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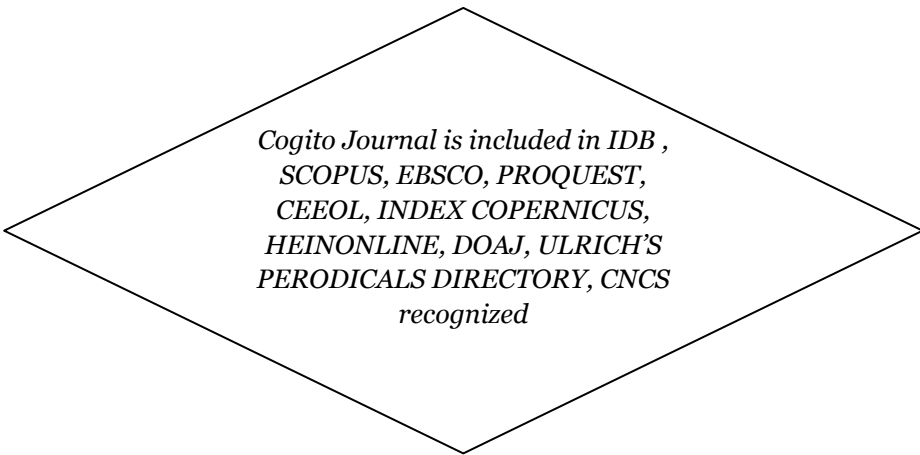
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CONTENTS

PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY

ACHIEVING THE RULE OF LAW - A FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVE, BOTH FOR THE PHILOSOPHY OF LAW AND FOR SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY (PART I)	7
---	----------

Corina Adriana Dumitrescu

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF PLATO'S PHILOSOPHY OF "POLITICAL POWER"	13
---	-----------

Fesseha Mulu Gebremariam

HOW 'HOLISTIC' IS ANTHROPOHOLISM? A CRITIQUE OF SAMUEL BASSEY'S ENVIRONMENTAL PHILOSOPHY	23
---	-----------

Osuala Amaobi Nelson

AFROCENTRIC APPROACH TO BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION.....	33
---	-----------

Gregory A. Onah,
Enyioma E. Nwosu

THE NATURE AND MEANS OF REALIZING TRUTH – THE GANDHIAN PERSPECTIVE	51
---	-----------

Joseph Nkang Ogar,
Thomas Eneji Ogar

THE UNION AND ITS PROBLEMS IN THE SPEECHES OF THREE POLITICIANS: BRĂTIANU, VAIDA-VOIEVOD AND COROLIANU	63
---	-----------

Sabin Drăgulin,
Ancuța Brașoveanu

SOCIOLOGY, POLITICAL SCIENCES AND ECONOMICS

AHAMEFULA: DISCOVERING LEADERSHIP GAPS OF THE AFRICAN BEING	75
--	-----------

Ephraim Ahamefula Ikegbu,
Samuel Akpan Bassey

POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGY IN ETHIOPIA: AN OVERVIEW	90
Ephrem Ahadu	

RESTRICTING MATERNAL RIGHT AND POSSIBILITY OF INFANT DEATH: A STUDY OF RIMIN GADO COMMUNITY IN KANO	114
Maimuna Bintu Hussain	

ELECTORAL QUOTAS, WOMEN REPRESENTATION AND LAWMAKING PROCESSES IN NIGERIA'S DEMOCRACY (1999-2019)	128
Zekeri Momoh, Nanji R. Umoh	

RESOURCE- BASED CONFLICTS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FARMERS AND HERDERS IN KOGI STATE, NIGERIA	142
Alewo Johnson Akubo	

THEORETICAL APPROACHES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL MEASUREMENT	155
Iryna Zhyhlei, Dmytro Zakharov	

FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

L'EPOCA DI ORO DELLA SCIENZA ARABA E LA RIVOLUZIONE SCIENTIFICA MANCATA [THE GOLDEN AGE OF ARABIC SCIENCE AND THE MISSING SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION]	167
Francesco Malaguti	

THE SALARYMAN AND HIS <i>SENRYU</i> POEMS	187
Luminița Gurita	

VERBAL INDICATORS OF LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL IDENTITY (PERSONAL PRONOUNS AS THE EXAMPLE)	201
N.Y. Yasakova, S.V. Kharchenko V.D. Shynkaruk	

ACHIEVING THE RULE OF LAW - A FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVE, BOTH FOR THE PHILOSOPHY OF LAW AND FOR SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY (PART I)

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Motto:

“Justitia fundamentum regnorum”

Abstract: *Learning to be sociable - essential to the human beings in their becoming - has always needed a more appropriate setting of manifestation. Leibnitz affirmed that there are not two identical leaves on the surface of the earth, thus suggesting the infinite diversity of human nature.*

If one starts only from this premise, it is easy to imagine how complicated and difficult is the mutual effort of the members of a human collectivity to define, for the first time, the axiology they will lay at the foundation of the future construct of society in which they will be living.

The achievement of the rule of law, that is the reign of the rule of justice - as the highest expression of legal and social values - represents the eternal desideratum of the doctrine of the philosophy of law and of social philosophy.

Keywords: *state foundation, legal values, ethical values, historical values, cultural values, religious values, political values, principles, purpose, determinism, freedom.*

1. The origin of concerns regarding the imperative existence of the State of Justice

More than two and a half millennia ago, in his famous *Moral and Political Laws*, Pythagoras states: “Do not make laws for the people; the people should make themselves according to the laws. The law of justice existed before the people”¹. The entire doctrine of the ideal state whose supreme value should be justice builds and “re-builds” around this reality,

* Prof. PhD. President of DCCU Senate, Bucharest, Romania, Paper presented at the XXIX World Congress of the International Association for Philosophy of Law & Social Philosophy, “*Dignity, Democracy, Diversity*”, 7-12 July 2019, Lucerne, Switzerland.

¹ Pythagoras, *Moral and Political Laws*, Filipeștii de Târg, Prahova, ANTET XX PRESS Publishing House, 2003.

the preexistence of the “law of righteousness” - as the great philosopher called it.

A whole arsenal has been approached and re-approached both in the works of Oriental and Western philosophers to help transpose this desiderate - a state of sovereign justice.

The critical opinions referring to the very start of the philosophy of Law and of the kingdom as well, and later to the republican state, were particularly focused on finding the social model where there could be placed at the highest level the juridical-social meta-value that is the Justice.

As Plato, first in *The Republic*² and later in *The Laws*,³ switched from the vital role of the Sage man as a ruler of the Ideal State to the Law Sovereignty or the Sovereign Law (considered the Right Reason), Aristotle, in his turn, began his vain endeavor to build the State of Justice by criticizing the so-called constitutional orders in the Hellenic Gentlemen's States. Aristotle, Plato's most important disciple, continued his master's efforts in the demanding quest for the Ideal State.

While Plato had originally predicted an ideal state led by the Sages, a state of commonly held goods, a State of social Justice, inhabited by profoundly moral people, and then, perhaps due to the failure of his attempt to implement this social state model in Sicily, he created Codes of Laws as the cornerstone of the Rule of Law, allegedly taking into account the above-mentioned Pythagoras' advice, Aristotle, in the analysis made both in *The Politics*⁴ and in *The Constitution of the Athenians*⁵ tried to find solutions for the implementation of the State of Justice, starting from the reality within the Hellenic City States, considered models of social organization of the age though he had not obviated Plato's views. Moreover, the Stagirite will try to instill his disciple, who was no other than Alexander Macedon, the desire to put into practice all the elements necessary for the entrenchment of the State of Justice, just the way Plato did with Dion of Sicily.

Unlike Plato, Aristotle considered that the previous failure of the project concerning the State of Justice was due to the idealization of his model, and consequently he started his quest from the existing types of government, already more or less accepted by the Great Greece populations, stating that these types of government could belong to a man, a group, or a population. In other words, it was not the holder of power in

² Plato, *The Republic*, Bucharest, The Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1986.

³ Idem, *The Laws*, Bucharest, IRI Publishing House, 1995.

⁴ Aristotle, *The Politics*, Bucharest, IRI Publishing House, 2001.

⁵ Idem, *The Constitution of the Athenians*, Filipeștii de Târg, Prahova, ANTET XX PRESS, Publishing House, 2009.

the State that represented the problem that prevented the realization of the State of Justice, but the question was the content of such constitutions that failed to include in their corpus the consecration of the general and social interest. Justice, in the concept of the Stagirite, was that equality that would guarantee both the general interest of the state and the individual interest of the citizens, who could thus have been governed and governors to the same extent. It is worth mentioning that, according to Aristotle, the Power was ultimately to belong to the middle class, an expression of his general philosophical attitude to adopt the middle way.

Essentially similar and yet distinct in their final forms, the state social organizations envisaged by the two titans of the philosophy of Law, and the founding of philosophy as meta-science, had as a definite purpose - the supremacy of Justice, and the Good Governance⁶ as a means of establishing it.

In good tradition of the philosophy of the Great Greece, was cultivated the intellectual personality of Cicero, by far the most profound philosopher of Latin law. Its valuable intellectual existence was undoubtedly determined by the harmony that was achieved in its spirit between the great practitioner and the theoretician of Law.

The Roman Empire had in Cicero's time all the data necessary to dominate the world, except for one: the legitimacy of this domination. Considering the grandeur of the Empire - whose area of expansion was so big that supposedly the Sun rose on one edge and it set on the opposite one - it was necessary to create an ideological foundation for it, perhaps the confirmation of the infallibility of the state model that the Empire offered to the entire world.

At that moment of enlargement and decay of the Empire, Cicero's work of legal and political philosophy emerged from the realities of the same Empire that he had to consecrate ideologically.

According to Plato's model, the one who was the greatest orator of all times, he also made two remarkable dialogues, entitled *On the State*, and *On the Laws*,⁷ in which he attributed the dominant ideas to remarkable characters in the history of ancient Rome.

Thus, in the Dialogue *On the State*, Cicero made the apology of the wise ruler, meant to illuminate the way of life of his subordinates, this kind of leader had to embody the most chosen virtues and devote his whole existence to those whom he governed on.

⁶ Corina Adriana Dumitrescu, *The essence of Aristotle's well-governing concept*. Part three. *The moral dimension*, Cogito. Multidisciplinary Research Journal, Bucharest, Pro Universitaria Publishing House, Vol. II/2, 2010, p. 5-9.

⁷ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Despre supremul bine și despre supremul rău, (De finibus bonorum et malorum, On the Supreme Good and the Supreme Bad)* Bucharest, The Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1983.

The criticism that participants to Cicero's imaginary dialogue brought to all forms of government in the history of Roman State concluded that they need to be replaced by a mixed form of government in which the political power no longer belongs to a single man subjugated by it. The influence of Greek authors is evident in this dialogue, thus Cicero often makes references to the history and culture of ancient Greece, and chooses between the usefulness of a leader trained in political struggle or a trained, educated, even wise leader who had to be initiated in theory and politics practice and rule the state with justice, courage, temperance.

In the famous dialogue *On the Laws*, that is, the Rule of Justice, consecrated and protected by the Supreme Law, Cicero defined justice thus: "There is no justice beyond the one of nature, and human society has been constituted on the right reason in commandments and prohibitions."⁸ The justice - ruling the city was in Cicero's opinion the only guarantee for reaching the Supreme Good; so, in turn, Justice became a goal in the continuous causal chain of the perfection of social organization.

Of course, those who, from the beginnings of the state-run human society, were concerned about finding the best social form of coexistence of the populations they belonged to were much more; of course, that this common struggle had at least two sources: on the one hand, the high spirit defining them, and, on the other hand, the dissatisfaction with the social-state organization, both in their contemporary epoch and in the preceded epochs.

2. A possible way to achieve the rule of law: The Good governance

Those who were sincerely and profoundly concerned with finding a supreme coexistence formula on a socio-political plan were numerous, but those who were considered to be wise due to learned knowledge and virtuous due to their lived destiny detached themselves. Of course, at such a level, those wise men did not confine themselves merely to the quest for the necessity of the rule of justice, but they also assumed the ways to attain this desideratum.

The theme of good governance has often emerged in various forms in the social-political debate from its foundations to its functionality, with each outstanding author making his own contribution.

Firstly, Plato, then Aristotle, placed the foundation of good governance at the foundation of the Supreme Good for both those who governed and those who were governed, it was obviously the moral foundation that society was supposed to be placed. Good-governance was thus intended for a population characterized by a virtuous existence in which justice, temperance, piety were of great honor; good governance also had its

⁸ *Ibidem*.

source, both in the wisdom of the leader and in the human value of those who consented to be led⁹.

Cicero, in turn, said: “public good is the supreme law,”¹⁰ thus establishing the imperative under which every ruler of the city should manifest. The good - and thus the supreme moral value - was thus given to strengthening the force of the law, meant to ensure good governance for the benefit of all members of the community. Here is the supreme criterion of appreciating a government: if it is good, it must be able to secure the good of all the members of society, otherwise the conclusion is easy to draw.

Here, in the essence of wise antiquity’s theories about conceptualizing the best form of government, was set up “the source of the Rule of Law”: a state belonging equally to all, a sovereign State of the reign of justice. Here justice is understood as social virtue, an expression of the individual justice that defined *zoon politikon* animated by the instinct of justice and his cult for justice.

Of course, in such a perspective, an overwhelming importance would have the idea of the justice of everyone who assumes their participation in the social game.

3. Something about the role of education in the emergence of the rule of law

The greatest mistake of those who would find themselves in the difficult way of establishing the state of justice would be to abstain from its “beneficiaries,” the final recipients who are people who make up the populations, the nations that would accept to live their destiny in the parameters of the rule of justice.

For these nations, for the people who eventually make them up, the cult of justice should be defining. Although it seems a precious expression, this cult of justice has its roots in the culture and civilization of many nations that make up the human society.

There is an educational process that has taken place for several millennia beyond the attitude cult to justice, on the one hand and to the law as the guarantor in achieving justice, on the other hand.

Thus, from the early Antiquity, the divine origin of Justice and implicitly of the Law was affirmed from both profound faith and then from the interest to strengthen the power of those who governed. Irrespective of motivational reason, the general belief in the divine side of Justice has

⁹ Corina Adriana Dumitrescu, *The essence of the good-ruling concept in Aristotle’s vision. Part. IV. (Moral Dimension-Continued)*, Cogito. Multidisciplinary Research Journal, Bucharest, Pro Universitaria Publishing House, vol. II/3, 2010, ISSN 2068-6706, p. 1-5.

¹⁰ Cicero, *cited works*.

given it the status of supreme value in social life. It goes without saying that facing such a stake, an important role has been and is still played by the educational process called to indoctrinate in this sense every member of society.

The history of humanity is full of examples of prosperous, flourishing state-cities, due to the domination of this faith in the divine force of justice, doubled by the consistent practice of social justice. It is obvious that in these state-cities there were developed schools, universities in their early structure, there was provided wide access to educational process that was particularly concerned about just the support of the exceptional role of justice in society. But, the same history of humanity is full of examples that have highlighted the tragic destiny of the human community in which justice has been lowered from its pedestal or even broken. So, there is an organic link between Justice and social-state existence: in a possible metaphor of this connection, justice would be the Brain of the State-Being, or it is known that without a brain no rational being can live.

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A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF PLATO'S PHILOSOPHY OF "POLITICAL POWER"

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Abstract: *Plato, one of the most popular names in philosophy mostly known by his book "The Republic" written around 375 B.C deals with Justice, Power, State, Education, division of labor, mental balance/just, knowledge and Art etc. Plato noted that leaders are natural servants of the city state and its citizens; political power is natural and cultivated through education; power is not heritable rather assumed by merit; men and women can assume political power; knowledge is basic to assume power; leaders shall only assume political power with no attachment to any material beings like Gold and silver, no private property and private life rather living communally. The legitimacy to lead the city state emanates not from the public rather from nature and education. Philosopher kings, rulers of the republic, unlike the mass who are ignorant, having only opinions and thoughts about the material and imperfect world can go beyond the sensible world of objects and can access the transcendental world through reason/ the intellect and know what is perfect and best to the city state and its people, thus, legitimate to lead the state.*

Keywords: *Gold, Philosopher Kings, Plato, Political Power, Transcendental World*

1. Introduction

Plato, a student of Socrates and mentor of Aristotle, and founder of the first higher learning institution in the Global North/ Western World in Athens called "*The Academia*," founded about 387 BC, is one of the classic and influential philosophers of the ancient Greece of all time who lived between 427-347 B.C¹. He, Plato, wrote his philosophy in various ways. For example, he wrote a number of dialogues commonly known as "The Socratic Dialogues" where Plato expresses the ideas of his teacher, Socrates, and mentioning his name several times in all parts of the dialogue where Socrates serve as a mouth piece of Plato's writings and he spoke through Socrates. In the dialogues, he raised a number of issue which still not yet answered in todays' world. For example, in one of the

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¹ Miller, E.L. and Jensen, J., *Questions that matter: An Invitation to Philosophy* (6th ed.). McGraw-Hill, New York, 2009.

dialogue, *Euthyphro*, he raised one very critical and controversial question: “What is holiness?” Plato also noted also introduced two kind of worlds in his divided line: the world of beings (also known as the perfect world, the world of Forms only accessed by philosophers through reason) and the world of objects (also known as the imperfect world, the copy of the perfect world, the phenomenal world where opinion and thoughts prevail and accessed through sense organs i.e. experience)². Besides, in another dialogue, *Apology of Socrates*, wrote Socrates heroism how Socrates stands firmly on what he rationally believes is right (i.e. doing philosophy) to defend himself against the case presented to him by the leaders of Greece even knowing that he will face death penalty³.

But, apart from these dialogues, Plato is mostly known by his political master piece/book called “The Republic.” The book is expected to be written in the year 375 B.C consists of ten Books/chapters⁴. In this book, Plato assesses almost all aspects of philosophy from Metaphysics to Epistemology, from Aesthetics to Logic, from Ethics to Politics etc. The Republic is a dialogue through which Plato tried to define and explain the nature of justice by creating an “ideal state” where perfect human interactions entertain⁵. Thus, this philosophical paper which is desk study in its type based on available philosophical texts in the subject matter at hand, which is very natural to philosophical works and studies, will clearly state Plato’s Philosophy of Political power.

2. Plato’s philosophy of political power: a critical review

Before proceeding to the main point of discussion, let’s first get familiar with Book I of Plato’s Republic. Plato raised a critical question: “what is justice?” and, he tried to entertain different possible definitions of justice by brining various arguments from different people. For example, the most popular arguments are Thrasymachus’s argument of: “justice is the advantage of the stronger,” while Polemarchus claimed that doing right, good, moral and just act means giving every man what he deserves despite Socrates refutes both arguments (Rep 327-331)⁶. And, the debate continue to Book II of the republic through Glaucon and Adeimantus restatement of injustice (Rep 357- 366)⁷.

² Annas, J., *An Introduction to Plato's Republic*. Oxford University Press, New York, United States of America, 1981.

³ Bloom, A., *The Republic of Plato* (trans.). Basic Books, United States of America, 1991.

⁴ Baron, R., *Plato's Republic and Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. Course notes (Also available online URL: www.rbphilo.com/coursenotes. accessed on June 17, 2019.

⁵ Jowett, B., *The Republic: Plato* (trans.), nd.

⁶ Lee, D., *Republic, Penguin Classics* (trans.) second revised edition, 1987.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

In Book II-IV of the Republic, Plato discusses the nature of the “Ideal State”⁸. In these three chapters, he deliberated the characteristics and expectations of the tripartite classes of the ideal state namely: the rulers, the soldiers and the working classes in reference to justice in the state, interactions among the classes and the type of education they have to be exposed. Besides, Plato discussed about the constituting elements of the soul (i.e. reason, spirit and appetite), and the relationship & hierarchy of these elements of the soul in reference to justice at the individual or the self⁹. In Book II-IV, Plato argues the need for state formation and division of labor in a city state since no one is perfect and self-sufficient to meet all his/her demands without others (Rep 369-372). In other words, man is naturally a social being in which to form a community, society and state is his natural duty. Thus, state is natural, and no one unless he/she is a “God” or “Beast” can’t live out of a state¹¹. Division of labor indicates the need for specializing in one’s natural trade (Rep 369-370)¹².

Guardians must only exposed to right kinds of story, shall prohibited from being portrayed the opposite characteristics of things like gods or heroes behaving badly. Rather portrayed as perfectly good intrinsically, and not as the source and cause of any immorality and evils (Rep 376-383).

In Book V-VII, Plato introduces the ideas of aesthetics, communism and discusses the place for women in his ideal state. He argued, naturally, only philosophers are capable and endowed to rule the city state and rulers must be philosophers, therefore (Rep 471-474). Plato noted that leadership

⁸ **Ideal State**, according to Plato’s Philosophy, is a hypothetical state that Plato created in his work, the republic. The other name for such state is “Plato’s Republic.” Such kind of state, according to Plato, is a perfect state ruled by the “Philosopher Kings,” where their soul is dominated by reason (Rep 484-485). In the republic, Plato introduced division of labor among members of the state in to three class: the class of leaders (guardians), Military (auxiliaries) and Artisan and workers (Rep 434-436). In the perfect state, leaders assumes only political power and are endowed and born to the state, and they have a Golden Soul (Rep 414-415), capable of accessing the Perfect World and are the wise section of the state since they know what is the perfect and knowledge is out there beyond the material world (Rep 474-476). On the other hand, the Military those who receive a special kind of training, alerted, courageous and high-spirited, very gentle to their fellow-citizens, loved by their fellow citizen but feared by their enemies (Rep 375-376) with the duty to protect the state and its citizens from external aggressors and internal enemies with no any economic and political power or privilege, they are honesty, self-control and obedience to their philosopher kings while the working class do produce what the state needs. Thus, they have economic and social rights to accumulate wealth, have family of their own and children. Accordingly, justice in the state mean, the principle of non-interference of one class on the affairs of the other class.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ Cornford, F.M., *The Republic of Plato (trans.)*. Oxford University Press, 1973.

¹¹ Lee, D., *Republic, Penguin Classics (trans.)* second revised edition, 1987.

¹² *Ibidem*.

is not exclusively given to men. Women can be also member of the class of leaders and can lead the city state if they are competent enough with their men counter parts (Rep 451-457). Thus, Plato argued that, women guardians shall be exposed to the same kind of mental (i.e. intellectual training) for the mind and physical training (i.e. gymnastics) for the health of the body given to the men guardians¹³.

And, in the last three Books (from book VIII-X), Plato elaborates types of states and their corresponding features, argues fine Art as bad and imitative, and calls all members of the city state to be moral (Ibid).

Plato while arguing the need for creating a city state, he strongly argues and concludes that state is natural¹⁴. In other words, individuals meaning human beings come together to form a state is not due egoistic elements of man. Rather, the basic reason is that individuals are not self-sufficient in themselves and can't satisfy all their demands in their own ways independent of others. They need each other, and they all benefit from the organized form of society. Accordingly, division of labor among members of the state based on the principle of specialization and non-interference among the three classes is needed¹⁵. For Plato, a just society is, therefore, the sum total of "just individuals." In other words, justice in the city state, which is the external to the individual, is the reflection of the internal (i.e. harmony in one's individual soul)¹⁶.

For Plato, the three classes in his ideal state and members to these classes is something natural. Most are born with an appetitive dominated 'bronze¹⁷ soul' to be a members of the working class while some are endowed with an emotively dominated 'silver¹⁸ soul' to be soldiers, and only few (men and women) are entitled to rule the state with rationally

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ Bloom, A., *The Republic of Plato* (tras.) Basic Books, United States of America, 1991. ISBN 0-465-06934-7.

¹⁵ Grube, G.M.A., *Plato Republic* (trans.). Hackett Publishing Company, Inc. Indianapolis, Indiana 46244-0937, United States of America, 1992.

¹⁶ Annas, J., *An Introduction to Plato's Republic*. Oxford University Press, New York, United States of America, 1981.

¹⁷ **Bronze** (sometimes also referred as Iron) is a metaphorical term used by Plato in his republic to refer to the soul of Artisans and working class. This class is with the duty to produce and supply what the same calls, the military and rulers demand or need to have. They are not endowed, privileged and illegitimate to assume political power to lead the city state and its citizens. And, they are privileged to own a family of their own, get married, have children, own property and accumulate wealth. Thus, they are the richest section of the city state.

¹⁸ Silver is another metaphorical term used in the republic of Plato to refer to the military section of the city state who are at duty to maintain the peace and security of the state. Like the working class, soldiers are not legitimate holders of political power. Rather, ruled by the guardians. They are the most courageous, spirited and emotional section of the city state.

dominated 'Golden soul'¹⁹. Plato noted that power is clearly divided among members of the city state by nature, and justice in the state prevails where one class never interferes on the affairs of the other classes²⁰. A ruler has to rule, the military has to defend the state and its citizens while the workers has to produce²¹. Rulers are those with 'Golden' and rationally dominated soul while the guardians are those in charge of defending the state from enemies and maintaining internal order. Thus, guardians have two qualities-"to be at once fierce to the country's [and fellow citizens'] enemies and gentle to the citizens in their charge"²². The two lower sections of the state (i.e. the military and the working classes) shall obey the "Philosopher Kings."

Plato suggested education as the best technique to identify the natural category of citizens to which class they belong to. Those who failed in the first test are the lowest section of the society consists of artisans, farmers and traders. Their duty is to satisfy the economic needs of the state²³. But, why philosophers shall rule the city state, according to Plato?

Plato in his metaphysics introduces two worlds: Sensible World and the World of Forms²⁴. The former one is full of imperfections, copy of the real world, world of opinion, sensible, becoming world, with space and time while the world of forms is the perfect world, objective, intelligent (only accessible by reason), archetypal, eternal, transcendent and world of knowledge²⁵. Plato argues that philosophers love truth, justice and knowledge which is perfect and exist in the transcendental world that can only accessed by reason and intellect which is naturally endowed this capacity or ability only to philosophers unlike to the mass i.e. military and the workers (Rep 474-476). Philosophers grasp the real, perfect one as a whole and deserves to lead the city state for good, and will bring justice and prosperity to the city state and its citizens, argued Plato (484-485). And, only the guardian rulers (i.e. the philosophers kings, the rulers of the state of Aristocracy) are naturally endowed with the capacity of accessing the perfect, real and unchanging world, and know and rule the state and its citizens by doing what is best for all²⁶. Thus, a king is the one who is

¹⁹ "Gold" is a metaphor to mean people with rationally dominated soul that will lead the city state and its members.

²⁰ Quandt, K., *A Commentary on Plato's Republic*, 2015.

²¹ IDPH., *The Republic by Plato*, 2002.

²² Cornford, F.M., *The Republic of Plato (trans.)*. Oxford University Press, 1973.

²³ *Ibidem*.

²⁴ Lee, D., *Republic, Penguin Classics (trans.)* second revised edition, 1987.

²⁵ Miller, E.L. and Jensen, J., *Questions that matter: An Invitation to Philosophy (6th ed.)*. McGraw-Hill, New York, 2009.

²⁶ Grube, G.M.A., *Plato Republic (trans.)*. Hackett Publishing Company Inc., Indianapolis, 1992.

elected from among the class of the best (*aristoi*), rules the state by imitating God, the perfect, and acts as God's representative on earth (Annas, 1981). These rulers have only political power at hand to decide on the affairs of the state. They can make laws and orders, but rulers aren't expected to obey the laws they make since they know what is good and act morally. The laws and orders are for the other two inferior classes.

But, they (i.e. philosopher kings and queens or the guardians of the city state) can have women including children in common. Nothing is owned personally by the kings. They live a communal life may be with women. As a result of which they can produce children. However, "*No child will know his or her parents, nor will any parent know his or her child (457-458).*" So, it is up to the state to take the responsibility of treating the child produced by the classes of the best²⁷.

Plato also indicates that women can join the ruling class and the military like their men counterparts (445b-457b). In Book V, he stated the following in reference to this:

*If women are to have the same duties as men, they must have the same nurture and education....Then women must be taught music and gymnastics and also the art of war, which they must practice like the men...*²⁸

Power is not hereditary. Even guardian ruler with a Golden soul can give a birth to a child with a Bronze soul or silver soul, or parents from the working class can give a birth to a child with a Golden or Bronze soul or a parents from the military can give a birth to a child with a Golden or Bronze soul²⁹. And, it is up to the state to deliver best education according to their abilities to all members of the state. But, "what kind of education and for whom?" is the question.

In Book II, III & VII of the Republic, Plato writes about education for guardians. Workers need to have merely physical strength. No need of further education. If they are physically fit, they can perform their *trade* (responsibilities) effectively. Likewise, the soldiers shall train physically and mentally to develop the capacity of being "*alert, courageous and high-spirited, but gentle to their fellow-citizens...be like watch-dogs, able to discriminate between friend and foe*"³⁰.

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

²⁸ Murphy, M., *Plato's Philosophy of Education and the Common Core debate*. Conference Paper. Association for the Development of Philosophy Teaching (ADOPT) Spring Conference, Chicago, IL. De Paul University, 2015.

²⁹ Fotiou, A.S., *Plato's Philosopher King in the Political Thought of Sixth-century Byzantium*. Florilegium vol. 7, pp. 17-29, 1985.

³⁰ *Ibidem*.

The ruling class must take further education in addition to the physical and metal trainings provided to the soldiers. In this case, the guardians take all the kind of trainings provided to the soldiers. In their childhood, philosophers i.e. the future leaders/rulers of the city state shall exposed to right stories. In other words, they shouldn't have exposed to stories while God lies or hero fears³¹. But, when they are matured, joining the ruling class, it is permissible to lie but strongly immoral for the members of the other two lower classes to lie³². Besides, Plato calls for a strict censorship of poetry and any other works of arts as they aggravate emotions over reason. Mimesis could be good or bad it depends on the nature of the imitation. When the poet talks about his own, no problem it is good. But, if he/she represents someone's weakness or bad habit, it is strongly immoral, Plato argued³³.

Besides, songs and music for the military must be under clear surveillance of the state. Any kind of song with sympathy that makes soldiers soften and fear death shall be censored without any other condition, necessarily. In addition, members of the military class (soldiers) shall make themselves ready physically and mentally at any time and any condition, and shall eat simple foods and no drunkenness at all. But, a balanced education is a must unless one would be uncivilized. So, physical and metal educations must be balanced and in harmony³⁴.

Apart from training, during their childhood, according to Bloom (1991), guardian rulers can be selected from any other members of the city state by exposing them to the 'temptation of pleasure and whether they resist or not.' Through this way one can realize whether the child have the devotion and love to his community he/she is born in or not. The ruling class shall rule the state to the advantage of all, not for personal gains³⁵.

Generally, Guardian rulers up to the age of twenty (20), shall learn gymnastics (dancing and wrestling) and Music (including literature). At 20, they would promote in to study science up to the age of thirty (30). At the age of 30, would be selected to join the military and introduce them with dialectics for five (5) years. Then, they would sent for 15 years to work on the military or other office in the city state. After they reach the age of

³¹ Murphy, M., *Plato's Philosophy of Education and the Common Core debate*. Conference Paper. Association for the Development of Philosophy Teaching (ADOPT) Spring Conference, Chicago, IL. De Paul University, 2015.

³² Fotiou, A.S., *Plato's Philosopher King in the Political Thought of Sixth-century Byzantium*. Florilegium vol. 7, pp. 17-29, 1985.

³³ *Ibidem*.

³⁴ *Ibidem*.

³⁵ Bloom, A., *The Republic of Plato (trans.)*. Basic Books, United States of America, 1991.

fifty (50) years, they are capable to rule the state according to the perfect world of forms and do philosophy, thereafter³⁶.

But, what form of government did Plato prefer? Various philosophers prefer and argue in favor of different forms of governments. For instance, Machiavelli and Hobbes in favor of autocratic rule, Locke is behind limited government, Rousseau favors republican form of government, Marx calls for Communism and so on. But, Plato was arguing to kind of rule by the city state's elites (i.e. philosopher kings). Because, philosophers are knowledgeable-they know what is best for the state and its members. Thus, Plato was arguing for the need of aristocratic form of government lead by the few i.e. philosopher kings. In this way, Plato is against Democracy for the fact not all members of the state are wise and knowledgeable³⁷. Besides, Plato identified 3 other bad forms of state in addition to democratic form of state (543-545). These are *timarchy* (rule by a military whose soul is irrational rather with a silver soul where emotion dominates reason), *Oligarch* where wealthy people rule and *Tyranny* where individuals fail to obey the laws³⁸.

3. Conclusion

Plato, a popular name in the field of Philosophy, is the master of all the sub-disciplines of Philosophy we are still talking in our days where he introduced some thousand years before somewhere in Greece. In this regard, to substantiate the above claim, it is possible to conclude as the following:

“...Plato's philosophy addresses everything from reality, to knowledge, to ethics, to art, to religion, to cosmology, and so on. So encompassing and magnificent is Plato's philosophy that Alfred North Whitehead called all subsequent philosophy a series of footnotes to it!”³⁹

He introduced the notion of Philosopher Kings to state the need for knowledge that someone has to equip himself with to lead a state. No one can simply come and lead a society. Leadership is an art. It needs extensively physical and mental training. And, he introduced a hypothetical perfect state lead by philosophers, the knowledgeable section

³⁶ Murphy, M., *Plato's Philosophy of Education and the Common Core debate*. Conference Paper. Association for the Development of Philosophy Teaching (ADOPT) Spring Conference, Chicago, IL. De Paul University, 2015.

³⁷ Dahl, R. A., *Democracy and its critics*. Yale, 1989.

³⁸ Baron, R., *Plato's Republic and Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*, nd. Course notes (Also available online URL: www.rbphilo.com/coursenotes. Accessed on June 17, 2019.

³⁹ Miller, E.L. and Jensen, J., *Questions that matter: An Invitation to Philosophy* (6th ed.). McGraw-Hill, New York, 2009.

of the society, with a brief knowledge of what is perfect, who are naturally endowed to lead the state. Accordingly, Plato concludes that an Aristocratic form of state is the best form of government and, unlike today's political thought, democracy is not good for him (Rep. 543-545). He argued that democracy is a mob-rule by the ignorant that will bring tyranny at the end⁴⁰.

The other critical point Plato noted is that the notion of degeneration of bad states. In other words, *timarchy* (a rule by the military) degenerates in to oligarchy (a rule by the wealthy class of a society where one's status in such kind of society is to be determined not by the knowledge you have rather by the wealth you accumulate, and the legitimacy to assume power emanates from one's fortune. Thus, the rich rules and the poor ruled by the wealthy), and Oligarchy in turn degenerates in to democracy and finally in to tyranny (Rep 545-580).

Most importantly, Plato argues that power shall be assumed based on merit. It is not to be inherited by blood, rather assumed by nature and cultivated through education and extensive training provided by the state. And, power is not men's exclusive gift. Rather, women can also take part in leading a city state⁴¹. In this regard, Plato believes in "Gender Equality" in assuming political power. By the same token, in Plato's understanding, being man or woman has nothing to do with political leadership. Not only this, but also leadership needs extensive life experience. A youngster can't be a leader. This is another quality of Plato's Philosophy on political power that many appreciate a lot.

But, a number of critics have been forwarded against his stance on works of art. He argued that art has to do with emotion and the imperfect world, thus, no knowledge can be acquired from any works of art, and it's not good to expose guardians to such kind of education unless it portrays good character to be imitated⁴².

Generally, Plato's philosophy of power is very relevant in today's world in such a way that his arguments on power is based on merit, power to serve the state and its citizens not for oneself, gender equality to assume political power, the need for clear division of power among members of a city state are very sound.

⁴⁰ Lee, D., *Republic, Penguin Classics (trans.) second revised edition*, 1987.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴² Miller, E. L. and Jensen, J., *Questions that matter: An Invitation to Philosophy (6th ed.)*. McGraw-Hill, New York, 2009.

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HOW 'HOLISTIC' IS ANTHROPOHOLISM? A CRITIQUE OF SAMUEL BASSEY'S ENVIRONMENTAL PHILOSOPHY

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Abstract: *This paper is a review of Samuel A. Bassey's article and coinage of 'Anthropoholism' which he argued is an authentic tool for environmental sustenance and Management. My goal in this paper is to raise arguments and thereafter seek clarification on what according to Bassey is Anthropoholism and why he considers such as the most suitable ethical principle which he argues addresses the myriads of environmental concerns such as desertification, endangered species, global warming, greenhouse effects as well as other forms of environmental exploitation which have left our environment in a pitiable state with its boomerang effect on Humans as a constitutive part of the environment. I argued that the concept of Anthropoholism is so promising, however, it is not error-proof as it has its inherent lacuna. In this work I employ the methods of skeptico-critical analysis and complementary fusion.*

Keywords: *Anthropoholism, Anthropocentrism, Holistic Ethics, Environmental Ethics.*

Introduction

The major thrust of this article is an attempt to critique Samuel A. Bassey theory of 'Anthropoholism' which for him is an authentic environmental ethical theory for environmental management. The concept 'Anthropoholism' is drawn from two derivatives, Anthro (Man) and Holism. According to Bassey, the theory of 'Anthropoholism' arose from the fact that advocates of both anthropocentric and holistic environmental ethics often attempt to outtalk each other, rather than making an attempt to reach a common ground. What Bassey intend to achieve with his theory of 'Anthropoholism' is to bridge the gap on the long existing debate between anthropocentric and holistic environmental ethics.

As an animal rights scholar, one who is vested with skeptico-critical attitude which stands as a very fundamental disposition of the spirit of philosophy, a discipline which as Peter Bodunrin would argue refers to that which thrives on mutual criticisms. I shall herein subject this essay to

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critical interrogation. Consequently, I shall present in a point by point summary what Bassey meant by 'Anthropoholism' as a possible panacea towards addressing all those bedeviling issues of environmental concerns both in the microcosm and macrocosm. In achieving this task, I shall raise arguments and seek clarification and will further conclude by exposing the implication of applying the ethic of Anthropoholism.

On the argument for Anthropoholism

In a brief comment, it suffices to say that Bassey's argument and proposition for the need to adopt 'Anthropoholism as a viable ethical theory is geared towards combating the menace of not just poor environmental management but an incessant irrational rape and degradation of the environment. An action which has resulted in deforestation, desertification, chemical pollution, drought, endangered species and wildfire extinction, floods, ozone layer depletion, solid and hazardous waste, biodiversity loss, air, water, and land pollution, global climate change, and global warming⁴³. All of which amongst other things have distorted the ontological equilibrium that exists or perhaps should exist between Humans and Nature.

The worry in the continuous exploitation and rape of the environment is as Jane Goodall puts it in a rather surprising rhetorical assertion which reads: "How is it possible that the most intellectual creature to ever walk the planet Earth is destroying its only home?"⁴⁴ such pitiable situation which Goodall raises above is that which in my thinking led Bassey to argue for the 'ethic of Anthropoholism' - one which for him, would not just suffice as a viable tool for environmental management but would as well, traverse the limitations of an uncritical allegiance to the Strong and Weak anthropocentric theory of the environment respectively.

In summarizing the major thrust of this paper and explicating the concept and content of Anthropoholism as articulated by Bassey in '*Anthropoholism' As an Authentic Tool for Environmental Management* published in (2019), the following points were drawn from the paper:

P5: 'The concept of Anthropoholism is made up of two words, namely, "Anthropos" which is a Greek word that means "man or a human being" and "Holism" which is often used to represent all of the wholes' in the universe. Bassey further assert that the theory of holism implies: parts of a

⁴³ Bassey, Samuel Akpan, and Thomas Micah Pimaro Jr., "Enyimba's Notion of Madukaku and The Question of Anthropocentrism In African Environmental Ethics." *Int. J. of Environmental Pollution & Environmental Modelling* 2.3 (2019), p. 132.

