siguientes: ¿qué agentes resultaron perjudicados y beneficiados tras la recuperación democrática? ¿cuáles límites inmediatos debieron enfrentar las autoridades normalizadores y qué éxitos lograron llevar a cabo?

Los Elencos Historiográficos II. DESPLAZADOS

Dentro de los principales elencos que componen la historiografía argentina, en efecto, pueden destacarse en primer lugar sectores "tradicionalistas". Es decir, conforman grupos vinculados a diversas filiaciones ideológicas, principalmente el nacionalismo y el republicanismo conservador. Poseen la particularidad de estar asociados a redes intelectuales americanistas. las cuales se exteriorizan institucionalmente en las Juntas Provinciales de Historia y las academias nacionales, fundamentalmente la Academia Nacional de la Historia -en adelante ANH-. Estas asociaciones públicas ejercieron complicidades con la última dictadura militar participando en sus burocracias y legitimando culturalmente sus inclinaciones autoritarias (Rojas, 2021). El Interventor del CONICET, Carlos Abeledo, llamaría "élite decididamente antidemocrática" al sector que había tenido un protagonismo intelectual relevante durante la dictadura militar.

La Academia Nacional de la Historia (ANH) intentó transitar el proceso de normalización alfonsinista manteniéndose, en lo posible, al margen. No obstante, fue objeto de arduas acusaciones al igual que otras instituciones. En los periódicos La Nación y La Razón, sin embargo, se encuentran publicaciones de 1985 con extractos de una carta efectuada por docentes universitarios reincorporados, habiendo compartido el exilio o el insilio, denunciando "una reflexión crítica" acerca del colaboracionismo de la ANH con las políticas culturales conservadoras. En esta ocasión,

² Carlos Abeledo había sido un físico-químico del Observatorio Nacional de Física Cósmica de San Miguel hasta que el golpe de Estado de 1976 lo desplazó. Tras el retorno democrático se convirtió en 1984 presidente del CONICET, entre 1984 y 1989, normalizando la institución mediante una depuración parcial de agentes con fuerte protagonismo durante la dictadura. El recambio institucional de 1989 lo derivó durante la década del '90 al Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, en calidad de consultor y luego evaluador, de proyectos científicos de países latinoamericanos.

escritores y científicos como León Pomer, Eduardo Saguier, Alberto Rex González, Leonardo Paso, Osvaldo Bayer, Mario Rapoport, David Viñas, Oscar Terán, Iván Hernández Larguía, Marta Bonaudo y Germán Fernández Guizzetti, criticaron con bastante posterioridad el dictamen de la ANH acerca del anteproyecto de la Ley General de Educación aprobado a instancias de Edmundo Correas, José Mariluz Urquijo, Carlos Segreti y Andrés R. Allende. En La Nación, bajo el título "Profesores critican un dictamen", se publicaron fragmentos de la carta solicitando que se "(...) subsane aunque sea parcialmente los daños y perjuicios ocasionados a los derechos humanos, al contenido científico y humanista de la docencia argentina y a la credibilidad, prestigio, competencia y autonomía de las academias nacionales" (La Nación, 04/08/1985).

denunciantes Afirmaron los "(...) refrendaba la práctica de un oscurantismo que, como es sabido, generó en ese entonces, en muchos lugares del país, la eliminación y subestimación de la enseñanza de la sociología, la antropología, y la psicología, así como la deformación de otras ciencias" (La Razón, 14/08/1985). Otro extracto, en La Razón, revela esta crítica: "Cuando la entidad señala, en mayo de 1980 que, la educación debe proponerse aceptar el orden vigente sustentado en el orden jurídico, estaba, en ese momento, implícita o tácitamente, convocando a la docencia argentina a acatar la Doctrina de la Seguridad Nacional y, contradiciéndose a sí misma al subordinar nuestra Constitución а las Institucionales v el Estatuto del llamado Proceso de Reorganización Nacional" (La Razón, 14/08/1985).

La carta denunciante manifestaba, al respecto, el sensible clima político mediante la referencia explícita a los Derechos Humanos violentados. Estos agentes intentaban demarcar su lugar ético-político para identificar en el adversario el rol "oscurantista". El punto más polémico del dictamen de la ANH refería a "renunciar a la neutralidad ideológica", fundándose en el orden cristiano y occidental. La defensa del pluralismo ideológico era vital en el proceso liberal progresista abierto en 1983. Sin embargo, ANH nunca contestó distanciándose de posibles confrontaciones. Su presidente, Enrique Mariano Barba, todavía mantenía lazos frecuentes con referentes del oficialismo. No puede dejarse de destacar que el involucramiento político del anciano historiador durante la transición democrática fue inmediato apoyando al gobierno de Alfonsín. El prestigio de su figura no había sufrido serias modificaciones presenciando en esta etapa actos públicos, conferencias, operando como gestor con autoridades públicas. Quizá desde otro lugar, la historiadora cercana y protegida en anteriores ocasiones por Barba, Hebe Clementi, representaría el caso de una intelectual filoradical quien demostraría un compromiso más orgánico que partidario con la figura presidencial: integraba el Centro de Participación

Política (CPP), siendo además funcionaria en la Secretaría de Cultura en calidad de Directora del Museo Roca y la Dirección Nacional del Libro (Gregorich, 2006:p.24). De modo equivalente, procedió Félix Luna posicionándose al frente de la Secretaría de Cultura porteña, entre 1986 y 1989.

El recambio de autoridades en las instituciones y dependencias públicas beneficiaron a Barba consagrándose como Director del Archivo General de la Nación en 1984. Puede considerarse más bien que ejercía un rol político, semejante al del Director de la Biblioteca Nacional, protagonizando eventos públicos y enlaces culturales con otras instituciones tanto nacionales como internacionales. No se encuentra una "impronta de Barba" dentro de esta institución en el sentido que no se produjeron grandes reformas. En sintonía a la apertura democrática, en efecto, decidió levantar la consulta sobre fondos documentales que durante el "Proceso" se consideraban peligrosos como los referidos al conflicto territorial con Chile. También se privilegiaron tareas de organización, clasificación y descripción fichada faltante (Swiderski, 1994:p.25). Las consagraciones no se detuvieron allí pues, en 1984, recibió el Premio Kónex por su "contribución a la Historia". Desde la dirección del Archivo General de la Nación, Barba había comenzado a construir vínculos con historiadores americanos y españoles anticipándose a la Conmemoración del Quinto Centenario del Descubrimiento de América, cuyas repercusiones desencontradas comenzaban a gestar divisiones en la opinión pública³.

Si bien las tareas de asesoramiento al poder público continuaban vigentes, resulta notable un retroceso en cuanto a la presencia pública de la ANH. Es posible encontrar en el Boletín preocupaciones en cuanto a este punto en particular que aumentan a partir

³ Las revisiones sociales sobre la "Conquista de América", aunque existían con anterioridad, desde 1983 se desarrollaron incesantes impugnaciones. Distintos indigenismos prosperaban desde las primeras décadas del siglo XX. Pero es posible apreciar, desde la transición, una exposición pública más regular por parte del amplio espectro de las izquierdas sobre el papel crítico de la Conquista, la reivindicación de los pueblos originarios y una apertura de las elites políticas sobre la cuestión aborigen adquiriendo reconocimiento constitucional. La recepción masiva de obras como Las venas abiertas de América Latina(1971),y sus inmediatas repercusiones en emprendimientos musicales de alto impacto social como Taki Ongoy (1986) del cantante socialista Víctor Heredia, gozando del asesoramiento de A. Rex González, sintomatizaron una contramemoria de resistencia frente a las narrativas hispanistas oficiales. Ante la expectativa de este último caso, es conocido el intento de censura contra V.Heredia impulsado por la Embajada de España y el Obispo de Lomas de Zamora, Desiderio Collino. Presionaron al gobierno de R.Alfonsín, quien se resistió finalmente a tal pretensión. D.Collino había apoyado al "Proceso", teniendo la ocasión de viajar a las Islas Malvinas, y años más tarde se convertiría en un fiel opositor a las medidas progresistas del radicalismo. La Iglesia Católica ha sido una de las instituciones más relevantes en conservar el relato épico de la Conquista, incluyendo en la gesta su propio protagonismo (La Nación, 05/10/2002)

de 1983. Por problemas financieros, se sugirió que peligraría la realización de los Congresos de Historia Argentina y Regional. Barba se pronunció al respecto, asegurando "(...) nos queda la sensación de que el año pasado se ha publicado muy poco" (Barba, 1984, p.112). Efectivamente, bajo este nuevo escenario se destacó el impacto débil de los congresos celebrados en las provincias. No desaparecerían, por cierto, pero se limitarían a eventos de escasa trascendencia: confinados en Córdoba, Neuquén y La Rioja, además de otras provincias, no congregaron a un público renovado. Este debilitamiento correspondía a nuevos paradigmas culturales y un nuevo direccionamiento en la financiación.

Las intervenciones estatales modificaron los tradicionales equilibrios de poder, la relación entre la ciudadanía y el espacio público, dimensiones simbólicas presentes en los habitus, peligrando el tradicional financiamiento público de la corporación. Se había puesto al servicio de productores culturales el Fondo Nacional de las Artes otorgando créditos, subsidios tanto a artistas como instituciones, y se terminó la construcción de la Biblioteca Nacional nombrando a Gregorio Weinberg como su Director. Los balances presupuestarios y distribución de recursos no son ajenos a las nuevas fuerzas sociales que disputaron el control de las políticas culturales. Pese a destacadas supervivencias en distintos estratos de poder, el gobierno de Alfonsín parecía inclinarse hacia liberales progresistas como cuadros oportunos donde depositar cierta confianza política desde la cual esgrimir su propia batalla cultural Sin embargo, no es correcto avizorar una influencia extendida de estos intelectuales a todas las esferas del gobierno, sino en funcionarios claves de la gestión prevaleciendo, o coexistiendo, con otras figuras disímiles que compartían únicamente la adhesión al "Pacto democrático" 4. Otros colaboradores eran Carlos Gorostiza, Manuel Antín, Teresa Anchorena, Guillermo Whitelow, Mario O'Donnell y Osvaldo Giesso.

Desde el inicio de la gestión radical, el Congreso Pedagógico se había constituido en una clara renovación introduciendo discusiones y temáticas novedosas. Se realizaron informes críticos elaborando diagnósticos de los distintos niveles educativos. No se puede dejar de señalar la pérdida de la Universidad de Buenos Aires como bastión preciado de las redes historiográficas tradicionalistas. El Instituto de Investigaciones "Dr. Ricardo Levene", por una resolución rectoral de autoridades normalizadora, había

sido fusionado en 1984 con otras unidades en el Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas y Sociales "Ambrosio Lucas Gioja". Aunque se insistía en concentrar para evitar la "dispersión", muchos docentes estables en el "Proceso" afirmaron persecuciones políticas. La colonización intrépida de esta universidad, por parte de historiadores promotores de la "Nueva Historia", se reflejó mejor en la Facultad de Filosofía y Leras en las cátedras de Historia Argentina y sobre todo en la caja de resonancia que había sido hasta entonces el Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana "Dr. Emilio Ravignani". Tras la normalización, en 1984 había sido designado como su director Eduardo Saguier y, en 1986, José Carlos Chiaramonte. Formaba parte de un caso excepcional dado que los institutos americanistas continuaban controlados por agentes tradicionales, mientras que esta situación intentaba ser contrarrestada en distintas universidades mediante la creación de nuevos centros irradiadores de la "historia social".

Entre las figuras que comenzaron a recibir cuestionamientos, se destaca un historiador protagónico durante la dictadura: Ernesto Joaquín Antonio Maeder. Fue recibido protocolarmente en la ANH por un conservador muy familiar a sus intereses: el católico de derecha Horacio Cuccorese. Merece detenerse un poco en el llamativo discurso de Cuccorese (Cuccorese, 1986), en el cual acepta con resquemor, citando a Juan Pablo II y los clásicos latinos, el giro de paradigmas historiográficos y una "crisis de unidad cultural":

¿Cuáles son los méritos del Dr. Maeder para haber sido seleccionado para colaborar en el engrandecimiento de la Academia? (...) Pero antes de rememorarlos, los invito a que reflexionemos sobre los tiempos difíciles en que transcurre nuestra existencia. Hay conciencia formada de que está en crisis nuestra historiografía (...) Vivimos en tiempos de pasiones, en los que se quiere dirigir la proa de la nave de la historia hacia desembarcaderos prefijados por la ideología política (...) Hoy se cree que para que para ser un buen historiador moderno se debe pertenecer a la "escuela de los annales", o la "escuela del materialismo histórico" o la "escuela estructuralista", o la "escuela cuantitivista", o la "escuela de Berkeley". Es decir, el historiador de la llamada "Nueva Historia", tiene que ser un científico especializado en distintas disciplinas (pp. 121-122).

Es notable la identificación de la "Historia social" con "ideología". Asimismo, expresaba una percepción de lo que, razonablemente, entendía como un desplazamiento intelectual. No sería prudente de todas maneras extender estas impresiones a la totalidad de la ANH y sus respectivas redes historiográficas. En parte, la aversión nacía como respuesta al carácter refundacional de la "Nueva Historia", su pretensión superadora y despectiva. Dentro de esta nueva configuración científica, las opciones tradicionalistas y sin variaciones tenían un lugar ínfimo y funcionalmente asociado a operaciones

⁴ Un caso que ejemplifica la diversidad de intelectuales en la gestión alfonsinistaera la presencia del escritor liberal, de corte ortodoxo, Marcos Aguinis. En 1983 fue designado Subsecretario y luego Secretario de Cultura de la Nación. En su gestión creó el PRONDEC (Programa Nacional de Democratización de la Cultura). En la etapa final se distanció del gobierno asediado por conflictos con la Coordinadora y siendo crítico de las políticas heterodoxas del equipo económico (*Página/12* 09/08/2009).

anacrónicas: los controles de calidad no permitían citar a León XIII, así como tampoco refugiarse sobre una "autarquía teórica". El catolicismo militante había sido un rasgo generalizado dentro del cuerpo de académico. La Comisión Editorial del Boletín toleraba alegatos religiosos que coexistían con investigaciones científicas. Maeder (Maeder, 1986) había publicado allí un artículo donde describía la biografía del jesuita "santo criollo" y "mártir" Roque González de Santa Cruz, destacando su santificación por el pontífice Juan Pablo I: "(...) su beatificación en 1934 por el cual la Iglesia reconoció sus virtudes eximias y su vida ejemplar, ahora se lo propone como modelo para toda la cristiandad" (p. 373).

Historiadores que a partir de 1983 contaban con apoyo del gobierno nacional, como el caso de Luis Alberto Romero, cumplirán un papel institucional marcado por un redireccionamiento del estímulo financiero modificando, en efecto, la legitimidad científica. Al trascenderse desviaciones de fondos e irregularidades durante la dictadura, se realizó por orden judicial una investigación en colaboración con el Ministro de Educación de la Nación que culminó en una publicación tardía llamada Informe sobre investigaciones de hechos ocurridos en el CONICET, 1976-1983 (1989). Producto de este informe se disolverían numerosas fundaciones. El Ministro Carlos Alconada Aramburú, mediante la Resolución Nº 2363185, las erradicó alegando lo siguiente:

Que la utilización de las personas jurídicas como meras instrumentalidades, con fines desviados, ilegítimos, excede el marco para el cual han sido creadas. Estando facultado el Poder Administrador, quien las autorizó a funcionar, a hacer cesar dicha autorización en supuestos como los examinados en esta Resolución (como la doctrina del arto 48 Cód. Civ. y la ley Nº 19.550). Que los actos desacreditados en estos considerandos son Irritos al sistema jurídico, por vulnerar principios de juridicidad esenciales. Que ha quedado demostrado que SENOC. OIKOS y FADES fueron utilizadas fuera del marco legal de sus constituciones, contrariando manifiestamente los fines para los que fueron creadas" (Informe sobre investigaciones de hechos ocurridos en el CONICET, período 76-83, 1989:p.24).