⁴⁴ Bassey, Samuel Akpan. "'Anthropoholism' As An Authentic Tool for Environmental Management." *Int. J. of Environmental Pollution & Environmental Modelling* 2.3 (2019): 163.

whole which are in intimate interconnection, such that they cannot exist independently of the whole, or cannot be understood without reference to the whole, which is thus regarded as greater than the sum of its parts'⁴⁵.

P6: 'Anthropoholism as a theory of environmental ethics acknowledges Man (anthropo) central role; perspective and place in eco-system as well as ontology but avers that man is just a part of nature, such that he cannot exist independently of the environment, or can he be understood without reference to the environment (holism). In essence, Man must see the environment as something less 'strange' which could enable individuals to be concerned or take interest or even care for it'⁴⁶.

P2: 'It is only after we have embraced a proper disposition and mindset towards nature and have also set up the right moral relationship between individuals and nature, that we can have the capacity to love and regard nature with Honesty'⁴⁷.

P3. 'Strong anthropocentrism, acknowledges man at the center of the universe and further alludes that other beings within the environment are of instrumental value to man. A strong anthropocentric attitude has been blamed for man's dominant tendencies towards other beings within the environment, which have in turn led to environmental decadence. A similar experience is seen in Eurocentric attitude, a belief that Europeans are supreme, which in turn led to racism, colonialism, and subjugation of other human persons'. (p. 161)⁴⁸

P4. 'This paper argues that it will be a futile venture to attempt a strict non-anthropocentric environmental ethics as a human point of view will always be visible. One of the reasons is because one thing that makes environmental ethics possible is man's obligation towards the environment. This implies that if a particular ethic requires a being to put other beings into consideration, if an ethic is a guide to action, then that becomes the beings' own ends'⁴⁹. (161)

The above summarizes the key points of Bassey theory of 'Anthropoholism'. In pages 162-64, Bassey examined the two senses in which anthropocentrism is often described today and further criticizes them as grossly inadequate. Although, in his coinage of and proposal for the adoption of 'Anthropoholism', he seems to tie his theory to Weak anthropocentrism in a sense, while he criticized the Strong version of anthropocentrism being egoistic and capable of projecting all manner of supremacy and domineering tendencies towards the environment. To buttress his argument for conceding

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 162.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 163.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 161.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 162.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 163.

to Weak anthropocentrism, he alluded the Judeo-Christian Holy writ which preaches the need for self-love as a prerequisite for loving others⁵⁰.

For Bassey therefore, it is only in the weak version of anthropocentrism that we can satisfactorily situate what I may describe as a Man friendly Environment ethics which requires man to act responsibly towards the environment for his own sake. This weak anthropocentrism according to Bassey “acknowledges human central position in thought process, obligatory position, but advocates that human alludes to moral dispositions and theory as to not transgress this position into the egoistic and dominating tendency on the environment”⁵¹. Bassey further argued that it is plausible for environmental ethic but incomplete if it does not attempt to look at the environment holistically. This is because it is only within holistic environmental ethics that we can understand the interdependence of being and the significance of all beings to the environment; as such, this existence of any being is hinged on the whole. Hence, Bassey brought the tenets of weak anthropocentrism and holistic environmental ethics together to form the concept ‘anthropoholism’.

The Distinction between Anthropoholism and Weak Anthropocentrism

According to the author, although the theory of ‘anthropoholism’ just like that of weak anthropocentrism, takes cognizance of man's (anthropo) central role both as a reference point, as the center of ontology and ecosystem. This does not imply that ‘anthropoholism’ and weak anthropocentrism are the same things. For Bassey, weak anthropocentrism and ‘anthropoholism’ are two different theories altogether. While **‘weak anthropocentrism’** attempts to consider human preferences while taking into consideration ethical, aesthetic and scientific theories as well as metaphysical framework in fashioning environmental ethics, it does not necessarily imply holistic philosophy. However, **‘anthropoholism’** on the other hand takes a holistic approach; all species-being, animate as well as inanimate-including man is considered to be an integral part of the environment, interdependence on one another and cannot exist without the environment as a whole.

Another point put forward by the author which distinguishes ‘anthropoholism’ from the weak version of anthropocentrism is that the former does not necessarily consider moral worldviews as a reason for man's responsible behavior towards the environment as the weak anthropocentrism does. In a nutshell, the goal of anthropoholism is according to Bassey an attempt to explain the interconnectedness and

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 164.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 161.

interdependence of man with nature, which should be the driving rationale behind man's endeavor as far as the environment is concerned⁵².

The notion of “holism” as a foundation for an African environmental ethics

In subsequent paragraphs, Bassey examined the various views by African scholars within the holistic school of thought in environmental ethics. This scholars he affirms have chosen to explain environmental ethics from an African communitarian perspective oftentimes christened as holistic environmental ethics. African holistic environmentalists preaches the interdependence and interconnectedness of humans and nature. (164) Reflecting on the works of great intellectual eggheads within the holistic theory of African environmental ethics, are the works of Mbiti (2001), Menkiti (1984), Ugwuanyi (2011), Tangwa (2006), Gyekye (1997), and many others. The aforementioned scholars toed the line of an African environmental ethics that hinges on communal values because the African worldview is considered to be communal rather than individualistic⁵³.

In criticizing their position (exception of Gyekye), the author argues that they fail to acknowledge some level of individuality (anthropocentrism) in their communitarian argument. It is, therefore, the silent rejection of the significant and indispensable role of the individual as making up the whole, is what cripples the holistic theory of African environmental ethics and consequently renders it inadequate.

In his concluding paragraph, the author informs that the advantage of his theory of anthropoholism as a viable tool for environmental management as against the respective pole ends of weak anthropocentrism and ethical holism is that “anthropoholism bridges the gap between the extreme views of anthropocentrism and holism respectively”. Hence, to uphold this theory would help resolve and put to rest the many issues that have for decades plagued our environment.

My Critical Commentary

As I begin a critical excavation of the strength and weaknesses of this paper, it suffices to bring to heart an excerpt the very words of Karl Popper, who in his *In search of a better world* counsels that:

Every intellectual has a very special responsibility. He has the privilege and the opportunity of studying. In return, he owes it to his fellow men (or ‘to society’) to represent the results of his study as simply, clearly and modestly as he can. The worst thing

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 164.

⁵³ McDonald, David A. “Ubuntu Bashing: The Marketisation of ‘African Values’ in South Africa.” *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 37, no. 124, 2010, pp. 139–52.

that intellectuals can do-the cardinal sin- is to try to set themselves up as great prophets' vis-à-vis their fellow men and to impress them with puzzling philosophies. Anyone who cannot speak simply and clearly should say nothing and continue to work until he can do so⁵⁴.

It is therefore commendable that the author understood this bitter fact, hence the reason why he chose to explicate the concept and nature of his ethic of anthropoholism in just a total of eight pages which though appear few but is enriched with intellectual rigor. His work titled '*Anthropoholism as an authentic tool for environmental management*' is indeed an ambitious one from a young budding African philosopher.

However, one cannot turn a blind eye to the fact that the notion of 'anthropoholism' just like anthropocentrism is that which is founded on a humanistic philosophy. A philosophy which argues pretextually that the human species or humankind sits at the center of the universe as her final arbiter, the author and finisher of all there is in existence as well as those are capable of existing (here, I refer to future generations). Hence, it became evident that Bassey's notion of anthropoholism did not attempt to factor in the implication or perhaps the ripple effects of adopting this ethical theory of environmental management for future generations and consequently how such an ethical theory would fare in the light of the question of intergenerational justice.

Another issue with the paper is that the author did not do much justice in filtering his adoption of the weak version of anthropocentrism-one which forms part of the fulcrum of his concept of "anthropoholism". Hence, as Beth Mendenhall would inform, "The description of an environmental ethic as "anthropocentric" needs clarification ⁵⁵. Citing a long passage from Bryan G. Norton's definitive article on the subject, entitled '*Environmental ethics and weak Anthropocentrism*', Mendenhall argues that to fully understand the distinction between strong and weak anthropocentrism, we must recognize two types of human desires: Felt and Considered Preferences⁵⁶.

Continuing and drawing much emphasis from Norton, she further informs that a 'Felt preference' is that which does not require any rational deliberation. It is as though one's preference is based on emotions and all that comes from such. To capture succinctly, "a felt preference is one that

⁵⁴ Popper, Karl R., *In Search of a Better World: Lectures and Essays from Thirty Years*. Routledge, 1992, p. 82.

⁵⁵ Mendenhall, Beth, "The Environmental Crises." *Stance: An International Undergraduate Philosophy Journal*, vol. 2, 2009, p. 36.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 35.

can be satisfied by some specific experience. Eg, my wish to eat a chocolate cupcake is a felt preference because it reflects a desire of mine that can be satisfied by some specific immediate experience- namely, me eating a cupcake."⁵⁷ but for a considered preference which describes the weak anthropocentrism invented by defended by Norton (1984), defended by Mendenhall (2009) and consequently adopted by Bassey (2019) as a pillar for his idea of anthropoholism. The considered preference argues that:

In matters about considered preference, an individual would have after "careful deliberation" determine the preference to be consistent with a 'rationally adopted worldview'. By rational worldview, Norton means a conception of the world in accordance with reason or Logic, which informs our decisions about value. My desire to recycle 'for instance' is not a felt preference, because the act of putting the aluminum can in the recycle bin doesn't satisfy any specific desire of mine. It is considered preference because I only want to recycle in light of my rational worldview about environmental responsibility. An ethic is strongly anthropocentric according to Norton if the things it values can all be reduced to felt preference of human individuals. A weakly anthropocentric ethic, in contrast, finds value in both felt and considered preference⁵⁸.

The adoption of weak anthropocentrism as one of the pillars upon which the notion of 'anthropoholism' is evangelised is to my mind one that is not in itself error-proof as it seems to rests on faulty logic.

Weak anthropocentrism pretentiously assumes that Humans would systematically and meticulously always adopt a "considered preference" at every situation and in all places and at all times while it seems to forget that 'the what' we know about human nature is that which presents ambivalence. Ambivalence human nature in Asouzu's words is capable of makin man blow hot and cold⁵⁹. Also, the fact that all human efforts are tailored towards the instinct of self-preservation is also another fact which renders the weak anthropocentric version adopted by Bassey as being suspicious and hence should be placed under the radar of skeptico-critical surveillance.

In the same vein, the concept and notion of 'anthropoholism' seems to place the environment as a means to an end rather than as an end in itself. It seems to suggest in its adoption of weak anthropocentrism, that Man apart from being the most rational self- conscious being is the reason why

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 35-37.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 36.

⁵⁹ Asouzu, Innocent I. *The Method and Principles of Complementary Reflection in and beyond African Philosophy*. University of Calabar Press, 2004.

the environment exists. That the environment exists for Humans and not that they exist despite Humans. The point to note is that humans are but a fractional part of the environment and hence must coordinate her affairs within this logical understanding. The personhood approach to an environmental ethic which takes different forms as speciesism, anthropocentrism, discrimination, etc.

Bassey's argument that anthropoholism of the "love your neighbor as yourself"⁶⁰ biblical injunction which for him strengthens the notion of anthropoholism as an authentic tool for environmental management and ontological equilibrium is wrongheaded. Its appeal to our religiosity is problematic. It seems to suggest as Alberth Schweitzer puts it that, "anyone who has accustomed himself to regard the life of any living creature as worthless is in danger of arriving also at the idea of worthless human lives"⁶¹. In whatever way it is seen, this 'love your neighbor (environment) as you do yourself' self-love philosophy is one that is further conceived in the guise of Kantian deontologism which considers Human's obligation to the environment as consequential. It presumes and hence alleges that our care of the environment is for our benefit⁶². It shows that whatever way we treat the environment, there will be a boomerang effect of Humans who going by the logic of anthropoholism is not just a fraction of the hole but the most important fraction such as make up that hole.

In my concluding remarks and in the attempt to comment on the question of balance, it suffices to say that there are positives and negatives. On the positive side, Bassey did an excellent job in attempting to argue for an authentic environmental ethics of management. His philosophy attempts to bridge the gap between a weak anthropocentrism and the notion of holism through the adoption of an ethic of anthropoholism which complements the relationship between humans and the environment as an indispensable part of nature where humans, in general, are nurtured, preserved and sustained through her role of complimentary service.

On the negative side, while Bassey tried to critically engage the concept of anthropocentrism as an ethical theory, he failed to give a robust understanding of the notion of anthropoholism by providing a shallow explication and distinction between the strong anthropocentrism and the weak anthropocentrism and how the later suffices as pillar upon which his anthropoholistic theory was to be built. Similarly, the Judeo-Christian religious argument which posits and affirms the place of humans as the

⁶⁰ Bassey Samuel, *op.cit.*, p. 164.

⁶¹ Flynn, Clif., "Social Creatures: A Human and Animal Studies Reader." Lantern Books, 2008, p. 5.

⁶² Wood, Allen W., "Virtue: Aristotle and Kant." *Virtue, Happiness, Knowledge: Themes from the Work of Gail Fine and Terence Irwin*, 2018, p. 234.

supreme lord over nature to which the author pretentiously sustained throughout this argument for anthropoholism is in itself exclusivist, reductionistic and overtly insensitive in that it seems not to have factored in the place of secularism and secular states which do not practice or subscribes to religiosity.

According to Singer (2009) who captures it well when he contends that most often than not, we focus on the argument for the equal value of all human life with complete exclusion of saying the biotic and abiotic constituents of the environment. We see humans from a myopic exclusivist prism of possessing an equal right to life as against "animal life" due to our predisposed though misguided grounds triggered by our religiosity, speciesist mindset and those other arguments that depend on cognitive abilities. According to Singer, the Religious ground might include the thesis that:

We are made in the image of God, and non-human animals are not. (2) God gave us dominion over animals. 3) that humans have immortal souls and non-human animals do not. For Singer, therefore, there is no good evidence for these claims. I regard them all as false. Some people may believe that these are true claims. I would argue, however, that even if they are true, such claims should not be the basis of law or public policy in society that is not based on a religious creed or religious profession. The desirability of keeping church and state, separate is sufficient basis for saying that even those who accept these religious claims should agree that in a pluralist society they should not suffice for making laws that regulate how we treat human beings and non- human animals and by an extension (the environment) as a whole⁶³.

Despite some of these inherently loose arguments that are scattered in this paper, I make bold to say that *Anthropoholism as an authentic ethics for environmental management* is a worthwhile article principally because it does what most earlier works on environmental ethics fails to do, that is, an attempt to purge itself from the obvious lacunas by itself being self-critiquing. The fact that it is highly readable, following a chronological and logical connections between paragraphs is what also renders it as promoting a flow of thought and offering a rundown on the historical trajectory that informs the debate on and about the need for a viable ethical theory one that would promote good environmental management and sustenance is what endears it to the general reader.

⁶³ Kittay, Eva Feder, and Licia Carlson, "Cognitive Disability and Its Challenge to Moral Philosophy." *Cognitive Disability and Its Challenge to Moral Philosophy*, 2010, p. 335.

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AFROCENTRIC APPROACH TO BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

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Abstract: *The problem associated with Afrocentric or African orientated approach to an understanding of religious and biblical texts is a cause for concern among many philosophers of religion. There is the stance and perception that the Bible and biblical scholarship has been biased by a mainly Eurocentric and 'white' view of biblical history. This paper join the calls from numerous critics and scholars for a more adjusted and reasonable comprehension of the pertinence of the African impact and its centrality in present day Christian religious philosophy. This paper shows that an in-depth analysis of Biblical text will show that one cannot diminish the importance of the African region and people in the Bible without also diminishing and distorting a truthful and comprehensive view of the Bible. The result of this present examination shows that there have been attempts to limit and even hinder the Afrocentric affiliations and interpretations in Biblical content. This infers a more comprehensive and multicultural approach is required in Biblical investigation and interpretations.*

Keywords: *Afrocentric, Eurocentric, Christian religious philosophy, biblical Interpretation.*

Introduction

There have been call from many critics and theologians for a more balanced and fair understanding of the relevance of the African influence and its significance in modern Christian theology As one study notes, "...Fortunately, the Bible refuses to remain captive to such distortions, Indeed we have seen the blossoming in our own time of new interpretative approaches to Scripture".¹ In other words, a more inclusive view of the

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Bible is insisted upon in order for a more truthful representation of Biblical history to occur. It should also be noted that these distortions of Biblical texts are also linked to wider political and colonial worldviews that have over the centuries tended to impact on interpretations of Biblical and other texts in favor of Eurocentric hegemony.

The author of the above study also goes on to stress the important point that, “These approaches, including cultural exegesis and Afrocentric biblical interpretation have at last begun to free us from centuries of parochial Eurocentric understandings”.² The emphasis that the author places on the concept of “...parochial Eurocentric understandings” of Biblical text is central to the thesis of this paper.

The central thesis of the present study includes the view that there have in the past been efforts to minimize and even obstruct the Afrocentric associations and interpretations in Biblical text. This implies that a more inclusive and multicultural approach is needed in Biblical analysis and interpretation. As will be discussed, there are a number of cogent reasons for this denial of the African background and origins of Biblical events. These reasons must also be seen against the historical advent and impact of European colonialism.

The central thesis that will be explored in this study can therefore be stated as follows. Firstly, it is predicated on the view that there is a genuine need for a more multicultural approach to biblical textual analyses of the Bible. This leads to the assertion and thesis that African and Afrocentric interpretations of the Bible and Biblical events are necessary to present a more valid and comprehensive understanding of these events and texts.

Furthermore, there is a motivational imperative that also underlines the importance of this thesis. The following quotation from Earnest N. Bracey’s book *Prophetic insight: the higher education and pedagogy of African Americans* (1999) encapsulates this imperative: “For too long in the history of Western civilization, persons of African descent have been stereotyped in negative ways which have caused them to question not only their own identity but also their part in God’s plan of salvation”.³

This is a view that is germane to the present thesis for a number of reasons. Among these reason that will be expanded on is the view that the exclusion of Afrocentric interpretations of the scriptures has had a negative impact on ethnic self-perceptions. This refers to the truthful and

¹ Felder, Cain Hope, “Recovering Multiculturalism in Scripture”, *The African Heritage Study Bible*, Nashville, (Tenn: The James C. Winston Publishing Company, 1993, cxiii).

² Gifford, Paul, “The Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories, and Trends.” *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 34, no. 3, 2004.

³ Earnest N. Bracey, *Prophetic insight: the higher education and pedagogy of African Americans*, (New York: University Press of America, 1999), p. 68.

correct interconnections between the important messages from the Bible and the religious and social development of Black and other ethnic groups. As will become clear from the discussion below, not only is the truth of the Bible compromised by a biased reading and interpretation of Biblical texts but these biases also impact negatively on ethnic self-esteem and theological validity.

This is an extremely important point that goes to the heart of the reason for a reevaluation the place of Africa and its people in the Bible; and which emphasizes the need to deconstruct stereotypical and biased interpretations of the Bible.

In essence, Black people, as well as people from other cultural and racial groups, have been excluded from participating in the experience of salvation through Biblical text because they have come to believe that they were somehow not important enough to be featured in general and dominant interpretations of Biblical text. The present study will attempt to delineate important aspects and insights that reflect the need for a revaluation of the Biblical texts from an Afrocentric and multicultural perspective.

Reasons for the Denial of African Biblical Interpretations

There are many reasons put forward as to why African Biblical perspectives were ignored or undermined. One study in this respect has noted that,

Today popular Christianity too easily assumes that modern ideas about race are traceable to the Bible or that there is not a significant Black presence in the Bible.... Centuries of European and Euro-American scholarship along with a "save the heathen Blacks" missionary approach to Africans have created these impressions.⁴

In other words, the denial of an Afrocentric perspective in the Bible and in Bible interpretation is closely linked to forms of racism and racial stereotypes and biases that became an intrinsic part of the ethos of colonialism during the previous two centuries. The image of the "black heathen" referred to above and in many other studies is a stereotype that has been evident in Western culture for many centuries. It is this type of biased distortion that has led the intentional removal in many cases of African references and associations in Biblical textual interpretation.

With reference to the important issue of colonialism and the suppression of African identity, one can briefly refer to the writings of Olaudah Equiano (1745-1797). The autobiography of Olaudah Equiano

⁴ Fowl, Stephen E., "The Theological Interpretation of Scripture." *Blackwell Readings in Modern Theology* 1997, p. 389.

provides us with some insight into the intersection between religion, scriptural interpretation and the realities of colonialism.

Equiano, also known as Gustavus Vassa, tells about his experiences of slavery in the book entitled *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself*. What is of special significance for the present discussion is the view of African historical and scriptural origins that the author puts forward in this book – and which contrasts glaringly with the Eurocentric view of scriptural interpretation which was promulgated by colonialism.

In the book *Olaudah Equiano* discusses the religion of Igbo people of West Africa. Importantly, he refers to numerous similarities between the Igbo religion and the ancient Jewish faith found in Biblical texts. Similarities such as various taboos and rituals are discussed at length. This discussion is expanded in the first book to suggest a common heritage and a definite African centre to the understanding of scripture. The following quotation from the book makes this aspect abundantly clear.

Here I cannot forbear suggesting what has long struck me very forcibly, namely, the strong analogy which even by this sketch, imperfect as it is, appears to prevail in the manners and customs of my countrymen, and those of the Jews, before they reached the Land of Promise, and particularly the patriarchs, while they were yet in that pastoral state which is described in Genesis—an analogy which alone would induce me to think that the one people has sprung from the other.⁵

In other words, the author strongly suggests a common root to Biblical reality that lies not in a predominantly white world and experience but rather has its foundations in Africa and the African religious and cultural milieu. Interestingly, Equiano refers to the Biblical interpretations and commentaries of experts such as John Gill to support his view of an African Biblical origin. “Equiano gestures toward “Dr. Gill's” Commentary on Genesis” to note how Gill “ably deduces the pedigree of the Africans from ... the descendants of Abraham”.⁶

On the other hand, many scholars note the significance and obvious relevance of an African Biblical context. Notwithstanding these studies and despite a plethora of evidence that strongly suggests the validity of a Black or African interpretations of the Bible, “...Eurocentric church officials and scholars have tended to deny or minimize the fact that black people are in

⁵ Gifford, Paul, “The Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories, and Trends.” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 34.3 (2004), p. 397.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 398.

any way a part of the Bible itself...”⁷ Contemporary pundits note that this prejudicial situation is in the process of being redressed by modern scholarship and many authors and researchers are writing against these biased and stereotypical views.

The literature also acknowledges the fact that the underlying reason for this denial of the African influence in the Bible has deep roots in the Eurocentric institutions of scholarship. This can be traced to the conservative view that Blacks have in fact no real history in comparison to the richness and significance of European history. “As astonishing as it seems most of the prestigious academics and universities in Europe and America have ridiculed the idea that blacks have any substantive history”.⁸ This derogatory view has its roots as well in the colonial attitude that tended to see all Black people as inferior in status and ‘ignorant’ in order to justify the intrusion and invasion of their lands and territories.

In other words, the justification for conquest and what was in reality the theft of African land and wealth was provided to a great extent by the ‘rewriting’ of Biblical texts. Blacks were cast as ‘heathen’ people who had not achieved the enlightenment that the white group had attained through the Bible and Christianity and therefore Blacks were seen as inferior and subordinate.

This rewriting or interpretation of the Bible excluded Black people, thereby lending theological and moral validity to the colonizing actions of the European and white ethnic groups. This is of course a very simplistic view and does not take into account many complex and interrelated factors. However, at a fundamental level it serves to illustrate the underlying political motivation that many critics assert played a major part in the virtual eradication of the Black Biblical origins and their profoundly important part in the Biblical texts.

As noted, this underlying discrimination and prejudice has a long history, which manifested itself in the colonial biases of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries and in many other areas besides Biblical interpretation. It is also important to note that this biased ideology that followed in the wake of the colonial domination of Africa was strongly opposed to any view or interpretation that would place Blacks in the forefront of Biblical analysis. This can be seen in the fact that in the period between the fourth century and the Enlightenment in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries, “Europe recast the entire Bible into a saga of European people” and this hegemony has been accepted as fact by most bodies and institutions in the Western world.⁹ Consequently, many

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 399.

⁸ Aaron, David H., “How to Read the Bible.” *AJS Review* 31.1 (2007) pp. 173–175.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

scholars and leaders in Black theology have rejected and fought against various ideological assumptions; such as the “Curse of Ham” or curse of Canaan (Genesis 9:20-27), which has been used to justify prejudice, bigotry and even enslavement. Briefly, the Curse of Ham refers to the curse by Ham's father, Noah, placed on Ham's son, Canaan. This curse was due to the fact that Ham saw his father naked after a bout of drunkenness.

When Noah awoke from his wine and found out what his youngest son had done to him, he said,

"Cursed be Canaan!

The lowest of slaves

will he be to his brothers."

(Genesis 9:20-27)

There are many interpretations of this episode of Biblical scripture. Some critics see this as a justification for the conquest of the Canaanites by the Israelites. However, what is more important from the point of view of the thesis being discussed is that many commentators are of the view that “The “curse of Ham” had been used by some members of Abrahamic religions to justify racism and the enslavement of people of African ancestry, who were believed to be descendants of Ham”.¹⁰

This is a racist perspective that has been very damaging and was maintained until fairly recently by some theologians and scholars. However, while it has been largely abandoned by even the most conservative theologians the social and theological stigma of this interpretation of scripture still tends to have negative connotations in society.

One could go on to trace this central causative factor of the omission of an Afrocentric approach to the heritage of a colonialist and Eurocentric worldview, which has tended to dominate society during the past two centuries. Eurocentric perspectives in many disciplines were undoubtedly preferred and there was a bias towards what were perceived as ‘inferior’ African orientations. This can be ascribed to fundamental prejudice that was, and sometimes still is, a hallmark of the colonialist mentality. This view has resulted in criticism that the Bible in particular has been ‘recast’ and that there have over the decades been continuous efforts to ensure that the Bible ‘fits’ into the mould of a perception of religion that accords with and exclusively relates to “...an ancient religious drama of Euro-Asian Hebrews”.¹¹

This in essence refers to the central thesis of this dissertation; namely that there has been a biased and prejudicial view of religion that has been

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

¹¹ Hays, J. Daniel, “The Cushites: A Black Nation in the Bible.” *Bibliotheca Sacra* 153 (1996): 396–409.

expounded by a version of the Bible that favors a mainly Eurocentric and Hebraic worldview. The following quotation from *The African Heritage Study Bible* sums up this point of view.

Somewhere in Western history, a fraudulent view emerged, a view that sought to recast not only Mary but almost all biblical characters in a distinctly European light. Scholarly research has now demonstrated that, unlike typical European culture, the biblical ethos was without color prejudice”.¹²

The Bible and African Origins

One of the most obvious aspects of Biblical scholarship that provides clear proof and evidence of an African genesis and heritage in the Bible is the analysis of Biblical geography and the part that this geography plays in an understanding of the Biblical texts. An important example in this regard is that of Ethiopia. However, before discussing the Ethiopian context it is firstly important to understand the larger context of the geographical and historical context of the Bible and how this is related to an Afrocentric interpretation.

As many critics have pointed out one cannot adequately understand Biblical history, especially the history of the Old Testament if one does not take into account geographical factors that are intimately linked with cultural as well as ethnic factors. This also applies to the understanding and significance of many of the events and historical factors that we find in the Old Testament events and themes, which cannot be adequately understood apart from the geographical, cultural, and historical situation that existed.

As these commentators have pointed out, one has to take into account the original designation and historical context of the name Africa. “First of all, the name “Africa” was given to the Continent by Romans. Africa was also called Kemet, Libya, Ortegia, Corphyne, Egypt, Ethiopia and/or Sedan, Olympia, Hesperia, Oceania, and Ta-Merry”.¹³

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the ancient name for Africa was “Akebu-Lan”, which is translated as ‘mother of mankind’ or ‘Garden of Eden’¹⁴ and it was this name for Africa that was used by the Moors,

¹² Felder, Cain Hope, “Recovering Multiculturalism in Scripture”, *The African Heritage Study Bible*, Nashville, (Tenn: The James C. Winston Publishing Company, 1993, cxiv).

¹³ Mbiti, John, “Do You Understand What You Are Reading? The Bible in African Homes, Schools and Churches.” *Missionalia*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2005, p. 234.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 53.

Nubians, Numidians, Carthaginians and Ethiopians.¹⁵ This places ancient Biblical heritage soundly within an African mythical and geographical context

There are many Biblical references that can be cited which place the early events and history of the Bible in an African context. For example, Genesis 10:6-20 describes the descendants of Ham as being located in North Africa, as well as in Central Africa and Asia. In Psalm 105:23 the "Land of Ham" in Egypt is referred to: "Then Israel came to Egypt; Jacob sojourned in the land of Ham". In Genesis we have a reference to Nimrod, the son of Cush, whose name means 'black'. And in Genesis 11, we read that "Abraham was from Ur of the Chaldees, a land whose earliest inhabitants included blacks".¹⁶ These examples all attest to the African background and heritage of the Bible and the events therein.

Furthermore, these and many other Biblical references that have led a number of commentators to assert that there is a deep and intimate link between early Judaism and Africa. Some commentators have even gone so far as to suggest that "Judaism is the African way of life".¹⁷ This point of view is supported by the following argument.

Judaism was the religion developed in Africa by African people. It was adopted and adapted in a similar fashion to the Yoruba Orisha worship (Vodoun, Santeria, Lacumi, Condomble, etc) and is still being co-opted and altered by non-Africans today. To speak of an African influence on Judaism is like speaking of an African influence on Orisha Worship.¹⁸

These views are also supported by other insights and the connections between Africa as a cultural and geographical region and Biblical geography; for example, the belief that in an indigenous sense Egypt was known as Kemet or the 'Land of the Blacks'. This is also linked to the connection between the Mount Rwenzori Range in the east African and Egyptian ancestral origins.¹⁹ This is also connected to the view that Egyptian civilization had its origins in Ethiopia.

¹⁵ Felder, Cain Hope, "Recovering Multiculturalism in Scripture", *The African Heritage Study Bible*, Nashville, (Tenn: The James C. Winston Publishing Company, 1993, cxiv).

¹⁶ WEST, Gerald, "Reception of the Bible: The Bible in Africa." *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, 2015, p. 347.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 348.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

There are numerous references in the Old Testament to Ethiopia. The books of the Old Testament in fact cite Ethiopia more than forty times.²⁰ Both Egypt and Ethiopia are referred to many times in the Old Testament and this usage is seen as a common reference to Africa.²¹

Among the reasons given to support the view that Egyptian people were of Black heritage is the fact that, “The Romans didn't get to Egypt until 300 BC. There weren't any white people present before the Rome invasion”.²² The assumption that the origins of Christianity were Roman or Greek are therefore seriously questioned and deconstructed. This has led to the counter view that the original Christians were in fact Black people living in Africa in the Ethiopian and Egyptian regions. This is contrary to the conventional view of the Eurocentric dominance in common Biblical interpretations. As one critic asserts; “We have been told Christianity came from Rome. Does everything come from Europe? That is what we have been led to believe”.²³ The importance of the African continent however becomes even more obvious if we consider the Book of Genesis in more detail. In Genesis 2: 10-14, we read the following.

A river watering the garden flowed from Eden; from there it was separated into four headwaters. 11 The name of the first is the Pishon; it winds through the entire land of Havilah, where there is gold. 12 (The gold of that land is good; aromatic resin [a] and onyx are also there.) 13 The name of the second river is the Gihon; it winds through the entire land of Cush. [b] 14 The name of the third river is the Tigris; it runs along the east side of Asshur. And the fourth river is the Euphrates.²⁴

The Garden of Eden is therefore situated according to the text above in relation to four rivers. Both the Pishon and the Gihon are associated with ancient Cush – which refers to Ethiopia in the Hebrew.²⁵ This term, according to some scholars also refers to the ‘burnt – faced people’, which clearly indicates an African origin in the situation of the Garden of Eden. Taking into consideration the positioning of the other rivers mentioned in the Biblical text, one commentator goes on to state that, “... the ancient land of Canaan was, culturally and geographically, primarily an extension

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

²² Stenschke, Christoph W., “Africa Bible Commentary.” *Religion & Theology* 16.3–4 (2009), p. 299.

²³ West, Gerald, “Before the Missionaries: The Bible in North Africa.” *Missionalia*, vol. 36, no. 2-3, 2008, p. 242.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

of the African land mass.”²⁶ In essence this means that the origins of the Bible are strongly related to the African continent, which also suggests many other Afrocentric associations.

The above can also be linked to the the myth it concept of Pangea. This refers to the view that all the land masses of the earth were one connected into one large land-mass. This area of land was broken up after the great flood of Noah to form the continents as we know them today.

As the above discussion suggests, this means that the earliest origins of the Bible and humankind, and the story of the ‘Garden of Eden’, may have mythical roots in the concept of Pangea. This is clearly seen in the reference to Africa referred to above. However, this is an extremely elusive area of discourse and one in which any real archeological or historical data s extremely sparse.

There are numerous other examples from the Bible that can be cited. The point being made is that a close analysis of the Biblical texts strongly suggests that the original people spoken of in the Bible resided in Africa. As another study clearly indicates, “...the Bible provides extensive evidence that the earliest people were located in Africa...”²⁷ and that “Although Europeans (Greeks and Romans) began to feature in the more recent biblical narratives. The fact remains that the earliest biblical people...would have to be classified as blacks; they were of African descent and possessed African physical features”.^{28 29}

It is important to remember in an analysis of this nature that the African and multicultural reinterpretation of Biblical text is not in any sense intended as a ‘racist’ or ideological endeavor. As *The African Heritage Study Bible* states; “...the Bible reflects a genuine multiculturalism. Its pages are laced with racial and ethnic diversity”.³⁰ This is a central aspect that has already been referred to and should be kept in mind throughout this exploration of Afrocentric and multicultural perspectives in the Bible.

Biblical figures

Besides the view that the original people referred to in the book of Genesis were Black, there are many other biblical figures that can be identified as being of African heritage. In this regard one could for example discuss the cardinal figure of Mary, the mother of Jesus. Mary is typically

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 250

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 267

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 269

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 272

³⁰ Engelke, Matthew, “The Book, the Church and the ‘Incomprehensible Paradox’: Christianity in African History*.” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 29, no. 1, 2003, p. 297

referred to and depicted as a white European. However, many new studies of her historical origins assert a very different view and challenge a Eurocentric depiction of this figure. As an article from *The African Heritage Study Bible* indicates, a reading of the latest research would tend to suggest that the “...darker-skinned portrayals are proving to be the most ancient – and therefore the most likely to be accurate”.³¹ There is therefore a common misconception that many of the central biblical figures were white, including Noah, Abraham, Mary and Joseph. However, there are also numerous studies that suggest the opposite.

A good example from the Bible in this regard is Zipporah, Moses' Midianite wife. According to one commentator “This means that Zipporah's father, Laban was also black”.³² Another very obvious example from the Bible would be Lucius' comrade in Antioch, Simeon, who was known as Niger. As Gilmer states,

Niger simply means “black”. African nations and African people are quite prominent in biblical times. To say that the Bible is the white man's holy book or to suggest that it is European in origin or nature, is simply not taking into account the facts.³³

There is also compelling evidence that the Queen of Sheba was a Black African. (1 Kings 10:1). One could also refer to the passage from Psalm 68, which reads;

Envoys will come from Egypt;
Cush [h] will submit herself to God.
(Psalm 68: 31)

This refers again to the ancient African heritage and influence in the multifaceted biblical texts.

One of the most debated and controversial issues are of course the color of Jesus. As one study on this topic clearly states, “His mother, Mary, was Afro-Asiatic and probably looked like a typical Yemenite, Trinidadian, or African American of today”.³⁴ This view of Mary is substantiated by the many ‘Black Madonna’s’ that have been found throughout the world.

Literally hundreds of Shrines of the Black Madonna have existed in many parts of North Africa, Europe, and Russia. These are not weather-beaten misrepresentations of some original white Madonna, but uncanny reminders of the original people who inhabited ancient Palestine at the time of Jesus of Nazareth and earlier.³⁵

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 299.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

This would therefore lead to the conclusion that the " 'Sweet Little Jesus Boy' of the Negro spiritual was in fact quite black".³⁶ The process of the 'reinvention' of the Christ Child as a blond haired and very white little boy was therefore created by artists under the guidance of ecclesiastical authorities who wanted to project a certain Eurocentric image of Christianity.

With the marvelous oils and watercolors of the painter's brush, the world gradually witnessed the rebirth of Jesus, as medieval and Renaissance artists made him suitable for the portrayal of Christianity as a "European" religion. Thus there developed a brand new manger scene, with the infant Jesus and his parents reimaged. Ancient darker, and clearly more African, icons were discarded or destroyed.³⁷

There is therefore a considerable amount of evidence which points to the Black origins and ethnic identity of many central figures in the Bible who have commonly been assumed to be white or European. This evidence is also indicative of the central concern of Biblical veracity and truth. This refers to the fact that the Bible should not become biased in any sense towards one group, culture or ethnicity. It is a multicultural and multiracial text, which is intended to provide access to the truth of enlightenment for everyone and not only to a certain selected few. This is a central point of the present thesis and one that is continually reiterated by many studies and articles on this important issue.

In essence, therefore many studies assert that a 'de-Africanization' of the Bible and of central Biblical figures took place over the centuries. "This academic racism sought to de-Africanize both the sacred story of the Bible and Western civilization".³⁸ This view is important for a number of reasons.

In the first place, as suggested above, it detracts from the truth and veracity of the Bible. Secondly it has important consequences in terms of denying many cultures and peoples their rightful heritage in relation to Biblical and religious knowledge. It has the all-important consequence of making many people in Africa and other cultures feel that they are marginalized and somehow inferior, which is certainly not the case in reality.

There is a plethora of archeological and historical evidence of the early African origins of the Bible that can be cited. For example, the ancient

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 309.

³⁸ Strauss, Piet. "The History, Acceptance and Impact of the Afrikaans Bible of 1933 - An Overview." *Tydskrif Vir Geesteswetenskappe*, vol. 56, no. 3, 2016, p. 733.

Sumerians were linked to the Elamites, who were the first group of Semitic people cited in the Old Testament. (Gen. 10:22).³⁹ This is significant as

The Elamites were a black-skinned and woolly-haired people as the colorful glazed artwork on the royal palace walls of the ancient Persian city of Susa clearly show. Thus Abraham, the native of Sumerian and the founding father of the Israelite nation, was a black man.⁴⁰

The Black origins of the Patriarchs of the bible are a fact that has been neglected or purposely dismissed in most common contemporary textual reference and analyses of the Bible. These biased views have however been challenged by many contemporary historians and theologians who suggest a radical re-visioning of Biblical history to ensure that the ethnic identity of the early Hebrews is clarified. This will also become clear and will be explored in the following sections of the present study.

Another argument as to the ethnic heritage of the Biblical figures in the Old Testament is that when Abraham and his twelve sons migrated from Canaan to Egypt, their stay in Egypt and the expansion of the number of their community to more than three million people strongly suggests intermixing with the Egyptians, who were a Black people. As One commentator notes,

During their sojourn in Egypt the Children of Israel multiplied from being a family of 70 souls to a nation of over 3 million people at the time of the Exodus which took place in 1612 B.C. This astounding number of people in so short a time can only be adequately explained by intermarriage between the family of Jacob and the native Egyptian populace. It is an established fact that the ancient Egyptians were a black African people. Thus, even if the Hebrews were not black before they arrived in Egypt, which is unlikely given Abraham's background, they were definitely black by the time they left Egypt under Moses.⁴¹

The above is quoted at length as it seems to provide a very cogent and clear proof of the African and multicultural origins of many of the central Biblical figures – which tends to contradict Eurocentric views and perceptions. There is also proof of this view from other historical sources; for example, the historian Tacitus stated that, "... it was a common opinion among the Romans that the Jews "were an Ethiopian race."⁴² And "In

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 734.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 734.

⁴¹ Ukpong, Justin S. "New Testament Hermeneutics in Africa: Challenges and Possibilities." *Neotestamentica*, vol. 35, no. 1-2, 2001, p. 147.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 147.

Roman times Palestinian Israelites were classed among Black Africans because it was almost impossible to tell them apart”.⁴³

From a biblical – historical perspective many experts claim that, "Christianity in Africa is so old that it can be rightly described as an indigenous, traditional and African religion".⁴⁴ In other words, this would suggest that Christianity has much deeper roots and origins in Africa than is commonly suggested by conventional interpretations of the Bible. This can be further substantiated by the fact that the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch described in the Book of Acts "...predates the Apostle Paul's first missionary journey into Europe by a number of years".⁴⁵

The eunuch asked Philip, "Tell me, please, who is the prophet talking about, himself or someone else?"

Then Philip began with that very passage of Scripture and told him the good news about Jesus. (Acts 8:34-35).

This also leads to an analysis of the significance of the growth and spread of early Christianity in African regions such as Ethiopia, and to the assertion that, "There is growing evidence that the long-standing presence of Christianity in the Nile Valley and in present-day Ethiopia provided a base for the introduction of Christianity in Southern and Western Africa".⁴⁶ This view would therefore contradict the stance that Christianity is a religion that is essentially or even exclusively white or Eurocentric. As one critic emphasizes; "The Christian heritage in Africa goes all the way back to the days of the Bible itself".⁴⁷

Conclusion: the growing need for reassessment

The above discussion has selected only a few of the most important references to the African and multicultural origins of Biblical history and interpretation. This analysis brings to the fore the realization of the need for a reassessment of an overly Eurocentric view of Biblical texts. This stance is emphasized in the writings of Marcus Garvey Jnr., who places the significance of Africa and Biblical history into a new and possibly more authentic light.

The great progenitor of the Hebrew race and the founder of their religion, sought refuge in Africa from the ravages of famine. We read in Gen. XII, 10, "And there was a famine in

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁴⁵ Glenn B. Siniscalchi, "Was Jesus God?" *Faith and Philosophy*, vol. 27, no. 3, 2010, p. 355

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 356.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 356.

the land; and Abram went down into Egypt to sojourn there, for the famine was severe in the land". Jacob and his sons were subsequently saved from extinction in the same way... In Africa, the Hebrew people from three score and ten souls multiplied into millions.⁴⁸

This quotation reiterates some of the points mentioned above. The overarching perception that is evident from this exploration of the validity of African and multicultural Biblical origins is that there has been a systematic attempt to deny certain ethnic groups their rightful place in Biblical history. This has therefore led to a concerted effort from theological historians other experts to reassess and reestablish the African Biblical Heritage.

It was for this reason that *The Original African Heritage Study Bible* was published in 1993 by James C. Winston Publishing Company. The intention of this publication was to "...interpret the Bible as it relates to persons of African descent, hoping to foster an appreciation of the multiculturalism inherent in the Bible"⁴⁹ Among the facets that make this Bible version so important for a re-visioning of the place of Black people in Biblical history, is its focus on the African origins of Eden and references to the Biblical figures of African Descent. It also contains "...maps of Africa and illustrations of Bible characters -- Moses, Jesus, Mary -- all with dark skin and curly hair".⁵⁰

This work is based on the King James Version of the Bible but emphasizes the imports and even pivotal role that the African people and culture played in the history of Christian and Judaic religion. To this end James W. Peebles, president of Winston-Derek Publishing House, brought together an ecumenical panel of scholars and experts from various denominations of Christianity. This panel was instrumental in drawing from a wide range of Christian denominations to author articles supplementing the KJV text on topics such as multiculturalism in Scripture and the role African women and Scripture.⁵¹

The intention of this Bible version is not to force an African interpretation in place of a Eurocentric version of Biblical truth, but rather to stress the diversity and multicultural reality and ethos of the Bible. It is

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 357.

⁴⁹ Faulks, Michael E. "African Identity in Christian Epistemology: Remembering, Restoring. Restoring. and Reclaiming Ancestral Ties in an African Methodist Episcopal Church." *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*, 2013, p. 53.

⁵⁰ WEST, G., (2015), Reception of the bible: The bible in Africa. In *The New Cambridge History of the Bible* (pp. 347–390).

<https://doi.org/10.1017/CHO9780511842870.025>.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 384.

also intended to redress the imbalance that has until comparatively recently been predominantly white and Eurocentric.

The view mentioned above, that some feel that an Afrocentric interpretation and assessment of the Bible is something that is threatening is based on mistaken bias and a misinterpretation of what Afrocentrism wishes to achieve. The Afrocentric interpretation of the Bible is actually "...deeply liberating for us all".⁵² The concept of Afrocentrism should not be misread to mean a biased ideological claim to the Bible. What becomes evident from the extensive literature on this subject is that there is a need to balance perceptions and remove prejudicial views of the Bible in order to provide for those ethnic groups that have been marginalized from their rightful religious and Biblical heritage.

In conclusion, the following central points have emerged from the present study of the literature.

- It is clear that the role and importance of The African origins of Biblical history have not been fully recognized and accepted until comparatively recently.

- The significance of an Afrocentric view or interpretation of the Bible and Biblical history has, it seems, been in many instances purposefully avoided or suppressed.

- This suppression of African voices and influences is linked to attempts to reduce the importance and significance of the African people and is also closely linked to wider political and social factors, such as the aims and goals of colonialism.

- It has been suggested by many pundits that the reduction of the Afrocentric viewpoint can be directly related to a desire to impose a Eurocentric view of reality and salvation- which in turn provided a form of moral validity to various forms of oppression.

- One of the most significant aspects of the denial of an Afrocentric viewpoint is that it reduces African self-esteem and the right to an equal part in the history of Christian faith and enlightenment.

- These views and attitudes are changing. The advent of reinterpretations and reassessments of the Bible from a more Afrocentric perspective have allowed for a more realistic and inclusive view of Biblical history, which attempts to provide for a more correct and balanced view of the reality of the origins of Judaism and Christianity.

- In the final analysis the Afrocentric view of the Bible is not intended as an exclusive view that refers only to Africa but stresses the fact that the Bible and scripture is multicultural, multiracial and, most importantly, is intended for the enlightenment of all humanity and not just a few.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 385.

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THE NATURE AND MEANS OF REALIZING TRUTH – THE GANDHIAN PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract: *The article in three parts is an attempt at an exposition of the nature and means of realizing truth from the Gandhian perspective. Part one deals with the Gandhian conception of Truth as God, the Eternal Principle that includes the principles of conduct like brahmacarya, celibacy, and truth in thought, word and deed. Part two comprises the exposition of brahmacarya, anāsaktiyoga and satyāgraha adopted by Gandhi as the important means of realizing the Truth. And in part three it is pointed out that in spite of his relentless search after the Truth, what Gandhi could have were only its fleeting glimpses. In conclusion, it is held that Gandhi could not have the full glimpse of the Truth probably because the means he followed were not only inadequate and preliminary, but also misplaced.*

Keywords: *Truth, Gandhi, Eternal Principle.*

Introduction

As a born *sanātani* Hindu, and as one who believed in the Vedas, the *Upanisads*, the *Purāṇas* and all that goes by the name of the Hindu scriptures, Gandhi dedicated his life to the Hindu creed of the search for Truth, through non-violent means. He led a life of relentless pursuit after Truth and aimed at attaining *mokṣa* - liberation or becoming free from the cycle of birth and death by realizing Truth. According to Gandhi, Truth is the Sovereign Principle which includes numerous other principles like *brahmacarya*, nonviolence, etc. Truth is not only truthfulness in word, but truthfulness in thought and action¹. It is not only the relative truth of our conception, but the Absolute Truth, that is Brahman which is without attributes and without a beginning and end. Brahman is immaculate, omnipotent and omnipresent. It is bliss, the attainment of which amounts

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¹ Gandhi, M., *Karamchand*, An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth, Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1924, p. XI.

to Self-realization.² Gandhi regarded Truth alone as certainty, and all that appears and happens about and around us as uncertain and transient. It is wrong to expect certainties in this world. “One would be blessed if one could catch a glimpse of that and hitch one’s wagon of woes to it. The quest for that Truth is the summum bonum of life”³, says Gandhi.

The Truth with which Gandhi is concerned is neither abstract nor academic, but practical. To him, Truth is not the agreement of an idea with a fact; it is not the harmony of a part with the whole; nor is Truth the expediency of an idea or a belief. Truth does not involve the principles of correspondence, coherence or pragmatism. It does not pertain to the laws of identity, contradiction or sufficient reason. On the contrary, the Gandhian Truth refers to the Eternal Principle which governs the principles of our conduct like truthfulness in word, thought and action. It includes the principles of celibacy, humility and service. Realization of the Absolute Truth consists in the practical application of the principles of conduct which are embedded in it. Particular truths are different aspects of the Absolute Truth.

One should shape one’s life in accordance with Truth. It is only then that one can know Truth in its ultimate sense. Truth is a straight path to God. It alone can steer clear of the conflicting creeds and customs, and lead us to the One God. That is why Gandhi gave his Autobiography the title “*The Story of My Experiments With Truth*”. Gandhi is deeply convinced that there is no other God than Truth. In the beginning, he believed in God, the Ultimate Reality, and the Supreme Power. He said “God is Truth”⁴. But later in his life, he declared, “Truth is God”. He argued that while God is denied by many, none dare deny Truth. Even the atheist or the sceptic, should admit the Truth of one’s own perception. To deny the Truth of one’s own experience, is to deny oneself and one’s own existence⁵. Man’s chief need is to know God and worship Him in spirit and in truth. Although a devout Hindu, he preferred Hinduism to all other religions as a way of life. Gandhi was religious, not in its sectarian sense but in the broadest and deepest sense of Self-realization. To him, religion is attaining Self-knowledge by seeking Truth directly through selfless service to humanity. His life was religious, in the sense of a long and steadfast pursuit after spiritual freedom. All that he did in his life – speaking, writing and struggle for the emancipation of the masses– was aimed at the goal of realizing Truth. In his quest for Truth, Gandhi sacrificed the whole

² Gandhi, M., *Karamchand*, Hindu Dharma, Orient Paperbacks, 1995, pp 18 & 37.

³ Gandhi, M., *Karamchand*, An Autobiography, p. 210.

⁴ Gandhi, M., *Karamchand*, An Autobiography, p. XI.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 175 – 77.

of his life and trod the path of *satyagraha* by leading a life of *ahimsā* and *brahmacarya*. Gandhi said,

“There are innumerable definitions of God, because His manifestations are innumerable. They overwhelm me with wonder and awe and for a moment stun me. But I worship God as Truth only. I have not yet found Him, but I am seeking after him. I am prepared to sacrifice things dearest to me in pursuit of His quest. Even if the sacrifice demanded be my very life, I hope, I may be prepared to give it”⁶.

Gandhi identifies Truth with Love. “*Ahimsā*” means “identification of oneself with everything that lives.” Grounded in the nature of God, love is the cohesive force that binds all the animate beings. Human existence is rooted in love which is the law of our being. To Gandhi, *satya* and *ahimsā* are so intertwined that it is impossible to disentangle them. Truth and love are convertible terms. Love is the reverse side of the coin, of which the obverse is Truth. Nevertheless, Gandhi regards love and nonviolence as means for attaining Truth.

Means to Truth

Gandhi regarded *brahmacarya*, *anāsaktiyoga* and *satyāgraha* as important ways for realizing Truth. “*Brahmacarya*” means “celibacy” of “complete control over the senses.”⁷ It is freedom from lust in thought, word and deed. Control of the palate, is the first essential in the observance of the vow of *brahmacarya*. Control of the palate through experiments in food intake makes the observance of celibacy easy. A *brahmacāri* eats only to live, and is frugal in food habits. A *brahmacāri*’s food is simple, spiceless and even uncooked, if possible. A *brahmacāri* is neither an eggarian nor a lacto-vegetarian, but a frugarian whose ideal food is limited to fresh or sun-baked fruits and nuts.

A celibate should gain immunity from passion, by abjuring egg and milk. Fasting is an integral part of *brahmacarya*. For overpowering the senses, fasting is more effective than mere restriction in diet. Since the senses are powerless without food, fasting undertaken with a view to control them is very helpful. Fasting should not be a mechanical affair of merely keeping the body without food. The mind should also be under control, without ruminating upon the delicacies that one desires to consume after the fasting is terminated. Thinking about what one is going to eat and drink after the fast, does not help in controlling the senses, the

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 228.

⁷ Gandhi, Ramchandra, “*Brahmacarya*.” *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, vol. 15, no. 1-2, 1981, p. 204.

palate, or lust. Fasting is useful only when the mind co-operates with the striving body, by cultivating distaste for the objects that are denied to it.

Brahmacarya in its full sense is possible only when thought is under the complete control of the will. Along with human effort, firm faith in the existence of God “within” is essential for the control of the involuntary thoughts of the mind. Since the mind is the root of sensuality, fasting without the mind-control is of a little use. Nevertheless, fasting is indispensable for the observance of *brahmacarya*, for, extinction of sexual passion is as a rule impossible without fasting. “The sense objects turn away from an abstemious soul, leaving the relish behind. The relish also disappears with the realization of the Highest. Therefore, His name and His grace are the last resources of the aspirant after moksa”,⁸ says Gandhi. He repudiates the view that the soul has nothing to do with what one eats and drinks. He firmly believes in the truth of the Indian proverb that “as a man eats, so shall he become”. In this, he even refused to honour Caraka’s dictum that religious scruples about diet have no place in therapeutics. He holds that for a seeker of Truth, restraint in diet both in quantity and quality is as essential as restraint in thought and speech. He is firmly convinced that a seeker can secure enough nourishment both for the nerves and tissues, from fruits like grapes and nuts like almonds⁹. *Brahmacarya* not only means conforming oneself to the monogamous ideal of being faithful to one’s wife, but also the observance of celibacy even with respect to her. Faithfulness to one’s wife does not consist in making her the instrument of one’s lust. So long as one is a slave to lust, one’s faithfulness is worth nothing. Lustful attachment to one’s wife is a barrier to *brahmacarya*¹⁰.

Sexual union is meant not for the fulfillment of lust, but procreation. Sexual act is not as natural as sleeping or eating, since it is meant only for the generation of our progeny. The world depends for its existence on this act of generation, which should be controlled for the ordered growth of the world, the playground of God and the reflection of His glory. The one who realizes this truth will control one’s lust at any cost, and equip oneself with the knowledge required for the all-round well-being of the progeny. Gandhi followed the monogamous ideal, and regarded faithfulness to his wife as a part of his search for Truth. A perfect observance of monogamy and celibacy with respect to his wife, meant the realization of Brahman to him.

The vow of *brahmacarya*, in this sense, took him closer to Truth. It gave him the knowledge that in *brahmacarya* lies the protection of the body, the mind and the soul. Practicing *brahmacarya* is like walking on the

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 174 & 175.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

sword's edge as it required eternal vigilance. To him, *brahmacarya* was not only a hard penance, but also a matter of ever increasing consolation and joy¹¹. Gandhi holds that it is necessary to take a vow for overcoming an obstacle. A vow is a natural and an inevitable outcome of a clear perception that a particular thing must be renounced. A vow is a sure shield against temptation and a source of definite action, for it is an offshoot of aversion for something abjured. A vow opens the door to real freedom, whereas mere effort implies subtle desire for the thing to be avoided.

According to Gandhi, *anāsaktiyoga* is another means of realizing Truth. “*Anāsaktiyoga*” means “selfless service to humanity.” Gandhi calls it the *karmayoga* of rendering service devoid of *āsakti*. He regards it as a sure means of human salvation, since it emancipates the soul by leading it to a vision of Truth. So, Gandhi took to the path of disinterested service as a means for Self-realization. Like loyalty, an aptitude for nursing and helping people, whether relatives, friends or strangers, came to Gandhi without his seeking for it. Deep rooted in his nature, since his childhood, the desire for serving others gradually developed into a passion so much that it often led him to neglect his work and entrust it to his wife and children. In fact, Gandhi travelled to South Africa, for finding an escape from *Kathiawad* intrigues and for earning his livelihood. But he found himself in search of Truth through service to the Indians there. His deep desire for Selfrealization was the reason behind his absorption in the service of the indentured Indian labourers.

Gandhi made the religion of service his own and tirelessly strove for the liberation of the masses from the scourge of the apartheid¹².¹⁰ Gandhi regarded liberty and self-respect as the most essential aspects of human personality. They are superior even to literary training. When a choice has to be made between freedom and learning, the former has to be preferred a thousand times to the latter. He opined that it is better to remain unlettered and break stones for the sake of liberty, than having literary education in the chains of slaves. Man is of the nature of both divinity and dignity, the transcendent and the immanent, which constitute the whole of a human being¹³.¹¹ Love and joy are the basis of service. Service should not be done for show or for fear of public opinion. Service which is rendered without love and joy helps neither the servant nor the served. All other pleasures and possessions pale into nothing before service rendered in a spirit of pure love and joy¹⁴.¹² That is why Gandhi relinquished the desire

¹¹ Kohda, Gentatsu. “On Brahmacarya.” *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* (*Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu*), vol. 16, no. 1, 1967, p. 189.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 168.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

for wealth and attachment to children. He lived the life of a *vānaprastha* - one who has retired from household cares. He felt that possession of wealth and attachment to children are inconsistent with public service. True humility is essential for selfless service of others. A seeker after Truth should be humble for only the humblest of the humble can have a glimpse of Truth.

A person who feels oneself honoured by humiliating one's fellow beings can never realize Truth. "The true connotation of humility is self-effacement. Self-effacement is salvation (*mokṣa*). Service without humility is selfishness and egotism."¹⁵ Gandhi fought for the rights of the Indians in South Africa, and liberated them from their hardships. He felt that it would be selfish and cowardice to return to India without redeeming the Indians from their inhuman and shameful condition. He took several measures to improve their lot. He fought against racial prejudice, the defranchising bill, and the bill of imposing tax on the indentured Indians. He made the Indian community recognize the need for keeping their houses and surroundings clean. He made them engage in voluntary sanitary measures, and protect themselves from epidemics. It was with infinite patience that he reformed the Indians who were a slave to their habits. Thus, Gandhi not only strived to ventilate their grievances and pressed for their rights, but also worked for their self-purification. He found new implications of Truth, while serving the Indians in South Africa. He said, "Truth is like a vast tree, which yields more and more fruit, the more you nurture it. The deeper the search in the mine of Truth, the richer the discovery of the gems buried there, in the shape of openings for an ever greater variety of service"¹⁶.

According to Gandhi, disinterested action is its own reward. He did not expect anything, not even gifts for his public service. He firmly believed that a public servant should not accept any costly articles. In South Africa, he returned all the gifts of diamond, gold and silver bestowed on him for his service. He created a trust of them, and used the trust money for the service of the community¹⁷. This event may be said to be the harbinger of Gandhi's socio-economic conception of trusteeship (*dharmakatṛtva*), which advocates that no person has a right to own property, since all the resources of Nature belong to the Almighty and all of us are children of the One God. The rich should become the trustees of their wealth, and use it for the welfare of the community. In espousing unconditional service to others, Gandhi reminds us of the Kantian deontological principle that "duty is for duty's sake". Just as a diamond shines in its own light, action done with a

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

sense of duty is intrinsically good, irrespective of the nature of its consequences. In rendering service to people, Gandhi does not subscribe to Mill's utilitarian principle - the greatest good of the greatest number. He says that service should not be limited to a majority, but should be extended to all including the weakest of the weak. His concept of *sarvodaya*, welfare of all, is founded on the principle of *antyodaya*, the welfare of the last and the least. Thus, Gandhi's *anāsaktiyoga* not only connotes selfless action, but also denotes service to all, cutting across race and class. *Satyāgraha* is yet another means that Gandhi adopted for the realization of Truth. He says that the freedom and joy he experienced in *brahmacharya*, laid a foundation for *satyāgraha*. *Satyāgraha* was not a preconceived plan but an attitude that came to him spontaneously, without his willing for it. All the previous steps he took in the name of *brahmacharya*, naturally led him up to the goal of *satyāgraha*. As though unknown to him, the vow of *brahmacharya* had been preparing him for it. Gandhi describes *satyāgraha* as the science of experiments with Truth. Although difficult to practice, *satyāgraha* is the quickest and easiest path to Self-knowledge. "*Satyāgraha*" means "firmness born of adherence to Truth". Since Truth is synonymous with love, *satyāgraha* also means the force born of love.¹⁸¹⁶ It is not the same as the Passive Resistance, which the nonconformist English launched against the British disapproving the unjust laws in South Africa. Passive Resistance is basically a weapon of the weak, and it may ultimately result in brute-force, and use of arms. As there is no scope for love in it, it can be used against the enemy alone. Moreover, it can only pose a threat to the opponent, but cannot change the opponent's heart. Devoid of soul-force, Passive Resistance cannot make the resister strong. Whereas *satyāgraha*, devoid of brute force, works on the pure and simple principle of love-force. It is not a weapon of the weak in strength, or of the few in numbers. There is absolutely no room for the use of weapons in *satyāgraha*. A *satyāgrahi* never resorts to physical force even on occasions, when he can use it effectively¹⁹.

Satyāgraha never poses a threat or a danger to the opponent. It can be offered not only to the "enemy", but also to the nearest and the dearest. It eschews weakness and instills strength in the *satyāgrahi*, who never gives up and knows no defeat¹⁸, says Gandhi. *Satyāgraha* is a non-violent noncooperation to make the opponent realize the Truth without hurting him in the least. It is a combination of great love for truth and strong opposition to untruth. It is the resistance of love-force against the will of

¹⁸ Gandhi, M., *Karamchand*, Satyagraha in South Africa, Tr. Valji Govindji Desai, Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1923, p. 102.

¹⁹ Bhagavan, Manu, "Aishwary Kumar. Radical Equality: Ambedkar, Gandhi, and the Risk of Democracy." *The American Historical Review*, vol. 121, no. 5, 2016, p. 1638

the tyrant. It is not a meek submission but a conscious self-suffering without fear, anger, malice or coercion. It is a conquest over the adversary, by suffering in one's own person. *Satyagraha* is the vindication of truth by inflicting pain on oneself. Civility is an important, and the most difficult part of *satyāgraha*. Civility in *satyāgraha* is not a mere outward gentleness of speech cultivated for the occasion, but an inborn desire to do good to the opponent. Treating the opponent as an enemy spoils *satyāgraha* like a drop of arsenic in milk²⁰.¹⁹ Gandhi says that *satyāgraha* is founded on the optimism that although we cannot totally eradicate the evil "within", we can definitely control it by constant effort. *Satyāgraha* uncovers the opponent's concealed motives, gives best possible interpretation to them and enables the opponent to discard one's baser impulses²¹. *Satyāgraha* is weaning the opponent away from hatred, and converting him with patience and sympathy without annihilating him. It is impossible to inject new ideas into one's head by chopping it off. It is foolish to try to infuse a new spirit into one's heart by piercing it with a dagger! Gandhi says, "Satyāgraha is the exact opposite of the policy of an-eye-for-an-eye attitude, which ends in making everybody blind"²².

Gandhi is of the view that one has to take recourse to *satyāgraha* only when all the other ways of reconciliation fail. Before launching upon *satyāgraha*, a *satyāgrahi* must seek redressal of one's grievances by constantly approaching the opponent and putting them before the public. A constant interaction between the contestants with a view to their ultimate reconciliation is an essential part of *satyāgraha*. *Satyāgraha* should be resorted to only upon the call of the inner voice. A *satyāgrahi* may ultimately take recourse to the final and the most effective part of *satyāgraha*, namely, fasting unto death which quickens the awakening of the sleeping conscience of the opponent²³.

In South Africa, Gandhi adopted *satyāgraha* to liberate the Indians from their hardships. The conditions of the Indians there, were so appalling that they were being treated as slaves, untouchables and criminals. They were not allowed to enter public places like railway stations, and even prevented from walking on pavements. They were confined to live in separate localities, amidst worst living conditions. They had freedom neither to trade nor to move from place to place. They were deprived of the right to vote, and to marry, subjected to unjust taxation, and debarred from possessing land. Gandhi himself was a victim of the racial prejudice practiced by the British. He was beaten, thrown out of a

²⁰ Fischer, Louis, *The Life of Mahatma*, New York: Harper & Row, 1983, p. 433.

²¹ Gandhi, M., *Karamchand*, An Autobiography, p. 364.

²² Fischer, Louis, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

running train, and denied food and accommodation in hotels. He received serious threats to his life on several occasions.

Consequently, he resolved to emancipate the Indians by means of *satyāgraha*. He resorted to *satyāgraha* after he exhausted all the other peaceful means of redressal. He founded the Natal Indian Congress in 1894, and led the Indians to fight against the British on the lines of *satyāgraha*. The Christian clergymen in South Africa hailed *satyāgraha* as Christianity in action, against the system that merely called itself “Christian”²⁴. Since similar conditions prevailed in India, Gandhi adopted the means of *satyāgraha* to liberate Indians from the colonial yoke. To begin with, he launched upon *satyāgraha* in Kheda district in Gujarat to save the peasants from paying land revenue as they had suffered a severe famine. In 1919, he established the *satyāgraha sabha* wherein several people enrolled themselves and signed the pledge of resistance. Later, he offered *satyāgraha* as a resistance to the Rowlatt Act recommendations to which no self-respecting people could submit. Subsequently, he offered *satyāgraha* on several occasions against the British rule, and contributed substantially for gaining *Swarāj* - political freedom for India. Gandhi said that it was his devotion to Truth that had brought him to politics²⁵. The religion of Truth is all encompassing. It is wrong to separate it from politics. “Those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means”²⁶, he averred. Thus, Gandhi all his life strived hard to realize Truth through *brahmacharya*, *anāsaktiyoga* and *satyāgraha*.

The Truth he tried to seek through them was the Absolute Spirit or God, the Eternal and the Universal Principle “within” and “without”. But such Truth, as Gandhi himself confessed, always eluded him. What he could attain through his experiments with Truth were only its “little fleeting glimpses”²⁷. What he could catch was only “the faintest glimmer of that mighty effulgence”²⁸ which is a million times more intense than that of the Sun. Gandhi admitted that he did not have the triple purity of being non-violent in thought, word and deed, for having a full glimpse of Truth. He could not achieve absolute freedom from passion, in spite of his ceaseless effort. He still experienced the dormant passion lying hidden in him. He had to traverse further the difficult path of self-purification by reducing himself to a zero. He had, yet, to put himself last among his fellow creatures, and attain the ability to love the meanest of creation as

²⁴ Gandhi, M., *Karamchand*, Sarvodaya, Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1954, p. 91.

²⁵ Gandhi, M., *Karamchand*, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, p. 42.

²⁶ Gandhi, M., *Karamchand*, *An Autobiography*, p. 420.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 419.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 420.

himself. It was only then, he hoped, he could see Truth face to face. So he prayed to the God of Truth that He might grant him the boon of *ahimsā* in mind, word and action. But Gandhi at the same time, and paradoxically enough, says that it is impossible for human beings to realize the perfect Truth. He affirms that we can never fully grasp the Absolute Truth, since it is not easy to attain Absolute perfection by practicing non-violence. As long as we are alive, it is impossible for us to be absolutely non-violent.

Gandhi as a Karma-Yogi

It may be held that although Gandhi claimed that his experiments were for the Absolute Truth, they were mostly confined to the conventional truth relating to one's own convictions, belief and opinions. The experiments comprised adherence to facts, to the principles of not uttering a lie, not eating meat, being faithful to one's wife and parents. Gandhi himself confessed that all his life long it was the relative truth, the truth of one's conception that was his beacon, shield and buckler. It may be maintained that the truth that Gandhi followed in his life was more scientific than spiritual. Spiritual Truth is One and its realization is final and absolute. Once it is realized, there is no question of revising or substituting it for another. There is no scope for progress or evolution in respect of the absolute Truth. But since the truth that Gandhi practiced was relative and circumstantial, it required him to discard the views proved to be false and accept the ones that appeared to be true under the given circumstances. Like a scientist, he advanced from one truth to another. He says, "My aim is not to be consistent with my previous statements on a given question, but to be consistent with the truth as it may present itself to me at a given moment. The result is that I have grown from truth to truth"²⁹.

It may be argued that Gandhi failed to realize the absolute Truth in its totality in spite of his lifelong striving for it, probably because the means he chose were inadequate, though not wrong. The means were inadequate, in the sense that he followed only the primary steps of *Patanjali's Aṣṭāṅgayoga*, and Buddha's *Aṣṭāṅgamārga*. He seems to have observed the first five steps of *aṣṭāṅgayoga*, namely, *yama*, *niyama*, *āsana*, *prāṇāyāma* and *pratyahāra*. He did not seem to have gone to the extent of practising the remaining three steps, namely, *dhāraṇa*, *dhyāna* and *samādhi*³⁰.

Similarly, it may be said that Gandhi sincerely followed the first five steps of *Aṣṭāṅgamārga*, namely, right view, right thought, right speech, right

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

³⁰ Bligh, Michelle C., and Jill L. Robinson. "Was Gandhi 'charismatic'? Exploring the Rhetorical Leadership of Mahatma Gandhi." *Leadership Quarterly*, vol. 21, no. 5, 2010, p. 846.

action, and right livelihood. But he could not devote his attention to the higher steps of the path, namely, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. Can the supreme Truth that is omniscient and omnipresent be realized through the vow of *brahmacarya* and *satyāgraha*? Is not Self knowledge a matter of intuition arising out of the understanding of the nature and the structure of the embodied Self? Does not it warrant a deeper contemplation, a meditation transcending the activities like prayer, fasting, celibacy and service which are only preliminary steps to the realization of the transcendental Truth? To extend the point further, Gandhi tried to realize Truth by making the senses and the mind powerless through fasting, celibacy and the power of will. It seems his experiments with Truth involved lot of struggle, effort and conflict. He was of the view that an individual can be chastised by constant suffering. It is only through suffering that one can enrich one's happiness, in its mundane and spiritual sense. Even collective salvation is possible through self-suffering only. But Selfrealization in its true sense, involves not the suppression but the liberation and flowering of the senses and the mind. It implies the capacity of the senses to respond fully to the stimuli, and the ability of the mind to perceive holistically, without a sense of division. For the realization of the transcendental Truth, more than celibacy, service and power of will, what is required is a steadfast mindfulness, an undivided awareness of the nature and the structure of the conditioned body-mind complex.

Evidently, Gandhi had hardly any time for such a kind of meditation, as he was fully involved in worldly affairs. As a result, he became a true martyr who "passed away" after accomplishing the task he was destined to. He became a historic figure - a Great Soul / *Mahātma*. Undoubtedly, Gandhi was a great *karmayogi*. As a man of action, his contributions to India and the world at large are spectacular. But, in spite of, his yeoman service to humanity, Gandhi could not attain the *summum bonum* of his life, namely, the complete realization of the God of Truth. He failed to realize the Absolute Truth probably because Truth is more a matter of *jñānayoga* than *karmayoga*. It is accessible to pure insight (*Prājñā*), and not to sociopolitical activity. It seems, Gandhi's means to Self-realization are not only preliminary, but also inadequate.

Conclusion

To conclude, had Gandhi concentrated on the realization of Truth through the spiritual means of *śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nidhidhyāsana*, besides trying to comprehend it through the moral means of *brahmacarya*, non-violence and service, Gandhi might have become a great *jñānayogi*.

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THE UNION AND ITS PROBLEMS IN THE SPEECHES OF THREE POLITICIANS: BRĂȚIANU, VAIDA-VOIEVOD AND COROIANU

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Abstract: *Abstract: After the unification of Transylvania with Romania and the creation of Great Romania, the country made efforts to maintain peace and, at the same time, to defend the eastern and western borders. During the Paris peace conference, Prime Minister Brătianu conflicted with the allies because of the problem regarding the rights granted to minorities, and therefore to the Jews, a minority that had, in the past, in 1878, been the subject of a similar conflict. Article 61 of the peace treaty with Austria gave the minorities a special status, unlike the Romanians, which dissatisfied the prime minister who advocated for similar citizenship rights and equality for all the inhabitants of Romania. At the same time, by accepting that condition, it would have given the Great Powers the opportunity to mix in the country's internal affairs; therefore, Romania's independence and suzerainty were directly concerned.*

Keywords: *union, brothers, freedom, Jews, constitution.*

Introduction

The First World War or the Great War, as it appears in the specialized literature, represented for Romania an immense opportunity. For the Unionist political elites of the young Romanian state, the outbreak of a war, which would have engendered the great European powers of the moment, which were, at the same time, and the great powers at world level that decided geopolitics at world level, could open a window of opportunity. In this study we emphasize the term elite, neglecting other concepts such as people or nation because the internal policies and the foreign policy of the Romanian state, from the moment of its emergence as an international legal subject following the unification of January 5/24,

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1859, of Moldavia and Wallachia, under the leadership of Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza, until the conclusion of the bourgeois-type democratic experience due to the Soviet occupation of Romania that led to the change of the form of government from the monarchy to the republic (December 30, 1947), was thought and applied by a limited number of individuals. The people or citizens of the Romanian state had accepted, during seven decades of existence of the Romanian bourgeois state, the domination of the political elites. Since the revolutionary movements in 1848 in the Romanian provinces (Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, Bucovina), it strongly affirmed not only the need to modernize a society and a state structure that was still organized according to the specific models of feudalism, but also the design and implementation of a political project that aimed at creating, in stages, the modern Romanian state and the completion of territorial unity.

The Great War proved to be the opportunity that Romania needed for the convergent interests of the great powers, in the Balkan Peninsula, to become divergent. As history had shown us, the entry of the Romanian state into the war, together with Entente had as main objective the acceptance by France and the other component countries of the alliance that, at the end of the war, the Romanians from Transylvania could decide sovereignly the union with Romania. The obstinate imposition of that condition and its acceptance by France allowed the liberal government, led by Ion I.C. Brătianu, to benefit from the support of most of the Romanian political and cultural elites, in order to participate in the war, as, an important part of the members of the Conservative Party had been campaigning for war on the part of Germany and the Central Powers. The decision was not easy, as the political elites in Bucharest were forced to make difficult choices, given the fact that Romania signed an alliance treaty in 1883 with Austro-Hungary¹. According to that treaty, if Austria-Hungary was attacked by another state, Romania was obliged to participate in the war with the empire. The decision of the Sinaia Crown Council of July 21 / August 3, 1914, in which it was adopted to maintain the status of neutrality, was argued by the fact that the aggressor power was Austro-Hungary and not Serbia².

Another important aspect that we need to bring to the discussion concerns the royal house of Romania. After Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza

¹ Sabin Drăgulin, Ancuța Brașoveanu, „Neutrality and participation in the FIRST WORLD WAR in the speech of the council of ministers president Ion I.C. Brătianu - 1915/1916”, in *Cogito*, Vol. XI, no. 3/September, 2019, p. 122.

² Glenn E. Torrey, „Romania and the Belligerents 1914-1916” in *Romania in World War I: A collection of studies*, The Centre for Romanian Studies, Iasi, Oxford, Portland, 1998, p. 10.

was forced to abdicate following the political pressure imposed by a coalition of liberals and conservatives, known in Romanian historiography under the name of "Monstrous Coalition", Prince Carol was brought to Romania from the House of Hohenzollern - Sigmaringen, from which the Emperor of Germany came. Ferdinand I, the successor to this enlightened king, during whose time the Romanian state followed an accelerated path of modernization and approximation to the European values of the time, although he was German, accepted that Romania, for being able to complete its national unity to take part in France team against Germany. The king's statement was clear:

*"My dynasty is Romanian! It is a mistake to say that it is foreign, German! No, it is Romanian. The Romanians did not bring my uncle Carol to found a German dynasty at the mouths of the Danube, but to found a national dynasty. I ask for my House the honour of having fulfilled the mission that the Romanian people have entrusted to"*³.

During the period of neutrality, the Romanian state had few opportunities to be able to arm itself with new, modern, varied weapons, which would respond to the demands imposed by the tactics of the war in trenches. The Brătianu government acted very decisively in the field of foreign procurement, given that the national arms industry was weakly developed. Unfortunately, the imports were very weak because most European states were in conflict and as a result the entire endeavour was directed towards their own troops. The result was that the endowment of the Romanian army at the time of the war was deficient⁴.

Going back to the decision of the elites to participate in the war, between 1914 and 1916, during the period of neutrality, there was a preparation of the population to support the political decision, and, above all, to agree with the option for Entente⁵.

During the two years of war (1916-1918), through immense sacrifices, from a human and material point of view, Romania managed to complete the political project imagined by the revolutionaries from 1848, which was put into practice by the generations that followed. From a defeated state, as Romania was in the winter of 1916, after losing an important part of the national territory, including Bucharest, the heroic epic of the Romanian army followed on the front of Moldavia, where the victories from Mărăști,

³ Guy Gauthier, Missy, *Romanian Queen*, Translation from French by Andreea Popescu, Humanitas, Bucharest, 2000, p. 188.

⁴ For more information see General Vasile Rudeanu, *Memoirs in time of peace and war*, Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 1989.

⁵ Ion Giurcă, „The Romanian-Russian military cooperation in the year of 1916”, in *Polis*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (20), New series, March – May 2018.

Mărășești and Oituz, from the summer of 1917, prevented the plan of the Central Powers to remove the Romanian state from the war.

The repeated defeats of the Romanian army on all the battle zones, from Transylvania, Dobrogea or Oltenia led to the decision that the government, the central administration and the Royal House should leave Bucharest. We stop only at the defeat at Turtucaia, which defended the Dobrogean border of the Romanian state. We decided to evoke this moment because, in comparison with other theatres of operations, from Transylvania, for example, the Great General Staff of the Romanian army started from 1914 to deal with the fortification of the border. Bulgaria, after the results of the two Balkan wars, which ended in 1913, had a strong desire for revenge against Romania⁶. However, the Romanian army suffered one of the biggest military defeats, the main cause being the lack of professionalism of the headquarters of the troops in Dobrogea.

There have been difficult times, in which not only ordinary citizens but also the Royal House had experienced family losses, either due to human losses suffered in front or due to the spread of typhus behind the front. Thus Prince Mircea died on November 2, just ten days before leaving the capital. Princess Nadeja Știrbei wrote in her diary about those difficult moments: *"Little Prince Mircea, this poor boy, died at 10 tonight, I am so sorry for my parents, let's hope the news on the front is good, so that , at least this care should be less. Disturbing ceremony in utmost intimacy, the poor queen and king are shattered by pain. Burial at Cotroceni in the chapel, another terrible day for the poor parents"*⁷.

The immense problems of the Romanian state from autumn - winter 1916 and spring 1917, the sacrifice of the population, the human and material losses, the indescribable misery due to the war and the defeats can be seen in the memories of the French ambassador in Romania: *"In this overcrowded, undernourished, undernourished Moldavia, the misery and hunger, from which the typhus was born, made more victims than the enemy's fire. In the hospitals that refused to receive people everything was missing except devotion. Wood, laundry, bandages, surgical instruments, anaesthetics were missing. The wounded and the sick begged the nurses to put an end to their sufferings, to kill them. The screams of pain covered the moans of the dying. The sanitary equipment shipped from France - negligence or sadism - was also detained by Russia, which, after unleashing all these sufferings, did not deliver the*

⁶ Leonida Moise, „The first action on the Dobrogea front. Turtucaia battle and its consequences on the military evolution on the South front”, in *Polis*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (20), New series, March – May 2018.

⁷ Nadeja Știrbey, *A princess journal (1916 – 1919)*, Istoria Artei Publishing House, Bucharest, 2014, p. 26.