Las fundaciones e institutos estuvieron en el ojo de las sospechas una vez retiradas las fuerzas represivas y revisadas las canalizaciones de fondos. La intervención del CONICET, en 1984, ocurrió con un fuerte contenido impugnador de vieias prácticas. Carlos Abeledo había puesto su sospecha especialmente en los institutos creados en el Interior. De acuerdo al Informe sobre Investigaciones de hechos ocurridos en el CONICET. 1976-1983 (1989), se anunciaba el siguiente agraviante:

(...) el gobierno de la institución pasó a un reducido grupo de administrativos, mientras que los científicos perdieron el control; que ese grupo poseía, en realidad, la suma del poder; que en virtud de ello habían constituido una serie de fundaciones privadas a las que, a través de subsidios, se derivaban importantes sumas de dinero, transformando fondos públicos en privados (Informe sobre investigaciones de hechos ocurridos en el CONICET, período 76-83, 1989: p.8).

Lasas denuncias afectaban al IIGHI (Instituto de Investigaciones Geohistóricas) y el CERNEA (Centro de Estudios Regionales del Nordeste Argentino), entre otros. La mirada crítica de las comisiones enviadas por el Poder Judicial y el CONICET, recaían naturalmente sobre la vinculación entre las entidades sin fines de lucro y los institutos. Figuras pertenecientes o cercanas a la "Nueva Historia" procedieron en varias oportunidades a realizar inspecciones a los institutos financiados por el CONICET que habían florecido durante la dictadura. Tales operaciones no ocultaban el objetivo de cerrar aquellas unidades académicas. No resulta llamativo que, producto de estas políticas, se haya denunciado cierta "persecución" entre los investigadores desplazados. El Informe documental. Destrucción de equipos de investigación y persecución a científicos (1988), elaborado a instancias del Comité Argentino Contra la Discriminación entre Investigadores, derivó en la cesantía de sus principales redactores. En este informe se describe particularmente cómo José Carlos Chiaramonte había inspeccionado el Instituto de Investigaciones Geohistóricas, José Luis Romero el Centro de Estudios Interdisciplinarios de Fronteras Argentinas y Waldo Ansaldi el Instituto Bibliográfico Antonio Zinny. Sólo el primer instituto salió ileso debido a su abundante productividad. El segundo fue acusado de "nacionalismo extremo" y el último de estar desfasado científicamente.

Por supuesto, Maeder figuraba entre los "privilegiados" por los altos subsidios brindados y la dotación bienes que obtuvo el Instituto de Investigaciones Geohistóricas (IIGHI) creado durante la dictadura militar. En sus memorias, el historiador mencionaba el Informe confirmando el impacto debido a su elevada exposición pública al punto de trascender en la prensa, la Cámara de Diputados encargada de exigir informes, choque de posiciones denunciando persecuciones, etc. convalidando una imagen negativa en la sociedad. Debió explicar que el gobernador de facto, Antonio Serrano, le había donado por propia voluntad un terreno baldío para la edificación del IIGHI, entendiendo que este vínculo no había significado una cuestión punitiva. El mismo CONICET lo había denunciado y debió asegurarse una buena defensa iurídica.

Sin duda, el trasfondo de las sospechas recaían sobre el compromiso político de Maeder con las autoridades del "Proceso". El Secretario ejecutivo del CONICET, Héctor Ciapuscio, le comunicó una resolución por la cual se le disponía un sumario administrativo involucrando al Tribunal de Cuentas y las denuncias de la Fiscalía Nacional de Investigaciones

Administrativas de la Justicia Federal. ¿Qué implicaciones tenía FUNDANORD según el Informe? Hacía hincapié en el extraordinario incremento de activos de la fundación con fondos del CONICET, derivados incluso antes de la obtención de la personería jurídica. Quedaba constatada la siguiente acusación probada:

Ahora bien, ha quedado demostrado en la pericia penal practicada cuál fue el destino de los fondos FUNDANORD recibió en ése su primer ejercicio: el 67% utilizado en inversiones financieras, el 18% en gastos de proyectos de investigación y el 15% restante fue empleado en la compra de un Ford Falcon 0 km. (...) Como en los otros casos expuestos, FUNDANORD se apropió de las [financieras] generadas (Informe investigaciones de hechos ocurridos en el CONICET, período 76-83, 1989:pp.28-29).

El historiador no pudo ser objeto de un proceso judicial -pues había demostrado que no hubo enriquecimiento individual-, pese a que fue imposible negar su carácter privilegiado en la provisión de recursos dado sus excelentes vínculos con las autoridades del CONICET y las de factoLas tensiones entre las comisiones del CONICET generaron que el historiador Armando Bazán (Informe documental. Destrucción de equipos de investigación y persecución a científicos, 1988) presentara su renuncia a la Comisión Asesora en Historia y Antropología en 1987 exponiendo que "(...) se fue perfilando en la nueva conducción un criterio excluyente y dogmático (...) los somete a premisas teórico-metodológicas sustentadas por cierta escuela historiográfica en determinada etapa de desarrollo. Concretamente, me refiero a la escuela de Annaes" (p.400).

No en vano, gran parte de estos elencos tradicionalistas buscaron refugio en las universidades privadas. Parte de las Jornadas del Comité Internacionales de Ciencias Históricas se habían llevado a cabo en la Universidad Católica de Buenos Aires orquestadas por Roberto Cortés Conde. La ciencia y la devoción religiosa podían ir unidas en concordancia a las "tradiciones argentinas" más valoradas por la historia erudita. También estaban a salvo de los fuertes embates del progresismo laicista en la disputa cultural el cual identificaba, con bastante frecuencia, al catolicismo con las rémoras del pasado y el autoritarismo. Las casas de estudios privadas habían congregado a reconocidos historiadores de la ANH v casi todos miembros de número, a la vez, de la Junta de Historia Eclesiástica: Víctor Tau Anzoátegui, José Mariluz Urquijo, Aarmando Bazán, Daisi Rípodas Ardanaz, Miguel Angel de Marco, Carlos García Belnsunce, Abelardo Levaggi y María Sáenz Quesada.

Más recientemente, desde 1991 la Universidad Austral⁵ comenzó a asegurar una notable participación e integración de agentes conservadores. La ANH compartió con esta institución a los historiadores Eduardo Martiré, Susana Frías y Miguel de Asúa. Las vicisitudes políticas de 1989 -la derrota del gobierno nacional en manos del peronismo- trajeron aparejado cambios dentro del CONICET. Carlos Abeledo dejó de presidir la presidencia, orientándose a apoyar programas científicos entre países sudamericanos. Los grupos marginados entre 1983 y 1989 recuperaron cierto protagonismo. Nada mejor lo refleja la nueva puesta en circulación con apoyo del organismo de la revista Nuestra Historia, impulsada por veteranos católicos derechistas de la Comisión de Historia y Antropología del "Proceso". Airoso tras el cese de los procesos judiciales, Maeder en 1992 volvería a ser designado para integrar la Comisión de Historia y Antropología y la Junta de Calificación y Promoción.

III. Los "Hombres Nuevos": La Consagración de los Historiadores Sociales

Desde un comienzo, el presidente Ricardo Alfonsín exhibía un círculo de confianza intelectual contrario a gobierno de facto en retirada. La extracción ideológica de estos elencos no era uniforme. El Centro de Investigaciones sobre el Estado y la Administración (CISEA) le proveyó cuadros técnicos calves tales como Dante Caputo, Jorge Sábato, Enrique Groisman y Jorge Roulet. Inmediatamente después, Alfonsín había logrado el apoyo del sociólogo y asesor de empresarios, Meyer Goodbar, quien congregó a colaboradores de distintas disciplinas como los sociólogos Gabriel Kessler, Claudia Hilb, Juan Carlos Portantiero, Emilio de Ipola y Daniel Lutzky, entre otros. Distintas agrupaciones como el "Grupo Esmeralda", "Punto de Vista" o "Club de Cultura Socialista", asesoraron intelectualmente al Poder Ejecutivo, siendo parte íntima en muchos casos de la construcción discursiva del "Pacto democrático".

La reorganización de las universidades y el CONICET, había activado una política tendiente a la construcción de un campo científico que comenzaba a desarrollar sus propias redes a partir del foriamiento de enclaves institucionales (Romero, 1996: p.92). El presidente Alfonsín dispuso finalmente, mediante el Decreto Nº154/83, establecer "un régimen provisorio de normalización" en todas las universidades nacionales.

⁵ La Universidad Austral se fundó en 1991 a partir de la base de la Asociación Civil de Estudios Superiores (1977) siendo un proyecto de la organización católica Opus Dei. Aunque no posee la carrera de Historia, numerosas unidades académicas incluyen espacios curriculares dedicados a la historia argentina y mundial. Allí es donde se emplearon a historiadores profesionales católicos o simplemente confesionales.

En este sentido, se reinstalaron los estatutos interrumpidos la intervención de 1966 por defendiéndose, en efecto, los principios básicos reformistas. El envío de rectores interinos con el objetivo de "normalizar" a las casas de estudios, en el plazo de ciento ochenta días, significó un embarazoso proceso de imposiciones y negociaciones entre actores. Los resultados fueron muy dispares en distintos centros universitarios y escenarios intelectuales del país, si se tiene en cuenta el impacto del discurso renovador oficial. En cada universidad, el Consejo Superior Provisorio designaba colaboradores directos quienes, a su vez, investían legalmente a decanos normalizadores con atribuciones que ejecutaban conforme a las metas del propio Consejo y sus propios criterios. Tenían las facultades de convocar a sesiones ordinarias y extraordinarias mediante un Consejo académico normalizador consultivo, la coordinación de las actividades, la conducción administrativa y, en especial, el tratamiento definitivo de los recursos humanos. En este último punto resultaron cruciales los concursos, designaciones, remociones y reducciones del cargo a docentes con fuerza legal (Buchbinder, 2005 p.214).

Nuevos agentes, con capacidad para acumular capital intelectual, pretendían la hegemonía científica de las casas de estudios. El control de la financiación era vital para competir eficientemente, imponiendo un paradigma cognitivo y estético exteriorizándose en el éxito de proyectos tales como Inmigrantes y política en Buenos Aires, 1862-1880 - dirigido por Hilda Sábato- y Los sectores populares de Buenos Aires, 1860-1940 dirigido por Luis Alberto Romero-. El Rector, Francisco Delich, había facilitado la renovación apoyando la inserción de estos historiadores. Esto se advierte en el plantel del Centro de Estudios Avanzados. En exacta sintonía, en 1985 numerosos investigadores de la Facultad de Ciencias Económicas fundaron el Instituto de Investigaciones de Historia Económica y Social, dirigido por Mario Rappoport. Estos docentes se incorporaron, desde 1985, en la carrera de investigador dentro de CONICET ocupando las comisiones con gran dinamismo durante la década de 1980, contrarrestando el peso de investigadores jerarquizados en las últimas décadas⁶.

La hábil canalización de recursos y el carácter refundacional historiográfico identificado en la "Nueva Historia", permitió el acercamiento de jóvenes aspirantes, engrosando el campo bajo esta matriz moderna, en parte atraídos quizá por la seguridad de una garantía de aval económico para sus trayectorias Podía aprovecharse el cambio en la futuras. financiación que, hasta hacía pocos años, recaía sobre entidades periféricas con respecto a las universidades. Ahora el Estado nacional -a partir del CONICET, FOMEC-SECYT, etc.– apoyaba directamente proyectos de investigación de las casas de estudios nacionales. En la Universidad de Buenos Aires, el esquema maniqueo Democracia/Dictadura había sido aplicado con bastante frecuencia. Luis Alberto Romero (Romero, 2010) reconoce, en la transición democrática, un punto de inflexión clave donde algunos paradigmas podían imponerse sobre otros:

El cambio político de 1983 trajo novedades institucionales importantes. El nuevo ciclo fue propicio para la historia social, a juzgar por el número de cátedras universitarias que se crearon. Se trató siempre de cursos propedéuticos, en los que "historia social" era casi sinónimo de "historia". En ellos se afirmaba el lugar, quizá simplemente didáctico, donde se podía enseñar acerca del conjunto, antes de desarmarlo y deconstruirlo (p.102).

La situación parecía complejizarse como consecuencia de ciertos concursos, efectuados entre 1982 y 1983, sumándose la instrumentalización de las posteriores leyes del radicalismo de 1984, como la Ley Nº23.068, previendo que serían revisados intervenciones arbitrarias con aparente fuerza legal. Del mismo modo, comenzó a imperar desde 1984 la Ley Nº23.115, o "Ley Stubrin", la cual intentaba anular los concursos durante regímenes de facto. Luis De Diego sostiene que las reincorporaciones no fueron directas sino generalmente mediante la revisión de tales concursos considerados ilegítimos (De Diego, 2007:pp.49-52). Cada universidad tenía la capacidad aplicar los elementos jurídicos admitiendo una serie de matices y excepcionalidades. La modificación parcial de las plantas docentes impulsando el requisito mínimo de un 51% del claustro concursado, por supuesto, implicó durante varios años cuestionamientos y protestas docentes como estudiantiles.

El gobierno nacional, por su parte, consideraba un diagnóstico negativo sobre el estado de las universidades. Entre las principales causas se identificaban, según Pablo Buchbinder, a la formación

⁶ A manera de ejemplo, tanto L.A. Romero como H. Sábato iniciaron en 1985 su carrera en CONICET como Investigadores Independientes jerarquizándose, en efecto, como Investigadores Principales en 1999. Su peso en las distintas comisiones evaluadores explica en cierta medida el protagonismo que la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Buenos Aires ha irradiado desde entonces en el organismo. Fue posible gracias al diseño institucional de redes de solidaridad contenedoras construidas en pocos años y alimentadas en la década del '90. Estas funcionaron tanto en CONICET como en las universidades reservando cátedras, subsidios y becas para investigadores cercanos al nuevo paradigma, pero también sensibles al grupo de origen. Semejantes comportamientos revelan que pese a la diferenciación ficcional con respecto al pasado reciente, por parte de estos agentes, continuaban prácticas y vicios de viejo antaño –

atemperados por la diversidad de elencos y controles— corporificados en las disputas facciosas por el control del acceso y el sostenimiento de los espacios académicos. Una empresa así de ambiciosa, necesitó construir un *relato* que tiñera de oscuridad el pasado –a excepción de la mítica década del '60– y solidificara expectativas modernizadoras a futuro.

profesional, las orientaciones acentuadas, el deterioro de las condiciones infraestructurales y presupuestarias para atender a la masificación (Buchbinder, 2005: p.215). Los cambios fueron inmediatos incrementándose la matrícula desde 1984 - debido a la supresión de las restricciones sobre el ingreso-. efectivizándose además quince mil concursos. De acuerdo a Cinthia Wanschelbaum "(...) se consideraba que su estructura respondía a un modelo de universidad "estática" con características anacrónicas v estancadas e incapaz de desarrollar concepciones propias" (Wanscehlbaum, 2014). Los profesionales cesanteados estaban dispuestos a acceder a los beneficios otorgados por la gestión de Alfonsín, restaurándose sus cátedras y la antigüedad docente. Los docentes que habían permanecido vigentes durante el "Proceso" reclamaban la revalidación de sus designaciones. Naturalmente, esta medida exigía un desafío político muy exigente para las autoridades interinas, debiendo aplicar excepcionalidades e interviniendo bajo la presión de múltiples factores. La apertura hacia una política participativa, en efecto, abrió el protagonismo a sujetos considerados pasivos hasta hace algunos años como los estudiantes. A partir de 1983, comenzaban a organizarse conformando centros estudiantiles y agrupaciones partidarias. La Franja Morada se había destacado aprovechando popularidad inicial del gobierno y la devastación de organizaciones bajo la dictadura.