*medicines provided by others. They will start arriving in Iasi but only on trains accompanied by French officers, detached from our military mission which, sentenced to inactivity by the Russian General Staff, will become a kind of head-sister to this huge hospital and this garden of supplications*⁸.

The great human losses that Tsarist Russia experienced during the war caused a general state of dissatisfaction, both on the front and behind the front. Under these conditions, the support of the Russian soldiers granted to the Romanian allies, who were defending the front of the Entente in Moldavia, became smaller and smaller. The situation worsened sharply with the outbreak of the Bolshevik revolution of October 1917 and became critical after the peace of Brest - Litovsk on March 3, 1918. As a result of the massive deserts on the Moldavian front of the Bolshevik Russian troops, Romania was unable to support the war effort and was forced to demand the end of hostilities, which led to the signing of the Treaty (Peace) from Buftea-Bucharest on May 7, 1918. It returned to the war on November 10, 1918, on the part of Entente, one day before the Armistice Convention on November 11th. The declaration of the state of war by Romania led that, at the time of the end of the armistice, the Romanian state would be a member of the Entente. In the months that followed, Romania was active internationally for the recognition of territorial rights and the formation of Greater Romania. The disagreements between the representatives of the great European powers and the Romanian government in Paris, due to their attempts to limit the territorial gains as much as possible, led to the resignation of the Brătianu government on September 12, 1919.

Recognition of the Great Union

The Liberal government, which had ruled Romania during the turbulent times of the war, was replaced by a government led by General Arthur Văitoianu, who continued Brătianu's policy, refusing to sign any agreement with the great powers, which led to the resignation before to King Ferdinand I.

On November 30, 1919 another government of the Parliamentary Bloc was formed, headed by Alexandru Vaida - Voievod⁹, which, after difficult negotiations, succeeds, with the support of Queen Maria, to be recognized

⁸ Contele de Saint-Aulaire, *The notes of a former diplomat in Romania, 1916-1920*, translated from French by Ileana Sturdza, Humanitas publishing house, Bucharest, 2016, p. 106.

⁹ was an Austro-Hungarian-born Romanian politician who was a supporter and promoter of the union of Transylvania with the Romanian Old Kingdom, later became the Prime Minister of Romania.

to Romania the joining of the new territories, which led to the signing of a series of treaties with the defeated countries.

The union, the creation of Great Romania, brought, besides the joy of realizing the Romanian ideal, also some organizational and administrative problems. The problems that followed the union were identified and were also the subject of the three speeches of the politicians we have chosen. We will present, in the following, analysed fragments of speech of Ion I.C. Brătianu, Alexandru Vaida-Voievod and Iuliu Coroianu¹⁰.

Still the Prime Minister of Greater Romania, Ion I. C. Brătianu held a speech¹¹ in Sibiu, on August 5, 1919, where he met with the Transylvanian leaders, meeting in the Country Council. We will play, in the following, a fragment in which the problems and solutions for the development of the newly created state were identified.

"The very word of Union shows us what our mutual duties are: the unification of all Romanians, that is, the unification of all our consciences, the unification of all our energies for a common purpose. (...) Therefore we have to the past a debt of piety, but we also have the duty to ensure through the work we do here and beyond, the basis of Romania not only new but also Great, on a broad, democratic basis, that would allow, in this great work, no Romanian to be far from it, who can be an element of force and who can bring its work, energy, intelligence, to ensure the foundation of today, the development of the social and national forces of Greater Romania tomorrow. (...) In this state organization, new problems, more complex than before, are put before us all. Our system of work, besides which we can work at the present time, is that we can work, because we proceed in the same spirit, in the same impetus; our creation is common, although we work in separate departments. We cannot just forget what business interests the whole work, as well as what interests the solitary works. We have a complex opera. In the organization of the State, in the new lands, there are also special races, besides our nation, religious organizations more numerous and divided than those that were in the Old Kingdom. We need to know how to behave like a people, who in the fight gave evidence of manly energy, which no one can challenge, that showed it to defeat - which is even harder - and it showed it and by its victory, what we celebrate today.

I say a people, which has this manhood, proves that its true powers are those who can conceive them in solving the problems of the citizens

¹⁰ was an Imperial Austrian-born Romanian lawyer and activist, participant in the preparation and of the assembly at Alba Iulia that proclaimed the union of Transylvania with Romania in December 1918.

¹¹ „Patria/ Fatherland”, 7 august 1919.

and in the peaceful life. Violence in normal times and in times of peace is one of weakness.

Our people have shown that they are not weak. That is why in the new organization they will find - and I know your feelings, and I am in perfect harmony with them - in the new kingdom that brotherly and friendly love all those who, from wherever they come, will want to live with us for the development through common work of the Romanian State. We will not ask where someone comes from, but we will ask where all those who want to go with us want to go. Everyone will be sure of our brotherly and friendly help (...) ".

The speaker uses the epanalepsis *union*, the central theme of the discourse, a word that is found 7 times in the discourse: *the unification of the Romanians, the unification of the consciences, the unification of all energies*. Thus, *the union* was not only the unification of the Romanian territories, but a communion of all Romanians, a whole that would participate in everything that the new formed state would undertake.

The *past / present* antithesis underscores continuity, and wants to emphasize nothing but the duty that the Romanian people have towards the ancestors whose struggle laid the foundation for the fulfilment of the great national ideal, the unification of all Romanians, but also the duty to the descendants, because "*work from here and beyond*" may be the foundation of democratic "*Romania not only new but also Great*". All these successive and joint efforts will lead to the creation of a strong state today, whose development will be ensured for the future, tomorrow.

Brătianu uses the epanalepsis *the work*, the striving, common "*to work at the present time is, that we can work*" and *the same*, "*the same spirit, in the same future*", calling for unity, unity that completes "*our common work, although we work in separate departments*". The value of the opera conferred by the speaker of the new state, shows the perception of Romania as a creation, artistic and original, which the Romanian people, the artist, can gradually exhibit as a whole work. At the same time, it is brought to the public's awareness also the complexity of this work because "*in our new lands, there are also special races, besides our nation, religious organizations that are more numerous and divided than those that were in the Old Kingdom*". Brătianu thus calls the maturity of the hard-trying Romanian nation, at its necessity to behave like a people, as a whole who in the battle gave "*the proof of his manly energies, which no one can challenge, the one who also showed defeat - which is even more difficult - and he showed it by its victory too*" and who can find solutions and overcome obstacles that will not cease to follow in the path to modernization, peacefully, because "*violence in normal times and in times of peace is one of the weakness quality* ", and the Romanian people had

shown courage. The addressing formula, *brother, brother / brotherhood*, symbol of French mason origins used in the Secret Society Fraternity, but also in the Paris Student Society, penetrated in the Romanian space during the '48 revolution in the Romanian Country is used in order to strengthen solidarity and the need to collaborate with "*all those who, wherever they come from, will want to live with us for the joint development of the Romanian State. We will not ask where someone comes from, but we will ask where all those who want to go with us want to go. All will be sure of our brotherly and friendly help.*" Therefore, the speaker promises to the other minorities tolerance on the part of the Romanian citizens, and promises, at the same time, equal rights, similar to the Romanians, to all those who want to settle in the Romanian territory.

At the Senate meeting of December 18/31, 1919, Alexandru Vaida-Voievod, fresh prime minister of Greater Romania, of Transylvanian origins and leading leader of the Romanian National Party of Transylvania, presents the program¹² of the new government. In the following, we will reproduce an excerpt from the speech of the newly elected prime minister, in which, like Brătianu, after identifying the problems related to the territorial allotments, at the same time, creating a legislative and administrative framework in which to find all the citizens of the new one state, tries to offer, by presenting the program, the solutions for them.

"There is coming a year full of external and internal difficulties. All branches of state life have suffered terribly under enemy occupation. Everything must be restored, unfounded.

In the middle of this restoration work are the elections, which give birth to the current Legislative Bodies.

Not meeting any party the majority, after fierce discussions, came to the establishment of a Block of the 5 parties, as a majority governmental bloc. (...)

The parliamentary bloc was organized to guarantee a democratic-national regime; for this purpose it will endeavour to promote, through the state settlements, the economic, cultural and political development of the people.

This National Assembly has the mandate to revise the Constitution of the Old Kingdom in its entirety, so that the new Constitution corresponds to the new state of affairs. In addition, it will solve the following major issues: "External matter, Electoral reform, Agrarian reform, Administrative reform, Economic recovery, Financial reform, Labour organization, Public health, Invalids, widows and orphans of war, School and church.

¹² The senate debate, meeting of December 18 1919, pp. 67-73, 1919, State printing house, Bucharest, 1920.

"The legislative bodies will have a high duty to introduce the national unity in the Constitution of the country. By unifying the laws and settlements, the moral unity, the unity of thought, culture and interests will gradually be ensured. The greater the tact, the wisdom and the brotherly love (...), the faster and smoother we will be able to give to the form of the political unity of our state the solid content of the true unity, the result of mutual infiltration and absorption. (...) broad guarantee of public freedoms and equal rights, on behalf of all citizens.

Greater Romania must be the beloved and loving homeland of all her children, regardless of social class, mother tongue or confession.

All minorities will be able to develop their language and culture (...)

Freedom of faith will be a fundamental principle of any constitutional democratic state. (...) In close connection with the issue of racial and faith minorities ... it was until this time the Jewish thing. (...) the law decree of May 22, 1919 resolved (...) putting an end to the whole series of misunderstandings and discontent that had disturbed the relations between the Jews and the state in the past".

The prime minister is looking forward to the coming year: *"a year full of external and internal difficulties."* These shortcomings are due to the losses suffered during the wars in the struggle for sovereignty and independence, metaphorically naming the enemy occupation the Austro-Hungarian Empire that had long ruled Transylvania. At the same time, in this period of recovery, called a work by the speaker, a similar term used by Brătianu who did nothing but show the great way in which the union was perceived, the elections took place, elections that did not win anybody from the old parties, *"they failed to meet a majority"*, and the government was taken over by a Bloc of the 5 parties, as a majority governmental bloc.

This new organizational formula promised the economic, cultural and political development of the people, guaranteeing a democratic-national regime.

At the same time, this new government had the task of revising the Constitution of the Old Kingdom in its entirety, so that all the united Romanian people could be found in the new Constitution. The speaker lists the areas where the reform is to be desired: *External matter, Electoral reform, Agrarian reform, Administrative reform, Economic recovery, financial reform, Labour organization, Public health, Invalids, widows and orphans of war, School and church*, for each offering several information detailing the strategic points to be reached.

The call for indivisibility is present in the discourse, the *epanalepsis* unity: *the national unity, the moral unity, the unity of thought, culture and interests*, emphasizing the new state of the Romanian nation. And all this will be possible only through *"tact, wisdom and brotherly love"*,

qualities that the Romanian people have proven over time, "so that we will succeed faster and smoother to shape the political unity of the state, our solid content of true unity, the result of mutual infiltration and absorption, which will also validate the guarantee of public freedoms and equal rights, on behalf of all citizens."

The speaker discusses the problem of minorities, a problem that had led to the withdrawal of the last two governments, and which he had committed to solve and to fulfil the wishes of the Great Powers. "All minorities will be able to develop their language and culture", but only because of the ability of Romanians, their tolerance, which they had to make from Great Romania - "the beloved and loving homeland of all her children, regardless of social class, mother tongue or confession."

In the Senate meeting of December 28, 1919, Iuliu Coroianu, Transylvanian deputy and uncle of Iuliu Maniu, gave a speech¹³ in which he talked about the problems of uniting Transylvania, Bessarabia, Bukovina, Crişana and Maramureş with the country. We will present a fragment of his speech:

„(...)”(...) we Romanians ... were the first of the people of Central Europe to emerge and to lay the foundations of freedom, equality and brotherhood.

The right aspirations, the best intentions, the newest endeavours that we put in order for us to reach a great goal, in most beliefs it may not happen, it may be without result, because we, with our mind, with our soul power we are exposed to such circumstances, which neither foresee nor stop we are not in a state of being.

But, if such cases come, when we know that we have done our duty with the utmost pity, when we know that what we had to do we have done, then even the shortcomings, even the confusion, we can easily bear it.(...)

Now, in the present moment, in a situation on one side very happy, on the other very worrying, in a situation in which the Romanian people, already united, expect all of us to work together and lay the foundation of the future of the Great Romania, now, Romanian brothers from all sides, put aside the weapon of the party fights, put them sharp or blunt, as they are, in the closet and lock them there for a while, at least as long as it takes to lay the foundations of Greater Romania.

All of you come to work, hand in hand, with brotherly love and trust in each other, without even walking to tell us: I belong to the Conservative Party, I am liberal, I know what, Lord, that there are so many parties that you cannot even know how many are.

¹³ Idem, meeting of December 28 1919, pp. 142-144, 1919, State printing house, Bucharest, 1920.

Let us go hand in hand and work together to put the foundations of the great temple of the Great Romania”.

Coroianu stresses that *"we were the first of the people of Central Europe to emerge and to lay the foundations of freedom, equality and brotherhood."* The French motto "Liberté, égalité, fraternité", with Franc masonic origins, was the most important synagogue of the '48 revolution , both in the Romanian Country and in Transylvania, a motto of which the speaker remembers as representing part of the history of the Romanian nation and of the newly created state, of the roots of the struggle for it.

Epanalepsis *the most* is used by the speaker in order to highlight the uniqueness of the Romanian nation: *the most right aspirations, the best intentions, the newest endeavours*, qualities that have been put in the service of obtaining *"to reach a great purpose"*, the one of unity, independence and suzerainty.

The hard-trying Romanian people used all their resources to reach their goal, to have a Greater Romania, and then *"even the shortcomings, even the confused ones, we can support it more easily."* Therefore, the Romanian nation was capable at that time. to deal with any kind of shortcomings.

The antithesis of the *happy / worrying* situation highlights the *"balance"*, the equilibrium. Like Prime Minister Vaida-Voievod, the speaker emphasizes domestic political wars, the struggle of parties who equally wanted to govern and the chance to validate their own governance project, somehow, overshadowing the joy of achieving the long-dreamed national ideal. The speaker calls for calm *"Romanian brothers from all sides, put aside the weapon of the party fights, put them sharp or twisted"*, suggesting the politicians to start working together to lay *"the foundation of the future of the Great Romania because the people already united, are waiting for us everyone to work together "*.

The conclusion is a masterful one: *"Let us go hand in hand and work together to put the foundations of the great temple of the Great Romania"*, Coroianu uses the metaphor of the temple, church, a term that signifies the value, the greatness, when referring to the new state.

Conclusions

The elected speakers, one from Wallachia and two from Transylvania, address during the speeches the same theme: the problems arising from territorial unification. At the first two, Brătianu and Vaida-Voievod, both prime ministers of Greater Romania, at differences of several months, a central place within the speeches is assigned to the problem of the minorities in Romania, which represented during the negotiations in Paris a thorny topic.

In the third selected speech, that of Coroianu, the main problem is the

internal political struggles, a proposition that, moreover, had been addressed by Prime Minister Vaida-Voievod, thus justifying the need for a government formed by a Bloc of the 5 parties.

The call for unity, for tolerance, however, remains the main theme addressed by the three politicians.

Also, we identified in the three fragments addressed the presence of the term of the brotherhood that has in Romania a strong symbolic meaning with Franc mason origins. This term has its relevance, given that universal Franc masonry played an important role during the Paris peace process.

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AHAMEFULA: DISCOVERING LEADERSHIP GAPS OF THE AFRICAN BEING

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Abstract: *The romanticization, Europeanization and Americanization of the African mindset have not helped Africans especially Nigeria to rapidly advance technologically and scientifically as the African continent still sees itself like a slave to the Western countries. This paper seeks to argue that the relationship between Africa and the west intends to benefit the west completely without a corresponding measure of benefits to the African people. This contention is evidenced in the application of western methodology in attempting a solution and resolution of the African challenges. The Igbo notion Ahamefula is derived from two words “Aham” and “Efula” which means “my name will not be lost or my identity will not be lost” These are words used to connote the identity (Ejirimara) of a person, family a community or a nation. Ahamefula is founded on the logic of unity and identity which stand as hallmark for determining and discovering the weight and potentials of any given individual, family, community and nation. It is argued in this paper that leadership that is anchored on internal mechanism of local circumstance with full conviction and adoption of native ideology will lead the Nigerian State to an enviable political, social, scientific, religious and economic heights.*

Keywords: *Ahamefula, Amamefula, Leadership, Being*

Introduction

Chinua Achebe expression in the “Things Fall Apart”, “Arrow of God” “The Trouble with Nigeria” and “There was a Country” is better described as a cultural revolutionary, than a literary historian. In either of his books, he took the pains of telling the Nigerian story exacerbating the harsh experiences with colonial administration and the efforts put by the Africans to overcome their peculiar circumstances.

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The debt rescheduling mechanism adopted by *Onoka* – the Father of *Okonkwo* in “Things Fall Apart” by drawing strokes on the walls of his hut could be termed as a sign of laziness by undiscerning minds but, he used the mechanism to reschedule debts owed to his creditors by making them accept that the longer strokes represent those he owed higher sum and theirs need to be settled before the smaller strokes¹. By so doing, no matter how urgent it is, you could not get your money back from *Onoka* if your money is of smaller amount as represented in the drawn strokes on the wall.

This method is both smart and brilliant, even though, it hurts the creditors more. But it does not express or demonstrates unwillingness to pay one’s debt. Debt rescheduling mechanism tailored along this line will not only bring peace, but promote a convivial atmosphere of fraternity and brotherly relationship akin to Africans’ communalistic posture before western incursion. The people of Africa whether in the east, west, south or north are a people of peculiarly African mindset that is people – centric or oriented and not- person centric or oriented. That is to say that communalism flourished in Africa and it is viewed contextually as a trade-socialistic model of governance.

Within the frame work of this model, existence of “A” is a reflection of the existence of “B”. “A” makes pragmatic meaning in the context of “B” without which “A” will not become. This expression is reflective of the thoughts of Mbiti and Iroegbu in their various individual philosophical adumbrations with this consciousness, every African, particularly Nigerian, deals with or relates with his/her fellow with the neighbour rule of care in any aspect of relationship. There is that feeling that Africans (Nigerian) were of the same stock. This exemplified Africanness and, or Nigerianness withered away in the wake of colonialization and scrambling of Africa by the western predators in pursuit of African values and “estates”. It is this corruption of the African values and imposition of western ideals that has adversely affected the sensibilities of an African being. It is a settled case that if one does not know at what point rain starts beating him/her, he will certainly not know where the rain will stop. Africans have allowed their cherished natural values to be sacrificed on the alter of western contraption and interest. This infusion is what has made Africa a missing continent in the global map. *Ahamefula*: Discovering Leadership gaps of the African being is a clarion call and a reawakening intellectual exercise aimed at recognizing one’s root and falling back to it taking clue from the biblical case of a prodigal son, who returned to his root upon realizing his mistakes, the need to use and inject the African model in explaining reality, solving problems and tackling leadership gaps will take us to the promise land and regain lost grounds.

¹ Achebe Chinua, *Things Fall Apart*, Ibadan: Heinemann Publishers, 1978, p. 55.

Although, opinions vary as to the significance of western relationship with Africa. The orthodox school of thought favours this relationship by arguing that western penetration on African land was for the development of the later in all facets of development. This school was represented by Adam Smith and his apostles. On the other hand, the Radical School of thought argues that Africa was further under developed as it encountered the west. This school has the likes of Marx, Walter Rodney Frantz Fanon, etc. From whatever angle the pendulum swings, evidences abound to show that Western/European relationship with Africa particularly, Nigeria then and now, is arguably one sided. It is on the strength of the above perceived ill-feelings that a departure from the western ideals and development of a native leadership ideal akin to African consciousness becomes a welcome development. *Ahamefula*: discovering Leadership Gaps of the African Being becomes a ready agent, a driving force for this noble task.

Unmasking the Concept of Ahamefula.

Indeed, *Ahamefula* is derived from two Igbo words – “*Aham*” and “*Efula*” which when interpreted means “my name” should not be closed up or lost. In this same vein, *Amamefula* translates approximately to mean my family line should not be closed or lost. *Ahamefula*, *Amamefula*, *Ikemefula* significantly connotes the *ejiri mara* (identity) of a person, family, community. Igbo in their cultural leanings do not joke with name giving and bearing as diligence and/or caution is taken any time name is to be given to a child, particularly male child at birth. It is imperative to know that the exercise of diligence in giving names in Igbo ontological and cosmological setting is the existential situation that probably surrounds the birth of the child. In this case, names are carefully selected and given to serve as *ejiri mara* (identification) of such person.

Igbo are very careful of this fact, perhaps due to their assumptive posture of unity of purpose characterized in their communitarian and community- based lifestyle captured in the philosophical and ideological spirits of *onye aghala nwanneya* and *Ibiri Ka mbiri* (Be your brother’s keeper and live and let live). Ignoring circumstances of birth and posturing unity of purpose may lead one to committing a cultural crime of exclusiveness which *Ahamefula* does not represent, but seeks to foster unity and identity in the midst of unwanton extinction. Asouzu – in his famous work *Ibuanyidanda*, expands the necessity of unity in making progress when he argues that:

Just as in the analogy of those ants (*danda*) that contribute and complement their efforts to accomplish the most difficult tasks, *Obioha* operates under the assumption that all forms of human achievements are conceivable based on mutual

complementarity of all available resources and in consideration of all actors and factors that enter into their genesis. Hence, its strength subsists in upholding a harmonized focus while trading the path of multidimensionality; it sees a major weakness in all tendencies towards one dimensionality, exclusiveness, polarization and division².

Asouzu's opinion above is communitarian and in tandem with philosophies of John Mbiti, Iroegbu and Ubutu Philosophy. It also, aligns with the sermon of Ahamefula. Ahamefula as a unifying logic, seeks to remind Africans of the need to rediscover themselves and apply the appropriate humanistic logic of complementation and inclusion which will make them realize their desired expectations. The necessity of this complementation and consequent inclusion in the realization of Africa's cherished needs prompted Ikegbu to argue that "there is wisdom in the saying that *agba kuoo nyho mmamiri ogbaa ofufu*" (collective urination produces foam)³. This philosophy departs from the western individualistic posture that perceives human as means to an end, a philosophy that is devoid of morality. An African person is he/she that recognizes the fact that he/she is an embodiment of physical and spiritual dimensions⁴. With a spiritual dimension, it equips him/her to know and how to relate with others, he/she is a being in relation with others and not a lone being as contends by Ozumba. On the basis of this, Ozumba and Chimakonam argue thus:

Being for the integrativist is one and many, physical and spiritual, active and passive. The ultimate being is *Nke-mbu* dwelling in *nwa mgbe ebi-ebi* i.e the eternal world, it is the one or the first in whom is contained every other being; physical, spiritual, active or passive. Hence the integrativists hold that in the grand scheme of things, every being is from *Nke-mbu*, as part of *Nke-mbu* in *Nke-mbu*!⁵

² Asouzu Innocent, *Ibuanyidanda: New Complementary Ordology (Beyond World Immanentism Ethnocentric Reduction and Impositions)* Lit Verlag GMBH & CO. KG Wien, Zurich, 2007, p. 43

³ Ikegbu Ephraim A., "Ahamefula": The Logic of Unity and Identity (New Paradigm for African Leadership Development) *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. Vol.23, No.7, 2018, p. 5.

⁴ Ogar Nkang, and Samuel Bassey, "African Environmental Ethics." *RAIS Journal for Social Sciences* 3.1, 2019, p.71-81.

⁵ G.O. Ozumba, J.O. Chimakonam, Njikoka Ameka, *Further Discussion on the Philosophy of Integrative Humanism*. London: 3rd Logic Option Ltd, 2014, p. 24.

By this, it is glaring that philosophy of expansionism has its roots in Igbo with the unity of being as the hallmark of operation. This stream of thought was captivating and unhidden in Ijiomah's advocacy of harmonious monism that runs contrary to Aristotle's two – valued logic. The three valued – logic of Ijiomah as an explainable module for reality within the African context seeks to perceive reality from the point of view of the people within a distinct enclave. This he contends:

It has been argued that a particular logic is a product of a particular way people perceive reality... every reality is better explained from a logic domiciled within the world⁶

Indeed, the idea of harmonious monism was a response to Levy Bruhl's negative perception of African world view and thought system of having been pre-logical⁷. It is a known fact that Hegel, Hume and Bruhl were among philosophers that visibly expressed the opinion that Africa cannot be in the map of positive history of the world. Africa, for them cannot be known for anything good, and is incapable of expressing itself either in logic or science.

However, this ideological contraption and inordinate description of a continent by a 'perceived element' should not deter Africa from making progress, rather it should be a source of strength and energy to confront her challenging circumstances.

Taking a holistic review of *Ibuanyidanda*, *Integrative Humanism*, *Njikoka Amaka* and Harmonious Monism carefully articulated by African Philosophers in their conscious efforts to explain reality within the African hemisphere in all facets of existence, this paper is justified in placing these varying but similar logical expressions into a single matrix referred to as *Ahamefula*. In a tripodal explanatory module, *Ahamefula*, implies personal identity, cultural identity, cultural symbolism. That which represents an entity. On further elucidation *Ikegbu* argues:

To an African and particularly, Igbo, a male child represents family identity and symbol. It is a manifestation of continuity of race, generation, lineage etc. A family man without a male child in his household is seen to have lost his identity and his race. Indeed, *Ahamefula* stands to be the unifying African logic of identity and unity that takes care of contemporary leadership gaps so experienced in our world

⁶ Ijiomah, Chris, *Harmonious Monism: A Philosophical Logic of Explanation for Ontological Issues in Supernaturalism in African Thought*, 2014, p. 140.

⁷ Bassey, Samuel Akpan, and Thomas Micah Pimaro Jr. "Enyimba's Notion of Madukaku and The Question of Anthropocentrism In African Environmental Ethics." *Int. J. of Environmental Pollution & Environmental Modelling* 2.3 (2019):132.

today. To talk about identity means to talk about *Ejiri mara* – what are the *ejiri mara* of the Igbo of Africa in the social, cultural, political, religious and educational sectors?⁸

Comparatively, African cultural identification leans towards communitarianism. Community – based system flourished in the African continent than any other climes and this thought/ideological trappings influenced Julius Nyerere, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Kwame Nkrumah and the likes to champion communitarian lifestyle with the conviction that the existence of one person is by extension, the existence of the other in that order which aligns with J.S. Mbiti's dictum: "I am because we are and, since we are, therefore I am"⁹. By so doing, any form of exclusionism does not conform with African cherished ideal and value system as such lifestyle remains corruption and erosion of the African order. Achebe contends:

Indirect rule in Igbo land proved far more challenging to implement, colonial rule functioned through a newly created and incongruous establishment of "warrant chiefs" a deeply flawed arrangement that effectively confused and corrupted the Igbo democratic spirit¹⁰.

Achebe's ebullient remark was germane as the Igbo of Africa before colonial's perfidious act, were very conscious of their behaviours towards their neighbors (brothers). Their actions and inactions were guided by their consciences (morality) abhorring individualism and its attendant negatives. Individualism and self- centeredness as lifestyle arguably were foisted on Africans. Indeed, Africa was engrossed with inclusivity and collectivity as the hallmark of its being, her identity between and among others. There is a collective decision by the people or chosen representatives in dealing with issues that affect the community. The goal posts are usually not shifted because a certain person has committed an abominable crime. The case of *Okonkwo* in *Things Fall Apart* as presented by Achebe goes to buttress this position. The beauty of ensuring that justice is seen to be done to all manner of persons is to ensure the unity and stability of the community, and also, to ensure preservation of the *ejiri mara* of the African race.

⁸ Ikegbu, Ephraim, "Ahamefula": The Logic of Unity and Identity (New Paradigm for African Leadership Development), 2018, p. 26-34.

⁹ Bassey Samuel Akpan, Nelson Robert ENANG, and Christopher Ude Nwaeke. "Revisiting the Language Question In African Philosophy." *Journal of Social And Humanities Sciences Research (JSHSR)* 5.23 (2018): 1053-1067.

¹⁰ Achebe, Chinua. *There Was a Country: a Personal History of Biafra*. Penguin, 2013, p. 12.

With the above, it is observed that the preservation, retention and/or protection of the cultural identity of a people, community, state and nation from external invasion implies *Ahamefuola* or *Amamefuola*, while the loss of it means “*Ahamefuola*”, “*Amamefuola*” and “*Ikemefuola*”. Specifically, a clan, state, nation etc that is conquered by another seemed to have lost its sovereignty to a more powerful clan, State or nation, it means that the power and or authority to decide over its domestic affairs has been ceased of it. That is “*Ikemefuola*” Take the case of Nigeria presently, the Spate of killings, kidnapping, trafficking in person by the dreaded Boko Haramists, Herdsmen, Armed Bandits etc is a good example of loss of sovereignty by the Nigerian government. The Nigerian government under this atmosphere will not competently claim to be in utmost control of the territorial boundaries. In this case, the *ejiri mara* (*Ikem*) is lost to an impostor and sovereignty is also, lost or shared.

The African being (Igbo) as a sensitive creature endowed with natural intelligence and wisdom semantically understands the implication of losing out its sovereign authority and cherished identity to another being or clan. Where this is the case, the African being (Igbo) has naturally lost its place in history. In fact, what it implies is that *Amameshiela* – “my clan is closed up, my family/lineage is closed up”. (This equally means absence of a male child in that family). In trying to retain and sustain the known identity, an Igbo being does not easily yield to defeat. He/she makes an obvious attempt to come out of any situation and if eventually he/she fails, it will be on record that he did not yield easily to defeat. The civil war experience and the survival of the Igbo is a pointer to the symbolic nature of *Ahamefuola* (*Ejiri-amra*). To ensure the extinction of Igbo race from the face of this planet, Awolowo as the then Federal Commissioner of Finance came up with a policy that would ensure the starvation of the Igbo during the Civil War. Awolowo as cited by *Achebe* posits:

All is fair in war, and starvation is one of the weapons of war. I don't see why we should feed our enemies fat in order for them to fight harder¹¹.

The statement credited to Awolowo demonstrated how prepared the Nigerian government was to alienate the Igbo race. His (Awolowo) advise gave rise to the immediate closure of borders that were giving relief materials to the Biafrans (Igbo). This policy heightened by crippling Igbo economy and making sure they received less amount of whatever they deposited or saved in the Nigerian bank. Again, *Achebe* capture this succinctly:

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

The same hard-liners in the federal government of Nigeria cast Igbos in the role of treasonable felons and wreckers of the nation and got the regime to adopt a banking policy which nullified any bank account which has been operated during the war by the Biafrans. A flat sum of twenty pounds was approved for each Igbo depositor of the Nigerian currency, regardless of the amount of deposit¹².

Indeed, the civil war was over long a time now, but there are traces of marginalization, oppression, conspiracy and ill treatment against the Igbo race. However, Igbos use of *aku na uche*—(native wisdom) has been propelling them to reach their destination and sustain their *ejiri mara*.

This paper avers that the Igbo personal identity, cultural, linguistic and religious leanings deeply rooted in their conscious efforts to sustain a common ideology evidenced in *Ahamefula* remains the *raisé d'être* for a socio-political leadership. The Igbo version of political and social leadership is rebranded to reflect humanity. It is the type that situates oneself to the pain of another. It is socially communitarian in nature because, such is the *ejiri mara* of the African of Igbo extraction.

Situating *Ahamefula* at the Individual, Community, State and Continental Levels of Existence

This paper believes that *Ahamefula* can be applied at individual, community, state and continental levels of existence. In an Igbo setting, a male child is arguably viewed to be the identity and custodian of the family lineage and identity. On the other hand, female children are ascribed with the status of non-permanent members of the household. This is premised on the logical strand that upon marriage, their status changed with name connotation. Their maiden names become silent and, almost non-existent, except in rare cases. In line with this seemingly arguable reality, I had argued elsewhere that:

--- each individual or family does everything within its capacity to ensure that it has a male child. Sometimes, they will beseech *Olisabin' Igwe* (God in heaven) or visit a diviner to inquire why the gods have not granted them a male child and if they are at fault, to make appeasements. Sometimes, they can marry another wife if they perceive the problem as coming from the woman. If after all these attempts and the family or

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 224.

individual still remains without a male child, then the individual's name will eventually be wiped off, closed up that is lost, since there is no living male child to continue bearing that name. The lineage is thereby closed up. In other words, for the individual "*Ahamefuola*", my name is lost, and for the family or the community "*Amamefuola*" – my lineage is closed up¹³.

However, with process of time and consistent efforts, the individual is blessed with a male child; the child is named "*Ahamefuola*" which means that the birth has revalidated the family lineage and has prevented it from being closed up.

The same stream of thought is used in analyzing possibility of one's state, clan, nation and continent from being closed up. Any state, clan or nation whose contribution to the history of humankind and of thought are denied or not recognized is a victim of "*Amamefuola*" – my lineage is closed up, and *Ahamefuola* – my name/identity is closed up. But efforts aimed at reestablishing this known identity remains effort for continuity of race which signals that the name/identity is not lost. So efforts of states, nation and continents to build up strong and credible leadership, robust economy, and sound diplomatic relation are efforts aimed at recovering and discovering their identity. Today, China and other Asian tigers have taken lead in global economy. This is premised on the fact that they were able to discover their identity. Africa (Igbo) needs to position itself with a sound leadership command that is both integrative and inclusive in design and practice for proper economic prosperity. Africa needs to surprise the rest of the world, because, it has been arguably stated that Africa cannot organize its leadership structure for economic growth. To buttress the above *O.P.A. Nyong* reiterates the attempts by the white to subdue the Kenyans by describing them negatively. He contends:

The colonial chief warned us that we would never become an independent nation. His reasoning was quite simple. The Blackman had never learnt even how to make a needle. How could he pretend to know how to run a modern government? The district commissioner, who was a Whiteman made matters even look gloomier by warning us that natives must know that the Whiteman has the superiority of the gun which is no match to bows, arrows, spears which were the weapon of war and defense in Africa¹⁴

¹³ Ikegbu, Ephraim, *op.cit.*

¹⁴ O.P.A. Nyong, *op.cit.*

With the above exposition from Nyong, it goes to show that the whites have no regard for the blacks and do not believe that their existence is of any positive pragmatic consequence. But these negative views can be changed through a conscious efforts by Africans in the area of science and technology, leadership and global economy. Where such changes are made, they would stand as a pointer to asserting and reasserting the cultural identity *ejiri-mara* of the African (Igbo) race.

Ahamefula and the African (Igbo) Leadership Gap

Africa is essentially one of the seven continents in the world which is made up of fifty-one (51) Countries Africa is predominantly blacks which Nigeria is one of them. Most countries in Africa had the misfortune of been colonized by the British, French, Germans and Portuguese. By virtue of this colonization, foreign cultures and linguistic characterization were imported and used in the administration of the affairs of the African people. In Nigeria, the British administered the affairs of the country from 1900 to 1960 and even till 1963 when the first authotonous constitution was made for a complete domestic control of the affairs of the Nigerian people by Nigerians through the Republican constitution of 1963.

Through colonial administration and need for convenience, Nigeria was regionalized and each region was allowed to develop using her peculiar natural resources. Then, there could be noticeable presence of palm oil, groundnut pyramid, cotton, cocoa, timber etc. sprouting out rapidly from each region¹⁵. The regions exercise control over their resources and send certain percentage of their income for the running of the administration at the center. It was in this era that resource control and true federalism was seen to be the governing ideology of any of the leaders disregarding political affiliation and orientations.

I argued and agreed elsewhere that *Chukwuemeka Odimegwu Ojukwu*, *Chinua Achebe* and *Innocent Asonsu* were arguably correct in their different interpretations of the Nigerian State. It was the view of *Ojukwu* that de-ethnicizing the mindset of the Nigerian person is a prelude for peace and stability in the polity. He (*Ojukwu*) advocated for abolition of state of origin with state of residence. *Achebe* argues that the case of Nigeria is neither ethnicity nor religion, but the leadership class. *Asousu* posits that the attempt to isolate or alienate a class, or unit or part is an attempt to enthrone conflict. This is premised on the fact that the unit is a missing link of reality which is in tandem with Plato's Organicist view of the State. These similar descriptions may boil down to the use and

¹⁵ Ikegbu, Ephraim A, Sunday A. Duru & Samuel Ndem, "African Socialism: Metaphor for Political Freedom and Economic Prosperity". *Journal of Integrative Humanism* Vol. 3, 2013, No. 1, p. 37-50.

application of foreign logic in attempting to solve domestic problem. Although, many philosophers of African descent especially Asousu has condemned the idea of blaming another for the misdeeds of Africans. He, with vehemence posits that blaming colonial masters for the failure of Africa has become anachronistic. He advised that Africans should take steps to reconstruct themselves including coming up with appropriate logic that could explain realities within their environment. Perhaps, he might have argued in this light due to the various military interruptions in the polity which can be equated to internal colonialism. *Ijiomah* while not condemning the attitudes of colonial masters in African affairs, rather called for recolonization of African continent. He based his position on the political immaturity of Africans in handling their affairs.

This paper departs significantly from the positions of *Asousu* and *Ijiomah* respectively. On the one count, colonial masters had vested economic interest in Africa, it had growing evidential 'mens rea' to parochially control the raw materials in the African soil for the development of their own continent. This explained the reason for not exposing Africans to the world of technology and science earlier enough. The raw materials were smartly and deceitfully shipped to the European countries where there were high command of industrial machines to process those materials and send them back to Africa as finished goods with high tariffs. Though, these were possible due to conspiracy of the traditional rulers of the Bini Kingdom, Calabar, Oyo, Sokoto, etc. *Ola Rotimi's Ovaremi Nogbaisi* can attest to this.

On the second count, recolonization is not among the options open to Africa and by extension, Nigeria. Africa and Nigeria particularly, is of age to determine its political structure and leadership philosophy, and this is where *Ahamefula* plays a leading role. The ability to determine the leadership philosophy that is akin to our peculiar environment and people will imply a pragmatic leadership paradigm shift from colonial strangulating leadership index to socio-communitarian/community based leadership. This is the pre-colonial Igbo leadership pattern structured on commonality, communality and egalitarianity,

Why does *Ahamefula* as a strategy/method of discovering leadership gap of the African being seem to attract attention? It is a method and strategy that seeks to recognize the internal mechanism of an African being in building a harmonious complementary Framework of existence. The strategy seeks to identify, discover and sustain those internal linkages that bring us together and abhor the things that disintegrate the African being. It seeks to sustain the unity of purpose in a pluricultural environment without any form of segmentation, segregation, suspicion, oppression, subjugation and individualization that characterized western leadership.

In the African Igbo cosmological paradigm, the guiding principle in any of its conscious dealings with its fellows is the principle of *onye aghala nwanneya* – “be your neighbour’s keeper”, *Biri Kam biri* – “Live and let Live” and *egbe bere Ugo bere* (let the keith perch and let eagle perch). These latent Igbo conceptional values reflect in the character of an Igbo leader constituting its *ejiri mara*, *Ahamefula* or identity with which he is known. It makes him to flourish in any responsibility he undertakes, because, every one member of the family hood is carried along, and not regarded as a visitor or an alien.

In the justice system of Igbo cosmology, truth is always seen to be upheld disregarding whose ox is gored. The *Igwe*, *Eze*, *Obi*, and *ndi ichie* who seat to adjudicate a matter brought before them always look beyond the perception of an ordinary human. They immediately would realize that they are custodians of the culture and tradition of the people handed over to them by the ancestors, whatever the decision would be, must reflect the custom of the people. The preservation and restoration of the customs and value system of the people become their utmost priority. In *Things Fall Apart* for instance, *Achebe* recounted how *Okonkwo*’s house was raised down because he inadvertently killed a kinsman. *Okonkwo*’s position as a warrior who had defended the community in several war periods did not avail him.

It must be noted that in keeping to the rules of engagement, any leader of the community that compromised his or her customary responsibility will certainly face the ancestral wrath of the people. It is in keeping with this common bond that makes Igbo a unique personality. Indeed, leadership in Africa (Igbo) is inclusive, egalitarian, transparent, productive and result oriented. An average Igbo person faced with leadership challenges is not always scared or afraid of taking up responsibilities, because, such responsibilities offer him/her an opportunity to rise to fame. This peculiar asset of an Igbo leader has always been utilized by the Nigerian government in difficult situations, *Uche Chukwumerje*, *Walter Oforagoro* and *Humphery Nwosu* served Nigerian government in different capacities at a time that the country was almost collapsing, but, they were able to use wisdom and maintain the unity of the country and common good which stands as the basis for assuming leadership positions in any given society and/or clime. Today, entrusting leadership positions in the hands of Igbo people have become almost an impossibility due to display of parochial and primordial sensibilities showcased by some persons from other regions of the country who have influence over political processes of the Nigerian State.

One of the major negatives playing out against the Igbo is their involvement in the Nigeria – Biafra Civil War, and the renewed course for

Biafra Republic by some groups in the Igbo speaking States of Nigeria under the aegis of Independent People of Biafra (IPOB), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign People of Biafra (MASOB) etc. There is this fear that leadership in the hand of an Igbo citizen may lead to disintegration of the Nigerian State. This unempirical and commonly expressed ill opinion rather deny the generality of Nigerian citizens quality leadership drawn from high display of *ako n' uche*.

It is on record that the military leadership in Nigeria which was one sided did not take Nigeria to any reasonable far in the area of political, economic and socio-cultural developments. Also, the civil regime which is about 20 years now starting from 1999 to 2019 has not shown any remarkable evidence of pragmatic achievement in returning harmony and ensuring common good to the people which is the beauty and/or utility of social pact entered with the people. No one person has monopoly of leadership, and no one tribe is borne with leadership ingenuity. What is required is that every member of the Nigerian State should be seen not as alien, but a corporate member of a corporate state with the opportunity given to him/her to contribute to the development of the state. Segmentation, fragmentation and alienation of a region from the scheme of things on account of parochialism and primordial sensibilities will rather cause a major crack on Nigeria's existential unity.

I have argued elsewhere that internal logic of a people should be the appropriate tool for the pursuit of development in all facets of existence. *Ahamefula* rightly advocate leadership that recognizes the peculiarity of the people and their culture and is poised to maintain, project and improve upon it. In fact, *Ahamefula* as a:

Leadership principle demands that a leader should be concerned most importantly with the development of human resources through the development and equipment of the individual persons through the process of education and socialization. All these must be done without compromising the unique cultural identity of the people with any western paradigm¹⁶.

Without equivocation, the thesis of *Ahamefula* stands on the threshold of the above claim as the key to solving and resolving the leadership gap in the African being. *O.P.A Nyong* in a similar vein reiterated the opinion of Mahathir Mohammed of Malaysia who argued thus:

Developing countries can actually leap frog their present predicament of backwardness and underdevelopment if they related to each other as smart partners, and if they adopted

¹⁶ Ikegbu, *Ephraim*, *op.cit*.

internal policies and programme that are consciously aimed at pushing them into the same levels of development adversaries in the long run¹⁷ (11).

It is unpolemical that the above constitutes the secret of the Malaysia's income modern society that will soon bid farewell to poverty and underdevelopment. Malaysia's successes in the area of science and technology is akin to a political leadership capable of putting science and technology at the forefront of national development and ensuring that all national potentials for development are utilized principally, development of human resources is given adequate priority for proper growth and advancement in all segments of our existence. *Ahamefula: Discovering the Leadership Gaps of the African Being* is both a claxion call and response to proper recognition and adoption of the African democratic blueprints that make use of internal native logic akin to African peculiarity in dealing with African circumstance.

Conclusion

The paper *Ahamefula: Discovering Leadership Gaps in the African Being* has been well x-rayed and exposed to the reality and truth that star every African being on the face, especially African being of Nigerian (Igbo) extraction. The paper had consistently inferred that application and/or use of foreign logic in dealing with African situation will not give Africans the opportunity to discover the authentic being in them. It will also lead to sacrificing leadership qualities and ingenuacity of the African person on the alter of alien ideology.

The ejiri mara of a people remains the thing that uniquely distinguishes the person from the crowd. For the African authentic person, the *aku n' uche* (native wisdom) where properly applied will give a leadership structure that navigates process of socio-economic, political and cultural development without compromising the African cherished values. It is the believe of this paper that the basic thematic and cherished African values should not be compromised, wished away nor sacrificed on the alter of western romanticization, but be protected, promoted, preserved and sustained and adequately, used to interpret and/or explain realities within the African domains/context.

The African identity ably captured in the concept of *Ahamefula* is the basis for the perception of an African being defined in the context of *onye aghala nwanneya, Biri Kam mbiri, Egbe bere, Ugo bere, Gidi gidi bu Ugwueze* etc. These are as highlighted above grants one the communal and

¹⁷ O.P.A. Nyong, *op.cit.*

communitarian spirit that sees one in the other without which one will not become.

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POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGY IN ETHIOPIA: AN OVERVIEW

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Abstract: *Poverty reduction strategies and policies have gained considerable popularity in recent policy discourse and international economic relations. Studying poverty reduction program of the countries is very crucial in order to apprehend or amend the policies and strategies if there is a problem. The Overall objective of this paper is to make a general overview and assessment of the sustainable development and poverty reduction strategy of Ethiopia. Finally it tries to make a conclusion remarks and some recommendations on the preparation and implementation of the sustainable development and poverty reduction document of Ethiopia.*

Keywords: *Poverty, Reduction, SDPRP, Strategy, Sustainable, IPRSP, Ethiopia.*

Introduction

In 1997, the World Bank and the IMF endorsed the preparation and implementation of poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSPs) by borrower countries seeking to benefit from the enhanced HIPC (highly indebted poor countries) initiative. The Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative is a programme of the IMF, established in 1996, to reduce countries' external debt to manageable and sustainable levels – that is, to reduce the proportion of national income that countries have to spend on servicing their debts (interest and capital repayments). To qualify for HIPC debt relief, a country's debt must be worth at least 150 per cent of its exports. It must also adopt agreed adjustment and reform programmes (opening its economy, reducing government expenditure etc.) and carry these out for a certain period.¹

According to Ethiopia's first PRSP, the 2002 Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP), the public consultation process began in June 2001. The Ministry of Finance and Economic Development letter accompanying the SDPRP submission (dated: 15 Aug 2002) claims that the government "conducted extensive, transparent and inclusive

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¹ Panos institute, No 45. *Reducing Poverty: is the World Bank's strategy working?* 9 White Lion Street, London N1 9PD, U.K., 2002.

consultations as an input”. This included, “... consultations conducted at *Woreda*; Regional and Federal levels with multi-stakeholders’ active participation - NGOs, private sector, communities and development partners.”

The PRSP framework entails governments working with their respective stakeholders to draw up poverty reduction strategy papers, which once approved by IMF and the World Bank, provide the basis for negotiations and agreements among these stakeholders on the planning and implementation of poverty interventions in a country. The challenges and impediments to reduce poverty are formidable in developing countries where poverty is deep and widespread, income is extremely low, growth rate is weak and income distribution is uneven. These features of the production and distribution of output create systematic tendency for the poverty elasticity of income to be weaker making the growth induced poverty reduction less effective². With this in focus, to tackle poverty strategically, the government of Ethiopia has developed sustainable development and poverty reduction strategy document in 2002 with the help of World Bank and IMF. Hence, with all these, this paper tries to make a general overview and assessment of the Ethiopian sustainable development and poverty reduction program document. A country of almost 80 million people, with more than 29.2% and 28.2% total poverty head count and food poverty head count respectively, Ethiopia suffers some of the most serious and multifaceted chronic poverty challenges in the world. The country has abundant natural and human potential resources for development; paradoxically it is a country with series food security which stems from chronic poverty.

Ethiopia is one of the poorest countries in the world where generalized poverty, low income and productivity, unsustainable growth process, chronic poverty, unemployment, widespread social and economic problems remain to be characteristic features of the economy. When an economy finds itself in such a situation, sustainable reduction in chronic poverty requires comprehensive reform measures and policy initiatives that can jointly jump-start and move the economy from its impossibility frontier³.

The recent growth performance of the Ethiopian economy has been strong. This was largely a broad recovery process from the trough of early 1990s. Nonetheless, real per capita income is barely higher than what it

² Bourguignon, Francois, “The Growth Elasticity of Poverty Reduction: Explaining Heterogeneity across Countries and Time Periods,” World Bank research paper memo, 2003.

³ World Bank. *Ethiopia: A Strategy to Balance and Stimulate Growth - A Country Economic Memorandum, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management 2, (AFTP2)*, Africa Region, World Bank, Washington, D.C., 2004.

was during the 1970s and growth rate has been rather volatile. Agriculture generates about half of the GDP while employing nearly 85 percent of the labor force and providing livelihood for more than 90 percent of the population. And yet, agriculture in Ethiopia is mainly subsistence in nature making the national economy more or less subsistence oriented. The central challenge of economic growth and poverty reduction in Ethiopia is how to generate sustainable rise in the productivity of labor in agriculture, reduce its vulnerability to shocks, and enable the sector play a leading role in growth of standard of living and income in the country⁴.

However, the Ethiopian government is trying to produce different projects, programs and policy and strategy to bring about sustainable development and poverty reduction strategy documents. The overarching objective of the Ethiopian government's poverty reduction strategy is to reduce poverty at the same time maintaining macroeconomic stability. And one of the central agenda of the government is to bring about faster and sustained growth and to make sure that the benefits of that growth spread to the poor. To move the strategy forward, a number of pieces of analytical work have been undertaken in the past year aimed at better understanding of the linkages between growth and poverty reduction.

General objective

The general objective of this paper is to make an overall overview, assessment and to make some recommendations on the Ethiopian sustainable development and poverty reduction strategy document.

Specific Objectives

- ✓ To make an overview over the sustainable development and poverty reduction strategy document of Ethiopia
- ✓ To identify the major strength of the SDPRS document of Ethiopia.
- ✓ To make some recommendations for further re- preparation and implementation of the document

Methodology

The Ethiopian sustainable development and poverty reduction strategy is produced using primary and secondary data. And the document preparation has used data and information from different sources using consultations and discussion. A primary data on poverty surveyed by ministry of finance and economic development/MOFED/ on welfare monitoring system have been used as source of indicators. The 2000/01

⁴ World Bank, (2005b). *Ethiopia: Well-Being and Poverty in Ethiopia- The Role of Agriculture and Agency*, Report No. 29468-ET, Washington, D.C.

second round (January-February 2001) nationwide Household Income Consumption and Expenditure (HICE) Survey was used. The 2000/01 Ethiopian Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) study conducted over 45 research sites distributed across the country (31 rural and 14 urban sites) also used as source of information for the preparation of the document. In addition a secondary data has taken from a series of welfare monitoring surveys/WM/ which was conducted annually also used to prepare the document. It used Data available from prior survey undertaken by central statistical authority of which household income consumption expenditure/ HICE/. A sample method is used to study at house hold level the sample size is increased from 11,500 to 25,900 in the 1999/2000 to its better representation.

Data analysis

According to a report made by MOFED, baseline and different assessment made at different times provides results of the full-fledged poverty analysis so as to inform on the progress of the Ethiopian government towards reducing poverty. There have been two major sources of information on poverty in Ethiopia: a series of WMSs, undertaken every three to five years since 1996, which track household characteristics and the non-income dimensions of poverty; the 5-yearly HICESs, which measures income poverty. CSA has been conducting the HICES every five years since 1996 in order to gather income and consumption expenditure data. So far, the HICES has been conducted four times: 1995/96, 1999/2000, 2004/05, and 2010/11. This report draws on these four surveys, which are the main official instruments for tracking poverty and welfare in Ethiopia, but with an emphasis on the results from the 2010/11 survey.

According to data from CSA's 2004/05 Welfare Monitoring Survey (WMS), which provide outcome indicators on the non-income dimensions of poverty, education enrollment (1-6) has nearly doubled (74.2%) compared to its level in 1995/96(37.4%). Primary Gross enrollment as defined by the Ministry of Education (1-8) reached 67%, which is in line with what is reported by the Ministry of Education (68.4%) as an input to this APR (section 5.2 below). Note that what is reported here is based on sample and the Ministry's report is based on census from school reports. With regard to health, under 5immunization coverage for Measles and BCG increased from 39.1 % and 35.1%, respectively in 1996 to 56.8% and 52.5% in 2004/05(45.3% and 49.6% increase, respectively). With regard to access to clean water, overall access to clean water increased from about 19% in 1996 to 35.9% in 2004/05. This is also in line with what is reported by the Ministry of Water Resources (37.9%).

It is not possible to report definitively on year-to-year changes in income

poverty, because new household level primary data are generally generated every 5 years with the production of nationwide Household Income Consumption Expenditure (HICE) surveys. Nonetheless, based on strong economic growth, and especially the recovery of food production, it would be expected that there was a significant improvement in the poverty situation of many households in the past year, especially in those localities most affected by the drought in EFY 1995(2002/03). One simulation that links household data with sectoral growth, estimated roughly that the pattern of growth in 2003/04 would have reduced the headcount poverty index by about 10% (from around 40% to about 36.2%). Note however that short-run poverty varies widely from year to year in Ethiopia as a result of rainfall (and hence crops), making it difficult to generalize from annual data.

Table 1: Share of Public Expenditure on Poverty-Oriented sectors

Sectors	2002/03			2003/04		
	Recurrent	Capital	Total	Recurrent	Capital	Total
As a Share of Total Public Expenditure (%)						
Agriculture & food	3.3	14.7	6.9	6.3	28.0	14.5
security	16.8	16.1	16.6	19.7	14.1	17.6
Education Roads Water	1.0	30.0	10.3	1.4	29.8	12.1
Health	2.1	9.4	4.4	1.9	8.3	4.3
	3.9	7.7	5.1	5.6	8.1	6.5
Total poverty Targeted	27.1	78.0	43.3	34.9	88.3	55.0
Values in Millions of Birr						
Total poverty targeted spending	3,672	4,921	8,593	4,446	6,820	11,266
Total Public Expenditure excluding special program	13,527	6,313	19,840	12,750	7,725	20,475

Source Annual Progress Report (2003/04) by IMF

The share of out-turn on poverty-targeted spending (both recurrent and capital from all sources) increased from about 42% of total expenditure in 2002/03 to about 50% by the end of 2003/04. As Table 4 shows, there were increases in all of the poverty-oriented sectors in the past year, with recurrent poverty-targeted spending increasing by 21%, over the previous year, and capital by 39%, due mostly to the new food security program.

Significance of the study

Most of the time Significance of the study is refers to who is going to benefit from the project, program and plan of action in the development

endeavor. In light of this, the Ethiopian government sustainable development and poverty reduction strategy program has aimed at benefitting mostly the poor and most of the time it is dubbed as “the pro-poor” policy. It focused on expansion and access to social services for the majority of the population to improve the wellbeing of the people. The document which was developed in 2002 contains all sectors of the economy and submitted to the major donor organization and the World Bank for approval. And it focuses on how to reduce poverty through overall development of the country. It emphasized on producing proactive development policies to bring about accelerated development, thereby to reduce the deep rooted poverty and to extricate its people from the vicious circle of the poverty trap. As other less developed countries, Ethiopian government adopted sustainable development and poverty reduction strategy for debt relief and concessional lending with the approval of World Bank and IMF. In this case, we can say that producing this document has also an important benefit to cancel the debt burden and to get an additional lend from bilateral and multilateral agencies for further development endeavor. In addition, the significance of the study of the document can be also considered as to be used as a guideline for implementers of the different projects, programs and plan of action to contribute to the development of the country. It also used to benefit the different stakeholders and donor organizations to ease the flow of the budget to be borrowed and supported to the less developed countries.

Review of the literature

Endorsed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in 1999 as an alternative to conditionality for debt relief and access to their loans, Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRS) are currently the central policy instrument to address poverty reduction in many developing countries. Today almost 70 low and middle-income countries have completed a full PRS and many others have completed an interim PRS (World Bank Poverty, 2005). And in 1999, the World Bank, together with the IMF, introduced its Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers – better known as PRSPs. PRSPs aim to focus development efforts on poverty alleviation. They are relevant to over 70 low-income countries. A PRSP starts with a diagnosis of poverty, and then identifies the poverty reduction outcomes a country wishes to achieve and the key public actions needed. Once a country’s PRSP has been completed and approved by the World Bank and IMF, the country qualifies for debt relief and concessional lending⁵. Among such countries Ethiopia is the major

⁵ Panos institute, No 45. *Reducing Poverty: is the World Bank’s strategy working?* 9 White Lion Street, London N1 9PD, U.K., 2002.

aid recipient in the world for it to produce the sustainable development and poverty reduction strategy document in 2002 with the help of World Bank and IMF.

Poverty: conceptual issues

Poverty is pronounced deprivation in well-being. Lack of income and assets to attain basic necessities, lack of access to education and other basic services, and vulnerability to adverse shock are the main causes of poverty⁶. Poverty is a multidimensional and dynamic phenomenon. It has multiple causes that exhibit economic, social and political characteristics and poverty reduction requires multi-dimensional approaches and strategies. We have reached an era in which the moral and economic justifications for reducing and even eliminating chronic poverty have received international support. Addressing the problems of poverty has become one of the priority policy targets of governments and yet the task has proved itself as daunting. Poverty reduction policies at the national level also need to have accurate mapping of poverty in the country and across sectors as well as urban-rural manifestation of their strategies. Uneven level of economic development and growth of income across these features requires strategies that incorporate these variables to address chronic poverty⁷. Poverty is multidimensional and complex in nature and manifests itself in various forms making its definition difficult. No single definition can exhaustively capture all aspects of poverty. Poverty is perceived differently by different people, some limiting the term to mean a lack of material well-being and others arguing that lack of things like freedom, spiritual well-being, civil rights and nutrition must also contribute to their definition⁸.

It generally refers to inability of households to provide sufficient subsistence and to lead a decent economic and social life. Whereas the currently widely used international poverty line of a dollar a day is appealing to capture popular attention, the national poverty line is more commonly used in the discussion of poverty issues within a nation⁹. It is

⁶ Moges, Abu G., "Impediments to Poverty Reduction: Economic Growth, Distribution and Policy Issues," paper presented on the Annual Conference of the Japanese Economic Association, Okayama University, Japan, 2004.

⁷ Alesina, A. and Perotti, R., *The Political Economy of growth: A critical survey of the recent literature*, World Bank Economic Review, 1994, 8, 351-371.

⁸ Moges, Abu G. "Impediments to Poverty Reduction: Economic Growth, Distribution and Policy Issues," paper presented on the Annual Conference of the Japanese Economic Association, Okayama University, Japan, 2004.

⁹ World Bank, *Ethiopia: A Strategy to Balance and Stimulate Growth- A Country Economic Memorandum, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management 2*, (AFTP2), Africa Region, World Bank, Washington, D.C., 2004.

quite feasible that the absolute number of people living in chronic poverty might be increasing whereas the poverty index is actually falling. A strategy to reduce and eliminate poverty should therefore be undertaken with a clear understanding of what mechanisms influence the dynamics of poverty in the country.

Poverty reduction strategy

A Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) is a national strategy drawn up by governments of low-income countries, for targeting government expenditure on measures to reduce poverty. A PRSP starts from a diagnosis of the causes of poverty, then identifies the poverty reduction outcomes a country wishes to achieve and the key public actions – policy changes, institutional reforms, programs and projects – needed to achieve these outcomes. It should establish targets, indicators and monitoring systems¹⁰. The PRS prescription devised by the IMF and World Bank had (and still has) some distinctive features which are worth noting. It proposes to tackle poverty through intervention in four priority areas: macroeconomic stability and structural policies to support economic growth, sectoral policies and programs to address human capital (in particular its education and health-related attributes), infrastructure development, and good governance and healthy institutions. Five underlying principles should guide the PRS process: country-driven and owned, results-oriented, comprehensive in scope (recognizing the multidimensional nature of poverty and the strategies to alleviate it), participatory and partnership-oriented, and based on a medium and long-term perspective on development and poverty reduction¹¹.

The SDPR document of Ethiopia stated that ‘for some countries, economic growth is the primary policy goal, and poverty reduction is to be achieved through measures complementary to growth. This is not the approach of the Ethiopian government. Poverty reduction is the core objective of the Ethiopian government. Economic growth is the principal, but not the only, means to this objective.

From this we can infer that, the PRSP has the twin objectives of economic growth and poverty reduction. This is in recognition that economic growth is not a sufficient condition to ensure poverty reduction. And in this regard, measures geared towards improved economic

¹⁰ Panos institute, No 45. *Reducing Poverty: is the World Bank's strategy working?* 9 White Lion Street, London N1 9PD, U.K., 2002.

¹¹ World Bank, *Ethiopia: cited work*

performance and priority actions that must be implemented to reduce the incidence of poverty among Ethiopians have been identified. The paper identifies strategies that integrate sectoral objectives and ensure that priority actions are consistent with the goals of spurring growth and reducing poverty. Economic **policies and strategies earmarked for implementation** under the PRSP outline macro-economic framework aimed at promoting robust economic growth and poverty reduction. The concept of poverty reduction has ambiguous features and imprecise meaning. The poverty index could be reduced without necessarily reducing the absolute number of people struggling in chronic poverty. This is particularly relevant in countries where population growth is very fast, life expectancy is short and more children are born into poverty than those born in non-poor families or escaping the poverty trap. Moreover, the concept has inter-temporal fallacy in that the poverty reduction strategy might become the victim of its own success.

If one assumes that public policies reflect the will of the majority, at least in a democratic political setting, decline in the poverty index reduces the incentive for public policies to emphasize on further reduction measures especially when such measures are financed by contributions from the non-poor segments of the population. It therefore becomes important to develop poverty elimination strategies that appeal both to the poor and the non-poor in society and emphasize the idea that eliminating chronic poverty is to the vested economic, social and political interest of the whole population in a nation. The discussion about sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction could not be complete without due consideration and analysis of the underlying political economic forces that shape the pace, pattern, and sustainability of economic growth and its capacity to address distributional and poverty reduction objectives. Do political institutions affect the growth and poverty reduction process of national economies? Why should we care about political institutions in the analysis of growth and poverty reduction? The effect of political competition and regime type on the rate and pattern of economic growth has remained a contentious issue in the literature^{12&13}. Policy research has shown that the pace of poverty reduction will depend on the rate of average income growth, the initial level of inequality, and changes in the level of inequality¹⁴. In particular, poverty reduction will be fastest in countries where average income growth is highest (see Dollar and Kraay, 2002), in countries where initial inequality is lowest (see World Bank,

¹² Alesina, A. and Perotti, R., (1994), *cited work*, 351-371.

¹³ World Bank, (2004). Ethiopia: *cited work*.

¹⁴ Bourguignon, Francois and Christian Morrison (2002). "Inequality Among World Citizens: 1829-1992." *American Economic Review*. 92(4): 727-744.

2000), and in situations where income growth is combined with falling inequality (see Bourguignon, 2003). A joint staff (World Bank and IMF) assessment of the SDPRP dated August 27, 2002 was reflected on the strength of the strategy as follows: (i) a strong country ownership and a broad-based participatory process; (ii) a sound diagnosis of the poverty situation; (iii) an appropriate emphasis of the importance of rural and agrarian development in the lives of the poor, with a recognition of the importance of private sector development to increase non-farm income and generate growth; (iv) a welcome stress on investing in human capacity, as demonstrated by the reorientation of expenditures toward social spending. Nevertheless, the assessment warns that the strategy remains a work in progress, and it needs elaboration in a number of areas.

Policy issues and strategies

The issue of poverty could be seen from the perspectives of the process of production of national output, the distribution of national income, and the demographic features of a nation. The impediments to poverty reduction are closely related to these factors and the underlying variables operating within a setting of a national economy. The underlying forces of poverty and its dynamics in Ethiopia have both production inefficiency and distributional inequity characteristics. Addressing the problems of poverty in the country therefore require efforts to improve production allocation efficiency, productivity, investment in human and physical capital, improving the distribution of resources and opportunities, and undertaking sound institutional reforms.

A realistic assessment of the growth prospects of the economy and the factors that have hampered and might continue to hamper the realization of fast and sustained economic growth is very imperative. The main factors for economic stagnation are harsh initial conditions, hostile investment policy environment, weak human and physical capital accumulation, political instability, conflicts, weak institutional capacity and infrastructure, rampant corruption, frequent external shocks and the demographic factors^{15,16& 17}. The recent trend in poverty reduction in Ethiopia strongly suggests that the pace of poverty reduction is weak and has no momentum. At the current pace, Ethiopia could hardly be able to achieve the core target of the Millennium Development Goals by 2015. Despite these facts and absence of a coherent policy of promoting

¹⁵ Easterly, William and Ross Levine (1997). "Africa's Growth Tragedy: Policies and Ethnic Divisions," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November, 1203-1250.

¹⁶ Moges, Abu G. (2004), *cited work*.

¹⁷ Panos institute, (2002). No 45. *Reducing Poverty: is the World Bank's strategy working?* 9 White Lion Street, London N1 9 PD, U.K.

sustained and shared economic growth in the economy, policy makers in the country have repeatedly declared that the country would achieve the millennium development goals (MDGs). This is rather irresponsible position and it diverts policy priorities and realism in the policy decision-making processes. Even the unlikely scenario of doubling foreign aid inflow could not accomplish the task given the human capital constraint, the policy environment and the failure to undertake bold and credible policy reform measures. The denial exercise also puts into question the credibility of decision makers and the issue of public accountability in economic policy making. Unfortunately, sustained poverty reduction could not be achieved without a meaningful and leading role of domestic private sector involvement in all aspects of production and support for radical policy and institutional reforms.

However the report from the government has shown that there has been registered as significant change in poverty reduction strategy by focusing expending huge amount of budget on the pro-poor development areas. The poverty results indicate that absolute poverty in 2010/11 (compared to 2004/05) have decline over the past five years in all regions except Dire Dawa urban (where absolute poverty incidence increased by 6%). Poverty gap in 2010/11 also declined in all regions except in rural Afar, rural SNNP, Addis Ababa and urban Dire Dawa. Poverty severity also declined in 2010/11 in many of the regions including Tigray, Amhara, Benishangul-Gumuz, Harai, urban Afar, urban somale, and rural Dire Dawa, but poverty severity increased in rural Afar, Oromia, rural Somale, SNNP, Addis Ababa, and urban Dire Dawa as MOFED confirmed. Ethiopia formally embarked on anti-poverty reduction strategy, with the sponsorship of the IMF and the World Bank, in 2002 and the government put its objectives and policies in its poverty reduction strategy paper –Ethiopia: Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program- which assesses the poverty situation in the country, the sources and constraints to economic growth, and outlines measures to address them. The document boldly claims that the country can achieve all the development targets by 2015 which critics and supporters alike find it somewhat unrealistic. This was followed by a revised policy plan to accelerate and sustainable development to end poverty. The revised policy stance recognizes the importance of non-agricultural sector in promoting overall growth and in addressing pressing poverty problems. Over the years, Ethiopia has adopted different poverty alleviation and reduction strategies, for example, in the Food Security Strategy (1996 and 2002) and in the five-year Developmental Plan (2002). Despite this, however, Ethiopia has been continuously devastated by poverty. This is mainly because strategies and policies do not really emanate from careful analysis of

realities and not much effort is put into learning from experience¹⁸.

The origin of PRSPs

The aim of the PRSP approach is to focus development efforts on poverty alleviation. By the 1990s it was clear that after decades of development aid and projects, the situation of poor countries and poor people within those countries was not improving. The 1980s and 1990s were decades of growth in wealth for many, as the world's total economy grew, benefiting from new technology, liberalization, and growth of trade – globalization – but the gap between rich and poor was increasing. The IMF introduced structural adjustment policies (SAPs) as a recipe for helping poorer countries join in the global party. These were meant to stabilize national finances and open economies to international trade, both seen as the essential foundation for economic growth. But SAPs did not seem to have succeeded. According to critics, they actually increased poverty, partly because the preconditions for receiving loans were that governments reduced public spending, and this often meant cuts in education, health, and welfare – cuts that hit the poorest hardest.

At the national level, the policy process was coordinated by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MoFED). Steering and Technical Committees were established with membership from across government, although chaired by the Head of Economic Planning at MoFED. According to Ethiopia's first PRSP, the 2002 Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP), the public consultation process began in June 2001. The Ministry of Finance and Economic Development letter accompanying the SDPRP submission claims that the government “conducted extensive, transparent and inclusive consultations as an input”. This included, “... consultations conducted at *Woreda*; Regional and Federal levels with multi-stakeholders' active participation - NGOs, private sector, communities and development partners.”

However, the 2002 document claims that decentralization to *woreda*-level, with budget autonomy (from central government grants) will: “provide a basis for a meaningful participation by the people in local development programs”. However, it does not elaborate on how or to what extent, particularly with central control of funding allocation. It also mentions “equitable growth and positive social impact” without defining what it means by the latter, or how to achieve these goals.

The design process of the 2002 PRSP involved consultation outside

¹⁸ Panos institute, No 45. *Reducing Poverty: is the World Bank's strategy working?* 9 White Lion Street, London N1 9 PD, U.K., 2002.

government offices for the first time, to woreda level, with the poor given a voice through NGOs. However, critics highlight a fear of the political consequences of speaking out in a top-down culture of communal collective participation, restricting the inclusion of voices of the poor in the final document. Policy documents were made available online in English, but not Amharic. While the technically-improved 2005 PRSP was consultative only to the regional level, it does include the results of a PPA conducted in 2004/5, and the feedback from a collection of civil society organizations (Katharine Giffared-Lindsay, 2008). Everyone welcomes the emphasis on poverty. Most NGOs and experts accept that growth is necessary to reduce poverty in the long term, and most are happy to engage in discussion of the sectoral pro-poor measures – additional spending on education, for example. But there is a lot of debate about whether the World Bank/IMF structural adjustment and liberalization prescription, reflected in PRSPs, is the right way to set about reducing poverty. UNCTAD (the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) for instance, believes that ‘the PRSP approach is a major opportunity to achieve greater poverty reduction, but realizing this opportunity will require a real break with the policies of the past’ – which they do not see happening¹⁹. The government has calculated the elasticity of poverty with respect to growth based on the latest Household Income and Consumption Expenditure (HICE) Survey data (1999/2000), taking explicitly into account the likely changes in income distribution. This analysis implies that the Ethiopian economy must grow in real terms by 5.7% per annum until 2015 to reduce poverty by half from its current level. Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) are prepared by member countries in broad consultation with stakeholders and development partners, including the staffs of the World Bank and the IMF. Updated every three years with annual progress reports, they describe the country’s macroeconomic, structural, and social policies in support of growth and poverty reduction, as well as associated external financing needs and major sources of financing. It needs to be recognized that progress in reducing poverty in these circumstance is an incremental process, and major changes are often not noticeable in a single year. The Government has embarked on an aggressive program to accelerate progress as rapidly as possible – including a big push on education to create human capacity, expanding infrastructure as rapidly as financing and capacity will allow, opening the economy, building institutions, and decentralizing government. At the same time it is trying to manage this in the context of continuing food security pressures, and a

¹⁹ Panos institute, No 45. *Reducing Poverty: is the World Bank’s strategy working?* 9 White Lion Street, London N1 9 PD, U.K., 2002.

volatile external and regional environment.

With these general features PRSs became part of a 'New - New Poverty Agenda' (Maxwell, 2003) which quickly gained adherence worldwide. Other distinctive elements of this agenda include the centrality of the MDGs, the adoption of specific approaches to delivering international aid (such as General Budget Support and Sector Wide Approaches) and a strong commitment to results-based management. In order to understand the way PRSs have addressed the role of the rural productive sectors in poverty reduction it is important to analyze the wider debate and policy agenda on pro-poor growth and it is a need to look at the allocation of resources to the different pro-poor sectors. Ethiopian government has expended and allocates a huge amount of financial, material and human resources for the social service expansions and most of the budget geared towards to the pro-poor sectors of the economy.

This can be seen from the table 1 below which summarizes the most important poverty-related **outcomes** achieved in the past years. It shows the achievement of the sustainable development and poverty reduction strategies of the government.

Table 1: Summary of Some Main SDPRP Outcomes and Outputs for the first two years of implementation

Sector	Indicator	Target for SDPRP Period) (2002/03-2004/05)	Achievements by end 2002/03	Achievements By end 2003/04
Poverty and Growth	GDP Growth to create employment and incomes	Target for EFY 1996 (2003/04) = 6.7%	-3.9% (2002/03)	11.6%
Agriculture & Food Security	Number of farming households covered by extension	6 million by end of the SDPRP Period (2004/05)	4.1 million	4.5 million
	Quantity of fertilizer Consumption	1,089,000 MT (over 3 years)	277,000 MT	322,938 MT
	Quantity of improved seed sales	710,000 Quintals (over 3 years)	159,220 Quintals	204,032 Quintals
Education	Gross Primary Enrolment	66 percent	64.4 percent	68.4 %
	Average Grade 4-8 Repetition Rate	6.4 percent	9.8 percent	5.6%
	Girls/Boys Ratio	0.79	0.72	0.80
	Primary School Drop-out Rate	8.9 percent	19.2 percent	19.2%
	Grade 5 Completion Rate	34 percent	34 percent	37 %
	Text Book/ pupil ratio for Core subject for grade 1-8	1.2	1.2	1.15 (Estimated)
Health	Pupil to teacher ratio (1-8)	63 for 2002/03	64	65
	Access to health service (%)	65 percent	61 percent	64%
	Malaria prevalence rate	7.2% and 6.7% for 2002/03 and 2003/04, Respectively	8.7 %	8.7%

	Contraceptive Prevalence Rate	23.5% by the end of 2003/04	21.5%	23%
	Immunization Coverage (DPT3)	55% by 2003/04	50.4	60.8
	Nurses to Population Ratio		1:4,882	1:4,572
	Technicians to Population Ratio		1:19,967	1:18,344
	Under Five Child Mortality Rate	160/1000	140.1/1000	140.1/1000
Water	Access to Clean Water (%) National	39.4 percent	34.1percent	37.9%
Roads	Road Network (Density)	Road Density 32.3 km/1000sq.km	31km/1000sq.km	33.2 km/1000sq.km
	Proportion of Networks in Good Condition	38%	34%	37%
HIV/AIDS	Transmission	Reduce transmission by 25	4.4	NA ²
	Prevalence	Contain prevalence at 7.3 percent	6.6 percent	4.4% ³
Public Expenditure	Share of Poverty-Targeted Spending in Total Budget		41.9%	53.3%
Data Not Measurable on Annual Basis Poverty Head Count (Po), Infant Mortality Rate, Under 5 child mortality rate, Maternal Mortality rate /b				

Notes: a/ See sector sections for more detailed reporting and corresponding annex tables on outputs and outcomes/ Note some key indicators of outcomes (especially in relation to health status and income poverty) are not measured annually. These can only be measured when nationwide surveys are undertaken; these are expensive and time-consuming, and thus usually only conducted every 5 years or so; preparatory works are under way to conduct next Demographic and Health Survey; and Household Income and Consumption Survey results in 2005/06.

Modest improvements in institutional efficiency, such as the reform of the legal system, enforcing contracts, ensuring property rights, maintaining peace and stability, and improving the functioning of public services, can help reduce this growth requirement to about 4.7 %. This is likely to be achieved as the government has already embarked on almost all fronts (capacity building, devolution and empowerment, justice system and civil service reform, anti-corruption as the data of MOFED indicates. By the 1990s it was clear that after decades of ‘development’ aid and projects, the situation of poor countries and poor people within those countries was not improving. Although the proportion of people living in extreme poverty fell, according to the World Bank – from 28 per cent in 1987 to 23 per cent in 1998 – the absolute numbers were larger: in

1998 1.2 billion people lived on less than a dollar a day, 2.8 billion on less than two dollars^{20&21}.

Contents of the SDPRP

Ethiopia's version of PRSP is termed as 'Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Programmer (SDPRP). To a large extent, the SDPRP contains the most important policy issues that need to be implemented to reduce poverty. Its contents largely reflect the concerns and interests of a diverse cross-section of civil society institutions and donors that participated in the process of preparing the policy document. To this extent, it can be characterized as country owned and transparent, involving wide participation by interested stakeholders in the PRSP process. It is hoped that this consultative process will be sustained through the implementation process as well monitoring and evaluating its impact in reducing poverty. The SDPRP presents an authoritative poverty profile of the country supported by empirical and statistical data. It provides sufficient analysis of the magnitude and severity of poverty throughout the country. It is also a comprehensive policy document that suggests a carefully thought out set of measures to reduce poverty. A general overview of its important contents is presented below. The introductory section and that on poverty profile set out the vision and broad development strategies to transform the Ethiopian economy. In addition to providing a general poverty profile supported by empirical evidences, the sections provide an overview of the performance of the Ethiopian economy since the early 1990s, and present a discussion of the major problems that the economy had to overcome to bring about sustainable development and poverty reduction. Sections on consultation process and their outcomes review the extent of public participation in the formulation of the PRSP at the Woreda (district), regional and federal levels of government. The active involvement and participation of a wide cross section of civil society, including NGOs, independent research institutes and policy tink-tanks, private consultancy and advocacy organizations, professional associations, chambers of commerce and trade unions, is well documented.

Then the major development goals, policies, strategies and targets are addressed. The development strategy is *'to promote rapid, broad-based*

²⁰ Panos institute, No 45. *Reducing Poverty: is the World Bank's strategy working?* 9 White Lion Street, London N1 9PD, U.K., 2002.

²¹ Moges, Abu G., "Impediments to Poverty Reduction: Economic Growth, Distribution and Policy Issues," paper presented on the Annual Conference of the Japanese Economic Association, Okayama University, Japan, 2004.

and equitable growth by focusing on rural development and improvement in physical and human capital, and deepening the devolution process to empower the people and expand the choices and control that people have over their lives'. Four core policies and strategies have been identified as '*building blocks*' for poverty reduction: (a) ADLI, (b) Judicial and Civil Service Reform, (c) Decentralization and Empowerment and (d) Capacity Building. A general description of these key elements is in order to show how they are linked to the SDPRP. (a) According to the Ethiopian Government, ADLI is a strategy in which agriculture and industry are brought into a single framework of development, wherein the development of agriculture is viewed as an important vehicle for industrialization by providing raw material, a market base, surplus labor and capital accumulation (in the short to medium term). A priority to agricultural and rural development is believed to address both objectives of growth and poverty reduction simultaneously since the majority of the poor resides within the rural sector employed in a poor productivity agriculture. Hence, improving the performance of the agricultural sector is believed to enhance the productivity of the majority of the population (85% of total). (b) Ethiopia's SDPRP considers judicial and civil service reform within the context of the broad economic policy reforms deemed necessary for the establishment of a market economy and attainment of macro-economic stability. The improvement of the judiciary and the civil service systems are considered second generation reforms that will make a qualitative change in governance, transparency and accountability within the public sector. Reforming the judiciary will strengthen enforcement of contracts and property rights, while the civil service reform will reduce transaction costs and non-commercial risks. All these will play an important role in the development of the private sector, and also facilitate the development of social capital. (c) The SDPRP strongly argues that decentralization and empowerment are essential for the successful implementation of anti-poverty programs and policies. In a relatively big country such as Ethiopia with a large and widely dispersed rural population, decentralization is an effective means of bringing decision-making processes closer to the people. Over the past decade or so, the electorate, politicians both at the federal and regional levels, civil servants and association of civil society have all gone through a steep learning curve about the workings of democracy, and valuable experience has been gained on federalism and devolved government. (d) Finally, capacity building is an essential component of the SDPRP. Capacity building is taken to comprise the development of human resources, building and strengthening of institutions, and establishment of effective working practices. The program is to be implemented in relation to

smallholder agriculture, the private sector, and the public sector, including the judiciary. Training of farmers, supporting micro-financing institutions, and strengthening public and private sector organizations involved in the development of agriculture will run parallel to judiciary and civil service reform programs. Taxation will receive priority within the civil service reform. The strategy and program framework for capacity building is designed to feed into the reformulated ADLI Strategy, judiciary and civil service reforms, and decentralization and empowerment; hence, it is an integral part of the country's poverty reduction strategy.