Por supuesto que las universidades nacionales particularidades. destacándose Universidad de Buenos Aires por llevar la delantera en la renovación del claustro docente, mientras que en la mayoría de las universidades interioranas prevalecieron las continuidades sobre las expectativas de recambio. El desarrollo de la Universidad de Luján es excepcional: su recuperación en democracia luego de haber sido clausurada completamente permitió la instalación de historiadores renovadores aprovechando el espacio en constitución. Escasos docentes, comparativamente desde 1984, abandonarían sus cátedras, en parte, por haber sido agentes involucrados o adaptativos que sostenían un cursus honorum aceptable y, también, porque negociaron o se subsumieron a las reglas de juego impuestas por los interventores. Como caso colmado de moderaciones políticas, la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba experimentó una continuidad de viejas tradiciones con la reincorporación del personal cesanteado. La Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidad contó con un decano normalizador perteneciente nada menos que a la ANH: Carlos Segreti. Durante su breve gestión, se realizaron los concursos prometidos permitiendo que participaran docentes jerarquizados durante la dictadura generando revuelo entre las organizaciones estudiantiles. Como en otros casos el empleo de cátedras paralelas sirvió para no afectar a los intereses del personal comprometido.

La Universidad Nacional de Cuyo conservaba en la década de 1980 un perfil sin demasiadas modificaciones sobre su reciente pasado filodictatorial. En 1984, había sido designada Decana normalizadora de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras la especialista en educación Elia Bianchi de Zizzias, cuadro técnico su vez propinando los concursos y radicalismo, reparaciones necesarias como la reincorporación del personal cesanteado. El apoyo del presidente Alfonsín a la Universidad Nacional de Cuyo le permitió la creación de la Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación y la Facultad de Derecho, muy estrechas a la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, compartiendo parte del personal. Pero los institutos americanistas -el Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana, por ejemplo, controlados por miembros de la ANH como Oscar Acevedo y luego Edmundo Correas- permanecieron bajo la órbita de agentes conservadores e hispanistas venales quienes, a su vez, formaban parte de la Junta Provincial de Historia. Grandes protagonistas de la dictadura, como los rectores interinos entre 1976 y 1983, Pedro Santos Martínez y Enrique Zuleta Álvarez, continuaron en sus cátedras sin inconvenientes. Un activo investigador filomilitar, Fermín Comadrán Ruiz, fue Consejero titular del Claustro Docente entre 1985 y 1986, jubilándose como Profesor Emérito e ingresando a la ANH en 1991. Al igual que en el resto de las universidades, el florecimiento de Centros avanzó hacia nuevas líneas interpretativas pero terminarían subsumidos temporalmente a éstos. Heredero modernizado, en cierto modo, del belicista Centro de Estudios Interdisciplinarios de Fronteras Argentinas, el Instituto de Ciencias Humanas, Sociales y Ambientales (1994) se asociaría rápidamente a CONICET, mientras que el Instituto Argentino de Estudios Constitucionales y Políticos (1981) conservaría vigencia ligado a universidades y el Estado provincial (Martín de Codoni, 2003: pp.134-136).

Destacándose como excepción, la Facultad de Humanidades y Artes de la Universidad Nacional de Rosario, de la mano de del Decano normalizador, Fernando Prieto, había abrazado un proceso más abarcativo que implicó la renovación de claustros y contenidos habiendo logrado, inclusive, reincorporar a docentes renunciantes durante el golpe de Estado de 1966. La experiencia de la recuperación democrática en la Facultad de Humanidades y Artes en Rosario es la más alentadora del espacio interiorano argentino: la tarea asumida como "refundacional" recayó enteramente en agentes renovadores que volvían principalmente del exilio e insilio como Alberto Pla, Eduardo Hourcade y Marta Bonaudo. Como estrategia impulsaron del Plan de Estudios de 1985, el cual había incorporado cátedras paralelas y seminarios encarando un diseño moderno historiográfico. La añoranza de recuperación de "los viejos maestros", la "Escuela dorada de los '60" y la historia social, fueron los ejes

vitales del proyecto político-historiográfico. Las "metodologías", al igual que otros resabios americanistas, fueron anulados erigiéndose la cátedra Historia Social. Sin embargo, las VII Jornadas de Historia Económica fueron compartidas con parte del elenco de la Asociación Argentina de Historia Económica, es decir, investigadores del pasado reciente con los cuales compartían la modernización (Pisano, 2017:pp.13-33). La provincia de Santa Fe representaba un territorio donde la ANH poseía un débil anclaje⁷. Pese a los esfuerzos mancomunados entre docentes y estudiantes, la Universidad Nacional de La Plata experimentó estrictas permanencias. Habiendo sufrido con violencia extrema el "Proceso", la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación presentaba una planta docente compuesta por numerosos discípulos de los referentes de la "Escuela Histórica de La Plata".

Como en este trabajo se ha señalado, la mavoría de los mismos atravesaron sin dificultades mayores la etapa del "oscurantismo", permaneciendo activos durante la transición normalizadora ratificándose en sus cargos mediante concursos y confirmaciones. En casi todos los casos, resultaba difícil cuestionar su idoneidad profesional, pese a reproches éticos-políticos de algunos adversarios locales. Su entronque tradicionalista con el locus reforzaba una identificación institucional con la casa de estudios. Recién llegado de su exilio en Bolivia, en 1984, José Panettieri se había convertido en Decano normalizador y fue reelegido en su cargo por dos períodos consecutivos entre 1986 v 1992 (Flier, 2012: p.202). Su gestión se inspiraba en el espíritu de la renovación general. Con la difícil tarea de encaminar institucionalmente la universidad, aceptó la inclusión de la red historiográfica conformada por los principales discípulos de Barba, de la cual no puede afirmarse que fuese ajeno completamente a los intereses de este sector8. Como bien recuerda Noemí Girbal de Blacha (Girbal de Blacha, 2014):

Más allá del tiempo transcurrido bajo regímenes autoritarios, la ciencia argentina se recuperaba de la mano de aquellos científicos que habían trabajado en el país, aun con limitaciones, y de quienes retornaban a la Argentina con sus experiencias y las cargas emotivas del exilio. La reconstrucción universitaria no sería sencilla y tampoco lo sería superar los rencores heredados de los "años de plomo" (p.52).

de Aunque existen casos concretos colaboración entre las distintas líneas de investigación intersectoriales, es apreciable de todas maneras el "núcleo duro" con demarcándose sociabilidades bifurcadas: mientras que los retoños herederos en cierta medida de la "Escuela Histórica de La Plata" se encargaban de la dirección del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana "Dr. Ricardo Levene", presidido por Fernando Barba, el Centro de Estudios Históricos Rurales, destacándole allí la dirección de Girbal de Blacha, o el Centro de Estudios de Historia Americana Colonial, cuyo fundador había sido Carlos Mayo, José Panettieri avanzó en 1987 activando el Centro de Investigaciones Socio Históricas (CISH). El CISH tuvo la particularidad, para diferenciarse de otras instituciones, de asumir una preferencia totalmente especializada hacia la contemporánea. Asimismo, la historia social pretendida por el CISH buscaba filiaciones intelectuales con la década de 1960. El impacto renovador penetró en esta institución con equipos de investigación multidisciplinares dirigidos por Alfredo Pucciarelli v Ricardo Rivas quienes desde la década de 1970 se distinguieron como referentes de un "Nuevo humanismo". Los tribunales de tesis doctorales transparentan las diferencias en su conformación sectaria. El propio impulsor Panettieri moldearía el CISH. Observando la producción intelectual, se aprecia que el Comité Editorial se encaminaba en el mismo sentido del proyecto emergente de la Universidad de Buenos Aires. Nada menos que L.A. Romero integraba el Comité Editorial. Las nuevas izquierdas moderadas eran permeables a este grupo, cautivadas por las indagaciones de supuestos proyectos latinoamericanos de resistencia y las estructuras de la desigualdad. De todos modos, la producción de J.Panettieri no fue prolífica en tanto su activismo político consumió su travectoria académica.

Social General en la Facultad de Ciencias Económicas. Sólo C. Mayo compartiría otras casas de estudio como la Universidad Nacional de La Pampa y la Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata. El continuismo es uno de los rasgos más destacables. Sin embargo, estos "elementos preexistentes" no pueden interpretarse dentro cierta tensión entre modernización y tradicionalismo, puesto que sus prácticas no se encontraban supeditadas al rol del profesor e investigador orgánico a viejos los designios dictatoriales.

⁷ La debilidad articulatoria de la ANH con las instituciones santafecinas puede explicarse por el alto impacto de la renovación en el espacio universitario. Sólo podía contar con agentes culturales de la prestigiosa Junta de Estudios Históricos y docentes universitarios como Patricia Pasquali. Merecen destacarse los denodados intentos de esta historiadora de reproducir espacios americanistas cognitiva y estéticamente vinculados a la ANH. Además de ser miembro correspondiente de la corporación, fue miembro de la Academia Sanmartiniana y la Academia Belgraniana. Ejerció la docencia en la Facultad de Derecho de la Universidad Nacional de Rosario y en el Instituto Olga Cossetini. En esta última institución estuvo a cargo del Seminario y Metodología de Historia Argentina y Americana.

⁸En 1986, una vez que se hubo esclarecido la planta docente a través de concursos no desprovistos de intensidades, en la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación el hijo de Barba, Fernando Barba, fue admitido como titular de Historia Argentina I. N.Girbal de Blacha reformuló su categoría como Profesora Adjunta de Historia Argentina Contemporánea, debido a la recuperación de la titularidad por parte del cesanteadoJ.Panettieri. En un sentido similar, se integraron con distintos escalafones docentes S. Mallo en la cátedra de Historia Colonial de América I y S. Amaral de Historia Económica y

Conclusión

La legitimación de nuevas interpretaciones y prácticas, pese a su carácter refundacional esgrimido, en realidad no estaba disociada de algunas corrientes que habían prosperado en la década de 19709. Por supuesto, las I Jornadas de Interescuelas y Departamentos de Historia, surgida como iniciativa original de la Universidad de Buenos Aires, en 1985, colaboró en demarcar directrices, preferencias, redes articuladoras de intereses, opciones epistemológicas y campos especializados. Coincidió tal fenómeno con la interrupción del auge de los grandes congresos organizados por la ANH. La novedad claramente es que pocos aspirantes en el proceso democrático pretendían el capital simbólico de la ANH y cierto es que tampoco era factible una posibilidad de acceso a financiamiento a través de esta institución. Una diferencia substancial estriba en que desde 1983/84 el nivel de exigencia profesional estandarizó prácticas que décadas atrás estaban amparadas por una tolerancia epistemológica que ya no era viable. Las intervenciones sobre el CONICET permitieron que los controles de calidad coaccionaran contra la dispersión de narrativas homogeneizando el lenguaje científico. El pacto éticocientífico que intentaba forjarse en el posalfonsinismo de alguna manera logró imponerse, no obstante, con impactos desiguales en los escenarios intelectuales.

En este artículo se intentó llenar estos vacíos ofreciendo una perspectiva más plural de los estudios históricos y los historiadores que entonces competían en el escalafón de CONICET. El diagnóstico ofrecido por N. Pagano (Pagano, 2010) corresponde a la realidad al afirmar que "(...) al comenzar los años 80, buena parte del campo historiográfico no se hallaba permeabilizado a las innovaciones, sometido como estaba a un régimen de censuras e interdicciones pero también de atraso autocomplaciente" (p.42). De todos modos, no puede concebirse la reprofesionalización desde una clave absolutamente disruptiva, sin admitir

rasgos de una acumulación originaria previa, líneas interpretativas de larga durabilidad y el apoyo de dispositivos institucionales dentro de las élites académicas, muchas de las cuales habían construido un capital nada despreciable. Es decir, una buena parte de los agentes adaptados que convivieron con figuras mediocres durante el "oscurantismo", fueron cómplices de importantes innovaciones.

De cierto modo, la "Nueva Historia" no estalló en 1983/84 sino que dicho paradigma comenzó a convivir con otras corrientes preexistentes de la historia "económico-social" como era llamada. En suma, el paradigma renovador posalfonsinista pudo sostenerse no sólo gracias a los cambios institucionales a su favor, sino al mestizaje entre viejas y nuevas élites académicas compartiendo un campo simbólico e consagración. instancias de En democracia fortalecieron sus trayectorias y consagraciones, sin presenciar las rupturas institucionales como verdaderos obstáculos. Las impugnaciones éticas recaveron especialmente sobre R. Zorraquín Becú, P. Santos Martínez, J.Comadrán Ruiz, H. Cuccorese Ye. Maeder. Sin embargo, no pudieron ser desalojados del CONICET publicando durante el gobierno de R. Alfonsín denuncias recopiladas en el informe Destrucción de equipos de investigación y persecución de científicos (1988). Este grupo regresaría al organismo durante el menemismo protegidos por A.Bazán, entonces del Directorio.

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⁹ La trayectoria institucional que traza perfectamente puentes, entre el sector historiográfico y político más tradicionalista y el proyecto renovador principalmente de la UBA, fue la de R. Cortés Conde, intelectual respetado en ambos espacios. En 1982 había participado junto S. Bagú y G. Weinberg de la reivindicación al "mito de los orígenes" de la historia social: De historia e historiadores: homenaje a José Luis Romero. Otros intelectuales ejemplificadores en tal sentido fueron Ezequiel Gallo, Natalio Botana, Samuel Amaral v Carlos Mavo. No es posible sostener que historiadores de la red de los epígonos estuvieran completamente exentos de paradigmas y las promesas de una renovación. Una diferencia substancial estriba en que desde 1983/84 el nivel de exigencia profesional estandarizó prácticas que décadas atrás estaban amparadas por una tolerancia epistemológica que ya no era viable. Las intervenciones sobre el CONICET permitieron que los controles de calidad coaccionaran contra la dispersión de narrativas homogeneizando el lenguaje científico. El pacto ético-científico que intentaba forjarse en el posalfonsinismo de alguna manera logró imponerse, no obstante, con impactos desiguales en los escenarios intelectuales.

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Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia (BANH)

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Global Journal of Human-social science: A Arts & Humanities - Psychology

Volume 22 Issue 3 Version 1.0 Year 2022

Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal

Publisher: Global Journals

Online ISSN: 2249-460x & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Reaffirming a Nation's Hijacked Future through the Ballot Box: X-Raying Nigeria's Political Landscape since Circa 1999 AD

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Abstract- Since independence in 1960, and the emergence of the military into the Nigerian political terrain in 1966, the woes of the country have been blamed on the military. After long period of military dictatorship in Nigeria, the advent of democratic rule through the ballot box (elections) in 1999 brought with it some rays of hope to the general populace who had believed that the country is on the verge of saving a future (especially of the youths) which was hijacked by the administration of the dictatorial rule of the Khaki boys and selected political godsons. However, political events in the last decade (since 1999) has shown that rather than liberating the people that voted them into power through the ballot boxes, activities of the politicians, political parties and their cohorts (militicians) seems to reaffirmed that the future of the country and her citizens (especially the youths and resources) have been hijacked. This has been exhibited in the wide spread cases of corruption, rigged elections, electoral violence and killings, as well as general state of insecurity that has pervaded the nation's landscape. This paper using historical methodology seeks to examine the relationship between the political activities in Nigeria (including the conduct of elections and electoral process), political class since 1999 and national development.

Keywords: nigeria, ballot box, military rule, politicians.

GJHSS-A Classification: DDC Code: 364.154092 LCC Code: HE9779



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Reaffirming a Nation's Hijacked Future through the Ballot Box: X-Raying Nigeria's Political Landscape since Circa 1999 AD

Emmanuel Osewe Akubor

Abstract Since independence in 1960, and the emergence of the military into the Nigerian political terrain in 1966, the woes of the country have been blamed on the military. After long period of military dictatorship in Nigeria, the advent of democratic rule through the ballot box (elections) in 1999 brought with it some rays of hope to the general populace who had believed that the country is on the verge of saving a future (especially of the youths) which was hijacked by the administration of the dictatorial rule of the Khaki boys and selected political godsons. However, political events in the last decade (since 1999) has shown that rather than liberating the people that voted them into power through the ballot boxes, activities of the politicians, political parties and their cohorts (militicians) seems to reaffirmed that the future of the country and her citizens (especially the youths and resources) have been hijacked. This has been exhibited in the wide spread cases of corruption, rigged elections, electoral violence and killings, as well as general state of insecurity that has pervaded the nation's landscape. This paper using historical methodology seeks to examine the relationship between the political activities in Nigeria (including the conduct of elections and electoral process), political class since 1999 and national development.