The next important section of the SDPRP picks up the key sector development policies that are identified as poverty related including agriculture, food security, roads, water resources development, education and health. Pastoral development is also included with particular focus on encouragement of voluntary settlement through provision of improved water, pasture and social services. A common feature cutting across the treatment of these sectors, as we shall see later, is the issue of how their development could be linked with poverty reduction. This is followed by a detailed outline of issues surrounding private sector and export development (such as the need to create conducive investment climate, finance, HRD, infrastructure, export markets, institutions, etc), extent of vulnerability to various kinds of shocks (natural or manmade, local or external, etc) and response capability (by way of absorbing the shocks as well as successfully coming out of it). Important cross-cutting issues such as environment, population, gender, urban management (governance, infrastructure, housing, land, jobs), and HIV/AIDS (focusing on prevention of the spread, decreasing vulnerability of individuals and communities, caring for those living with the disease, and reducing the adverse socio-economic consequences of the epidemic) have also been addressed in detail highlighting on the importance of implementing the respective policies that the country adopted. The bottom-line is that these concerns need to be addressed in a systematic and coordinated manner if the effort of poverty reduction is to be successful. It is noteworthy to state that most of these concerns could as well be addressed through the key poverty-related sectors such as for example, girls education, mother and child health care, etc.

Then comes the section on the macroeconomic fiscal framework and financing the program. It presents estimates of program costs by sector hence determining the resource envelope, identifies likely sources for financing including the HIPC debt relief, and allocates resources to sectors within the MEFF. The approach used is to estimate program costs first, then to seek financing through various channels. Details are provided in part four of this report. The final section of the program is that deals with program

targets, monitoring and evaluation system. Among other things, by presenting the institutional responsibilities and links, it reviews the existing monitoring and evaluation systems and argues for building on this capacity for better and integrated mechanisms. In fact this is very important in view of the valuable experiences gained in such important process. It also proposes an outline a framework for preparation of SDPRP progress report and other dissemination plans in a multi-actor setting. In more concrete terms, a close examination of the contents of the SDPRP brings out the following experiences and observations: major strength of SDPRP.

The Government's Approach towards Poverty Reduction

The Ethiopian government boldly states to directly target poverty reduction as its core objective – not just going around it through first achieving economic growth. It hopes to achieve that through ‘promotion of rapid, broad-based and equitable growth by focusing on agricultural and rural development and improvement of the physical and human capital, and deepening of the devolution process to empower the people and expand the choices and control that people have over their lives’. It identifies investment in education and health as crucial areas to achieve a pro-poor economic growth pattern since these enhance the productivity of land and labour (particularly rural labour) of those who are poor. This makes sense in view of the heavy weight of the rural population (85 percent of total) and the high poverty concentration ratio (incidence¹ - 45.4 percent compared to urban 36.9 percent). Important and huge resources are tied up within a low productivity sector rendering returns on agricultural employment to be very low. If successful on these fronts, then the strategy would also have a food-security improving effect through enhancement of productivity. There is a lot to be desired on both counts, i.e., education and health, for Ethiopia as a whole and for its rural population particularly. Thus, given the relatively basic egalitarian structure that prevails in rural areas on the one hand and the current low level of productivity of labour as well as land on the other, any investment to enhance the productivity of these two factors should have a direct poverty reducing impact. However, in view of the fact that urban poverty has increased by about 11 percent while it declined by 4 percent in rural areas between 1995/96 and 1999/00, consistent with the government's avowed stance to combat poverty directly, a more direct and targeted intervention would be necessary to address the specific nature of urban poverty. This is because, notwithstanding the growth linkage effects of rural and agricultural development on non-agricultural patterns of development, the potential risk and cost of excluding the urban poor could be quite high. Urban poverty is strongly linked with absence of productive

employment opportunities – which is apparently a structural problem in Ethiopia – that cannot be easily assumed to be indirectly addressed through achieving agricultural development. For instance, one of the things that an agricultural growth would bring about is improving the adequacy and stability of food supplies and reduction in food prices (through increased productivity), i.e., improving food security. However, even under market condition of extremely depressed food prices, what has been observed in the recent past is that farmers could not sell their products for the simple reason that there was little effective demand due largely to weak purchasing power of the market dependent population the majority of which are absolutely poor.

Conclusion

The overarching conclusion from the discussion, and from the recommendations made in this review, is that influence by, and accountability to, the poor, as part of improving the aid effectiveness agenda for the future PRSs, could be achieved. This, however, is dependent on how PRSs are located within the domestic political and decision-making architecture, and how donors change their behavior towards better alignment and harmonization. Politics and political systems largely determine PRS success. There are deep-seated structural problems in the political system involving power inequalities between a range of actors and arenas. Over-turning these cannot be achieved easily or through purely technocratic interventions designed to improve bureaucratic procedures. One of the key tensions is between donors and national governments, because PRSs are ostensibly about moving away from excessive and debilitating conditionality. This suggests a qualitative improvement in donor-government power relationships and there is still a very long way to go before genuine ownership and accountability is in place. The recommendations drawn in these assessments are meant to contribute towards the journey.

It would seem from the discussions above that the following changes would be critical to improving the content of policies and programs flowing from the Poverty Reduction Strategies/Economic Recovery Strategy and the power relationships and process of formulating and realizing policy targets and public obligations. First and foremost it should be noted that, the measure of poverty defined in most of Ethiopia's quantitative poverty is a lack of command over marketable goods and services (both purchased and own produced). Although this measurement is undeniably important, it is clearly not the only dimension of well-being. Command over non-market goods, such as some publicly provided services, may be an important omission in conventional poverty measures.

Secondly, welfare measures may vary depending on the season the survey is conducted. Spreading of interviews over an entire calendar generally helps to average out some of the seasonal fluctuations in income or expenditure data if a household is visited only once in every season. Again, with one round survey, if poverty incidence is for example observed to increase, it will not be known whether this is due to new poor having joined the existing poor, or whether it is the net outcome of a dynamic process whereby some people escape poverty and others become poor, or purely seasonal. Whether poverty is chronic or temporary can therefore best be established by longer period surveys of same households.

Over the years, Ethiopia has adopted different poverty alleviation and reduction strategies, for example, in the Food Security Strategy (1996 and 2002) and in the five-year Developmental Plan (2002). Despite this, however, Ethiopia has been continuously devastated by poverty. This is mainly because strategies and policies do not really emanate from careful analysis of realities and not much effort is put into learning from experience

To conclude, in spite of the shortcomings of the surveys on poverty conducted in the last decade in Ethiopia, these surveys form not only a good benchmark for poverty monitoring, but also a springboard for further poverty diagnostics and feedback into the data collection systems. In addition, the consultation of PRS processes represent a good entry point for opening up the policy making process and improving the deficit in governance that exists in Ethiopia. However, there is urgent need to develop structures that will enable or allow the communities to fully participate in the planning, implementation and monitoring of poverty programs and projects. Although the PRS consultative process relied more on virtual forums, we believe that it has been a step in the right direction. Currently, all policy documents are disseminated up to the district level for easy access and consultation by all stakeholders. However, raw data is now made available to the research community upon request, unlike in the past when access was restricted.

Recommendation

Based on the assessment and analysis I would like to recommend the following points:

A crucial dimension of the PRSP is its possibility to be implemented, which would be largely determined by the material, human and financial resources that would be available to undertake its prescriptions. It is very important to know that poverty reduction within a short period of time would be an ambitious goal, and that a poverty reduction strategy should be long term but it has to be a realistic process which requires sound and

fact based available data. There must be a right balance between a politically induced quick-fix program and a realistic, truly pro-poor approach and it is a challenge that the PRSP must overcome.

It is necessary to reduce and harmonize the several economic planning instruments and frameworks which presently co-exist in the country. First it is recommended that these be sharpened to become mutually consistent in terms of their policy prescriptions. Secondly, it is recommended that institutional requirements of these instruments be fine-tuned to allow greater flexibility in implementation more capacity building opportunities and better capacity utilization. It appears from the interim strategy paper that the country is responding to World Bank/IMF questionnaires without necessary planning new measures to fight poverty. Ethiopia has provided data to characterized the poverty situation but have not demonstrated a clear understanding of dynamics of poverty and the particular nature of its components. It is recommended that the governments be assisted to adopt the World Bank/IMF guidelines to suit local circumstances and culture. As long as the government set its priorities on securing concessionary funding, the WB/IMF agenda will continue to drive the process.

There is a need for capacity strengthening, not just to submit an acceptable interim paper to WB/IMF, but also to provide a strong base for establishing a sound and suitable national planning framework for development. It is also recommended that the government be assisted to fully appreciate the role and potential contribution of the private sector and civil society in fighting poverty, and to accord them corresponding responsibility and opportunity to make a difference. It is recommended that conscious efforts be made to seek appropriate economic opportunities where scientific and technological intervention could spur rapid growth. Poverty reduction strategy should thus include the removal of barriers to access to technology, to new products, or to investment. Many critics are there that, the strategy document preparation was following a top down approach with less participation of the stakeholders and especially of the poor. Therefore, the strategy has to be reviewed and the participation of the stakeholders in the re preparation has to be increased. Encourage the formation of community-based organizations and provide space and capacity of community based, civil society and research organizations to independently monitor the implementation of the plan documents and the budget. Poverty diagnostics within PRSPs needs to engage with analyses of the causes of poverty, including perceptions poor people themselves form of these causes, and to relate monitoring and evaluation and policy recommendations to these causal processes. In terms of targeted research, the approach needs to be in-depth, qualitative, and theoretically informed. It needs to move beyond the local and show how they lived experience of

poverty ties into the broader economic, social and economic processes that keep people poor and shape the opportunities for development.

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RESTRICTING MATERNAL RIGHT AND POSSIBILITY OF INFANT DEATH: A STUDY OF RIMIN GADO COMMUNITY IN KANO

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Abstract: *This research examines if there is any relationship between restricted maternal right and infant death in Rimin Gado. The town consist of 14 wards which were all selected, houses were combined into a continuous list and systematic sampling technique was used, with a sampling ratio of 1:2 (an interval of every second house). 511 women respondents were drawn on the basis of availability. The target population were married women who must have given birth at least once. The units of analysis were married women, married men, Wanzamai and traditional birth attendants. The research was anchored on social action theory. The research's critical variable is maternal right. The type of data collected were both quantitative (questionnaire) and qualitative. Simple frequency, percentage table cross tabulation and correlation in SPSS version 16.0 were used to test the hypotheses. Findings revealed that there is no direct link between maternal right and infant deaths.*

Keywords: *maternal right infant death, target population, social action theory.*

Introduction

Women often need to get the consent of their husband before they seek for health care services¹. Maternal and infant health decisions are the prerogative of the husbands or senior members of the family. What this means is that there is male dominance as far as household decisions are concerned, which include decisions pertaining to issues of seeking for infant health care. In many households in rural areas, the right to self – determination is undermined, and therefore women's dignity, freedom and autonomy, capacities and choices are easily defiled² The report from Nigeria Demographic Health Survey (2008) showed that in Nigeria as a whole, 56 percent of men make decision for their wives and infant' health

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¹ Ogundairo, J.A. & Jegede S.A., Socio-Cultural Challenges in Assessing Antenatal Care by Pregnant Fulani Women in Ibarapa Central Local Government, Oyo State, Nigeria: *Journal of Public Health and Research. Sci. Med, Central*, 2016.

² Amzat, J., The Question of Autonomy in Maternal Health in Africa: A Right-Based Consideration. *Journal of Bio-ethical Inquiry*, 12, 283-293, 2015.

care, while 45 percent of men make decision on women's visit to their family or relatives. Such figures could be higher if the research was to focus on certain particular communities alone in Nigeria. In some typical Hausa settlement, women have little control over whether they can receive medical care for themselves and their infant. They often have to completely rely on the decision of the husband and, or the in-laws. Women are not permitted to make unilateral decisions even about their children. They are expected to get the approval of their husbands even where they (women) are highly educated and have high economic status³.

Allerdorf⁴ argued that women are believed to have a stronger preference for ensuring good health for themselves and their children, compared with husbands and other family members. Thus, when women possess the power to realize their preference, better health outcomes are the result. However, there are considerable differences in women's relative dependency on and subordination to men. Such may be on account of practices, which are learned from ethnic traditions as well as inculcated in structures of local economies. In some communities mothers are not part of decisions making even in issues that affect their health. The Hausa society located in the Northern part of Nigeria is patriarchal with strong male influence on many household decisions, including reproduction. In case of complication after child-birth or infant health problem, the woman cannot decide to seek for the child's health care alone, unless support comes from family, husbands and friends, women often tend not to seek treatment⁵. In health cases, where the infant needs urgent attention, such a practice could lead to delay in seeking for medical attention and subsequent death of the infant. For instance, a study in Maharashtra in India reveals that restricted maternal autonomy is associated with higher level of infant death⁶.

The influence of culture on the health of infants cannot be over emphasized in Nigeria. Study of Kebbi State women⁷ showed that, cultural restrictions imposed by male household heads tend to hinder women's rights, because women (especially in the rural areas) cannot decide to seek

³ Jegede, A.S., *African Culture and Health: A revised and Enlarged Edition*. Book Wright Publishers, Ibadan, 2010.

⁴ Allerdorf, K., *The Quality of Family Associations and Uses of Maternal Health Care Services in India: Studies in Family planning*. Vol. 41. No 4. 2010, pp. 263-276.

⁵ UNFPA, United Nations Population Fund. Contextual factors influencing people's health seeking behaviour. *Module 2: Socio – cultural aspects of reproductive health*, 2001.

⁶ Griffiths, p. Hinde, A. and Mathew, Z., Infant and child mortality in two culturally contrasting states of India. *J. Biosoc. Sci.* 33:2 001, 603 – 622.

⁷ Shehu, D.J., Upgrading community awareness of obstetric complications in North Western, Nigeria” *In Journal of Reproductive Health Matters*. August – December, 1999, 218-226.

care for themselves or their babies in the absence of the husband and other male relatives. On this basis, this study examines the issue of restricting maternal right in Rimin Gado and the possibility of infant death due to such restrictions.

Weber's theory of social action is the working model in this research work. Weber was interested in situations in which people attach meaning to what they do. On the basis of this theory, it can be deduced that restrictions on maternal right resulted from traditional action; meaning that the people engage in those actions because they seek to abide and maintain other traditional actions and behaviours that are customarily prescribed. This classical theory of everyday life focuses on individual thought and action as being the cause of certain social problems. Max Weber, who founded the theory, explained that sociologists should capitalize on and utilizes the advantage they have over natural scientist; that advantage resides in the sociologist's ability to understand social phenomena like action, behaviour and the actor. For instance, exclusion of women from decision making are done by most individuals in the community, because they are seen as normal behaviour and culturally accepted. The negative outcomes of some of these practices are often neglected because they are based on the ways things are done.

Methodology

Qualitative and quantitative data were collected; quantitative data was sought through sample survey in order to cover a large sample or a large proportion of the population, the target population for the study was made up of married women (mothers) aged 15-49 years. Rimin Gado town has fourteen wards, and all the wards were selected. Eight wards constituted 193 houses; which were all selected (because they have small number of houses). The other six wards have large number of houses; as such each house was allocated a number. The houses were combined into a continuous list and systematic sampling technique was used, with a sampling ratio of 1:2 (an interval of every second house). The selection of these actual respondents was based on order of wives, after which questionnaire was administered to the women. In the qualitative method the target population were married men because they play vital a role decision making, as such Focus Group Discussions (FGD) were organized for men to enable detailed qualitative data collection. Two FGD were organized for married men between the ages of 30-60 years to enable freedom of expression. The first FGD consisted of those aged 30-40 while the second FGD consisted of those aged 50-60, they were conducted at two different times and each group consists of 10 members. The qualitative findings were used to help examine the strength or weakness of the quantitative findings.

Results and Discussion

Table 1: Level of Mother's Participation on deciding her health care

Level	Frequency	Percent
Low	130	26.0
Average	298	59.6
High	72	14.4
Total	500	100.0

Majority of the mothers can not fully decide on their own health care without the influence of the husband. Only 14.4 percent of the participants enjoy high level of participation in deciding their health care.

Table 2: Level of mother's participation on deciding infant health care

Level	Frequency	Percent
Low	115	23.0
Average	299	59.8
High	86	17.2
Total	500	100.0

On the issue of mother's level of participation in deciding infant health care, the table presents that 82.8 % percent of mothers participate either averagely or low in the decision that affects the infant's health. Only 17.2% have high level of participation.

In the Focus Group Discussion, a member in the group of married women reported that:

A woman should not make any hasty decision because her infant is sick, everyone expects her to calmly wait for her husband or in-law because that is what all other women are doing here and their infant will still get their health back. If she refuses to listen to her husband in this community, conflict may likely occur between them”

Table 3: Level of Mother's Participation on deciding daily house purchases

Level	Frequency	Percent
Low	106	21.2
Average	266	53.2
High	128	25.6
Total	500	100.0

This is an indication that mothers generally hold low level in deciding daily household purchase which perhaps may be due to the fact that majority of them have very low income.

Table 4: Level of Mother's Participation on spending her earning

Level	Frequency	Percent
Low	112	22.4
Average	117	23.4
High	271	54.2
Total	500	100.0

In a summary, the four tables on decision making show that mothers are a bit free only in spending their own earning and daily house hold purchase. But when it comes to decision on their health care and that of their infant, the figures in the high category are very low. In general we can say that women participate at low level in most decision making areas, especially in issues that concern their health and that of their infant.

Table 5: Level of Spouse's Participation on deciding Mother's health care

Level	Frequency	Percent
Low	13	2.6
Average	100	20.0
High	387	77.4
Total	500	100.0

According to the table, 22.6 % of mothers reported that their spouses have either low or average level of participation in deciding their health care. 77.4 % reported that their spouses have high level of participation.

Table 6: Level of Spouse participation on deciding Infant health care

Level	Frequency	Percent
Average	91	18.2
High	409	81.8
Total	500	100.0

Mothers were asked about their spouses' level of participation in decisions that affect their infant's health. From the table (6) it can be seen that, 81.8 percent of mothers' reports that their spouses have high level of participation in the issue of infant health care, perhaps due to the central position they hold and also due to the cultural rules that state that the decision of a father on his children is the most accepted.

Table 7: Level of Spouse participation on deciding daily house purchase

Level	Frequency	Percent
Low	68	13.6
Average	145	29.0
High	287	57.4
Total	500	100.0

Table 7 shows that 57.4 percents of Spouse have high level in deciding household purchase, while 42.6 % have either average or low level of participation. This may not be detached from the fact that most of the mothers have relatively low income, and despite the fact that their income goes into the daily household purchase, they still have to rely on their husband for other household purchases.

Table 8: Level of Spouse's participation on spending mother's own earning

Level	Frequency	Percent
Low	103	20.6
Average	162	32.4
High	235	47.0
Total	500	100.0

From this table it can be observed that 53% of spouses have either low or average level of participation when it comes to decision on spending mother's earning. Only 47 percent of the spouses participate at high level. This strengthens the data presented in table 4 which reported that 54.2 percent of mothers have high level in the issue of deciding on how to spend their own earnings.

In a summary, it can be seen that spouses have very high level of participation in all the most crucial aspects of decision making; that is mother and infant health care. Likewise even in other areas of decision making like daily household purchase and spending of mother's earning, those in the low category do not have very low figures.

Table 9: What to do if husband is absent during child birth and infant health problem

Responses- Action	Frequency	Percent
Consult with my In-law	129	25.8
Wait for my husband	42	8.4
Send for traditional healer	260	52.0
Take an emergency transportation to the hospital	13	2.6
Seek for the assistance of my neighbour	56	11.2
Total	500	100.0

Mothers were asked about what to do at time of child birth and infant emergency health related problem if the husband is not at home. From the table it can be seen that 77.8 percent of mothers said they will either send for traditional healers or consult with their in-laws as prescribed by the cultural rules since most of them live beside their in-law in a household. 19.6 percent report that they will either seek for the assistance of their neighbours or wait for their husbands. Only 2.6 percent report that they will take an emergency transportation to the nearest hospital. This is an indication that most mothers conform only to culturally defined decisions.

In the Focus Group Discussion, an elder member in the group of married men aged 50-60 report that:

Even when a woman is about to deliver the in-laws or her close companions will help her send for traditional birth attendants but if she is strong she can just give birth on her own and later they will call the Traditional birth attendants to help care for the cord and body of the infant, including the mother”

Table 10: Whether a mother is exposed to restriction

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	433	86.6
No	67	13.4
Total	500	100.0

On the issue of whether mothers are exposed to restrictions, 86.6 percent of them reported that they are exposed to varying types of restrictions while 13.4 percent of the respondents expressed that there are no restrictions. For those exposed to restrictions their responses on type of restriction can be seen in table 11 below.

Table 11: Type of Restriction

Type of restriction	Frequency	Percent
Our Men don't allow us to go out	88	20.3
We don't have money for health care	130	30.0
Our in-laws are obstacle when we go out	116	26.8
We are recommended to seek for traditional healings	99	22.9
Total	433	100.0

Mothers gave different responses with regard to the type of restrictions they are faced with. From the table it can be seen that 47.1% report either in-laws or spouses as obstacles when they go out, this is an indication of cultural influence.30% report that they don't have money for

health care, 22.9 percent reports that they are only expected to send for traditional healers at time of health problem.

Table 12: Who enforce these Restrictions?

Enforcers	Frequency	Percent
Husband	88	20.3
Culture	210	48.6
Religion	11	2.5
Others	124	28.6
Total	433	100.0

Mothers who reported that they are faced with restrictions were asked to specify those who enforce the restrictions. From the table (12) it can be seen that 68.9 percent reported either culture or spouses as enforcers of the restriction, while 28 .6 percent reported other factors like poverty, politics and leadership. While 52 percent in table 9 send for traditional healers during emergency health problem, only 22.9 percent in table 9 reported it as restriction, this is an indicator of the values attached to traditional healings.

Table 13: Seeking permission when an infant needs urgent medical attention

Response	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	386	77.2	77.2
No	114	22.8	100.0
Total	500	100.0	

Respondents were asked whether they have to seek for permission before going out in emergency when an infant needs urgent medical attention. 77.2 percent of the mothers reported that they have to seek for permission, they express that it is important to seek for permission because things may go wrong. Regarding death of child they believe that delay may be a problem but a baby decreed by God to live will never die. This is an indicator of the influence of beliefs on infant health seeking.

Table 14: Number of children ever born

Number	Frequency	Percent
1	38	7.6
2 to 3	144	28.8
4 to 5	136	27.2
6 above	182	36.4
Total	500	100.0

Mothers were asked about the number of children ever born, from the table (14) it can be seen that 63.6% of the respondents have given birth to 4 children and above. 36.4% have given birth to 3 children and less; among them are very young mothers. The average number of children ever born for all mothers is 4.2

Table 15: Number of children alive

Number	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
None alive	20	4.0	4.0
1	73	14.6	18.6
2 to 3	177	35.4	54.0
4 to 5	173	34.6	88.6
6 and above	57	11.4	100.0
Total	500	100.0	

The average number of children alive is 3.3. Comparing Table 14 and 15 we can see that the average number of children ever born was 4.2 while the average number of children alive was 3.3. This implies an average of 0.9 deaths per family which is rather high. The figures take on more significance when we consider that not all the women actually lost a child. This means that for those who actually lost children, the figure will be much higher than the sample average, as we shall see when we look at table 19

Table 16: Sex of Dead Children

Category	Frequency	Percent
Male	235	50.4
Female	231	49.6
Total	466	100.0

For the 500 mothers, total samples, a total of 466 deaths were reported. This table shows that 50.5 percent of dead children were males while 49.6 percent were females.

Table 17: Age of dead children

Category	Frequency	Percent
Less than 1 year	122	26.18
1 to 4 years	155	33.26
5 and above	189	40.56
Total	466	100.0

This table shows that 40.56 percent of the dead children were within the age of 5 and above. 26.18 percent of the dead children were infants, while 33.26 percent were within the age range of 1-4 years. From this table it is apparent that infant and child mortality is high because 59.44 of all reported death were either infant or child death.

Table 18: Causes of death of children

Causes	Frequency	Percent
Fever/Headache	138	29.7
Cord Problem	27	5.8
Measles	84	18.3
Stomach ache/Diarrhoea	77	16.5
Don't Know/Natural	132	28.3
Accident	8	1.7
Total	466	100.0

From table 18 it can be seen that highest percentage of children (29.7) died of fever/headache, the cause of the death of 28.3 percent was not known, or considered natural. 18.3 percent died of measles, 16.5 percent died of stomach ache/diarrhoea, 5.8% died of cord infection or bleeding and 1.7% died of accident. Most of these deaths are hardly known by hospital officials. The official of the hospital reported that cases of measles and high fever are sometimes taken to the hospital at the critical stage.

Table 19: Number of child death per mother

Number	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
No death	263	52.6	52.6
1 death	74	14.8	67.4
2 deaths	112	22.4	89.8
3 deaths	43	8.6	98.4
4 deaths	7	1.4	99.8
6 deaths	1	.2	100.0
Total	500	100.0	

It can be seen that 52.6 percent reported no death case while the remaining 47.4 percent reported that they have death experience. This is an indication of high incidence of child death. The average number of child's death per mothers who reported death is 1.95 while the average number of death for the entire total sample is .93.

Table 20: Number of infant death (less than 1year child) per mother

Number	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
No dead Infant	378	75.6	75.6
1 dead infant	93	18.6	94.2
2 dead infants	25	5.0	99.2
3 dead infants	3	.6	99.8
4 dead infants	1	.2	100.0
Total	500	100.0	

The average number of infant deaths per mother who reported infant death is 1.3, while the average number of infant death for the total sample is .3.

Table 21: Whether restricting maternal rights can lead to infant death

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Yes	248	49.6
No	252	50.4
Total	500	100.0

Table 21 shows that 50.4 percent of mothers do not believe that restricting maternal right can lead to infant mortality, 49.6 percent of the mothers believed that restricting maternal right can lead to infant mortality. Similarly most of the group members in the FGD sessions refuse to believe that lack of maternal right can lead to infant mortality; they argue that if an infant died it is because he was not meant to live a long life. An old age member added that

Women do participate in decision making whenever it is relevant, in fact most of the decisions that we take are for the benefit of the whole family including the woman herself. The permission for going out is given by the husband and her in-laws, and they can even escort her to seek for medical help”.

Table 22: Ways by which restricting maternal right can lead to infant death

Responses	Frequency	Percent
If a woman cannot raise money for health care	48	9.6
If a woman cannot decide on infant health	47	9.4
If inlaws force women to stay indoor	110	22
When woman can only seek for traditional healing	43	8.6
No response	252	50.4
Total	500	100.0

The table shows that 22% percent of mothers reported that if in-laws force women to stay indoors during infant health problem it may lead to the death of the infant. 19% report either when a woman cannot raise business to have money for infant health care or when a woman cannot decide on infant health care. They reported that, this can lead to problems and infant death since some of the men lack the resources for adequate health care. 8.6 percent reported that infant death can occur when woman can not seek other healing except traditional healing.

Index of maternal right

The index of maternal right was obtained from the combination of the answers to questions on maternal right that is; what to do at time of child-birth if the husband is absent; the ability to take action when a child is sick; and issue of exposure to any restrictions. Mothers who scored 3 are rated within the low range; those with 4 – 5 scores have medium maternal right while those with 6 have high maternal right.

Table 23: index of maternal right

Level of maternal right	Frequency	Percentage
Low	141	28.2
Medium	316	63.2
High	43	8.6
Total	500	100

From table 23, it can be observed that the highest percentage of mothers (63.2) have medium level of maternal right, 28.2 percent have low level of maternal right, only 8.6 percent have high level of maternal right. This index represents an independent variable (maternal right) which will also be cross tabulated with the dependent variable to examine its association with the dependent variable (infant death).

Measure of infant death

Table 20 (number of infant death) is a very important table. It is the table that consists of the dependent variable, but it has limitation as an index of infant death because it only measures infant death per mother and it is not time specific. But for the purpose of this study it is adequate to use it as a measure of infant death.

For the purpose of cross tabulation the table was condensed to have three categories: no infant death, 1 infant death and 2 or more infant deaths.

Cross tabulations

Table 24: level of maternal right by number of infant death (by percentage)

Level of maternal right	Number of infant death			
	No infant death	1 infant death	2 and above	Total
Low	77.3	19.1	3.5	(141) 100.0
Medium	75.0	18.7	6.3	(316) 100.0
High	74.4	16.3	9.3	(43) 100.0
Total	(378) 75.6	(93) 18.6	(29) 5.8	(500) 100.0

Symmetric Measures

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Interval	by	Pearson's R	.046	.043	1.038	.300(c)
Ordinal	by	Spearman's Correlation	.032	.044	.711	.477(c)
N of Valid Cases			500			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c Based on normal approximation.

From Table 24 it can be observed that the highest percentage of infant deaths (25.6%) can be found among women with high maternal right, while mothers with the lowest level of maternal right have the lowest percentage (22.6%) of infant death. This invalidate the hypotheses that the more the mother experiences restricted maternal rights the higher the level of infant death likely to occur.

First there is relativity in the definition of maternal right, while we may be defining and measuring maternal right from a particular perspective, others may have different dimensions. For instance some mothers in Rimin Gado do not consider being restricted from hospital as a restriction of their maternal right, some even consider the hospital a public place, too expensive, without privacy and so they prefer to invite traditional healers and pay less. As for death they believe it is inevitable. From the table of correlation it can be seen that the Pearson's R is at best weak.

Conclusion and Recommendation

This study reveals to some extent that there is no direct link between low maternal rights and infant deaths; because mothers with high level of maternal right have the highest number of infant death, which may be due to discrepancies in the definition and perception of the concept of maternal rights. Despite the findings this research recommends that husbands should be educated on the need to accord high priority to infant health care, so that those mothers who feel restricted can freely decide on their infant health care without hindrances from family members. There is the need for more future researches on restrictions of maternal right and infant death which should be conducted in other rural areas that are in Kano. In addition, larger number of women should be selected and more Local Government Areas should be studied, in order to examine if the research will still report similar findings.

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ELECTORAL QUOTAS, WOMEN REPRESENTATION AND LAWMAKING PROCESSES IN NIGERIA'S DEMOCRACY (1999-2019)

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Abstract: Over two decade now that Nigeria return to democratic rule, women representation especially as it affects law making process have been generally low at various levels of governance across the country. Though, the Nigerian government have ratified and adopted various women empowerment framework that will enhance women participation and representation in governance. Today, despite these efforts women have remained under represented at the level of law making that is critical in enacting laws that will promote women political participation. Therefore, this study seeks to provide policy options in line with global best practices for achieving greater women representation in the law making processes in Nigeria. The data for this study were collected from various qualitative and quantitative secondary sources such as text books, journal articles, internet materials and reports amongst others. Besides, the data were analyzed using tables, bar charts as well as content analysis. This study argues that increasing women representation in law making process in Nigeria is critical in achieving gender equality in Nigeria. Therefore, this study recommend amongst other things that adoption of thirty-five national affirmative action in elective and appointive position in the National and State House of Assemblies in line with global practice and should be legalized in Nigeria.

Keywords: Women, Representation, Gender equality, Law Making Process, Nigeria.

Introduction

The role of women in the development of any society cannot be overemphasized as women have made significant contributions to human society in various endeavour as mothers, home makers and producer just

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to mention a few. Though, many of the roles played by women cannot be quantified in monetary terms but they remain critical in the advancement of human society. In Africa, much is yet to be desired when considering the plight of women as they represent one of the most marginalized and vulnerable group in the world. In Nigeria, the situation of women is not different from what is obtainable elsewhere in other African countries where women have been relegated to the background in almost all sphere of life (politically, economically and socially).

Today, the plights of women across the world has attracted the attention of the international community such that state actors like International Governmental Organisations and non-state actors like Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are beginning to put women agenda in the front burner in decision making in many national and international fora. Besides, the outcome of international conferences such as World Conference on International Women's year (Mexico, 1975); Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (New York, 1979); United Nations Second World Conference on Women (Copenhagen, 1980); United Nations Third World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995); United Nations Conference on Sexual and Reproductive Rights (New York, 2004); United Nations World Conference on Women (Beijing, 2005); Commission on the Status of women (New York, 2010); and the Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (2014)¹ among others have led to development of various frameworks for women empowerment today.

However, the issue of electoral quotas has been identified as a veritable tool for enhancing women representation in decision making process all over the world. But, the concept of electoral quotas is considered as political reforms for addressing the challenges of representation in many democracies today. In recent time, over 100 countries in the world have adopted various electoral quotas aimed at improving women representation in politics and decision making especially at party level². Since the emergence of the fourth republic, Nigeria has one of the poorest numbers of women representation in parliament in Africa.

The condition of women in many countries of the world today have improved in some countries while in some countries, their condition is lamentable, as women are faced with various challenges raging from political, social, economic conditions that are interrelated that have limited

¹ Umoh, R.N., Momoh, Z. & Rwang, S.T., (*In press*) *Gender (In)equality: Challenges and Implications for African states* FUDMA Economics and Development Review (FEDER) November 2019.

² Krook, M.L. & Zetterberg, *Electoral quotas and political representation: Comparative perspectives*. International Political Review, 2014, 35(1) 3-11.

the representation of women in politics and in decision making. These challenges necessitated the emergence of various approaches to women empowerment all over the world such as the United Nations Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), the Gender Development Index (GDI) and the Human Development Index (HDI), while the Africa Gender Equality Index (2015) of the African Development Bank (AfDB) and the Gender in Governance Index (GIGI)³ amongst others.

Thus, many countries in the developed world are making significant progress in improving the socio-economic and political wellbeing of women; some are hitherto lagging in making progress in improving the conditions of women. For instance, in Africa, countries like South Africa, Rwanda and Ethiopia have made significant progress in reducing the levels of gender inequalities in their respective countries but in some countries like Nigeria, Congo and Mozambique⁴ just to mention a few, much is yet to be desired from the conditions of women in these countries due to multiplicity of challenges that has hindered the advancement of the numbers of women in politics and decision making in every sphere of governance.

Besides, recent studies have shown that women all over the world especially within the last three decades are becoming more popular in public domain than any other period in the history of human society. This is evident in terms of the numbers of women who have more access to decision making especially in parliament, judiciary and professional associations⁵. Although, despite the increasing level of women participation in politics and decision making in many developed societies, much is yet to be desired from many countries in Africa especially in country like Nigeria where the level of women representation in almost all sectors in the country have been low⁶.

Though, attempts have been made by past governments in Nigeria such as the Obasanjo's and Jonathan's administration to provide critical legislative reforms that will enhanced greater women participation and representation in politics. Despite these efforts, there are no legal guidelines that permits independent candidacy to contest in any election, as women solely rely on political parties to be nominated as aspirant⁷. At the party level, most political parties in Nigeria hitherto lacks the desired framework that will encourage women representation as party leaders

³ African Women's Report (2000).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵ O'Neil, T. & Domingo, *The power to decide: Women decision making and gender inequality* Overseas Development Institute: London, 2015.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷ Though, a Women Participation Bill has been proposed to the National Assembly that recommends a one-third electoral quota for female candidates in Nigeria for party nominations for elections into the National Assembly (Senate and House of Representatives).

which negates the provisions of the 2006 National Gender Policy that allow for 35 per cent target for women to be elected into key political offices in Nigeria. It is against this background, this study seeks to provide policy options in line with global best practices for achieving greater women representation in the law making processes in Nigeria.

Literature Review

There are growing numbers of literatures on gender studies with special interest in electoral quotas today. Most of these studies tend to focus on electoral quotas in relation to women representation. While some of these studies seeks to find solutions to issues of electoral quotas design, others seeks to adopt electoral quotas, while some seek to assess the impact of numerical electoral quotas in democracies across the world⁸. Besides, there are debates in the literature on electoral quota in relation to the women representation in many democracies.

In the literature on electoral quotas and women representation, both proponents and opponents of electoral quotas have argued that electoral quotas will have either positive or negative impact on political representation especially on the quality of elected officials' opportunities in decision making⁹. This debate is predicated on the analysis that electoral quotas may result to large scale of representation. Though, evidence based research have not shown that increasing electoral quotas have lead to women representation in politics and decision making.

Moreover, in the literature of electoral quotas and women representation, scholars have undertaken comparative studies on electoral quotas as it affects women representation such as Krook and Zetterberg; Krook¹⁰; Krook and O'Brien while on single country studies Krook¹¹; O'Neill¹² and Franceschet, Krook and Piscopo¹³ amongst others. Moreover, in recent times scholars have admitted that the study of electoral representation should be studied and the findings of the studies should be based on cases drawn from other societies based on contemporary global

⁸ Krook, M.L. & Zetterberg, *Electoral quotas and political representation: Comparative perspectives*. International Political Review, 2014, 35(1) 3-11.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰ Krook, M.L., *Reforming representation: The diffusion of candidate gender quotas worldwide*. Politics & Gender 2 (3): 2006, 303-327.

¹¹ Krook, M.L., *Quotas for women in politics*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009.

¹² O'Neil, M., *Re-imaging Belgium: New federalism and the political management of cultural diversity*. Parliament Affairs 51 (2): 1998, 241-258.

¹³ Franceschet, S., Krook, M.L. & Piscopo, M.J. (eds.). *The impact of gender quotas*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012.

realities¹⁴. It is against this background, this study will serve as a reference point to existing literature on gender studies by providing pragmatic policy options in line with global best practices for achieving greater women representation in the law making processes to other developing countries with poor electoral quotas for women.

Electoral Quota and Women Representation in Law Making in Nigeria (1999-2019)

There is improvement in gender gap in many aspects of public life all over the world especially within the past three decades due to excessive campaign by the international community to address the plight of women. The numbers of women, who were elected into the parliament all over the world, increased from 9 per cent in 1999 to 17 per cent 2010.

Besides, there were 10 women heads of state and 14 women who were heads of government in the world in 2015¹⁵. Though, between 1995 and 2015 there was a decrease in the numbers of women elected into parliamentary position in many countries of the world from 11.3% to 22%¹⁶. Also, there was increase in the numbers of women who seeks for formal labour force to an estimated 40 per cent, while the numbers of women who were appointed Judges worldwide increased to 27 per cent. Also, the number of women in other profession like Chief Executive Officers (CEO) increased from 0 percent in 1995 to 26 per cent in 2015 while the numbers of women who joined the police force across the world rose to 9 per cent in 2011¹⁷.

However, in 2016, a bill supported by the UN women was sent to the Nigerian National Assembly with the tag: "Gender and Equal Opportunities". The purpose of this bill was to ensure that there is Temporary Special Measures to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women in all spheres of life¹⁸¹⁹. Besides, this bill have suffered significant setbacks that have delayed its passage²⁰. It is pertinent to note that the passage of this bill

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 4

¹⁵ Hughes, M., Duncan, B. & Pournik, M., 'Women's leadership as a route to greater empowerment: Report on the diamond leadership model'. Washington, DC: USAID, 2104.