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Introduction

lection is the process by which a person is linked to an office with due provision for the participation of the people meant to come under the officers authority. It is meant to give the electorate the opportunity to decide who should rule them, and who the rulers' policies and program should be; thus by this a sort of Social Contract entered into by both parties (Azkin, 1960). It is therefore in line with this, that this paper considers elections (and by extension all other processes associated with it) as veritable ingredient to the existence, stability and development of democracies; and for this to work, political parties and politicians play very significant roles (Azkin, 1960, Mayo, 1960).

In line with the above, it is clear that the essence of the people electing their government through the ballot box, is because they has realized that in organized democratic elections, the political parties and their candidates (voted into office), serve as the

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instrument for enforcing official responsibility and public accountability, using all available law enforcement agencies to ensure that the nation's constitution and laws of the land including electoral regulation and promises made during electoral campaigns are uphold, meting out punishments and rewards accordingly.

II. As it was in the Beginning: NIGERIA IN RETROSPECT

Historically, modern electoral process was first implanted in modern Nigeria by the British colonial masters as a response to the pressure of the nationalists, who were agitating for a greater participation in the colonial administration. From the above, it is clear that, the political terrain in what today constitute the Federal Republic of Nigeria has not always been the same from the beginning. This assertion is based on the fact that the period before independence saw what could be described as a genuine move towards the formation of political parties with politicians who had the desire of total liberation of the people at heart. This was because the first set of agitators, were to later form a large chunk of the political class (although this does not in any way mean that they were all committed to national and selfless course, as there were cases of betrayer along the line. These were a class of people who got the mandate of their people because they liberated them from the shackle of oppression and deprivation. For instance, in the case of the early political class, the imposition of capitation tax, water rate as well as the land expropriation (for government purposes by the colonial government) was seen as inhuman and something that the people must be liberated from. This was largely due to the fact that the people were passionately attached to their land and the fact that such land was used for purposes not originally stated by the administration (Olusanya, 1980: 548). To this course, the political class was ready to lay down their lives for the people, and as such confronted all factors and actors considered as obstacle to this course. Force by these agitations, the colonial authority conducted the first election in 1920, for the seats of the Lagos Town Council (Abba and Umaru, 1989). Scholars have argued that although the franchise was restricted and representation limited, however, this action represented a landmark achievement for the nationalists who were struggling for the enthronement of democratic order as a pre-requisite for greater participation of the people in the process of government. This can be seen from the fact that subsequent elections followed up in 1923 in Lagos and Calabar into the Legislative Houses of the Colony of Lagos and the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. At the end of the exercise, four seats were reserved for African in the council; three for Lagos and one for Calabar. (Abba and Umaru, 1989, Moru, 2004). This however marked the beginning of modern electoral process in the country, as political parties began to spring up. Olusanya (1980), gave a graphic picture of the nature of political landscape of the country thus;

In Nigeria itself the political awakening stimulated these grievances,brought into existence a political organization which was to play very important role in the history of the country. This was the NCNC, formed mainly as a result of the initiative of the King's College branch of the Nigerian Union of Students, in August 1944. The emergence of this organization heralded an era of more decisive battle with the colonial administration.

BALLOT BOX AND THE III. VIOLENT/HIJACKED FUTURE: TRACING THE HISTORICAL ORIGIN

Although the first sets of agitators and political party that emerged in the country has been argued to have been with the intention of moving the nation away from the doldrums of the imperial power, the election that ushered the country into independence, the 1959 General elections and the subsequent events the followed give a clear indication that the security of the future of both election, the people and their resources were not in any way guaranteed. Dudley (1982: 37) gave a vivid description of the conduct of the 1959 general election thus;

The electoral officers were terrorized into absconding from their offices once they receive the nomination paper of the governing party candidates, leaving the opposition candidates with no opportunity of registering the nomination papers. So, fragrantly was electoral procedure abused that at the close of nomination 88 out of total of 174 NPC candidates in the North had their candidature unopposed. In the West about 30% of the NNDP were supposed to have been unopposed. The situation in the East was not much different. Therefore, as envisaged by many people including the proclaimed winners of the 1964 general elections, the results was not only rejected , but the opposition in the Western region resorted to violence to contest what they perceived as the reverse of their mandate by the ruling NPC. The situation gave birth to arson, looting, killing, massive destruction of properties and total breakdown of law and order beyond the control of the central government. Consequent upon this, a state of emergency was imposed and the then Prime Minister declared the Western Region as "Wild-Wild-West"... The intensity of the electoral violence recorded after the 1964 General Election affected the

legitimacy of the new civilian authority and the subsequent military intervention in Nigerian politics on January 15, 1966.

It was in line with the above and an analysis of the general atmosphere that Usman (2002), argued that this dangerous development is not new in this country, as it has happened before in 1964-1965 and in 1983, and had been used as an excuse by the military to overthrow the civilian government and impose on Nigerians years of military dictatorship, retarding the nation's development and wasting potentials. The scholar was also quick to point out that, although the military often give the impression that they have come to save the country, they sooner than later, end up conniving with the political class to entrench such impunity. At the end of the day, it is a movement within a circle, either in what have become known as tazarce (transformation in Hausa) or planting of political stooges through some form of kangaroo elections.

Disappointment of the Ballots and the Confusion of Military rule: The Beginning of the Long Journey of Bad Governance

The disappointment of the people with those that have been elected into political office, led to their cry for salvation. It was therefore not surprising that just six years after independence (precisely 1966) the first major coup under Major Nzogwu was carried out, thus altering the nation's political scene. Hardly had they settled down, when a counter coup was staged under the leadership of Gen. Yakubu Gowon was to lead the government. Dissatisfaction among the rank and file of the army plunged the country into civil war, which lasted till 1970. Gowon's government was later overthrown by another group of military officer under Gen. Murtala Muhammed. Although during this period, a coup was staged but it was unsuccessful, leading to the death of Murtala, and the entry of Gen Olusegun Obasanjo who was his second command. By 1979 there was handing over to a civil administration under Alhaji Shehu Shagari, but the administration lasted just a short while, as the military again took over the reign of power on December 31st 1983, under General Muhammadu Buhari.

Although, analysis of the way and manner the military invaded the political scene, often suspending the constitution, the rule by Decree and the trampling on the fundamental Right of the people. However, one cannot deny the fact that it was as a result of the way the affairs of the country have been handled by the civilian government that necessitated intervention to safe the country from disintegration when it was not prepared for the task. This was justified by the Buhari led military intervention, when he gave it as part of the inaugural speech of his government thus;

There is ample evidence that rigging, thuggery were relative to the resources available to the parties...it is true that there is a world wide economic recession, However, in the case of Nigeria, its impact was aggravated by mismanagement. We believe that the appropriate government agencies did give good advice, but their advice was disregarded by the leadership. The situation could have been saved if the legislatures were alive to their constitutional responsibilities. Instead there were salary scales, fringe benefits and unnecessary foreign travels, etcetera, which took no account of the state of the economy and they welfare of the people they represented. As a result of our inability to financial discipline and prudent management of the economy, we have come to depend largely on internal and external borrowing to execute government projects with attendant domestic price problems and soaring external debts, this giving the propensity of the outgoing civilian administration to mismanage our financial resources. Nigeria was already condemned to live perpetually with the twin problems of heavy budget deficit and weak balance of payments position with little prospect of building a virile and viable economy (Okoye M (nd) 279-282, Usman, Y.B, 2002:93)

The period of military rule in Nigeria no doubt altered the people's perception in the military and the institution. Although the people had thought of the military as a better institution to clean up the mess of the political class, however, its involvement in politics has been a fundamental factor in subsequent political engineering. It has turned out that the top military class serving and retired determine the direction where the political pendulum in Nigeria should swing to as a result of huge resources available at their disposals, which were acquired largely fraudulently through their involvement into politics. To maintain and sustain this status quo, the military had to stay within political relevance. Thus the political terrain under the military has been summarized by Ojakaminor E (nd), thus;

Under the military rule in Nigeria, there were full manifestations of bad governance, abuse of Power and office, corruption, breakdown of the rule of law, collapse of social infrastructures, high poverty and general deprivation. While it could be said that corruption for instance had existed in Nigeria even before the military came to power, what perhaps, was new, was the rapid rate at which it engulfed the society. And how it was carried out with impunity. The most worrisome aspect of these social ills was the absence of checks and balances, a body to moderate and curtail the excesses of the military. The absolute power of military regime plugged Nigeria back to the colonial days.

Ironical, during the period of military rule and overthrown, being birds of the same stock, the military rarely detained, convicted and imprisoned the military officers they overthrew, even when there was substantial evidence of similar misconduct by them. This situation has led to further decadence in the system.

b) Sinking into Political Doldrum: Nigeria since the 1990 Although from the 1980's the military continued to parade the corridor of the political scene, however, it became clearer with time that it was in collaboration with some of their politician friends who have not been able to have access to the national purse. As such they continually took the advantage to their closeness to those with the power of the guns to distabilise the nation's political arena. It was this situation that brought in the regime of Ibrahim Babangida and his "transition without end Program". The administration of Babangida and his visionless transition program played the role that further damaged elections and party system in the country. After overthrowing the government of Buhari and consolidating himself in power, the administration registered two political parties, namely the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republican Convention (NRC), with the full sponsorship of the government including the building of offices in the headquarters of all the local government areas across the nation and state capitals. Political friends of the administration's (under the cover of Civil Servants) were appointed as administrative heads, while the government under the guise of sanitizing the system, banned all the old breed politicians, from participating in the political process, empowered the so called new breed as well as funded the political parties, thus turning the parties into more or less a government parastatal and another avenue o sap the nation. This so called funded did not last long as, what the government claimed to have eliminated (godfatherism) by funding the political parties began to emerge, most of whom were collaborators of the military men in power. Adetula and Adeyi(2009:10), clearly stated the situation thus;

As elections drew closer, individual candidates opened their campaign offices, sourced for fund independently for parties. Some of the candidates organized their special fund raising activities, and some were almost operating parallel organizations with their parties. The consequence was that the parties were reduced to mere clearing houses where candidates came merely to obtain party tickets for the elections. The parties gradually came under the influence of money bags that were able to pay their ways through the most difficult situations. There were no guideline or law regulating how and where to source for funds by the candidates and parties. The shoddy party primaries that led to the emergence of the two candidates that contested the presidential elections in June 1993 best illustrate the subordination of the parties to individual money bags.

In a related manner (especially as it relates to the issue of insincerity of the government and the process of election under the system as a way of siphoning public funds), Dare O (1993), painted the picture of democratic process under the military with specific focus on the Babangida regime thus;

The core enterprises itself i.e., the scheme of replacing a military with a democratically government, has been one of the major linguistic casualties. Officially called the "transition", it has been a dubbed a "transfiction" on account of the very many qualities it shares with fiction, not least of which is, the delusion that two synthetic political parties created.

In the case of Abacha's political program, Dagne (2005:5), put it thus

In October 1995, under pressure to implement political reforms, Abacha announced a three-year transition program to civilian rule, which he tightly controlled until his death on June 8, 1998. Abacha established the National Electoral Commission of Nigeria (NECON), which published guidelines for party registration, recognized five political parties in September 1996 and officially dissolved opposition groups after refusing to recognize them. The military professed its support for Abacha should he seek reelection as a civilian, and by April 20, 1998, all five parties had nominated Abacha as the single presidential candidate despite criticism by the international community and dissident groups. Major opposition figures, especially those in exile, dismissed the transition program and called for boycotts of the parliamentary and presidential elections. Only candidates from among the five state sanctioned political parties participated in state assembly elections held in December 1997 and parliamentary elections held on April 25, 1998. The United Nigeria Congress Party (UNCP), considered by many government opponents to be the army's proxy, won widespread victories.

NIGERIA SINCE 1999: DEMOCRACY OR Money Politics

Historian and Political analysts are of the view since the emergence of this democratic dispensation in 1999, political corruption has been expressed with reckless abundance by the political class either in the form of outright thuggery, embezzling public resources on the basis of direct access to state power or through money politics to subvert the will of the people, who brought them into power. For example, Aedtula in his analysis, opined thus

Money politics is fast shrinking the political space, becoming a key variable in determining who participate in electoral politics, and how? For example, the nomination fees for party members seeking elective positions have become so high that only the rich few and the daring 'political entrepreneurs' can participate in party primaries. In 1992, for example, presidential "hopefuls' spent over one billion naira during the primaries while other 'not-so-rich' contenders had about 120 million naira as budget for primaries. Although the 'abiku' political transition programme of the administration of General Ibrahin Babangida under which such recklessness took place was aborted, this trend of unrestrained use of money for political influence persists to date. Money continues to drown votes and voices in Nigeria as godfathers openly confess about their shady deals; how they fund or sponsored elections for their 'godsons' and even purchased electoral victory. Businessmen and women are not left out in this illegitimate and illicit use of money for political influence (Adetula V (2008; 22-23)

This impact on the recklessness and it national politics was expressed the administration between 1999 to 1997. This was first pointed out by Obasanjo as a serving President in 2003, when he pointed out the availability of massive resources at the disposal of the elected officers and their allies, as well as the deployment of this resources to capture elective offices,

it is not difficult to see the correlation between politics and the potential for high level of corruption. He went on to opine that when this happens, the greatest losers are the ordinary people, whose faith and investment in the system are hijacked and subverted because money at their will, is made the determining factor in election. In a summarized form, he captured the situation thus;

Elective offices become mere commodities to be purchased by the highest bidders, and those who literally invest merely see it as an avenue to recoup and make profits. Politics become business, and the business of politics becomes merely to divert public funds from the crying needs of our people for real developments in their lives (Obasanjo 2003 cited in Adetula V (2008), The Electoral Journal, 2009:9)

He was quick to make this observation, even though his election and administration was not free from this infectious disease. This situation has been given a more broader dimension, by the Secretary General of the United Nations (cited in Ake C, 1996:3), when he posited thus;

The nature of political power in many Africa states, together with the real and perceived consequences of capturing and maintaining power is the key source of conflict across the continent. It is frequently the case that political victory assumes a 'winner-takes-all' form with respect to wealth and resources, patronage and the prestige and the prerogatives of office. A communal sense of advantage and disadvantage is closely linked to this phenomenon, which is heightened in many cases by reliance on centralized and highly personalized forms of governance. Where there is insufficient accountability of leaders, lack of transparency in regime, inadequate checks and balances, non-adherence to the rule of law, absence of peaceful means of change or replace leadership or lack of respect for human rights, political control becomes excessively important and the stakes become dangerously high

As pointed out above, although the Obasanjo administration, condemned the act of money politics and flagrant use of public fund and monies from godfathers, he has never debunked claim by Theophilius Danjuma, that his election success was as a result of the fact that, he singlehandedly sponsored him to the tune of seven million dollars. This situation was to later play itself again, when under the aegis of the friend of the president, so group of people and companies claimed to contribute monies to the election purse of the administration. The is represented in the table below

Table I: Fund Raising for	or Obasanio/Atiku	Campaigns in the	2003 General Elections

S/No.	Donor	Amount
1	Friends of Atiku	I Billion Naira
2	Aliko Dangote	250 Million Naira
3	Emeka Offor	200 ,,
4	21 PDP Governors	210 ,,
5	Group from Europe	1 Million Euro (144 Million Naira)
6	Rivers Friends of Obasanjo/Atiku	150 Million Naira
7	Grand Alliance	Boeing 727 and two luxury buses for campaign
8	Another Group	Two Luxury buses
9	Construction Companies in Nigeria	200 Million Naira
10	Dr. Solomon Uche	50 Million Naira
11	PDP Caucus in Senate	12 Million ,,
12	Principal Staff of the Villa (Aso Rock)	10.6 Million Naira
13	Air Vice Marshal I.A. Shekari (rtd)	10 Million Naira
14	First Atlantic Bank	10 ,,
15	Ministers	11
16	Otunba Fasawe	6.5 Million Naira
17	50 Parastatals	5 Million Naira
18	PDP National Working Committee	3.6 ,,
19	Dr. Ngozi Anyaegbunam	500,000.00 Naira
20	Dr. Gamaliel Onosode	100,000.00 Naira
21	Corporate Nigeria	Pledge 2 Billion Naira

Source: Ezomo, E and Okoror F (2003), "Campaign Finance: Donations or Buying up the Democratic Process? The Guardian, Friday, January 24, pp 22-23; See also Yaqub Nuhu (2005), " A Critical Assessment of the Presidential Model of Democracy", in Jega A and Wakili H (ed) (2005), The Question of Democracy: Direct or Representative? Centre for Democratic Research and Training, Mambayya House, Bayero University, Kano. Pp158

An analysis of the above shows that this may have been one of the features inherited from the pre 1960 politics of deploying public fund to personal usage as revealed by both the Foster-Sutton Tribunal and the Coker Commission of Inquiry. For example the result of the Foster Sutton Inquiry which investigated the scandal which involving the African Continental Bank (ACB) and key politicians of the former Eastern Region shows that the politic actors used their positions as custodian of the public assets to divert resources into private businesses. In a similar manner, the Coker Inquiry established the fact that fact that the heavy weights of the then Action Group and other party functionaries used a government corporation as a tool for siphoning public fund, as they were able to allocate "loans" from public monies to finance private businesses (Sklar, 1963: 171ff). This situation has not change, as it continued into the new democratic dispensation as revealed in the table below.

Table II: Compiled Cases on Accused Politician and Political Actors.

S/No.	Name	Designation	Offence
1	Saminu Turaki,	Former governor of Jigawa State,	N36 billion;
2	Jolly Nyame	Taraba	N180 million;
3	Orji Uzor Kalu	Abia	N5 billion;
4	Rasheed Ladoja	Oyo	N6 billion;
5	Joshua Dariye	Plateau	amount not stated;
6	Chimaroke Nnamani	Enugu	N5.3 billion;
7	Boni Haruna	Adamawa	N93 million
8	Michael Botmang,	Former acting governor, Plateau	N1. 5 billion.
9	Chief Bode George,	PDP chieftain,	N100 billion;
10	Patrick Fernandez	Indian businessman	N32 billion;
11	Roland Iyayi,	Former Managing Director of FAAN,	N5.6 billion;
12	Prof. Babalola Borishade,	former Minister of Aviation,	N5.6 billion;
13	Eider George,	an Austrian businessman,	N5.6 billion;
14	Kenny Martins	Police Equipment Fund (PEF),	N7.7 billion.
15	Dr. Yuguda Manu,	Chairman, Taraba State Civil Service	N17.5 million
		Commission,	
16	Senator Nicholas Ugbane and nine others	Members , House of Rep.	N5.2 billion;

17	Iyabo Obasanjo,		N10 million;
18	Nyeson Wike,	Chief of Staff to Rivers State Governor,	N4.7 billion;
19	Femi-Fani-Kayode,	former Aviation Minister	N250 million;
20	Four staff of Zenith Bank	senior managers,	N3.6 billion;
21	Molkat Mutfwang and three others,		N636 million;
22	Dr. Ransome Owan and six others,		N1.5 billion;
23	Dr. Albert Ikomi,	a retired Permanent Secretary,	N43 million,
24	Tom Isegholi, Mohammed Buba, and Mike Okoli	Transcorp Plc.,	. N15 billion;
25	Jibril Aminu	Former Min. Of Petroleum Resource	17.5 million euros (Siemens bribery)
26	MajGen. Tajudeen Olanrewaju	PDP Chieftain	,,
27	Haliru Bello Mohammed,	PDP Deputy National Chairman	,,
28	Chief Cornelius Adebayo	former Ministers of Communication,	11
29			

Source: Compiled from the Farida Waziri led Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) released names of 56 Nigerians it alleged collectively removed over N243 billion from the nation's treasury

Some of these politicians (except for Bode George and Kenny Martins, served prison terms have continued to appear in public and are referred to as politically revered people in the international community; while some others are still serving as senators and Members of the House of Representative of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (http://thenationonlineng.net/web2/ articles/47608/1). Apart from the above there has been a systematic loot of public fund through the payment of salaries and benefits of the elected officers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and others at the helm of

affairs. The result of the above situation as presented above and the inability of various governments to check this, has led to massive looting of the nation's treasury, therefore plunging her into serious crises. It was therefore in the light of this that Global Financial Integrity to come out with figures of the loot from Nigeria throughout the period 1970-2008, as produced by the Report is represented below. This became necessary, because it revolved around the same circle of people who have been in government since independence.

Table III: List of Fund Looted from the Country since 1970

S/No.	Year	Administration	Head of Leadership	Amount
1	1970	Military	Gen Yakubu Gowon	\$ 2.2 million
2	1971	Military	Gen Yakubu Gowon	3.8 million
3	1972	Military	Gen Yakubu Gowon	2.7 million
4	1973	Military	Gen Yakubu Gowon	4.4 million
5	1974	Military	Gen Yakubu Gowon	10.5 million
6	1975	Military	Gen M Muhammed	12.5 million
7	1976	Military	Gen M Muhammed	43.7 million
8	1977	Military	Gen M Muhammed	2,098.4 million
9	1978	Military	Gen M Muhammed	573.4 million
10	1979	Military/Civilian	Gen Obasanjo/ Alhaji Shagari	55.4 million
11	1980	Civilian	Alhaji Shagari	2,789.2 million
12	1981	Civilian	Alhaji Shagari	1,550.8 million
13	1982	Civilian	Alhaji Shagari	35.6 million
14	1983	Civilian	Alhaji Shagari	2,301.2million
15	1984	Military	Gen Babangida	165.8 million
16	1985	Military	Gen Babangida	3,636.2 million
17	1986	Military	Gen Babangida	4,872.8 million
18	1987	Military	Gen Babangida	7,460.8 million
19	1988	Military	Gen Babangida	1,343.0 million
20	1989	Military	Gen Babangida	2,762.1 million
21	1990	Military	Gen Babangida	7,191.4 million
22	1991	Military	Gen Babangida	2,984.4 million
23	1992	Military	Gen Babangida	2,383.8 million
24	1993	Military	Gen Babangida/ Shonekan	1,674.5 million
25	1994	Civilian/Military	Gen Abacha	1,861.1 million
26	1995	Military	Gen Abacha	10.8 million
27	1996	Military	Gen Abacha	5.3 million

28	1997	Military	Gen Abacha	2.7 million
29	1998	Military	Gen Abacha/ Gen Abdulsalam	16.9 million
30	1999	Military/Civiilan	Gen Abdulsalam/Mr. Obasanjo	2,011.5 million
31	2000	Civil Rule	Mr. Obasanjo	6,335.8 million
32	2001	Civil Rule	Mr. Obasanjo	5,463.5 million
33	2002	Civil Rule	Mr. Obasanjo	5,135.4 million
34	2003	Civil Rule	Mr. Obasanjo	9,750.6 million
35	2004	Civil Rule	Mr. Obasanjo	14,990.8 million
36	2005	Civil Rule	Mr. Obasanjo	18,662.7 million
37	2006	Civil Rule	Mr. Obasanjo	23,217.4 million
38	2007	Civil Rule	Mr. Obasanjo/ Yar'Adua	34,620.0 million
29	2008	Civil Rule	Alh. Yar'Adua	51, 694.6 million

Source: Bolaji Akinyemi (2011), How to Combat Corruption. Lecture delivered at the 10th anniversary of the Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) on April 9, Arewa House, Kaduna

The above table is a clear manifestation of the high level of corruption in Nigeria exhibited by those that came into power through the ballot and their military allies. the picture becomes even clearer when corroborated with the list released by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission in 2009. The list by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) contain names of 56 Nigerians it allegedly stole over N243 billion from the nation's treasury. They have been argued to have stolen in billions, the money stolen ranged from N10 million to N100 billion. According to the list, only eight of the suspects allegedly stole in millions; 17 of them were alleged, by the EFCC, to have stolen in billions, while the amounts allegedly stolen by others were not specified. The irony of all this is that a large chunk of those involve are still serving as either governors, ministers, commissioners and government administrators in different parts of the country

V. YOUTH WING OR POLITICAL THUGS

The situation as it is in Nigeria today is the emergence of what is fast becoming known as Progressive Youth for Democratic Rule. The politics class and their allies have taken advantage of the situation in the country to lure the youth under the name of progressives to unleash mayhem on the people. Thus, due to hardship of unemployment, these young men and women began to form the back bone primordial identities of ethnic, communal and religious formations which have taken the centre stage in social and political interaction- unlike what was obtainable in the days of Nigerian Youth Movement and Universal Negro improvement Association, they have constituted themselves into group fighting for individual survival. The political climate and the level of corruption and poverty, led to the formation of various groups which ordinarily would not have emerged. Some examples were the Association for Better Nigeria, (ABN) under Chief Arthur Nzeribe and Youths Earnestly Ask for Abacha (YEAA) under Daniel Kanu. Subsequently, other groups have continue to emerge, with most having penetrating

networks and profound influence in politics in Nigeria, because of the role(dirty) some of them play during election. Although some of these groups argued that they have good agenda, but corruption, the unemployment level in the country as well as the love for money have made most of the jobless youth to hide under their umbrella. Examples of these groups include the Oodua Peoples Congress (OPC), Egbesu Boys of Africa (EBA), Movement for the Sovereignty State of Biafra (MASSOB), Niger Delta Volunteer Force, the Chicoco Movement, the Ijaw Youths, and the Bakassi Boys among others. The emergence of these groups and the role they now play in the political circle as a result of hardship has been emphasized by most scholars. For example, this situation has been graphically captured by Adekunle (2012:90) thus;

...campaigns were conducted under fearful conditions because thugs would scare away the supporters of opposing parties. Elections were conducted under a tense environment because hooligans manned polling booths. Thuggery became an integral part of politics; indeed, it was a profession for the jobless and uneducated youths who thronged to politicians for money, favours, or jobs. Thuggery became a means to secure and maintain power for politicians. It is a threat to sustainable democracy and a mechanism of perpetuating political corruption

In line with this, Ilo (2006:198), argued that it has become a source of tension and bitterness, as the political class, would recruit from among those who ought to be the future leaders of the country, thugs and foot soldiers to make sure they win elections at all cost. The danger here is that they are s are essentially youth based groups, with so much vigour and life, with intent of promoting and protecting the parochial interests of those who are able to give them food and pay their bills. In this way, the group employs violence and any means available to satisfy their pay master. From the definitions as far it is clear that these are group which have been put together to achieve some political relevance, by those who in one way or the other feel politically marginalized or cheated

With the above background, the processes leading to the return to democratic rule in 1999, did not changed much. The expectation was that after years of military rule and the call for the return to democracy, there would have been a positive change. Instead the country has steadily increased her position in electoral fraud and violence with the youths as the apostles of this course. The election that brought President Obasanjo to power in 1999 and 2003 were marred by such widespread violence and fraud, so much so that the US-based Jimmy Carter Center for Democracy, argued that it was not possible to make an accurate judgment about the outcome of the presidential election. For an understanding of the above, there is the need to look at some example for different parts of the country since the emergence of Democratic dispensation in 1999. This was because the armies of unemployed youths in various parts of the country under different ethnic umbrella became the foot soldiers for perpetuating electoral fraud and violence. This was to set the pace for further violence in 2003 and 2007, as each group canvassed and threatened brimstone and fire for their regional candidates. The cases of Odua Peoples Congress OPC (Yoruba) and Movement for the Advancement of Sovereign State of Biafra MASSOB (Igbo) represent a good example of this perspective, while various minority ethnic groups such as Ijaw Youth Council (IYC), Middle Belt Forum among others, have been challenging the activities of the dominant ethnic groups. These competitions have ended up in ethnic militant attacks and ethnic clashes. However, it has been revealed that the youths constitute the bulk of these ethnic militias (Akinboye, 2001). In the early days of democracy, this manifested in the ethnic cleansing, political assassination as well as violents clashes. Some examples include the 1999 Odi Episode which involved the kidnapping and killing of policemen, the January 2000 Bariga clash between OPC and Policemen, killing of Bola Ige (2001), the assassination of Marshall Harry in 2003, the Militant Ijaw/Soldier Clash (2003) among other. All these prepared the way for the brutal dimension of violence and fraud which is being experienced today. However, there is the need to look at some cases, to buttress the point.

In Ekiti State, Human Rights Watch interviewed a group of NURTW members days ahead of the 2007 elections. They acknowledged that they had been hired by a PDP politician from their community to attack and chase away would-be voters in order to stuff ballot boxes and rig the 2003 elections but said they would not do so again in 2007.

We need to show people that we are not thugs,...We are not ready to do it. But there is a likelihood that they [politicians] will approach us. It is left for us not to accept their offer. But in Oyo State, NURTW members have been at the forefront of a bloody and protracted period of election-related violence that continued well-past the closing of the polls. The central role of NURTW in political violence in Oyo is discussed in the Ovo State case study below.

In some cases the link between government officials and their hired thugs is formalized to some degree. For instance in Katsina for instance, the state government under Umaru Yar'Adua maintained several thousand "PDP Youth" on a monthly stipend that was paid with state government money. Credible sources maintain that many of those youth were allegedly involved in violence linked to the 2007 elections.

The above testimony as well as the existence o various camps with their armories is a clear evidence that they enjoyed politician and some government officials patronage. This also clearly give credence to the report in March 2002, by Centre for Democratic Development, when it argued that

.....The youths at the centre of the fracas resulting in the death of the policemen had gained prominence during the governorship and presidential elections in Bayelsa State in 1999. Some of them were recruited by the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) politicians to intimidate their opponents in the other parties and ensure their victory

This position maintained by C.D.D. was further strengthened by Elizabeth Blunt, the BBC journalist who covered the presidential election in the Niger Delta when she reported that

that the February 1999 presidential election was heavily rigged by PDP elements in the area on behalf of Olusegun Obasanjo who later emerged President. The youths, largely unemployed and thus susceptible to financial inducement, were the shock troops that facilitated this victory.

It was activities as stated above and the high level of gun running in the country that made the Commandant of Nigerian Merchant Navy Corps Benson Allen Edema, in 2007, to raise alarm over the influx of illegal arms and ammunition into the country. He attributed crime upsurge to the high circulation of arms, suspected to be now illegal hands. (Guardian, 2005/50). Most of these arms according to him were mostly in the hands of youth (with specific reference to students) who use them for violence and crime.

As a confirmation to the above, the Society for the Civil Liberties and the Rule of Law (Intersociety) said that about 34,000 Nigerians have allegedly been killed unlawfully since 1999 when the nation returned to democratic rule. The Society for the Civil Liberties and the Rule of Law (Intersociety) specifically stated thus;

The number of those killed outside the law in Nigeria since 1999 might have increased to 34,000. They include over 160 political assassinations; over 10,000 vigilance-related killings. Over 13,500 killings have resulted from the ethno-religious and inter-communal violence in Nigeria since 1999. These killings were mostly carried out by non-state actors." Quoting the 2009 Report of the United States on the State of Human Rights in Nigeria, Intersociety said: "Nigeria's human rights problem during the year 2009 included the abridgement of citizens' rights to change their government, politically motivated and extra-judicial killings by security forces, including summary executions, vigilante killings, abduction by militant groups, torture, rape and other cruel, inhuman degrading treatment of prisoners, detainees and criminal suspects.

Apart from the above specific cases, a few of the cult and gang members interviewed by Human Rights Watch said that they had been paid only to attend rallies in support of their patron candidates. But they admitted that they routinely attended such events armed and prepared to fight. Human Rights Watch during the 2007, reported thus;

While cults and other criminal gangs are often at the front lines of political clashes in Nigeria, they do not by any means have a monopoly on the market for hired thugs. In some states, politicians have drawn upon the membership of the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) for paid thugs. NURTW theoretically represents the collective interests of commercial drivers and other workers tied to the industry but some of its chapters have been largely converted into reservoirs of thugs for local politicians... It's survival, it's an investment...to go to rallies... prepare with machetes, clubs and AK-47s.