¹⁶ The Economist (2015) 'What's holding women back?' 23 January, www.economist.com/blogs/democracyinamerica/2015/22/women-and-work, accessed 22 September 19.

¹⁷ UN Women, *Progress of the World's Women: In Pursuit of Justice*. New York: UN Women, 2011.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁹ This bill was to provide a temporary measure in eliminating all forms of discriminations against women in politics in respect to the Anambra, Imo, Ekiti, Kogi and Plateau State gubernatorial elections. www.unwomen.org

²⁰ The UN Women should intensify more efforts by collaborating with women groups in Nigeria to ensure that the bill sees the light of the day. As this will go a long way in improving women representation in future elections in Nigeria.

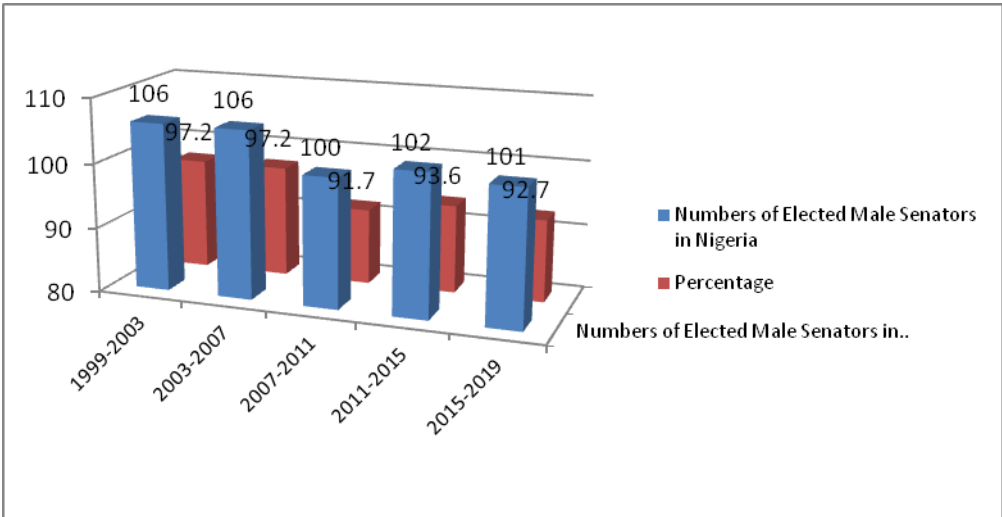
remains critical in legalizing electoral quota in Nigerian democratic system. Critical assessment of the number of women representation in law making process in Nigeria shown in table 1, Figure 1 and 2 below shows how women have been under-represented in the Senate over the past 20 years.

Table 1 Representation in the Nigerian Senate by Year and Sex

Members of National Assembly	1999-2003		2003-2007		2007-2011		2011-2015		2015-2019	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Male	106	97.2	106	97.2	100	91.7	102	93.6	101	92.7
Female	3	2.8	3	2.8	9	8.3	7	6.4	8	7.3
Total	109	100	109	100	109	100	109	100	109	100

Source²¹

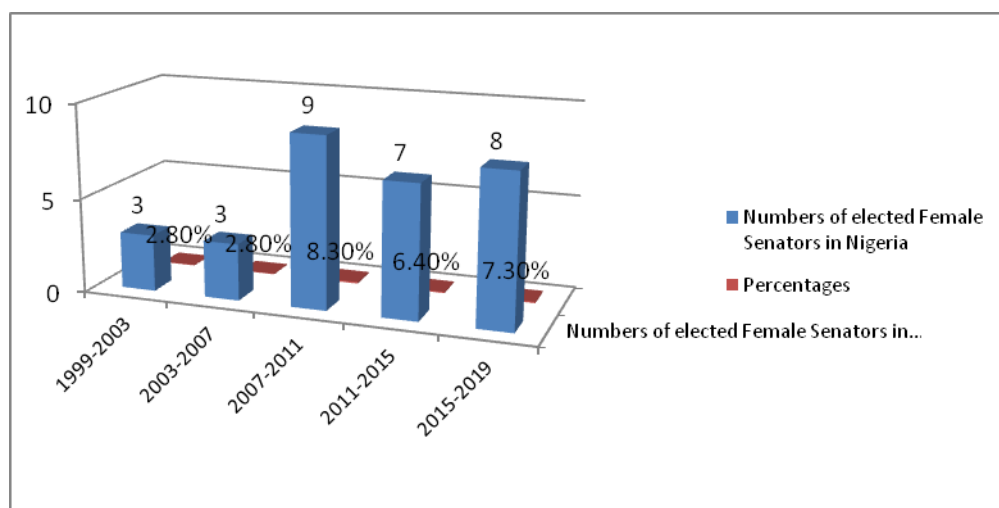
Figure 1 Numbers of Elected Male Senators in Nigeria (1999-2019)



Source²²

²¹ Data for this study were sourced from the National Bureau of Statistics report (2018).
²² This figure was designed by the Authors with the data obtained from the National Bureau of Statistics (2018).

Figure 2 Numbers of Elected Female Senators in Nigeria (1999-2019)



Source²³

Table 1, Figure 1 and 2 above show that from 1999 to 2003 a total number of 106 representing 97.2 per cent of elected Senators were men while women were 3 in number representing 2.8 per cent of women representation in law making process at the senate. Therefore, it can be said that the least percentage of women representation in law making process at the Senate was between 1999 and 2003 were 3 women representing 2.8 percent while between 2007 and 2011 women recorded the highest numbers of women in the Senate numbering 9 representing 8.3 percent. Table 1 and Figure 1 above shows the numbers of male and female representation in the various elections conducted in Nigeria between 1999 and 2019 into the Senate. Between 1999 and 2019 only 30 when were elected as Senators in Nigeria²⁴. This further show that women representation in all the elections conducted in Nigeria into the senate has been generally low with highest numbers recorded between 2007 and 2011²⁵.

²³ Data for this Figure were sourced from the National Bureau of Statistics report (2018).

²⁴ During the 1999 and 2003 senatorial elections only 3 women in each election was elected as Senators. The highest numbers of women representation was in the 2007 senatorial election in which 9 women were elected Senators. Thus, women representation was at its lowest level between 1999 and 2003 elections.

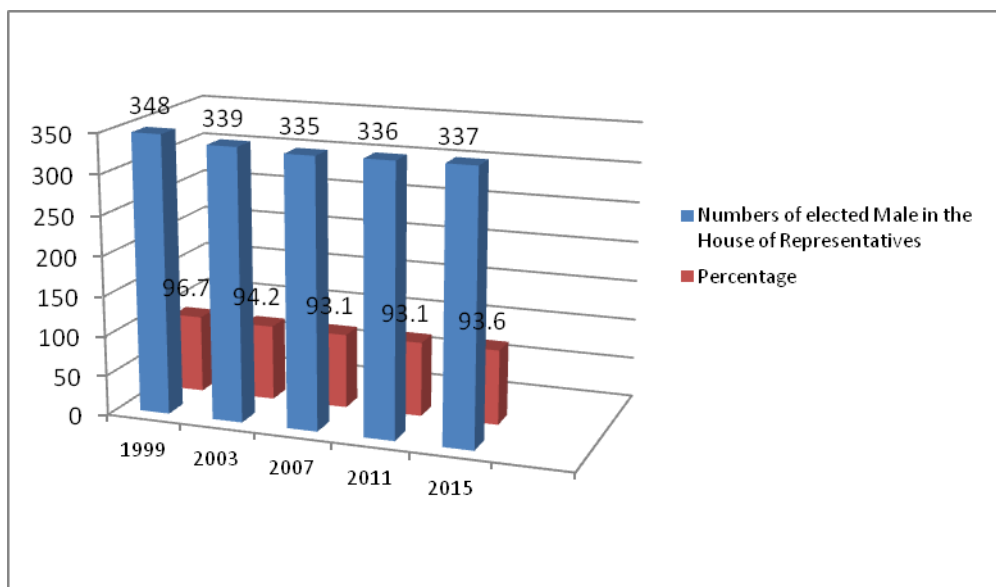
²⁵ This success was achieved because of the electoral reforms put in place the Obasanjo led government and the demand by various women groups demanding for greater participation in politics.

Table 2 Representation in House of Representative by Sex, Year, and Percentages

Sex	1999	%	2003	%	2007	%	2011	%	2015	%
Male	348	96.7	339	94.2	335	93.1	336	93.3	337	93.6
Female	12	3.3	21	5.8	25	6.9	24	6.7	23	6.4
Total	360	100	360	100	360	100	360	100	360	100

Source²⁶

Figure 3 Representation of Male in the House of Representative in Nigeria (1999-2015)



Source²⁷

Table 2 and Figure 3 shows that male has the highest numbers of elected members into the House of Representative. However, the level of women representation at the House of Representatives is not too different from the senate over the last 20 years despite some women occupying some key positions as Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Table 3 Numbers of Elected members of Senate and House of Representatives in Nigeria (1999-2015)

Years	1999	%	2003	%	2007	%	2011	%	2015	%
Male	454	96.8	445	94.9	435	92.8	438	93.4	438	93.4
Female	15	3.2	24	5.1	34	7.2	31	6.6	31	6.6
Total	469	100	469	100	469	100	469	100	469	100

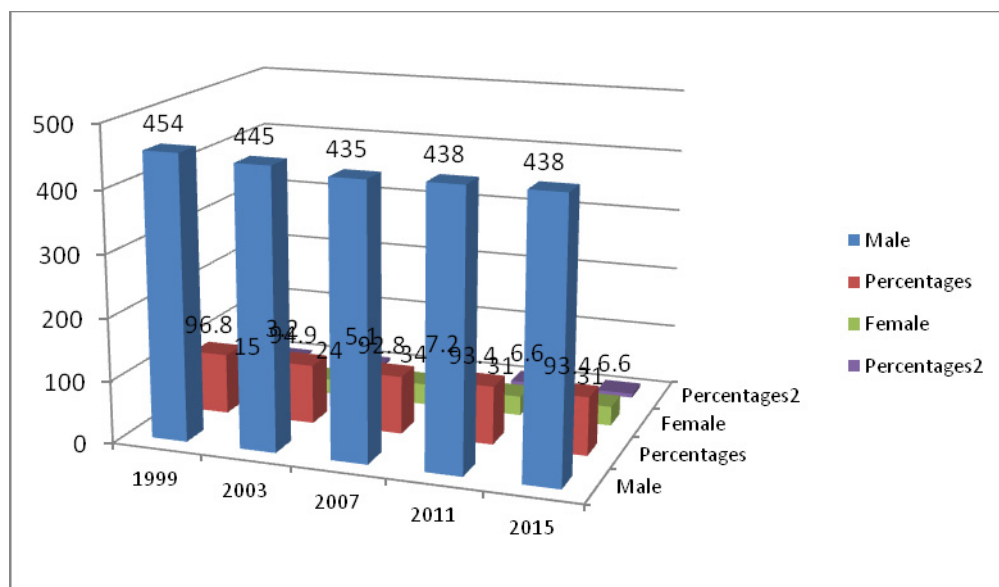
Source²⁸

²⁶ Data for this Table were obtained from the National Bureau of Statistics report (2018).

²⁷ *Ibid* 22.

²⁸ Data obtained from the National Bureau of Statistics report (2018).

Figure 4 Representation of Male and Female in the National Assembly in Nigeria



Source²⁹

Table 3 and figure 4 above shows that women representations at the National Assembly in Nigeria (Senate and House of Representatives) have been generally low from 1999 till 2015. Though, the highest number of women representation was achieved in 2007, when a total of 34 women representing 7.2 per cent were elected into both chambers of the National Assembly (Senate and House of Representatives) while, the least level of women representation into both chambers of the National Assembly (Senate and House of Representatives) was recorded in 1999³⁰.

²⁹ Data for this Figure were sourced from *Ibid.*, 24.

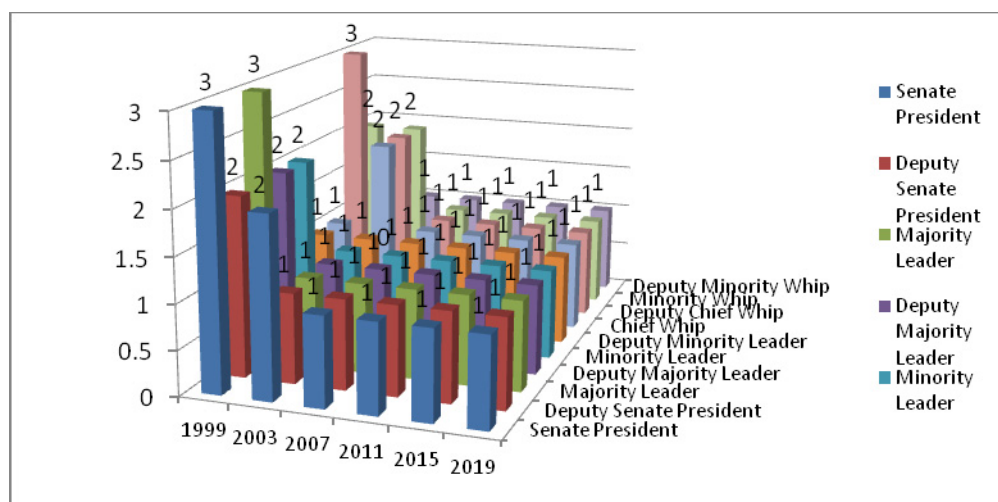
³⁰ This is attributed to the fact that Nigeria was returning to democratic rule after over three decades of military rule, such the democratic space in Nigeria was relative closed at that time, which limited the level of women participation in politics and by extension women representation in the law making process in Nigeria at all levels of governance.

Table 4 Elected Principal Officers at the Nigerian Senate by Office, Sex and Year

Office	1999		2003		2007		2011		2015		2019	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Senate President	0	3	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Deputy Senate President	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Majority Leader	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Deputy Majority Leader	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Minority Leader	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Deputy Minority Leader	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Chief Whip	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Deputy Chief Whip	0	3	0	2	0	1	0	1		1	0	1
Minority Whip	0	2	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Deputy Minority Whip	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1

Source³¹

Figure 5 Elected Male Principal Officers in Nigerian Senate (1999-2019)



Source³²

³¹ *Ibid.*, 24; www.nassnig.org (2019)

³² Data for this Figure were sourced from *Ibid.*, 24

Figure 6 Elected Female Principal Officers in Nigerian Senate (1999-2019)

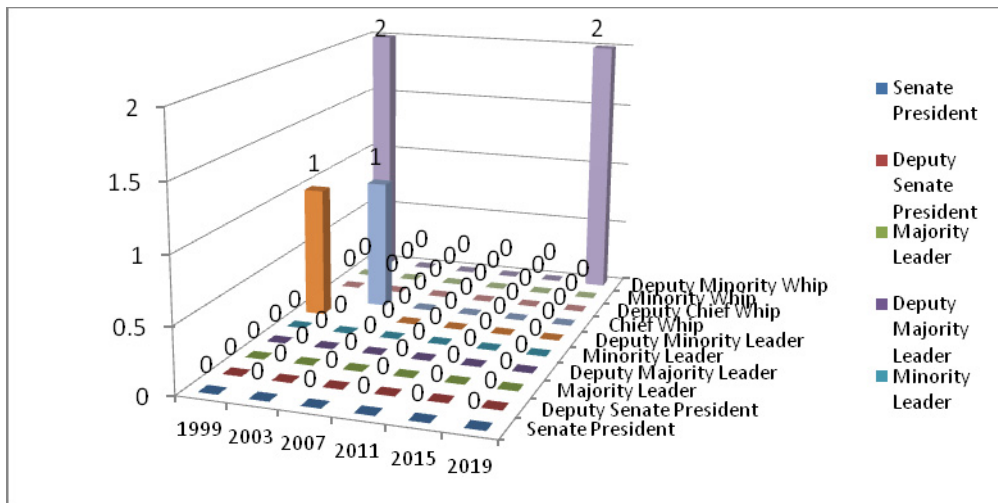


Table 4, Figure 5 and 6 above show that no women has held the position as Senate President, Deputy Senate President, Majority Leader, Deputy Majority, Minority Leader, Deputy Chief Whip and Minority Whip while women held Deputy Minority Leader and Chief Whip only in 1999. This shows that over the past two decade of democracy in Nigeria women have been under-represented in the Senate.

The outcome of the 2019 Senatorial and House of Representatives elections shows that the number of elected female lawmakers dropped from eight to seven in the Senate, representing 6.4 per cent of the total, while in the House of Representatives, the number of elected women decreased from 18 to 11 representing 3.1 per cent. This depict that the proportion of women elected into the Senate and House of Representatives is below the 30 per cent Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the 35 per cent national targets. It can be said that the inability of the Nigerian governments to domesticate the thirty-five affirmative action for women representation in the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is responsible for low women representation in the decision making process in Nigeria since 1999 till date.

During the 2019 general elections, the number of female aspirants that contested the senatorial elections was far from the 35 percent affirmative action plan. For instance, the European Union Election Observers and Monitors report 2019 shows that *“there were 234 women out of 1,899 senatorial candidates (12.3 per cent); 543 women out of 4,680 candidates for the House of Representatives (11.6 per cent); 76 women out of 1,046*

*governor candidates (7.2 per cent); and 1,872 women out of 14,609 candidates for state assemblies (12.8 per cent)*³³. This figure has not changed significantly since the 2015 general elections the European Union Election Observers and Monitors report 2019 further shows that out of the 73 presidential aspirants in the 2019 presidential election, six of the aspirants were female while 67 of the aspirants were male which as not all that different from the record of the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria³⁴.

Lastly, this study argues that women in Nigeria will continue to suffer from under-representation in law making process in Nigeria unless the needed legal framework for their empowerment is domesticated in the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Therefore, suggested that ones the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria allows for the thirty-five affirmative action for women representation in elective position, it will therefore becomes binding or else women will continue to marginalized in law making processes in Nigeria.

Conclusion

Since, the return of Nigeria to democracy on May 29, 1999 after over three decades of authoritarian rule the level of women representation in law making process at all levels of governance in the country have remain one of the worst in Africa in recent years. Though, many developed countries of the world like the United States, Spain, Germany, Britain, Finland and France have made significant progress in enhancing women representation in law making. While in Africa, South Africa, Rwanda and Ethiopia are making progress in achieving electoral quota for women. But the situation in Nigeria has been problematic due to legal and political impediments to women participation in politics. This has also been necessitated by nearly absence of legal framework that allows for mandatory electoral quotas for women representation in the legislature. The implication is that the numbers of elected women in the Legislature have been on the decrease since 2015 till date. This study therefore, argues that the low representation of women in politics especially as it relates to the representation of women in law making processes in Nigeria negates present global practice for electoral quotas that will allow for greater women representation in the legislature. Therefore, until the various impediments to women representation are remove using electoral quota as a framework for representation, women involving in law making in Nigeria will remain at a minimal level. Thus, achieving gender equality will be

³³ European Union Election Observation Mission (EUEOM), Nigeria 2019 Final Report General Election 23 February, 9 and 23March Brussels: European Union 2019, pp. 48-50.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 35:50.

difficult. It is against this backdrop that this study makes a strong case for the legalization of electoral quotas for women in the legislature in Nigeria.

Recommendations

Firstly, the UN Women should collaborate with women groups in Nigeria like the National Council of Women Society (NCWS) and other relevant Civil Society Organisations should intensify more efforts on National Assembly that the “Gender and Equal Opportunities” bill before them since 2016 is passed into law. As this will go a long way in improving women representation in future elections in Nigeria.

Secondly, the National Assembly should amend the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to provide for a legal requirement for political parties in Nigeria to accept a minimum numbers of women amongst their aspirants for all elective positions. Besides, the National Assembly should ensure that maximum penalties are attached to political parties that violate the inclusion of women in key elective positions in Nigeria.

Thirdly, the National Assembly should equally amend the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria that will allow for 35 percent inclusion of women in all elective and selective positions in Nigeria. This should be applicable to public and private establishments across the country.

Moreover, free and compulsory education for the girl child should be considered by the Nigerian government as an option in reducing the level of illiteracy in Nigeria. This will among others things increase the level of political awareness amongst women in Nigeria.

Finally, the National Assembly should enact a law that will allow women to contest election under the platform of any political party without paying for nomination form. The implication of women not paying for nomination form will amongst other things encourage women who may be discouraged by the huge sum of money paid for nomination form to be able to contest in an election.

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RESOURCE- BASED CONFLICTS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FARMERS AND HERDERS IN KOGI STATE, NIGERIA

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Abstract: *The recent dimensions of farmers and herders violent conflicts in many states in Nigeria, especially around the Middle belt region, has attracted the attention of policy makers and researchers alike. In spite of the concerted efforts by security agencies to check this disturbing phenomenon in states like Plateau, Nasarawa, Benue and Kogi, there seems to be little or absolutely no lasting solution in sight. One state that has consistently remained a major flashpoint since 2015 till date in these violent clashes is Kogi. Several scores of innocent lives have been lost and property worth millions of dollars destroyed in the wake of this intractable carnage. This study seeks to assess the implications of this menace on the socio-economic relationship between the herders and farmers in the state. The data for this study were largely drawn from secondary sources such as text books, journals and other internet sources. The study also revealed that the spate of farmer-herder violent conflicts in some Local Government councils of Kogi state like Dekina, Olamaboro and Mopa in recent years has engendered mutual distrust, suspicion and hatred amongst the people of the areas. This trend, no doubt, has had far reaching negative implications on the socio-economic relationship between the farmers and herders. Finally, the study suggests among other things that the Kogi state government should take urgent steps towards strengthening already existing conflict-resolution mechanisms and initiating longer-term efforts to reform livestock management practices in the state.*

Keywords: *Farmers, Herders, Resource based Conflict, Socio-economic relationship, Kogi State.*

Introduction

The practice of pastoralism and the relationship between farmers and herders in Nigeria dates back to several centuries ago. In Africa, there is an estimated 268 million pastoralists. This shows that more than a quarter of the entire population of the continent are living on an estimated 43

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percent of the Africa's entire land mass¹. However, conflicts over access to natural resources like land have generated serious concerns over the years. These conflicts have also raised salient questions that revolve around "who should have access to, and control over resources; whose views should count in identifying and prioritizing issues and problems; and, desirable management goals and rates of use"².

As a matter of fact, the explosion of human population across the world, especially in Africa, has come with its own attendant consequences, especially as it has to do with the emergence of recurrent violent conflicts between farmers and herders. In some cases, the clashes between both groups in the Darfur region in Sudan which started in the form of resource-based conflict eventually transformed into full blown war³. In recent times, especially in the Sub-Saharan Africa, the conflict has a long historical origin that could be traced to the colonial era. But today the dimensions in many African countries like Nigeria in contemporary times are unprecedented, owing to social and economic interests of the various actors and gladiators. These conflicts centre on access to natural resources, mainly land. Moreover, Nigeria in all these, has had its fair share of the farmer-herder violent conflicts, especially around the middle belt region that has had celebrated cases of bloody violence in recent years, like the cases of Benue, Kogi and Plateau states⁴.

On the whole, the literature of studies like Momoh and Rwang⁵ and Mai-Lafia⁶ have identified factors like desert encroachment, population explosion leading to urbanization, pressure on land just to mention a few, as drivers of the farmer-herder violence in recent years across many states in Nigeria. It is to this end, that this study is assessing the implications of

¹ Momoh, Z. & Anagba, J.O. (2018). Farmers/herdsmen conflicts and sustainable peace in Plateau state *Veritas University Journal of peace and Development Volume 2*, No 1 December 2008 pp. 111-124.

² Siakilo E., Mulongo, S. L., Chebon, R., & Biwott G., *Natural resource-based global conflicts and post conflict peace building IOSR Journal of Environmental Science, Toxicology and Food Technology Volume 9*, Issue 2 Ver. III (Feb 2015), pp. 53-61.

³ *Ibid* 2.

⁴ Momoh, Z. & Rwang, p. S., Cattle rustling and Socio-Economic Development in Plateau state in Nwanri, M. & Vande, p. (eds.) *History and Management of Farmer-Herder conflict in Nigeria* Abuja: The Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP) Abuja Chapter and Centre for Peace and Development (CEPAD) Veritas University Abuja, 2019, pp. 94-106.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶ Mai-Lafia, N.M., Implications of farmers-herders conflict on social relationship in North-Central Nigeria in Nwanri, M. & Vande, p. (eds.) *History and Management of Farmer-Herder conflict in Nigeria* Abuja: The Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP) Abuja Chapter and Centre for Peace and Development (CEPAD) Veritas University Abuja, 2019, pp. 108-115.

the farmer-herder conflicts on socio-economic relationships among the relevant stakeholders in Kogi state.

Conceptual Issues on Resource-based conflict

The word “conflict” has been variously defined by researchers. For instance, The Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (HIIC) defines conflict as:

“... the clashing of interests (positional differences) on national values of some duration and magnitude between at least two parties (organized groups, states, groups of states, organizations) that are determined to pursue their interests and win their cases⁷.”

Moreover, the concept of “Resource-based conflicts have also been variously defined in the literature by scholars in Sociology, conflict, peace and development studies. Resource-based conflict is sometimes referred to as Conflict Resources. Conflict resources are “natural resources whose systematic exploration and trade in a context of conflict contribute to, benefit from or result in the commission of serious violations of human rights, violations of international humanitarian law or violations amounting to crimes under international law⁸.

Green⁹ defined natural resource conflict “as a dispute between groups who are competing for the control over use of, or responsibility for natural resources”. He added that there are various forms which natural resource conflicts may occur. These include the following: “legal and political challenges, civil confrontations, or in some cases, violent clashes over natural resources”. Again, Green¹⁰ further “conceived of natural resource conflict as a range of levels of dispute between groups, ranging from harmony and cooperation on one end to legal challenges, civil disputes, or violence on the other end”. Moreover, Green identified three dimensions of natural resource conflicts based on intensity, duration, and scope. Green defines intensity natural resource conflict to be based on the severity or quality of the conflict. He sees low intensity natural resource conflict as a media dialogue on disagreements between competing groups, and a high intensity natural resource conflict to include armed attacks.

⁷ HIIC (ed.). “Conflict barometer 2005. Crisis, wars, coups d’état, negotiations, mediations, peace settlements”, Heidelberg, <http://www.rzuser.uniheidelberg.de/~lscheith/CoBa05.pdf> 2005.

⁸ www.globalpolicy.org/home/198-natural-resources/40124-definition-of-conflict...

⁹ Green, E.B. (2005). A general model of natural resource conflicts: The case of international freshwater disputes <https://www.sav.sk/journals/uploads/02061008Green.pdf> accessed 3/10/2019.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.

Furthermore, the duration of natural resource conflict is seen by Green as the length of conflict whether it is over a period of days, months, years, or generations. In addition, Green asserts that the scope of natural resource conflict is the geographical area over which the conflicts occur like local, national, or regional¹¹. By and large, this study is situated within the context of Green's conception of natural resource conflict.

Literature: Farmer-Herder Conflict and Socio-economic Relationship

There are growing numbers of literature on farmer- herder conflicts in recent years that have identified the various causes or drivers and its implications on food and human security such as Muhammed, Ismaila and Bibi¹²; Baba and Abeysinghe¹³; International Crisis Group¹⁴; Ochogwu and Adebayo¹⁵; Orakue¹⁶; Kwaire; Obeya¹⁷; Ombugadu and Nwaneri¹⁸;

¹¹ Green, E.B. (2005).A general model of natural resource conflicts: The case of international freshwater disputes <https://www.sav.sk/journals/uploads/o2o61oo8Green.pdf> accessed 3/10/2019

¹² Muhammed, I., Ismaila, B.A, & Bibi, A.U., An assessment of farmer-pastoralist conflict in Nigeria using GIS *International Journal of Engineering Science Invention Volume 4 Issue 7* July 2015, pp. 23-33.

¹³ Baba, I & Abeysinghe, C., *Effective strategies for resolution and management of farmers-herdsmen conflict in the North Central Region of Nigeria Global Journal of Human-Social Science: Volume 17 Issue 2*, 2017, pp. 1-10.

¹⁴ International Crisis Group, *Herders against farmers: Nigeria's expanding deadly conflict Africa Report No 252 19 September*, 2017, pp. 1-37.

¹⁵ Ochogwu, p. J and Adebayo, T., Dynamics of farmers-herders conflict in Nigeria's Middle Belt region: Beyond the normative narratives in Nwanri, M. & Vande, p. (eds.) *History and Management of Farmer-Herder conflict in Nigeria* Abuja: The Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP) Abuja Chapter and Centre for Peace and Development (CEPAD) Veritas University Abuja, 2019, pp. 1-13.

¹⁶ Orakwue, A.C., Climate change induced conflicts over common resources: The crop farmer-nomadic herder conflicts in Nigeria in Nwanri, M. & Vande, p. (eds.) *History and Management of Farmer-Herder conflict in Nigeria* Abuja: The Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP) Abuja Chapter and Centre for Peace and Development (CEPAD) Veritas University Abuja, 2019, pp. 14-32.

¹⁷ Obeya, N.B., Idoma farmer-fulani herdmen relations since 1960: An interrogation of the Agatu conflict and management in Nwanri, M. & Vande, p. (eds.) *History and Management of Farmer-Herder conflict in Nigeria* Abuja: The Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP) Abuja Chapter and Centre for Peace and Development (CEPAD) Veritas University Abuja, 2019, pp. 54-65.

¹⁸ Ombugadu, A.V.& Nwaneri, M., Ethnic dimensions of farmer-herder conflicts in Nigeria: The case of Berom-Fulani in Plateau state, 2001-2018 in Nwanri, M. & Vande, p. (eds.) *History and Management of Farmer-Herder conflict in Nigeria* Abuja: The Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP) Abuja Chapter and Centre for Peace and Development (CEPAD) Veritas University Abuja, 2019, pp. 66-93.

Aderayo¹⁹; Opara²⁰; Yusuf ²¹; Essien; Aderogba²²; Olaniran²³; Mai-Lafia²⁴; Amadi, Igwe, and Ukachikara²⁵; Dimelu, Salifu, Enwelu, and Igbokwe²⁶; Momoh and Rwang²⁷; Momoh and Anagba²⁸; Ogebe, Abah, and Ligom²⁹ and Ofuoku and Isife³⁰ amongst others.

Ofuoku and Isife³¹ identified the following as the causes of farmers and herders conflicts in Delta state: “destruction of crops, contamination of streams by cattle, over- grazing of land, disregard for local traditional

¹⁹ Aderayo, A.A., Humanitarian implications of farmer-herder conflict in Benue state in Nwanri, M. & Vande, p. (eds.) *History and Management of Farmer-Herder conflict in Nigeria* Abuja: The Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP) Abuja Chapter and Centre for Peace and Development (CEPAD) Veritas University Abuja, 2019, pp. 152-167.

²⁰ Opara, U.E., Multidimensional consequences of farmer-herder conflict and its resolution in Abazu in Nwanri, M. & Vande, p. (eds.) *History and Management of Farmer-Herder conflict in Nigeria* Abuja: The Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP) Abuja Chapter and Centre for Peace and Development (CEPAD) Veritas University Abuja 2019, pp. 168-182

²¹ Yusuf, O.R., Farmer-herder conflicts in North-Central Nigeria and its implications in Nwanri, M. & Vande, p. (eds.) *History and Management of Farmer-Herder conflict in Nigeria* Abuja: The Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP) Abuja Chapter and Centre for Peace and Development (CEPAD) Veritas University Abuja, 2019, pp. 183-200

²² Aderogba, K., Fulani herdmen/farmers bedlams and postulations towards sustainable development in Nigeria in Nwanri, M. & Vande, p. (eds.) *History and Management of Farmer-Herder conflict in Nigeria* Abuja: The Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP) Abuja Chapter and Centre for Peace and Development (CEPAD) Veritas University Abuja, 2019, pp. 201-219

²³ Aderogba, K., Fulani herdmen/farmers bedlams and postulations towards sustainable development in Nigeria in Nwanri, M. & Vande, p. (eds.) *History and Management of Farmer-Herder conflict in Nigeria* Abuja: The Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP) Abuja Chapter and Centre for Peace and Development (CEPAD) Veritas University Abuja, 2019, pp. 201-219.

²⁴ *Ibid* 7.

²⁵ Amadi, A.L., Igwe, H.G., & Ukachikara, U., Understanding rural violence in North-Central Nigeria: Experience from nomadic herdsmen and rural farmers' conflict *Journals of International Politics Volume 1*, Issue 1, 2019, pp. 53-74.

²⁶ Dimelu M. U., Salifu D. E., Enwelu A. I. & Igbokwe E.M., Challenges of herdsmen-farmers' conflict in livestock production in Nigeria: Experience of pastoralists in Kogi State, Nigeria African Journal of Agricultural Research Vol. 12(8), pp. 642-650, 23 February, 2017.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁹ Ogebe, F.O, Abah, D. and Ligom, L.S., Land use conflict between farmers and herdsmen in Gwer West Local Government Area of Benue State, Nigeria *IOSR Journal of Agriculture and Veterinary Science (IOSR-JAVS) Volume 12, Issue 1 Ser. III (January 2019)*, pp. 23-31.

³⁰ Ofuoku, A. U. & Isife, B. I., *Causes, effects and resolution of farmers nomadic cattle herders conflict in Delta state*, Nigeria International Journal of Agricultural Extension and Rural Development Vol. 7 (1) P: 001-008 January, 2019.

³¹ *Ibid*.

authorities, female harassment, harassment of nomads by youths of host communities, indiscriminate bush burning, defecation of cattle on roads, cattle rustling, and straying of cattle. They identified the socio-economic effects of farmers and herders' conflicts to include reduction in crop yield and income of farmers/nomads, displacement of farmers, loss of lives and property and loss of products in storage. Again, the study did not assess the implications of farmer-herder conflict on socio-economic relationships in Kogi state.

Dimelu, Salifu, Enwelu, and Igbokwe³² in their 'challenges of herdsmen-farmers' conflict in livestock production in Kogi State', discovered that the conflicts between pastoralists and crop farmers were primarily triggered by socio-economic factors; security, production practices and institution related factors. They further discovered that pastoralists had challenges leading to loss of lives of humans and cattle. This has resulted to poor agricultural productivity. However, these studies did not assess the implications of the farmer-herder conflict on the socio-economic relationship in Kogi state.

Muhammed, Ismaila and Bibi³³ examined the nature of land use as the major cause of farmer-pastoralist conflict in Nigeria. They discovered that between 1976 and 1995, in Nigeria, there was an expansion of land into grazing areas. Ogebe, Abah, and Ligom³⁴ in their study investigated the causes of farmers- herdsmen conflicts in Gwer West Local Government Area of Benue State. They discovered that the main causes of the farmer-herder conflict in that area include contamination of streams by cattle dung's, female sexual harassment by herdsmen, destruction of crops by cattle, harassment of herdsmen by youths of host communities, cattle rustling by host communities, and indiscriminate bush burning by herdsmen. They identified the effects of farmer- herdsmen conflicts to include, amongst other things, loss of crop yield and income of farmers, displacement of farmers, loss of lives and property and loss of products in storage etc. However, this study did, like others, did not assess the implications of farmer-herder conflict on socio-economic relationships in Kogi state.

³² *Ibid* 33.

³³ Muhammed, I., Ismaila, B.A, & Bibi, A.U., An assessment of farmer-pastoralist conflict in Nigeria using GIS *International Journal of Engineering Science Invention* Volume 4 Issue 7 July 2015, pp. 23-33.

³⁴ Ogebe, F.O, Abah, D. and Ligom, L.S., Land use conflict between farmers and herdsmen in Gwer West Local Government Area of Benue State, Nigeria *IOSR Journal of Agriculture and Veterinary Science (IOSR-JAVS)* Volume 12, Issue 1 Ser. III (January 2019), pp. 23-31.

Okoli and Addo³⁵ in their study dealt with the effect of herders' attacks on food availability and accessibility towards maintaining a healthy and active life in the state. Meanwhile, Idakwoji, Ojomah, Usman and Orokpo³⁶ in their study classified the causes of herders/farmers conflicts in Kogi state into major and incidental factors. They identified the main causes as economic use of land resources, policy framework, deficient response and demographic and ecological/environmental factors, amongst others. However, this study also failed to assess the implications of farmers-herders conflict on socio-economic relationships in Kogi state. This study therefore, attempts to contribute to bridging that yawning gap.

Implications of farmer-herder conflicts on socio-economic relationships in Kogi state

Studies have shown that resource based conflicts in Africa have left over three (3) million people dead with an estimated 160 million Africans living in states in the "throes of civil war"³⁷. The increasing level of farmer-herder violent conflict in many states in Nigeria has become a source of concern to Nigerians considering its dimensions in terms of the death toll. For instance, Momoh and Angba³⁸ assert that the death toll that resulted from the violent clashes between herders and farmers in Nigeria from early 2017 has been put at about 1300 lives with an estimated 300,000 seeking shelter in neighbouring communities.

Surprisingly, farmers and herders have enjoyed long lasting mutual socio-economic relations in Kogi state over the years. However, in recent times, a number of factors have triggered the contemporary deluge of conflicts. The socio-economic relationships in Kogi state like in the area of economy, security, production practices and institutional factors have been the worse for it³⁹. Idakwoji, Ojomah, Usman and Orokpo⁴⁰ in their study have attributed it to the economic use of land resources, policy framework, deficient response and demographic and ecological/environmental factors amongst others. However, this study intends to interrogate the impacts of

³⁵ Okoli, F.C. & Addo, A.H., Implication of Fulani herders/Benue farmers crises on food security of Benue State of Nigeria *International Journal of Academic Multidisciplinary Research (IJAMR)* Vol. 2 Issue 10, October – 2018, pp. 16-23.

³⁶ Idakwoji, S.P., Ojomah, B.A., Usman, Y.P. & Orokpo, O.F.E., Herdsmen/Farmers conflicts in Kogi State: Security and developmental Implications *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications*, Volume 8, Issue 12, December 2018, pp. 593-610.

³⁷ Ibrahim, G.S., Abba, S. & Bibi, F. (2014). Resource based conflicts and political instability in Africa: Major trends, challenges and prospects *International Journal of Humanities Social Sciences and Education (IJHSSE)* Volume 1, Issue 9, September 2014, pp. 71-78.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 43.

the conflict, particularly, as it affects the development of Agriculture in the state. Suffice it to say that agriculture and its allied industries remain the main stay of the state's economy.

In recent years, the relationships between farmers and herders have been badly affected, thereby resulting to full blown violence in some communities in Kogi state. For instance, in Agojeju-Idaka community in Dekina Local government area, there was a violent confrontation between farmers and herders in October, 2015 which resulted to the death of 23 persons and several houses being set ablaze. Elsewhere in Egbolo community in Igalamela/Odolu Local Government Area and Umomi community in Ofu Local Government Area in Kogi state respectively, were faced with violent conflicts between the farmers and herders. Also, a number of communities in Omala Local Government Area in Kogi State were not spared. In Kogi Central Senatorial district, some communities like Ajichekpa, Opada, and Agbenema experienced violent farmer-herder conflict. Besides, in Kogi West Senatorial district, Amuro in Mopa Moro Local Government area witnessed violent conflicts between farmers and herders⁴¹. The implication of these violent clashes is that, both the farmers and herders that have lived peacefully over the years have become sworn enemies that do not want to coexist peacefully anymore.