VI. IMPACT OF HIJACKED FUTURE ON THE NATION AND YOUTHS

As for as scholars are concern, the situation has put the country in a situation of sitting on time bomb, as the array of those whose existence is under threat are gradually forming irregular or paramilitary group of young civilians who might have received some form of non- formalized or unofficial military training, armed with small arms and light weapons (Sesay et al., 2003). In this way, they do not differ (both in character and operation) from the regular professional army in the manner of their operation and command structure. This view has further found support in Umar M (2003), who opined that the result of the band of unemployed youth constitute ready cannon powder for the perpetration of violence in the northeast as well as the nation at large. In his opinion, this owes it origin to the point at which politicians recruit them to serve as hitmen, bodyguards and militia for the parties. The makeup of these groups are largely constituted by street boys such as petrol hawkers, motor park touts, and to some extent the "self-liberated" almajirai (in the case of northern Nigeria, while in the south, they are made up of school dropout and addicts). By nature of their exposure and the type of activities they partake in, a large chunk of this group are criminal in one way or the other. It is this criminal tendency in the youths that politicians find convenient for exploitation. Adejumobi (2002), posited that this Militias are essentially youth based groups formed with the purpose of promoting and protecting the parochial interests of particular groups, and whose activities sometimes involve the use of violence. In a similar manner, Sesay et al (2003) argued that militia comprises and compose of irregular or paramilitary group usually made up of civilians who might have received some form of nonformalized or unofficial military training and are armed with small arms and light weapons. In this way, they do not differ (both in character and operation) from the regular professional army in the manner of their operation and command structure. From the definitions as far it is clear that these are group which have been put together to achieve some political relevance, by those who in one way or the other feel politically marginalized or cheated. Since these people are jobless in economic sense and would do anything for survival. they become the ready contractor of the politicians. In turn, they provide some stipends for them considering their poverty level. This is appreciated when viewed in the light of the fact that of the number of poor Nigerians put at an estimated 90 million, over 70 million are youths, with no meaningful sources of livelihood. This number has continued to grow over the year. For instance in 1980, the figure was 28.1 million, it increased in 1985 to 46.3 million; in 1992, there was a slight decrees to 42.7 million; by 1996, the figure sky rocketed to 65.6 million and 70.0 million in 1999, while 2004 recorded 54.4 million (Nigerian Compass, August 21, 2008). A analysis of this shows that statistical breakdown along the six regional levels gave 72.2% to the "North-East; 26.7% to the South-East; 31.5% to the South-South; the South-West has 43.1 percent; North-Central 67.0 percent; and North-West, 71.2 percent.

This was happening a time when official poverty statistics revealed that over half of Nigeria's 150 million populations are poor in a country with abundant human and material resources. Up till 2007/2008, the economy was so gloomy that the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP's) Human Development Index (HDI) ratings placed Nigeria at 158th position out of 177 countries. These experiences are indexical of the tyrannical foundation for Nigeria's democracy. The above situation is true, when seen it the light of a recent study released by the British Council, which posits thus:

.... Nigeria fails to plan for its next generation, it faces serious problems as a result of growing numbers of young people frustrated by a lack of jobs and opportunities. If these young people are healthy, well educated (emphasis mine) and find productive employment, they could boost the economy and invigorate it culturally and politically. If not, they could be a force for instability and social unrest.

The above situation is true of the reality on ground in Nigeria today, while observers and political analysts are of the view that the country is yet to witness the worst (Adekanye, 2007, Adetula and Adeyi, 2009). At the end of the day, the youths are left cared for, thus leading to them taking to arms. The disappointment of the system by the people especially as it relates to future of the nation put side by the future of the nation, Ake (Cited in J.S. Jane, 1980), argued thus

The ordinary people of Africa are supporting democracy as a second independence. This time they want independence not from the colonial masters, but from indigenous leaders. They want independence from leaders whose misrule has intensified their poverty and exploitation to the point of being life threatening. And they are convinced that they cannot now get material improvement without securing political empowerment and being better placed to bring public policy closer to social needs. [Nonetheless] democracy is being interpreted and supported in ways that defeat those aspirations and manifest no sensitivity to the social conditions of the ordinary people of Africa. Generally, the political elites who support democratization are those with no access to power and they invariably have no feeling for democratic values. They support democratization largely as a strategy of power... The people can (only) choose between oppressors and by the appearance of choice legitimize what is really their disempowerment.

The tables below shows clearly the effect of hijacked life of the nation and what it has turned the youths into in various parts of Nigeria. While Table IV, focuses on the entire nation, Table V, is on the Niger Delta corner of the country

Table IV: Youth involvement in Violence in Nigeria (1999-2004)

Perpetrators	Motives	Date/Place	Nature Of Act	Targets/Casualty
Egbesu Boys	Revenge	November 8,	Kidnapping and	Security agents
Lgsood Boyo	riovarigo	1999. Odi Bayelsa State	killing of police men	, -
Odua Peoples Congress OPC	Revenge/clash between OPC member and police	January 2000, Bariga Lagos	Abduction & Murder	Divisional police officer (DPO) for Bariga was egregiously killed
Anonymous	Political fanaticism	February 22, 2001 Enugu State	Shooting & assassination Attempt	Abel Chuckwu speaker of the Enugu State House of Assembly
Anonymous	Political fanaticism	December 23, 2001 South Western State of Oyo.	Assassination	Federal Justice Minister and Attorney General Bola Ige
Anonymous	Political fanaticism	August, 15 2002 Ilorin enroute to Abuja	Assassination	The Kwara State Chairman of the PDP, Ahmed Pategi, and a police orderly were killed in a vehicle
Anonymous	Political fanaticism	August 30, 2002 Abia State	Failed bomb attack	Broadcasting Corporation of Abia, BCA
Anonymous	Political intolerance	September 2, 2002 Anambra State	Ambush/ass- assination & murder	Barnaba Igwe, Chairman of the branch of Nigerian Bar Association and his wife Abigail Amaka Igwe
Youth Democratic Movement YDM	Injustice in Niger Delta	December 23, 2002 Ikoyi Lagos	Arson	NNPC building; the fire burnt most of the computers software and hardware used by the corporation
Anonymous	Political fanaticism	March 3, 2003 Rivers State	Assassination	Dr Marshall Isokoari Harry, the National Vice-Chairman for the South-South zone of the ANPP
Militant Ijaw Youths	Self-determination/ resource control	March 22, 2003 Warri south-west local government area Delta State	Clashes with soldiers	Two soldiers were killed and two others injured.
Militant Ijaw Youths	Self-determination & resource control	April 25, 2003 Warri, Delta State	Shooting/ armed attack	10 Navy, Army died. Their radio communication intercepted
Militant Ijaw Youths	Self-determination	April 30, 2003 Warri Delta State	Shooting & Murder	Five women were killed in a cross- fire between the militants and government security agents
Ijaw militants	Self-determination	May 1, 2003. Opumani Tank farm, Okeren koko, Delta State	Armed attack, hostage-taking and murder	Government forces and oil installations
Militant youths from Binioni	Self-determination Resource control agitation	November 2003. Foropo-Bakolga Local Council Bayelsa State	Hostage-taking	Targeted oil plat-forms. One of the militants was killed and an oil worker wounded during the rescue operation by the Nigerian Navy.
Niger Delta militant youths	Self-determination/ resource control agitation	November 2003, Niger Delta	Hostage-taking	Oil platforms
Anonymous	Political cause	November 15 2003 Ilorin metropolis	Explosive bombing	National Pilot Newspaper office. The building was destroyed, five employees injured
Niger Delta militant youths	Self-determination, resource control agitation	November 27, 2003. Niger Delta	Kidnapping	Oil platforms
Taliban operatives	Religious fanaticism	January 1, 2004 Yobe State	Arson	The N100 million Tarmuwa local government secretariat.

Taliban operatives	Religious fanaticism	January 15 2004, Kanamma and Geidan Local Government area Yobe State.	Murder/ vandalism	Civilian population and government security agents.
Taliban operatives	Religious fanaticism	September 21, 2004 Borno State	Murder and theft of ammunition	Bama police station, killing six police officers, and carted away ammunitions
Taliban operatives	Religious fanaticism	September 21, 2004 Borno State	Murder/Arson	Gwoza police station, killed policemen and civilians
Taliban operatives	Fanaticism	September 22, 2004 Gwoza hills near Limankara village	Shooting	3 civilians were killed

Source: Adeoye, M. N. and Muhammed, A. Y. (2005) Terrorism in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: Implications for Sustainable Democracy and Development. Paper presented at the National Conference on Democracy and Development, organised by the Faculty of Business and Social Sciences University of Ilorin, April.

Table V: Militants Activities in Niger Delta 2002-2008 (Akubor E, 2011)

Date/Year	Location	Company Affected
May 2002,	Bori, Ogoniland in Rivers state	30 Houses belonging to individuals set ablaze and three persons killed
March, 2003	Upomani village	Total and ELF tank farm attacked, killed five soldiers and destroyed property worth billions of naira
Nov. 2004;	Odima community in Brass Bayelsa state	Attacked, shut down and occupied Shell Petroleum Dev. Company Station.
January, 2006	Forcados export terminus	Shut down shell's offshore E.A. oilfield and blow up crude oil pipeline, kidnapped 4 foreign workers.
Feb. 2006		US oil services company, NNPC and Shell loading platform, abducted nine workers
March, 2006		Agip, and Italian oil company, pipeline blown up.
May, 2006	Port Harcourt	Killed an Oil Executive of Baker Hughes(an American Company)
May 11, 2006	Port Harcourt	Saipem, an Italian Oil Contracting Firm, kidnapped 3 oil workers
June 2, 2006	Port Harcourt	Bulford Dolphin Oil rig, own by Norwegian oilfield service, kidnapped 6 Britons, 1 Canadian and an American
June 7, 2006.	Niger Delta	Shell attacked Shell oil facilities, killed five soldiers and kidnapped five South Korean contractors
June 20, 2006	Port Harcourt	kidnapped two Filipinos with Beaufort International
July, 2006	Bayelsa	Attacked Dutch Oil, kidnapped Michael Los, while Niger Delta mob seized Agip Ogbainbiri Flow Sation taking 24 workers hostage
August, 2006	Port Harcourt	kidnapped Schiffarth Guido of Bilfiger and Berger
August, 2006,	Port Harcourt.	Filipino oil, abduct 3 Filipino oil workers
9 th -10 th August,	Port Harcourt.	Kidnapped Norwegian oil workers, Belgian and Moroccan contractors
Aug, 2006	Nightclub in Port Harcourt.	Oil Companies lost six (two Britons, a German, an Irish, a Pole and an American)
Aug, 2006	Port Harcourt.	A Lebanese Company, kidnapped a Lebanese
Aug, 2006	Port Harcourt.	Saipem Italian oil, kidnapped oil worker.
Oct, 2006,	Shell facilities in the Cawthorne Niger Delta	Gunmen ambushed oil workers, attacked Royal Dutch Shell facilities in the Cawthorne Channel boats carrying supplies of Shell Niger Delta (twenty five Nigerian employees were seized).
Oct, 2006	Port Harcourt	Exxon Mobil lost seven foreign oil workers (four Britons, one Indonesian, one Malaysian and a Romanian)
Nov, 2006,	Off the coast of Bayelsa.	Militants raided survey ship, Petroleum Geo-Service (PGS) lost British and American employees.
Nov. 22, 2006,	Port Harcourt	British oil Company lost a worker during an attempt by Nigerian soldiers to free seven hostages abducted by militants.
Dec 7, 2006:	Port Harcourt	Raided residential facility. Oil Company lost 3 Italians and a Lebanese
Dec 14, 2006.	Bayelsa State	invade the Nun River logistics base. Royal Dutch Shell lost 5 workers to kidnapping.
Dec 18, 2006:	Port Harcourt.	Agip and Shell P.D.C, lost residential facilities.
Dec 21, 2006,	Obagi oil field in Rivers State	Attacked oil facilities Total Oil lost three staff
January 5, 2007;	Port Harcourt, Bonny Island and Warri.	Chinese Telecom Firm and Shell PDC lost workers and residential facilities.
January 10, 2007;	Bayelsa state	Attacked a base operated by South Korea. South Korea's Daewoo Engineering lost ten workers to kidnapping.

January 16, 2007;	Around Bonny Island export terminal.	Attacked boat, operated by South Korean firm Hyundai, lost three people including a Dutch oil worker
January 20, 2007;	Around Warri Port	German shipping line Baco-Liner cargo ship, seized a 24 Filipino crew members
January 23, 2007:	Port Harcourt,	Oil Installations
January 25, 2007;	Bayelsa state	Chinese National Petroleum Company and Shell Kidnapped lost nine employees to kidnapping
Feb 6, 2007;	Port Harcourt - Owerri road.	Filipino Oil, kidnapped Oil Worker
Feb 7, 2007	Port Harcourt.	Total Oil Co lost a Filipina woman and a French oil worker Gerard Laporal, kidnapped oil workers.
Feb, 2007	Port Harcourt.	The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints lost 4 missionaries
Feb, 2007	Port Harcourt	Hydrodrive lost 3 Croatian workers

In the opinion of scholars and analysts, the situation above as presented in both tables iv and v are clear manifestations of the practice of a supposed democratic system peculiar to Nigeria. demonstrates betrayal of the people mandate and hijacked future. It is therefore not surprising that while in other parts of the world, democracy and governance is all about the people, their voice and welfare, Nigeria for example (as in most African state), democratizes with no separation of powers, all powers having been vested in an imperial presidency and his acolyte. There is hardly any rule of law, no plausible system of justice, no transparency (Ake, 1995). it is even more disturbing that even under civil administration, the coercive institutions of the state are above the law, civil society is below it. ordinary people are out of sight, far beyond protection; The Judiciary is dissociated from justice, and the bureaucracy is oppressive and arbitrary. The Nigerian state like the colonial state before it turns on the calculus of strengths (Ake, 1995).

The above table which represents the frustration of the supposed leaders of tomorrow and other related activities in different parts of the country, may not have been part of the nation, if those entrusted with power through the ballot boxes, their powerful friends in the military and some corrupt official in the electoral offices, had managed judiciously the power, resources and lives entrust to them by the Constitution. The resources that have been carted out of this country inn the name of governance, would have made the difference. It is in this vein that the Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, argued thus;

By some estimates, close to \$400bilion was stolen in Nigeria between 1960 and 1999...If you were to put 400 billion dollar bills in a row, you could make a path from here to the moon and back, not once but 75 times... think of the millions of vaccinations that could have been bought; the thousands of kilometers of roads that could have been paved; the hundreds of schools, hospitals and training centres that could have been built; and the water treatment facilities that could have been modernized with this money. The "opportunity cost" of the stolen wealth is enormous. Think of how different Nigeria would look today" (Akinyemi, 2007)

VII Conclusion

From the discourse, it is clear that although, it is argued that civil rule, which is often ushered in through the ballot box is better, but in the case of Nigeria, it seems to be an aberration. This is because, by omission or commission, the voices of the electorate have been relegated to the background and their future hijacked by those who ought to have protected it. It is even more worrisome that the youths who have been acclaimed the future leaders have not been represented anywhere close to the process of leadership. It is therefore no surprising that as a way of making themselves relevant in the society (having been denied their rightful place), they have taken to arms. Since they have become relevant only when it is time for snatching of ballot boxes, helping to deal with political enemies and forming the youth wings of movements and later dumped, they have decided to irk out life for themselves through full time thuggery. This is a situation that must be urgently considered and tackled, if the dreams of the founding fathers of Nigeria must be realized.

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Global Journal of Human-social science: A Arts & Humanities - Psychology

Volume 22 Issue 3 Version 1.0 Year 2022

Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal

Publisher: Global Journals

Online ISSN: 2249-460x & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Style Features of "Choreographic Novels" by Tofig Kuliyev

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Abstract- This article talks about the currently unexplored works of the beloved Azerbaijani composer Tofik Kuliyev, written by him for a symphony orchestra, as well as his works called "Choreographic novels". The article reveals the richness and diversity, types and forms of melodic development in terms of genre classification. Such factors of the musical language as melody, harmony, national musical basis, types and forms of melodic development (repetition, sequence, variance, rolling, singing) have been studied. All this actualizes the study of the creative heritage of Tofig Kuliyev.

The purpose of the study: is to identify stylistic features and analyze the work "Choreographic novels" by Tofig Kuliyev, paying special attention to the features of the composer's musical style, fully showing the analysis of the work mentioned below.

The research methodology: The study is based on the method of complex analysis. The article includes a comprehensive analysis of the writing style and musical language of T.Kuliyev, which includes the study of various forms of melody movement, development features, the basis of the national style and compositional structure. It should be noted that while studying the musical language of the composer, in addition to the above components, it was important to identify its connection with national roots.

Keywords: tofik kuliyev, symphony orchestra, texture, dance genre, form, nationality, traditions.

GJHSS-A Classification: DDC Code: 792.820922 LCC Code: GV1785.A1



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Style Features of "Choreographic Novels" by Tofig Kuliyev

Mekhpara Rzaieva

Анномация- В данной статье говорится о неисследованных по настоящее время произведениях всеми любимого композитора Азербайджана Тофика Кулиева, написанные им для симфонического оркестра, а также о его "Хореографические произведениях под названием новеллы". В статье выявляется богатство и разнообразие, типы и формы развития мелодики в аспекте жанровой классификации. Исследованы такие факторы музыкального языка, как мелодика, гармония, музыкальная основа, типы и формы национальная мелодического развития (повторность, секвенционность, вариантность, скачки, опевание). Все это актуализирует изучение творческого наследие Тофика Кулиева.

Цель исследования: выявление стилистических особенностей и дать анализ произведения "Хореографические новеллы" Тофика Кулиева, особо уделив внимание на особенности музыкального почерка композитора, полностью показав разбор нижеупомянутого произведения.

Методология исследования: Исследование основано на методе комплексного анализа. Статья включает комплексный анализ стиля письма и музыкального языка Т. Гулиева, который включает в себя изучение различных форм движения мелодии, особенностей развития, основы национального стиля и композиционного строя. Следует отметить, что при изучении музыкального языка композитора, помимо вышеперечисленных компонентов, важно было выявить его связь с национальными корнями.

Научная новизна исследования: Представленная статья посвящается музыке произведения, которая является одним из неисследованных страниц творчества Тофика Кулиева, написанная им для симфонического оркестра.

Выводы: Главным выводом осуществленного нами научного исследования было определение стилистические особенности Тофика Кулиева R произвелении "Хореографические новеллы" . Музыкальный язык композитора отличается воплощением в себе национально - народной почвенности с европейским. Органическое слияние создает синтез музыки, который отражается в особенностях музыкального стиля и общего музыкального языка произведений, куда относятся гармония, метро ритм и другие формообразующие свойства. Музыка, написанная для симфонического оркестра, была создана композитором на основе высоких достижений в жанре песни, которая берет свое начало главным образом с народной музыки.

Ключевые слова: тофик кулиев, симфонический оркестр, фактура, танцевальный жанр, форма, национальность, традиции.

Abstract This article talks about the currently unexplored works of the beloved Azerbaijani composer Tofik Kuliyev, written by him for a symphony orchestra, as well as his works called "Choreographic novels". The article reveals the richness and diversity, types and forms of melodic development in terms of genre classification. Such factors of the musical language as melody, harmony, national musical basis, types and forms of melodic development (repetition, sequence, variance, rolling, singing) have been studied. All this actualizes the study of the creative heritage of Tofig Kuliyev.

The purpose of the study: is to identify stylistic features and analyze the work "Choreographic novels" by Tofig Kuliyev, paying special attention to the features of the composer's musical style, fully showing the analysis of the work mentioned below.

The research methodology: The study is based on the method of complex analysis. The article includes a comprehensive analysis of the writing style and musical language of T.Kuliyev, which includes the study of various forms of melody movement, development features, the basis of the national style and compositional structure. It should be noted that while studying the musical language of the composer, in addition to the above components, it was important to identify its connection with national roots.

The scientific novelty of the research: The presented article is devoted to the music of the work, which is one of the unexplored pages of Tofik Kuliyev's creativity, written by him for a symphony orchestra.

Conclusions: The main conclusion of the scientific research carried out by us was the definition of the stylistic features of Tofig Kuliyev in the work "Choreographic novels". The musical language of the composer is distinguished by the embodiment of national and folk soil with European. Organic fusion creates a synthesis of music, which is reflected in the features of the musical style and the general musical language of the works, which include harmony, metro - rhythm and other formative properties. The music written for the symphony orchestra was created by the composer on the basis of high achievements in the genre of song, which originates mainly from folk music.

Keywords: tofik kuliyev, symphony orchestra, texture, dance genre, form, nationality, traditions.



Figure 1: Tofig Kuliyev. Baku. (1917-2000).

I. Introduction

he work of the great Azerbaijani composer Tofig Kulivev is constantly in the center of attention of musicologists and is one of the urgent problems of scientific research. However, despite this, most of the composer's musical creations still remain unexplored.

The work is devoted to the study of the musical language of the composer Tofig Kuliyev. For the first time, a theoretical analysis is given on the basis of archival materials. Such factors of the musical language as melody, harmony, national musical basis, types and forms of melodic development (repetition, sequence, variance, jumps, singing) are studied. All this actualizes the study of the creative heritage of Tofig Kuliyev.

It is known that in the history of music, Tofik Kuliyev is famous as the author of a number of works recording and publishing mughams, which have always been of great importance for the development of national musical culture. Along with this, he is also known as the author of piano, symphonic works, cantatas, musical comedies, and numerous songs. The inimitable music of T. Kuliyev, written by him for many performances and national films, has gained immense popularity and wide recognition among many peoples of the world. Captivating, musical creations of Tofik Kuliyev have always attracted attention and were performed with great love.

Purpose of the Research II.

The purpose of the study is to study the main features of T. Kuliyev's melody, the foundations of the musical language. The purpose and objectives of the article are a deep and comprehensive review that will allow you to penetrate into the world of the composer's music, to feel the originality of the work, and also to trace many areas of the genius of the artist's work: expressive features of symphonism in the music of T. Kuliyev; interpretation of the ideological content, as well as consideration of the individual characteristics of symphonic dramaturgy; identification of interrelations and patterns of national and European musical traditions; revealing the structural features of T. Kuliyev's melody, forms of melodic movement.

a) Recent research and publications analysis

Of particular note are the scientific works at different stages of the Azerbaijani musical culture of the 20th century, revealing the panorama of the multifaceted development of the creative heritage of T. Kuliyev. Our research is based on the scientific works of Z. Bakikhanova, R. Zograbov, I. Afendiyeva, E. Melikova and many other authoritative musicologists.

b) Main research material

One of the most prominent representatives of the Azerbaijani musical culture of the 20th century, people's artist, composer, film composer and conductor Tofig Kuliyev, throughout his creative life, turning to different musical genres, created extremely valuable works that entered the chronicle of national musical culture. Among them are such as "The Joy of Azerbaijan", "Four Symphonic Pictures", " Gaytagy " for piano and orchestra, the cantata "Song of Moscow", works for piano, music written by him for drama performances, films and, finally, unique songs, which are an ornament, that is, an adornment of the composer's creation.

It should be noted that the composer, at various stages of his work, repeatedly turned to symphonic music and thus wrote a sufficient number of works in this area. The general study shows that Tofig Kuliyev, as well as other composers who turn to this musical field, is

faced with the search for a solution to a number of issues related to the subject of music, he tries to create a specific character for dramatic images, to open and show the essence of the main musical theme. It should remembered that the composer's possibilities in this area of music are extremely limitless. The debut in the composer's symphonic work was his compositions, created in the 50-60s, which included "Two Azerbaijani Dances" for a symphony orchestra, "Symphonic Dances" and symphonic suites.

Another work of Tofig Kuliyev "Choreographic novels" refers to the 1960-80s. Although the author does not mention anything about this in his manuscript, nevertheless, the style of writing, the handwriting characteristic of the composer himself makes it possible to come to this conclusion.

Song

"Choreographic short stories" left a bright mark in the work of Tofik Kuliyev. As we have already mentioned, ballet (dance) music not only plays a leading role in the composer's work, but at the same time, on the basis of this music, the author shows his own individual style. It should also be noted that the feature of orchestration presented in the work also confirms the composer's extraordinary style.

The first musical number of the collection is called "Song", where the author synthesized two genres, that is, combined them.



Example 1

First of all, it should be noted that the song genre and all the patterns related to this genre, as well as the dance (choreography) music presented here, were accurately executed by the composer. A vivid display of characteristic features once again confirms this. In addition, the interesting composition of the orchestra also attracts attention, where, along with other musical instruments, there are also a saxophone and a guitar.



Example 2

The introductory part of the work emphasizes its rhythmic character, creates the basis of melodic thought.



Example 3

The main theme played by the flute plays an important role in revealing the characteristic features of the image. The melodiousness of the melody, its lyrical expression of style, is of great importance for the

discovery of this genre form. The line of plot development is confirmed here by the presence of a complex texture in the orchestration.

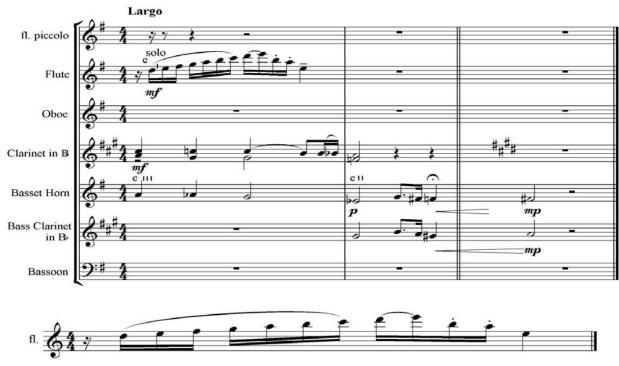


As is clearly seen in the example, the melodic line sounding in the performance of the violins creates the impression of a divisional orchestra and this proves the presence of a double texture here.

The form of the structure of this work was written in the form of a period, that is, the sounding main theme here, its double transition and the climactic direction of the theme once again confirms this form. The formation of the unity of brass-wind and violin instruments on the basis of the climactic sound is manifested in the composer's work in a particularly vivid form.

2. Autumn

The second number of the musical example is called "Autumn". Here the composer expresses the beauty of nature, his admiration in the language of music.



Example 5

This melody, played by a flute, expresses the main idea of the work. This episode is being played in parallel clarinet and flute, which creates a single intonation pattern of the melody.



Example 6

In the example above, the clear display of the clarinet part shows itself as a polyphonic flute transition. The change of keys that occurs in the middle part (2) of the work is one of the features of the composer's work.



Example 7

As in many other works of the composer, there are also variational turns of the theme here. The transition of the theme, the development of the plot occurs precisely on the basis of variational repetitions. Reprise repeat (p. 27), while maintaining the previous sound form, resembles the main theme. In particular, it should be noted that here the principle of the dynamic development of the work was implemented with the joint group consonance of the orchestra and on the basis of the dynamic promotion of variance. The structure of the work is written in the form of a period.

Russian-shaped



Example 8

The third musical number of this collection is based on a very interesting concept. Here the composer created samples of melodies typical of Russian national music. However, it should be noted that writing a melody on a Russian theme and expressing its inherent musical features is one of the difficult things, but the composer's talent allowed him to create it skillfully, with taste.

This musical number was written in the form of a waltz, in 3/4 time.



Example 9

From the above example, it becomes clear that the main part sounds in the performance of stringed instruments. Here the composer vividly displays all the distinctive features characteristic of the waltz.

In the second transition of the main melody, there is a change in size, which leads to the creation, as it were, of a new mood.



Example 10

It is from this episode that the size of the melody changes. And at the same time, here, from the point of view of identifying the musical image, a variant multiplicity of performance is revealed.



Example 11

The climax of the work traditionally written by the composer in the form of "tutti", emphasizes the main plot of the music. In the same form (tutti), the accentual performance of the violins realizes the image of music, which is the culmination point, where the composer

clearly and emphasizing shows the main theme and its variation turns.

The middle part of the work is especially emphasized by the composer. Here, woodwinds play an accompaniment in the form of "ostinato".



Example 12

This episode, related to the middle part, sounds in the performance of the first violins.

The reprise of the work consists of repetitions of the main theme. The structure of the building has the form A + B + A. The composer here, as in the previous work, makes extensive use of elements of variation.

4. Fugue

The last presented work of the collection has a special style.



Example 13

This work - a fugue, written on the basis of the polyphonic genre, has an interesting and complex feature of the structure, and is one of the finest examples of the composer's creation.



Example 14

The main theme of the fugue is played by the first clarinet. Based on this, in the transition of the theme, the flute solo as the second voice imitates, repeating the clarinet part. It should also be noted that the above polyphonic fugue at the same time, without

violating the laws of the classical polyphonic genre, creates a combination of modern music.

The addition of string instruments to the main theme indicates the complexity of polyphony within the overall texture.



Example 15

The culmination of the fugue here (5 pp.) is carried out by the performance in the form of "tutti" by the orchestra in the transitional part of the theme. And imitation, being the main means, creates a complex structure of the melody, and at the same time expresses the modern style of music. In the last bars of the work, there is a repetition of the initial theme. Such a turn. inherent in the reprise, serves as a means of recalling the general leading melody that sounds at the beginning of the work. In this way, the complete musical thought of the fugue is clearly and skillfully revealed here.

Conclusions

Listening and analysis of the works of Tofig Kuliyev shows that the musical creativity of this most talented composer is distinguished by the embodiment of national and folk soil. from European. That is, this organic fusion creates a synthesis of music, which is reflected in the features of the musical style and the general musical language of the works, which include harmony, metro - rhythm and other formative properties. The music written for the symphony orchestra was created by the composer on the basis of high achievements in the genre of song, which originates mainly from folk music. Here one should mention the scientific thoughts of the great Azerbaijani composer Uzeyir Hajibayli: "Composers should learn from the people, use the inexhaustible wealth of folk music. It is necessary to find new artistic means, enriching the language of music" (Hajibekov, 1966, p.)

In conclusion, it should be noted that the composer's work, his amazingly wonderful music, written in all genres, has become an invaluable pearl in the history of Azerbaijani music and left an indelible mark on his invaluable creative heritage. Musical decorations, patterns, which are often found in the works of Tofik Kuliyev, characterize the musical style of

the author. Music and content complement each other, the lyricism of music gives pleasure and peace to everything that surrounds you.

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Global Journal of Human-social science: A Arts & Humanities - Psychology

Volume 22 Issue 3 Version 1.0 Year 2022

Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal

Publisher: Global Journals

Online ISSN: 2249-460x & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Comparison of Persian Language Fricative Consonants Recognition in Babble Noise in Fourth and Fifth Decades of Life

By Zahra Sharafi, Ali Mohammadzadeh, Majid Ashrafi & Firoozeh Z. Mohamdzadeh

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Abstract- Generally, regular communications are performed in the presence of noise. Babble noise imposes a negative impact on the speech signal by its nature. Consonants play a vital role in the perception of the word meaning. From presented samples, sixty adults with normal hearing were assessed in this cross-sectional study. Once auditory and speech assessment was performed, the recognition of fricative consonants as a consonant-vowel-consonant syllable in babble noise was compared in two age groups of 30-39 and 40-49 years old in signal-to-noise ratios of 0, and -5. In the occurrence of certain vowels in 0 and -5 signal-to-noise ratios, there was a significant difference between the two age groups of 30-39 and 40-49 years old considering the recognition score of fricative consonants. The recognition score of fricative consonants was affected by age, signal-to-noise ratio, and concurrent vowel. Also, the recognition scores of sibilant fricative consonants were greater in the babble noise in two age groups.

Keywords: age, fricative consonant, speech recognition, babble noise.

GJHSS-A Classification: DDC Code: 421.5 LCC Code: PE1135



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Comparison of Persian Language Fricative Consonants Recognition in Babble Noise in Fourth and Fifth Decades of Life

Zahra Sharafi a, Ali Mohammadzadeh a, Majid Ashrafi a & Firoozeh Z. Mohamdzadeh a

Abstract- Generally, regular communications are performed in the presence of noise. Babble noise imposes a negative impact on the speech signal by its nature. Consonants play a vital role in the perception of the word meaning. From presented samples, sixty adults with normal hearing were assessed in this cross-sectional study. Once auditory and speech assessment was performed, the recognition of fricative consonants as a consonant-vowel-consonant syllable in babble noise was compared in two age groups of 30-39 and 40-49 years old in signal-to-noise ratios of 0, and -5. In the occurrence of certain vowels in 0 and -5 signal-to-noise ratios. there was a significant difference between the two age groups of 30-39 and 40-49 years old considering the recognition score of fricative consonants. The recognition score of fricative consonants was affected by age, signal-to-noise ratio, and concurrent vowel. Also, the recognition scores of sibilant fricative consonants were greater in the babble noise in two

Keywords: age, fricative consonant, speech recognition, babble noise.

Introduction

aily communication often takes place in the presence of interfering factors, such as noise (Fogerty, Bologna, Ahlstrom, & Dubno, 2017). Noise in the auditory environments with masking lowlevel parts of the signal, obscuring it, and ultimately decreasing speech perception (Rogers, Lister, Febo, Besing, & Abrams, 2006). Different types of noise have unique masking effects (Lecumberri & Cooke, 2006). Speech perception in the presence of noise is a complex process that is affected by several factors (Woods, Yund, Herron, & Cruadhlaoich, 2010). Aging can affect signal processing in speech and hearing domains, and the decrease in speech perception in a noisy environment is the most obvious manifestation of it (Pichora-Fuller & Singh, 2006).

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Speech phonemes are divided into consonants and vowels (Stilp & Kluender, 2010). Consonants provide important cues for speech perception (Fogerty & Humes, 2010). In the discrimination procedure, the temporal and frequency content provided with fricative consonants (roughly above 1500 Hz) is essential (F. Li, Trevino, Menon, & Allen, 2012); it is particularly significant when the target signal should be realized in degraded auditory environments (N. Li & Loizou, 2008). A fricative is produced when the vocal tract is constricted somewhere along its long enough to produce a noisy sound when air is forced through the constriction (Shadle, 1985).

Persian has eight fricative consonants, which were classified into two classes of voiced (z, 3, v) and voiceless (s, f, f, x, h) (Alinezhad & Hosseini-Balam, 2012). When voiced fricative consonants are created as compared with their voiceless counterparts, the pharyngeal volume is higher (Proctor, Shadle, & Iskarous, 2010). The articulation place of /z/, /s/ is alveolar, /3/, /ʃ/ is alveopalatal, /f/, /v/ is labiodental, /x/ is velar, and /h/ is glottal (Alinezhad & Hosseini-Balam, 2012). The subclasses of fricative sounds are /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /3/ that termed as "sibilant sounds" for their sibilant nature and also the sounds /v/, /x/, /h/, /f/ termed as non-sibilant (Ryalls, 1996).

In the perception of fricative consonants in noise, multiple factors are important (Nittrouer, Miller, & Manhart, 2000). The duration of fricative consonants is affected by a concomitant vowel (Whitehead, Schiavetti, Metz, & Farinella, 1999). Persian has 6 vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /â/, /o/, and /u/. They were classified as front and back vowels based on the articulation place (Sharafi, Mohammadzadeh, Tabatabaee, & Hamzehpour, 2020). The place articulation of front vowels, which consist of /e/, /i/, and /a/, is the anterior part of the mouth, and that of back vowels /o/, /u/, and /â/ is the posterior part of the mouth (Alinezhad & Hosseini-Balam, 2012). Also, the formant transition plays a key role in the identification of some fricative consonants. Information carried with formant transition has a vital role in the identification process (Fogerty & Humes, 2010).

Age-related changes in the regulation of inhibitory and excitatory processes can lead to perceptual problems in the middle-aged and elderly population (Tremblay, Piskosz, & Souza, 2003). To

assess the effects of age on speech recognition in noise, most studies looked at elderly people. However, not only the elderly but also middle-aged adults reported complaints of communication problems in the presence of background noise. For example, in a study performed by Lee et al., (Lee et al., 2015) eighteen young adults with normal hearing (with a mean age of 24.42 years old) and fifteen middle-aged adults with normal hearing (with a mean age of 48.30 years) were evaluated and the word recognition was assessed in quiet and then in noise. The results showed that middleaged adults have a lower ability in speech recognition in noise compared to young adults. In addition, the study conducted by Grose et al. (Grose, Hall III, & Buss, 2006) showed that temporal processing deficits in the auditory system are evident in middle-aged people.

However, the question brings up whether poor hearing processing of middle-aged people compared to young people can reduce the fricative consonants recognition in babble noise. Also, if we assume that the Persian fricative consonants recognition is weaker in middle-aged adults compared to young adults. We need to know which consonants are more vulnerable to the effects of age in the presence of noise.

Material and Methods

In Audiology Clinic of school Rehabilitation, the current observational and cross-sectional investigation was conducted on sixty adults with normal hearing (thirty people aged 30 to 39 years old with mean age and standard deviation (SD) of 33.40±2.35 years and thirty aged 40 to 49 years with mean age and SD of 44.73±2.33 years). In this study, participants were selected on-random. All participants signed informed consent statements and completed a case history type to make certain that there are no records on auditory and neurological concerns before the experiment. In the research, all subjects were observed in the following situation: Persian-speaking, monolingual, right-handed (relying on the Edinburg questionnaire for handedness), normal otoscopic results, normal auditory threshold (equivalent or better than 15 dB HL in the frequency array of 500 to 8000 HZ), normal two-syllable word recognition threshold (SRT), the middle ear normal functioning (with An type of tympanometry i.e., SC. 0.3 to 1.6 and MEP. -100 to +50 dapa; ipsilateral and contralateral acoustic reflexes in frequencies of 500-4000 Hz 85-100 dB SPL), no crucial auditory processing disorder (relying on the history of Binaural Masking Level Difference (MLD) and Central Auditory Processing Disorder (CAPD) tests to make sure the brainstem health, as well as Duration Pattern Sequence test (DPST) to guarantee the temporal cortex health). The phonetic experiment was further conducted to guarantee speech production health. An AC30 twochannel audiometer along with an AT235 tympanometer

made by Denmark Interacoustic Company was applied for the auditory assessments. 73 monosyllabic words of CVC were selected with a fricative consonant. These words were recorded by a specialized voice actor in the recording studio, the interval time for responding by written matter was established as 4 seconds. A stimulus random performance in quiet and two signal-to-noise ratios of 0, and -5 via the TDH-39 headphone made by Telephonix Company in the USA were provided in this study. The test's final version was provided by the Ideapad 310 core i7 Lenovo laptop (made in China) and transmitted to the Interacoustic AC30 audiometer (made in Denmark) once the calibration was done. Each person was at the outset provided with a thorough description of how the experiment is conducted. The stimuli presentation in quiet together with babble noise in two signals to noise ratios of 0, and -5 further were presented in the right ear by the random. For intensity regulation, a sinusoidal noise with a frequency of 1000 Hz was provided ten seconds before the first word presentation. A randomized performance of syllables together with rest periods between each phase was also applied to evade recalling the words. For each individual, at the final point, the recognition Score of fricative consonants was estimated and documented in the sheet. For statistical data analysis at a significant level of 0.05, the SPSS software version 19 was used. To compare the mean values of auditory thresholds and the recognition scores of fricative consonants in two age groups, the Mann-Whitney technique was applied. For comparing consonant recognition scores in two signalto-noise ratios of 0, and -5, the Wilcoxon test was used.

Results III.

There were no significant differences between the two age groups in the mean of auditory threshold values (P= 0.433). In both groups, the mean recognition score of fricative consonants declined significantly by increasing the noise level (p = 0.001). However, middleaged people compared to young people showed a significant decrease in signal-to-noise ratios of 0 and -5 (p = 0.001). In signal-to-noise ratios of 0, and -5, the mean recognition score of /ʃ/ consonant was higher than other ones in both age groups (Table 1). The Mann-Whitney test defined that the recognition score of the /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /v/, /f/, /h/ consonants in the signal-tonoise ratio of 0 and the /s/, /z/ /v/, /f/, /h/ ones in the signal-to-noise ratio of -5 differ significantly in two age groups (Table 1).

In different vowels, the mean recognition score of fricative consonants differs between the two age groups. The fricative consonants in the signal-to-noise ratio of 0 had the highest mean score with vowel /a/ in the age group 30 to 39 and with vowel /i/ in the group 40 to 49 years old. Fricative consonants in the signal-tonoise ratios of -5, had the highest mean score with vowel /i/ in two age groups 30 to 39 and 40 to 49 years. The lowermost mean recognition score of fricative consonants has been shown with the vowel /o/ in two signal-to-noise ratios of 0, and -5 in both age groups (Figures 1, 2).

Via Mann-Whitney test, it was revealed that in the presence of /u/, /o/, /â/, /a/, /i/, /e/ vowels in the signal-to-noise ratio of 0 and /e/, /a/, /u/, /o/vowels in the signal to noise ratio of -5, the recognition score of fricative consonants differs significantly in two age groups (Table 2).

DISCUSSION IV.

The recognition of fricative consonants in the babble noise was compared in two age groups in this research. The results showed that in the presence of babble noise, the recognition score of younger adults was better. The recognition score of fricative consonants also declines by the decrease in signal-to-noise ratio (SNR) in both age groups. this is in line with the findings of research by Sharafi et al (Sharafi, Mohammadzadeh, Sharifian, & Tabatabaee, 2019), Lee et al (Lee et al., 2015). The present study showed that the recognition scores of fricative consonants decline as age grows; this is inconsistent with the findings of the research by Kalaiah et al (Kalaiah, Thomas, Bhat, & Ranjan, 2016). Kalaiah et al. claim that middle-aged adults experience more perceptual difficulties than young adults. The findings of studies by Yilmaz et al (Yılmaz, Sennaroğlu, Sennaroğlu, & Köse, 2007)., Helfer et al (Helfer & Vargo, 2009)., and Lee et al. (Lee et al., 2015), also revealed that in the presence of noise, speech recognition declines as age grows.

It may be concluded, from investigations that revealed the age impact on the speech recognition ability in noise, that the lower speed in speech processing, the reductions in the central auditory processing abilities, and supra-threshold processing in middle-aged adults as compared to youth (Ben-David, Vania. & Schneider. 2012) result in decreases in temporal encoding, information storage skill, and finally disorders in speech perception in noise. While the trouble in retrieving words arises at any age, commonly it appears to rise with age growth (Kortlang, Mauermann, & Ewert, 2016). The capability to apply acoustic cues for people because of impairment in temporal resolution and temporal fine-structure coding may be restricted by Supra threshold deficits in temporal and spectral domains (Bernstein & Oxenham, 2006).

The results of the present study revealed that the recognition score of sibilant consonants /s/, /z/, and /ʃ/ are greater than non-sibilant consonants /f/, /v/, /x/, /h/. This may be because of the longer duration in the /s/, /z/, /J/ consonants.

Phatak et al. by examining 24 people, in the background noise with the same level, suggest that while the alveolar /s/, /z/ and the alveopalatal /ʃ/ consonants hardly come across with error in more than half of the cases, the recognition of non-sibilant fricative /f/, /v/, /x/, /h/ take place with error (Phatak, Lovitt, & Allen, 2008). In other words, the /v/, /x/, /h/, /f/ consonants hold lower recognition scores and /s/, /z/, /ʃ/ ones hold higher scores; this is in agreement with the present study.

With the concurrent vowel, the sound features of the consonants may be varied (Whitehead et al., 1999). It can be stated; indeed, the concurrent vowel may have an impact on the recognition of fricative consonants. In the present study, with the front vowels, the mean recognition score of the fricative consonants was better than the back ones. Further, the mean recognition score with the /i/ vowel was the highest. The research by Whitehead et al. revealed that the vowel context has a momentous impact on the fricative consonant duration. If the vowel after fricative consonants /s/ and /ʃ/ be a front vowel, they will have a long duration (Whitehead et al., 1999). Probably the longer duration of the fricative consonants with the front vowels has increased their recognition scores.

Conclusions

The current research revealed that the recognition score of fricative consonants in the presence of babble noise differs significantly between the fourth and fifth decades of life. The results of the work also revealed, in the presence of babble noise, the recognition score of sibilant consonants is higher. Consequently, on the recognition of Persian fricative consonants in the presence of babble noise, age and SNR are efficient factors and may result in a verbal communication disorder.

Acknowledgments. The authors of the present study are very grateful to the people who participated in this study. For the current research, the Ethics Committee code (Shahid Beheshti University of Medical Sciences) is IR.SBMU.RETECH.1396.1322.

Funding details: The authors received no funding for the present study.

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Table 1: Mean ± Standard Deviation (SD) of the recognition scores of fricatives consonants in two signals to noise ratios of 0, and -5 in two age groups 30-39 and 40-49 years old.

CNID	Concenent -	Age G	Age Groups		
SNR	Consonant —	30-39	40-49	*P-value	
0	/s/	20.40±1.95	19.37±2.36	*0.014	
-5		16.47±4.18	13.67 ± 3.59	*0.008	
0	/z/	23.44±0.81	22.07±1.31	*0.001	
-5		19.87±2.88	17.63 ± 3.58	*0.017	
0	/ʃ/	24.70±1.36	23.50±1.71	*0.004	
-5		21.77±3.51	20.53 ± 2.82	0.090	
0	/x/	14.00±3.37	12.43±2.51	0.091	
-5		9.87 ± 4.36	8.90 ± 2.42	0.431	
0	/f/	12.93±1.81	8.97±2.52	*0.001	
-5		8.83 ± 3.13	5.80 ± 2.42	*0.001	
0	/v/	5.30 ± 1.55	3.43±1.73	*0.001	
-5		3.63 ± 2.44	2.30 ± 1.46	*0.026	
0	/h/	11.70±2.73	7.23 ± 2.56	*0.001	
-5		7.20 ± 3.99	4.37±2.35	*0.005	

Table 2: Comparison of the recognition score of fricative consonants in the presence of different vowels between two age groups

vowel	/i/	/e/	/a/	/â/	/o/	/u/
0	*0.002	*0.002	*0.001	*0.001	*0.001	*0.001
-5	0.117	*0.020	*0.008	0.059	*0.005	*0.002

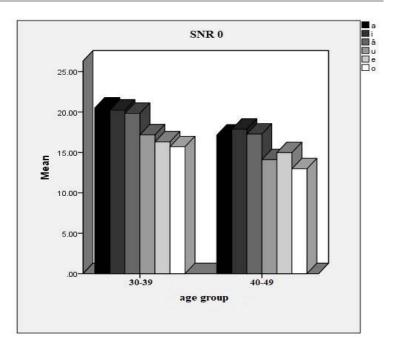


Figure 1: The mean recognition scores of fricative consonants in Signal to noise ratio of 0 in two age groups, in the presence of six Persian vowels.

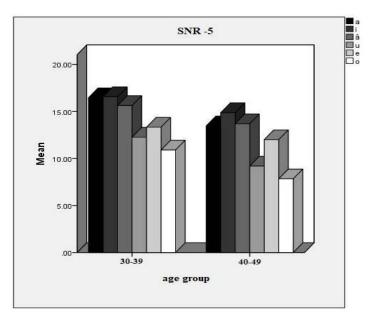


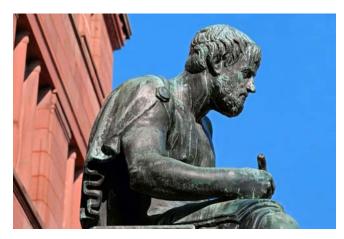
Figure 2: The mean recognition scores of fricative consonants in Signal to noise ratio of -5 in two age groups, in the presence of six Persian vowels.



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Techniques for writing a good quality homan social science research paper:

- 1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.
- 2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.
- **3.** Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.
- **4. Use of computer is recommended:** As you are doing research in the field of homan social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.
- **5. Use the internet for help:** An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow here.



- 6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.
- 7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.
- 8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.
- **9. Produce good diagrams of your own:** Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.
- 10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.
- 11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.
- 12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.
- **13.** Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

- **14.** Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.
- **15. Never start at the last minute:** Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.
- **16. Multitasking in research is not good:** Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.
- 17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.
- 18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources. Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.
- 19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.



- 20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.
- 21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.
- **22. Upon conclusion:** Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

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.



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.
- o 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:

- o Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- o 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:

- o Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- o 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.
- o 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:

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



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:

- o Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- o In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- o 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.
- o Do not present similar data more than once.
- o 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.

- o You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- o Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- o 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?
- o 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		
	А-В	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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