Another implication of the violent conflicts between the farmers and herders in Kogi state on socio-economic relations is mutual suspicion and distrust between both parties. The emergence of recent violent clashes between them has created deep seated animosity between them. To this end, both the farmers and herders have completely lost trust for each other. One of such act that reinforced this loss of trust is cases of sexual harassment that often characterized some of the gender-based violence⁴². Besides, the continued breakdown of the socio-economic relationship between the farmers and herders will have damaging consequences of food security in Kogi state. Momoh and Anagba⁴³ have argued that the unabated violent conflicts between the farmers and herders have made both the parties to take security and conflict resolution into their hands. Similarly, Ajbefun⁴⁴ and Mai-Lafia⁴⁵ have equally argued that the violent conflict between farmers and herders will ensure that resources set aside for other developmental needs may be diverted into addressing the

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Ajbefun, M.B., Conflict resolution in West Africa: A comparative analysis of Sierra Leone and Liberia being an (Unpublished thesis) submitted for the award of Master Program in International and European Relations in the Department of Management of Economics at Linkoping University, 2017.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

consequences of the actions of both the farmers and herders emanating from their clashes.

On the whole, the violent conflicts between farmers and herdsman have led to loss of many lives and property in the affected communities. These colossal losses of human lives in the affected communities have adversely affected agriculture and other socio-economic activities⁴⁶. This has consequently resulted in a drastic reduction in farm outputs in the affected communities, a development that has heightened the fear of hunger. Already most farmers in the affected states have abandoned farms and schools for the fear of sporadic attacks by the herdsman.

Conclusion

There exist volumes of publications on violent conflicts between farmers and herders in Nigeria already. Those studies have been able to identify the drivers/causes and implications of the farmer/herder conflicts across many states in Nigeria. However, what is lacking, and which this study seeks to assess, is the implications of these conflicts on the socio-economic relations in Kogi state. This is informed by the fact that previous studies have relegated the implications of the farmer/herder conflict on the socio-economic relationship vis-a-vis development of Kogi state. Moreover, this study argues that there has been a long standing history of good neighbourliness and mutual relationship between farmers and herders in Kogi state that has lasted over several years. However, recent violent conflicts necessitated by a number of factors like desert encroachment and population explosion just to mention a few, tampered, albeit negatively with the existing status quo. This has further generated hatred and distrust amongst both parties (farmers and herders). All these have left very sour taste in the farmer-herder relationships in the state.

Recommendations:

It is instructive to note here that, no meaningful development can take place in an atmosphere devoid of peace. It is against this background, that this study seeks to make the following recommendations

Firstly, the Kogi state government should as a matter of priority, develop a roadmap to genuine peace. This can be achieved through setting up of a truth and reconciliation commission that will look into the immediate and remote causes of the protracted conflicts between farmers

⁴⁶ Ijirshar V. U, Ker G. & Terlumun Y. C., "Socio-economic effects of farmers Fulani herdsman's conflict on farmers output in Benue, Nigeria" In Bakpo F. S. and F. E. Ugbede (2015) Eds. *Proceeding of An International Academic Conference of the International Multidisciplinary Research and Academic Society*, Obudu, Cross River State: Nigeria.

and herders in many communities in the state, with a view to proffering lasting solutions to them.

Secondly, the Kogi state government should set up an agency that will among other things, engage in the mediation of yet to be resolved cases of violent conflicts involving farmers and herders in the state.

Thirdly, the Kogi state Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development should map out old grazing routes within the state in order to discourage herders from encroaching into farm land.

Moreover, Kogi state government through its relevant agencies should engage in peace building process in communities in the state that have been ravaged by violent farmer-herder conflicts in order to rebuild mutual confidence and trust.

Lastly, the Kogi state government should take urgent steps in strengthening conflict-resolution mechanisms and initiating longer-term efforts to reform livestock management practices in the state.

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THEORETICAL APPROACHES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL MEASUREMENT

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Abstract: *Social capital as an object of economic research considered as a potential that is capable of accumulating and transforming into other resources. A significant number of Ukrainian enterprises during his activities do not take advantage of social capital, or do not pay attention to its formation. Thus, the purpose of the article is to determine the current state of the formation of social capital in Ukraine and its impact on business. The subject of the study is the assessment of and predictors of social capital, describing the characteristics and practices of its formation. The work is based on information from public sources, reports of international and Ukrainian companies are used to isolate the key research questions. The article analyzes the existing methodological approaches to determining the value of social capital and basic components impact on social capital as the country and the company. Ukrainian enterprises in need of social capital, because as of today the level of this type of capital is under formation, which is shown only responsible attitude to the production and product care for the workers. The state should help the company through financial and non-financial instruments in the formation of social capital.*

Keywords: *social capital, trust, social capital level, assessment of social capital, social capital index.*

Introduction

A distinctive feature of the modern world economic development is forming in the developed industrial society based on innovative production. This fact fundamentally changes both the position and role of man in production and the very structure of production. The post-industrial world is fundamentally characterized by several developments, including the most important factor of economic progress that serves

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social capital that finds its expression in particular through intellectual, creative and communication skills.

Economic development is causing an increase in the value of intangible assets for socio-economic development. Sustainable economic growth depends on social capital and its components: the level of trust in society, the existence of informal social groups that form a network and the availability of the rules governing relationships. Evaluation of social capital reserves helps to identify economic development, competitiveness, and quality management.

Social capital is important for human development as closely related to economic growth and strengthening of all other forms of capital. Of labor and business ethics produced in the process of social interaction, enhance productivity and reduce costs of economic activity. Strengthening social capital can significantly increase the effectiveness of the social and economic policy. Of particular importance is the strengthening gets in terms of hybrid warfare as increased confidence in society and business environment, the formation of stable social relationships between enterprises is the main factor in the development of all sectors of the state.

In studies of social capital, its measurement problem has always been the key. The existing methodology for assessing advisable to separate the two approaches. First characterized by indicators that reflect the effects of the elements of social capital in society. According to R. Putnam¹, Social capital is manifested in social networks, norms, and trust, therefore, that quantitative measurement of these elements determines the quantitative view of social capital. Indexes' second approach reflects the impact of social capital on the economy, not highlighting its components.

As the information and knowledge are essential, a basic resource of the modern economy, and a much narrower range of traditional economic laws by which it is governed. The time to find new levers of influence on the socio-economic development of society and, in our opinion, the most important among them is social capital.

Theoretical Basis

Bourdieu, P.², Coleman, JS³, Portes, A.⁴, Fukuyama F.⁵, Hanifan, LJ⁶ known scientists in their work revealed the issue of identification of social capital and its evaluation.

¹ Putnam, R., *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. NY, Simon and Schuster, 2001, p. 544.

² Bourdieu, *The forms of capital. Handbook of theory and research for sociology of Education*. Ed. by J. Richardson, New York: Greenwood Press, 1986, p. 21.

³ Coleman, J.S., *Social capital in the creation of human capital*. American Journal of Sociology, n. 94, 1988, 95 - 120.

The problem of social capital assessment remains valid and requires further research and teaching materials.

For construction techniques that would give an accurate and reliable assessment of the social capital necessary to define the level of its administration (Fig. 1).

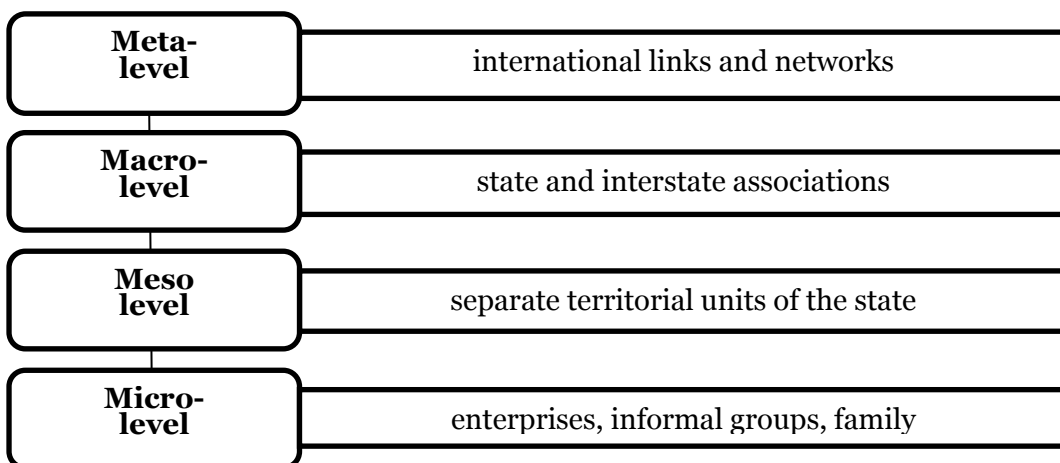


Fig. 1. Levels of social capital management

An important contribution to the study of the nature of social capital and implement its evaluation carried Fukuyama F⁷. In his writings, he noted that assess social capital at the macro level is virtually impossible, given a large number of subjective data needed to calculate it.

Empirical study Portela et al.⁸, Helliwell and Putnam⁹, Pereiro and Tortosa¹⁰ indicates that the level of social capital region or country is

⁴ Portes, A., *Economic Sociology and the Sociology of Immigration: A Conceptual Overview*. Alejandro Portes *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship*. Ed. by Alejandro Portes. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1995, pp. 1-43.

⁵ Fukuyama F., *Social Capital and Civil society*. IMF Working Paper. - International Monetary Fund, - 18 p. - Access mode: <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2000/wp0074.pdf>. 2000.

⁶ Hanifan, L.J., *The Rural School Community Centre*. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 1916, p. 67.

⁷ Fukuyama, F., *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*, The Free Press, 1995.

⁸ Portela, M., Neira, I., & Salinas-Jiménez, M.M., *Social capital and subjective wellbeing in Europe: A new approach on social capital*. Social Indicators Research, 114, 2013, pp. 493-511.

⁹ Helliwell, John F and Putnam, *Economic growth and social Capital in Italy*. Eastern Economic Journal, 1995.

positively correlated with its economic indicators. It should be noted that trust is not capable of arising by itself. Society and business must clearly understand that trust is a real investment that requires resources: financial, intellectual, labor, innovation and more. Formation, existence, accumulation of social capital is a prerequisite for the development of a modern business environment.

Zhyhlei & Zakharov¹¹ in their research have proved the role of social networks as a source of creation, accumulation and restoration of social capital, and noted the importance of networking that influence the socialization of society and widening its communicative boundaries in the conditions of development of modern socio-economic relations.

In explaining its approach to measuring the social capital of the state Fukuyama F took as a basis the approach Putnam, R.¹². That is, the level of social capital depends on the number of social groups in society, which directly affects the formation of social ties and networks. Fukuyama noted that the exact number of groups can not be determined, as well as to evaluate the level of relations in these groups. Therefore, when assessing must take into account external factors as social capital most exposed to their action as compared with other forms of capital. The main external factor scientists call the trust and its quantitative measurement is performed radius of trust. The radius of trust has a maximum value of 6, which means total trust within the group.

The scientists Lee, D., Jeong, K. & Chae, S.¹³ proposed to determine social capital using the social capital index, which includes four main components: social trust, norms, social networks, and social structure and identified the gap between East Asia and Western Europe in this indicator.

Rudzewicz¹⁴, lack of trust in the enterprise or between the enterprises destroys social responsibility. The effects of distrust lead to poor product and service quality, diminishing customer and employee satisfaction, as well as company profits, limiting its development prospects.

¹⁰ Peiró-Palomino, Jesús, and Emili Tortosa-Ausina, *Social capital, investment and economic growth: some evidence for Spanish provinces*. Spatial Economic Analysis 10.1, 2015, pp. 102-126.

¹¹ Zhyhlei, I., Zakharov, D., *Social Capital of Business in Hybrid War Conditions: Concept, Components, Functions*. Przegląd Wschodnioeuropejski, Vol. 1, 2019, pp. 275-285.

¹² Putnam, R., *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. NY, Simon and Schuster, 2001, 544.

¹³ Lee, D., Jeong, K., & Chae, S., *Measuring Social Capital in East Asia and Other World Regions: Index of Social Capital for 72 Countries*. Global Economic Review: Perspectives on East Asian Economies and Industries, Vol. 40, Issue 4, 2011, pp. 385-407.

¹⁴ Adam Rudzewicz, *Zaufanie wewnętrzne i zewnętrzne w przedsiębiorstwie*. Studia Ekonomiczne. Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego w Katowicach. № 255. S. 261-269. http://wzr.ug.edu.pl/.zif/2_22.pdf, 2016.

Non-financial reporting is essential for raising the level of social capital (Szadziwska A. et al.¹⁵. Effective non-financial reporting should communicate a comprehensive account of an organization's environmental and social impacts and performance, by providing information about its strategies, the progress and the contributions in this respect (Van Staden and Hooks J.¹⁶).

Result

Among the methodological approaches to determining the value of social capital is particularly important econometric model innovation effect of social capital that is represented in the labor Miguelez E.¹⁷ "Promoting social equity technological contributions in the creation of knowledge. Evidence from the Spanish regions "on the basis of the production function that establishes a relationship between the cost of innovation activities (including the costs of R&D, human capital, social and some structural features of certain regions, and the results of innovation, such as the number of patents granted in i region in period t (in the form of a functional model of the Cobb-Douglas). The structure of the model introduced besides, indicator of social capital, the share of employment in productive activities in each region, since it is involved in the industry often patented results of their research and development. To take into account external factors related to the specialization of labor, placing consumers and suppliers, physical and institutional infrastructures differences in scale, agglomeration effects introduced index specialization variable region and population areas. To determine the relationship between social capital and the cost of R & D model was also introduced to take account of these expressions indirect effects.

As an indicator of social capital in the model used complex figure, seen in the paper „Measuring social capital and growth: economic methodology” (F. Perez et al.¹⁸). It is based on solving the optimization problem of

¹⁵ Szadziwska A., Spigarska E., Majerowska E. (2018). *The disclosure of non-financial information by stock-exchange-listed companies in Poland, in the light of the changes introduced by the Directive 2014/95 / EU*. Zeszyty Teoretyczne Rachunkowości. Tom 99 (155), pp. 65-95. Retrieved from: <https://ztr.skwp.pl/resources/html/article/details?id=180091>.

¹⁶ Van Staden Ch.J., Hooks J., *A comprehensive comparison of corporate environmental reporting and responsiveness*. The British Accounting Review. Vol. 39. 2007, pp. 197-210.

¹⁷ Miguelez E. (). *Does social capital reinforce technological inputs in the creation of knowledge? Evidence from the Spanish regions*. AQR-IREA, University of Barcelona, - IAREG WP5, 2009, pp. 10 – 43.

¹⁸ F. Perez, L. Serrano, V. Montesinos, J. Fernandez, *Measurement of social capital and growth: an economic methodology*. Documentos de Trabajo. - Fundacion BBVA No. 2006, pp. 4. - 47.

investment in social capital (the time required to relationships with others and cooperate with them). Productivity certain amount of capital is its usefulness (of services), which provides that in case of its use in this case – to reduce transaction costs in the economy through network ties, shared values, norms and trust. With the conditions of the optimization problem, the production function Cobb-Douglas and conditions for the accumulation of social capital (F. Perez et al.) The approximate its assessment for each period in the form of the social accumulation index capital (sk_{it}^*),

$$sk_{it}^* = \beta \left(\frac{1 + \lambda(N-1)}{N} \right) \frac{y_t}{w_t C^t(I s_{it})} (1 - G) \frac{1 - \left(\frac{\delta}{1 + \rho} \right)^{T-t}}{1 + \rho - \delta}$$

Source: Miguelez E. (2009)

It is directly and positively related to income y_t , approximated GDP; inversely dependent on income inequality G , Gini index of regional approximated because the risk of being relegated to participate in collective consumption by increasing income inequality is increasing; positively related to life expectancy T , as it increases the number of years during which the individual will participate in social networks; negatively depends on wages; negative marginal cost depends on the interaction $C^t(Is_{it})$, approximated proportion of people with higher education among people of working age; the level of social capital depreciation δ ($\delta = (1 - d)$ - the level of return on investment in social capital), approximated unemployment; and the factor of discount (discount factor) ρ , which is taken at 4%. The parameter β production function Cobb - Douglas per employee can be estimated based on national accounts. This index is a model of the mechanism of formation of social capital. $-(w_i)$

Whereas previous studies, Rohozhyn O.¹⁹ suggested that their approach to the assessment of social capital. Thus, argues that in countries with advanced economies typical special income distribution where there is not full equality, and according to the law "golden section" (Fibonacci number). Estimated total stock of social capital at the macro level based on the deviation from the criteria for the distribution of incomes in the form of a number Fbonachchi amount (by decile group) modules relative deviation of the real distribution of natural inequality.

$$SC_r = \left(\sum_i \left| \frac{Y_i - Y_i^*}{Y_i^*} \right| \right)^{-1} \times 10,$$

¹⁹ Rohozhyn O., *Innovacijnyj social "nyj kapital: pytannya identyfikaciyi ta vymiryuvannya. Demohrafiya i social" na polityka*. № 2. -2013, pp. 82-91.

where: - supply of positive social capital (macro) SC_p ,

and = 1, 2, 3 ... 10 (Decile income groups of the population);

Y_i - the number of people available to decile group and;

Y_i^* - the number of people in decile group and when there are multiple Fibonacci number.

The proposed approach is simpler than in the calculations econometric model innovation effect of social capital. If the obtained value close to "0", it indicates a favorable social environment for the development of innovative processes.

The impact on the formation of social capital has several factors. At each level of regulation, these factors are special, in fact, for each entity they are affected differently. Despite the considerable attention given to the study of social capital, the problem of determining factors influencing social capital remains unresolved. To assess social capital should be used integral indicator that would take into account its specificity. Rating welfare of the world, which consists Legatum Institute offers its quantitative dimension - the social capital index, which is one element of ranking Prosperity Index²⁰. The index consists of 10 items: charity, help in solving problems, helping Guest, informal assistance to find other, respect,

Respect and trust in government is perhaps the most important elements of social capital index as having a significant impact on the economy. Respect leads to cooperation and assistance. The most important are the interpersonal respect, since it is the basis for building respect in society. In turn, the level of trust in society can be measured by the level of public confidence in the government, because government is elected by the citizens. Thus, there is interdependence, where the decline of respect for the government reduces the respect between citizens. Ukraine has a low position in the ranking of public confidence in government. Thus, the highest level of distrust observed in 2012-2013 GG, that was the cause of the revolution. Despite the positive trend in the changes over the last four years, the level of trust is extremely low.

The low level of confidence provokes destruction of social networks at all levels of society, especially at the enterprise level. In his work "Price, quality and trust: inter-firm relations in Britain and Japan" Sako M. (1992) classified four types of trust: contractual, competent, fair and trust in the goodwill (goodwill). Contract trust means a reliable, repetitive actions specified in the contract. Competent trust - a trust in the skills, abilities and experience. Fair confidence manifested in the consistent resolution of problems and conflicts, and transparency of the company.

²⁰ Report: *The Legatum prosperity index*. URL: <http://www.prosperity.com>.

The most intangible element is trust in the goodwill. It depends on the openness of the enterprise, honesty and transparency, the frequency of voluntary and charitable programs.

In our view, separately, in the study of social capital should consider the level of charity care and volunteering in the community. From 2013 level of charity increased threefold compared to all previous years, which is directly connected with the revolution and the military conflict in eastern Ukraine. A similar situation with informal assistance that was significant in 2014 and 2017 respectively. However, the opposite trend of volunteering. Maximum volunteer programs were strong in 2010-2012, due to the holding of the European Football Championship. Since 2014, almost all socially useful activities directed to support the army, so attention is paid to other volunteer projects decreased.

A perfect example of social capital are the Scandinavian countries. Their phenomenon is a special connection between the motivation to succeed, citizens' access to various social opportunities and peculiar religious culture based on values that are not related to the financial and economic well-being (eg., music, literature, painting).

In recent years, the trend can be observed deterioration of social capital, especially in advanced economies (Switzerland, Austria, Italy, USA). The reason for this was the Great Recession that "shaken" public confidence not only in government and the international financial institutions, but also to motivate charity and mutual support. In developing countries, by contrast, increased levels of social capital, because of not only its initial low value, but also the desire of citizens to find new ways to solve social and economic problems without government interference.

It should be noted that in countries with emerging economies, characterized by "paradox of social capital." It is characterized by the need for state regulation of citizens at a low level of confidence in the pre-state and non-state institutions. The effect of this paradox observed, particularly in Ukraine, where appropriate level of public trust is present only in the church and the media opposed to distrust all authority.

Quantitative measurement of social capital is a complex issue because of imperfections in methodology and data quality. Although there have formed an illustrative list of indicators of social capital and its features, such as the level of philanthropy, volunteerism, corruption, the degree of public participation in policy-making, the number of associations of citizens, turnout, the number of recorded crimes, the number of users Internet or mobile services that allow to evaluate environment favorable to the development of social capital, they relate mainly to external factors

influence (public censure for failure to donations for the benefit of the sick and the poor, the threat of sanctions for non-tax and anti-corruption laws)

In our opinion, more important is the problem of measuring social capital at the micro level, particularly at the enterprise level. Among the large number of forms of capital, social matters most signs of public resources, because based on this emerging network of social relations that is used to transmit information resource savings, increased confidence, the formation of individual reputation and turning it into a competitive advantage. Social capital has a positive effect to mobilize resources for the implementation of public projects, dissemination of accurate information among economic agents, mutual learning the rules of conduct.

Enterprise should be considered as a social system, because the man manages resources so that the result is profit. Increased social capital provides several competitive advantages that do not require considerable investments as updating the material and resource base or develop a new product line.

The basic condition for the postindustrial society functioning should be - to ensure a large enough economic potential to enable a faster pace of life, a prosperous society for more than five billion people, all done on the basis of an attraction of matter and energy from the environment tempered by the current situation and based on an enhanced attraction information (Ciobanu, Gh., Pana, A., Davidescu N.²¹.)

Of particular importance is the approach Fukuyama F., offering assess the social capital of the company in determining the difference in its market value and after the acquisition. Since the market price reflects the value of tangible and intangible assets. Social capital is a component of intangible assets, which also include: goodwill, intellectual capital, future economic benefits are expected in the acquisition of the company. Excess of cost over the market value of assets is considered as a premium for expected future economic benefits. The difference is formed, does not reflect the net value of social capital as includes the value of human capital, but it certainly makes a significant share.

Interestingly methodical approach D'yachenko (2015), which indicates that social capital is the sum of the costs of establishing and maintaining a network of economic and investment in human capital eksterioryzovany network. In turn, the economic network is divided into social (consisting of individuals) and business (consisting of companies). The cost of a network consisting of time (is the economic equivalent of time spent on creating

²¹ Ciobanu, Gh., Pana, A., Davidescu N., *Methodological Aaspects of the Entropy-Value Theory Model in Building the New Knowledge-Based Economy*. Revista Economică, Nr. 3(56)/2011. pp. 87-91.

and maintaining a network) and material cost of establishing and maintaining the network. Social capital is calculated as follows:

$$SC = C_n + HC_n = T \cdot c_t + C_{mm} + HC_n$$

C_n - the costs of establishing and maintaining economic networks;

HC_n - investments in eksterioryzovanyy network of human capital;

T - time spent on creating and maintaining the network;

c_t - the cost of time spent;

C_{mm} - material costs of establishing and maintaining the network.

Evaluation of social capital allows it to effectively control that primarily provide a reduction in operating and, most importantly transaction costs.

Conclusion

Ukrainian companies do not consider social capital as an investment object, but develop some of its elements in the sustainable development concept. Thus, non-financial and integrated reporting the most transparent companies does not contain information about the formation of social capital. However, virtually every company engaged in charity, volunteering, caring for employees and social work with the community. Considering the formation of social capital at the micro level, and taking into account the structural elements of the index Prosperity Index, we can conclude that it is charity, volunteering, working with community and concern for employees is an essential factor of social capital. Among these features are relevant to the study of the detection and measurement of social capital. Thus, the state socio-economic policy should include specific typical programs of social development, protection, and security to ensure the continuous and effective development of social capital.

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L'EPOCA DI ORO DELLA SCIENZA ARABA E LA RIVOLUZIONE SCIENTIFICA MANCATA

[The GOLDEN AGE OF ARABIC SCIENCE AND THE MISSING SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION]

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Abstract: *In the present study, we compare the scenarios of Arabic science and modern science, as well as the concepts behind these scientific traditions. Our aim is to show their connections, similarities and differences. Furthermore we point out that, even if there was no scientific revolution during the Islamic Golden Age, the scientific revolution that took place in Europe during the early modern period would not have been possible without the contribution of Muslim scholars, who inherited aspects of the ancient Greek tradition. A scientific revolution took place also in the Middle East, but only in a late period of history and not as a natural cultural process.*

Keywords: *Islam; Faith and reason; Arabic science; Modern science; Scientific revolution.*

La rivoluzione scientifica rappresenta una profonda trasformazione legata al contesto storico-culturale europeo della prima età moderna. Tale fenomeno ha assunto una forte portata, in quanto ha fatto emergere gli elementi sui quali si basa la concezione odierna di scienza, che non riguarda più soltanto l'Occidente: la scienza si è 'globalizzata' con la diffusione di un metodo ed un linguaggio universalmente validi e la nascita di una grande comunità scientifica, che porta avanti un'impresa collettiva volta all'incremento del sapere. Per questo, quando parliamo di 'scienza', non intendiamo qualcosa di statico e monolitico, bensì un insieme di nozioni e teorie sottoposte ad un processo di continua ridefinizione. Tutto questo non rispecchia però gli scenari del passato. Infatti, sono esistiti diversi approcci allo studio della natura: ad esempio, possiamo identificare i caratteri di una scienza indiana, di una scienza greca, di una scienza cinese e così via. Le figure di queste tradizioni e le loro scoperte sono entrate a far parte di una storia globale della scienza, che ha tratteggiato un processo cumulativo del sapere, reso possibile anche dagli interscambi culturali. Tale a è tuttavia insufficiente alla comprensione delle scienze

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pre-moderne, in quanto tende ad interpretarle secondo l'ottica del presente¹: da qui la necessità di assumere anche una 'prospettiva dall'interno', per evidenziare l'approccio scientifico delle singole tradizioni scientifiche – ed è ciò che ci siamo posti di fare nel nostro confronto tra i caratteri della scienza araba e quelli della scienza moderna che presentiamo in questo contributo.

È doveroso fare una breve premessa introduttiva circa i concetti di 'scienza' e 'rivoluzione scientifica', prendendo in considerazione alcune rilevanti teorie di epistemologi del secolo scorso, per stabilire se tali riflessioni sul contesto occidentale sono applicabili anche a quello islamico. A tal proposito, cominciamo con il prendere in esame un'affermazione di Thomas Kuhn (1922-1996), secondo il quale la rivoluzione scientifica ha portato ad una 'trasformazione del mondo entro il quale veniva fatto il lavoro scientifico²': tale fenomeno storico, culturale e sociale indica un mutamento radicale nel modo di pensare la natura e di fare scienza. Inoltre, bisogna considerare che il cambiamento portato dalla rivoluzione scientifica si inserisce in una data epoca e avviene sulla base di molteplici fattori: non la si deve intendere, semplicemente, come un evento, ma come un processo dinamico e orientato verso una direzione. Già l'impostazione filosofica positivista dell'Ottocento, ispirata a ideali del progresso scientifico e tecnologico diffusi ancora oggi fra gli scienziati, aveva spinto gli intellettuali a interpretare la scienza come processo teso ad accrescere la conoscenza. Inoltre, si deve ricordare che la classificazione delle scienze di Auguste Comte, padre del positivismo, deriva dall'idea che la scienza abbia seguito un percorso storico di razionalizzazione e abbandono dei saperi metafisici e teologici, che dai tempi antichi sono stati sullo sfondo delle varie forme del sapere. Nel Novecento, questo discorso è stato portato avanti dai teorici del neopositivismo logico, che hanno contribuito a definire lo statuto di scientificità e consolidare l'immagine della scienza. Gli esponenti del circolo di Vienna hanno risolto il problema della demarcazione tra scienza e pseudoscienza rifiutando la conoscenza prodotta dalle discipline imperniata su costruzioni metafisiche, che non trovano giustificazione empirica e razionale – *in primis*, le idee trascendentali di anima, mondo e Dio, delle quali 'non è propriamente possibile una deduzione oggettiva, quale invece abbiamo potuto fornire a riguardo delle categorie. In realtà esse non hanno difatti alcun rapporto con un qualsiasi oggetto, che possa risultare dato adeguatamente ad esse, e

¹ Cfr. Nasr, S.H, *Scienza e civiltà nell'Islam*, tr. it. L. Sosio (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1977 [1968]), p. 17.

² Kuhn, T.S., *La struttura delle rivoluzioni scientifiche*, tr. it. A. Carugo (Torino: Einaudi, 1995 [1970]), p. 25.

ciò appunto per il fatto che sono soltanto idee³, per dirla con Kant. Gli studi del già citato Thomas Kuhn hanno sottolineato però che la dimensione teorica della conoscenza scientifica non può essere ridotta al verificazionismo e che anche le dottrine metafisiche e pseudoscientifiche hanno avuto un importante ruolo negli sviluppi storici della scienza: esse devono essere considerate in rapporto ai loro relativi scenari e paradigmi scientifici, ossia ai complessi di teorie e ai modelli di ricerca sulla base dei quali una data comunità scientifica aspira a comprendere il reale. Lo studio della natura, finalizzato a giustificare una determinata visione del mondo e caratterizzato da una continua attività di *puzzle-solving*, messa in atto dalla comunità scientifica, viene definito da Kuhn con il termine 'scienza normale'. L'epistemologo aggiunge:

Talvolta un problema normale, cioè un problema che dovrebbe essere risolvibile per mezzo di regole e procedimenti noti, resiste al reiterato assalto dei più abili membri del gruppo entro la cui competenza viene a cadere. In altre circostanze, uno strumento dell'apparato di ricerca, progettato e costruito per gli scopi della ricerca normale, non riesce a funzionare nella maniera aspettata, rivelando un'anomalia che, nonostante i ripetuti sforzi, non può venire ridotta a conformarsi all'aspettativa professionale⁴.

Non sempre, però, gli strumenti e i modelli teorici a disposizione degli scienziati permettono di risolvere i problemi rompicapo e l'accumularsi di anomalie del paradigma dominante induce membri della comunità scientifica ad allontanarsi dal paradigma di riferimento:

Ogni rivoluzione scientifica ha reso necessario l'abbandono da parte della comunità di una teoria scientifica un tempo onorata, in favore di un'altra incompatibile con essa; ha prodotto, di conseguenza, un cambiamento dei problemi da proporre all'indagine scientifica e dei criteri secondo i quali la professione stabiliva che cosa si sarebbe dovuto considerare come un problema ammissibile o come una soluzione legittima di esso⁵.

Possiamo collocare sullo stesso filone interpretativo kuhniano la posizione di Alexandre Koyré (1892-1964), secondo il quale a rendere possibile la rivoluzione scientifica sarebbe stata l'adozione di un approccio metodologico ed epistemologico pressoché assente nel pensiero greco: solo in età moderna, gli studiosi hanno tracciato le linee di un 'universo della

³ Kant, I., *Critica della ragion pura*, tr. it. G. Colli (Milano: Adelphi, 1999 [1781]), II, 1-3, p. 391. Per una prospettiva generale sull'argomento trattato, segnaliamo Gillies, D. - Giorello, G., *La filosofia della scienza nel XX secolo*, tr. it. M. Motterlini (Roma - Bari: Laterza, 2006 [1993]).

⁴ Kuhn. *La struttura delle rivoluzioni scientifiche*, op. cit., p. 24.

⁵ Ivi, p. 25.

precisione', lasciandosi alle spalle il 'mondo del pressapoco' degli antichi. La rivoluzione scientifica nasce, innanzitutto, come rivoluzione astronomica, dal momento in cui, per leggere quel *'grandissimo libro che continuamente ci sta aperto innanzi agli occhi'*⁶, si è messa in atto una matematizzazione del mondo. Per dirla con Galileo, l'universo *'è scritto in lingua matematica, e i caratteri son triangoli, cerchi, ed altre figure geometriche, senza i quali mezzi è impossibile a intenderne umanamente parola; senza questi è un aggirarsi vanamente per un oscuro labirinto'*⁷. La matematizzazione del mondo, affiancata all'uso dello strumento di misurazione, diventa il nuovo approccio allo studio della natura, basato sul metodo sperimentale e quantitativo⁸. 'Impresa paradossale'⁹, afferma Koyré, 'poiché la realtà, quella della vita quotidiana in mezzo alla quale viviamo e stiamo, non è matematica. E neppure matematizzabile. Essa è il dominio del movente, dell'impreciso, del 'più o meno', del 'pressapoco'¹⁰'. La tendenza dei greci era, sostanzialmente, quella di conformare le osservazioni della natura a teorie fisiche e schemi cosmologici prefissati, ma 'fare della fisica nel nostro senso del termine – non nel senso che Aristotele dava a questo vocabolo – vuol dire applicare al reale le nozioni rigide, esatte e precise della matematica e, in primo luogo, della geometria'¹¹: infatti, 'è attraverso lo strumento di misura che l'idea dell'esattezza prende possesso di questo mondo e che il mondo della precisione arriva a sostituirsi al mondo del 'pressapoco'¹². Il carattere qualitativo delle osservazioni dei greci e la loro propensione alla teoria e all'astrazione non hanno permesso la messa in atto, nell'età antica, di una rivoluzione scientifica. L'abbandono della vaghezza dei criteri greci dello studio della natura ha portato all'elaborazione di un nuovo metodo di 'fare scienza', che induce gli studiosi a ridefinire continuamente i loro assunti teorici. Tutto ciò è dovuto, in fin dei conti, all'introduzione del metodo scientifico sperimentale galileiano. Venendo alla questione che ci siamo

⁶ Galileo Galilei. *Il Saggiatore* [1623], in Id., *Le opere di Galileo Galilei*, vol. 4 (Firenze: Fiorentina, 1844), p. 171.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Il metodo galileiano si distingue da quello greco, basato sull'osservazione della natura attraverso la diretta percezione sensibile, ma Kuhn ritiene che, sebbene Galileo abbia perfezionato il cannocchiale, non fosse del tutto consapevole della portata della sua innovazione, legata all'uso di strumenti di misura nello studio della natura. Cfr. Kuhn, T.S., La tensione essenziale. Cambiamenti e continuità nella scienza, tr. it. M. Vadacchino (Torino: Einaudi, 1985 [1977]), pp. 56-57.*

⁹ Koyré, A., *Dal mondo del pressapoco all'universo della precisione. Tecniche, strumenti e filosofia dal mondo classico alla rivoluzione scientifica*, tr. it. P. Zambelli (Torino: Einaudi, 1967 [1948]), p. 90.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ivi*, p. 91.

posti di analizzare in partenza, la domanda che ci poniamo è la seguente: è possibile individuare, nella storia della scienza araba e del pensiero islamico, un metodo analogo, che tenga conto di aspetti come la ricerca quantitativa e la verificabilità sperimentale delle teorie scientifiche? Un'altra questione da chiarire è la seguente: c'è stata o non c'è stata una rivoluzione scientifica nella storia della scienza araba? Per dare risposta a questi quesiti, riteniamo utile fare un confronto tra i caratteri generali che caratterizzano la scienza araba e quelli che definiscono invece la scienza moderna europea.

L'Islam vanta di una grande tradizione scientifica. Con l'espressione 'scienza araba' indichiamo la vasta produzione scientifica di tutti coloro che, a prescindere da fattori etnici e religiosi, hanno documentato in lingua araba i risultati dei loro studi – non soltanto la scienza degli arabi, quindi, ma anche quella dei persiani, degli ebrei e dei cristiani che hanno coltivato la scienza in terra d'Islam. L'orientalista francese Ernest Renan (1823-1892), sosteneva che 'Questa scienza, detta araba, che cos'ha di arabo in realtà? La lingua, nient'altro che la lingua¹³', ritenendo che essa non fosse altro che un'appendice della scienza greca, ma noi riteniamo invece che l'arabo, *lingua franca* degli studiosi del mondo islamico, sia stato determinante nei processi di diffusione del sapere. Inoltre, riteniamo che la tradizione scientifica araba fosse caratterizzata anche da altri fattori, che le conferiscono un originale fisionomia. Evitiamo intenzionalmente di usare l'espressione 'scienza islamica': fatta eccezione per le scienze coraniche e degli *ḥadīṭ*¹⁴, non esiste alcuna scienza propriamente 'islamica' o 'musulmana' – senza contare il fatto che, fatta eccezione per le formule laudative introduttive (come la *basmala*), generalmente i testi scientifici arabi non trattano argomenti religiosi. Si potrebbe parlare di 'scienza islamica' soltanto in quanto, nel mondo arabo, il sapere non si è mai svincolato completamente dallo sfondo religioso e l'ambiente delle moschee è sempre stato uno dei principali luoghi della cultura. In realtà, anche l'espressione 'scienza araba' è problematica: non tiene conto del fatto che molti scienziati del periodo aureo dell'Islam e i loro mecenati (tra cui vale la pena ricordare al-Ma'mūn, califfo abbaside nel IX secolo) hanno promosso, attraverso movimenti di studio e traduzione, l'assimilazione di saperi stranieri, sia di antiche civiltà, come quella greca, sia di popoli coi quali gli arabi sono entrati in contatto nel corso della loro espansione,

¹³ Renan, E., *L'islamisme et la science. Conférence faite a la Sorbonne le 29 mars 1883* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1883), p. 14, traduzione dell'autore.

¹⁴ Per quanto riguarda i nomi e i termini arabi, non facciamo riferimento alle norme di traslitterazione per termini di uso comune, come 'Islam' e 'sura', che rendiamo in forma semplice, e dei termini all'interno di citazioni, che riportiamo fedelmente nella forma presentata dalle fonti da noi consultate.

come persiani e indiani¹⁵: la cultura islamica si è aperta alle influenze esterne, ereditando un enorme patrimonio culturale, senza perdere il proprio spirito, che è anche uno spirito ‘scientifico’, come vedremo. La verità della rivelazione mohammadica consiste in una serie di assunti che non possono essere messi in discussione dal credente e ciò sembra suggerire che l'Islam e il pensiero scientifico, caratterizzato dalla dimensione del dubbio e del senso critico, siano agli antipodi, ma non è così. In fondo, la religione islamica è antidogmatica: oltre al fatto che non riconosce alcun clero¹⁶, essa non presuppone la comprensione di concetti teologici complessi (a differenza di altre religioni, come il Cristianesimo, la cui dottrina non può prescindere da aspetti di comprensione tutt'altro che immediata, come la trinità). L'Islam si basa su un insieme di precetti semplici ed essenziali e, potenzialmente, permette al musulmano di costruire una visione personale del proprio credo e scegliere come orientarsi verso Dio attraverso la riflessione autonoma e la libera interpretazione delle fonti. I limiti dell'intelletto umano non consentono di cogliere l'essenza del Creatore, ma permettono di risalirvi attraverso l'indagine dei segni divini nel creato (*āyāt*), cioè degli enti e dei fenomeni naturali: per questo, riteniamo che l'invito – anzi, l'obbligo – a studiare la natura faccia parte dei precetti del Corano¹⁷, nel quale ricorrono numerosi termini riferiti al sapere, come *ḥikma* e *ilm* e si fa riferimento a varie

¹⁵ Le nostra scelta terminologica segue le ragioni presentate da Al-Khalili, J., *La casa della saggezza. L'epoca d'oro della scienza araba*, tr. it. A. Migliori (Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 2013 [2010]), pp. 21-25. Su questo, ci dissociamo da S.H. Nasr, che sotto ‘scienza islamica’ definisce una tradizione che ‘si propone in definitiva di conseguire una conoscenza capace di contribuire alla perfezione e alla liberazione spirituale di chiunque sia capace di studiarla; i suoi frutti sono pertanto interiori e segreti, i suoi valori sono più difficili da discernere. Per comprendere ciò, è necessario collocarsi all'interno della sua prospettiva e accettare come legittima una scienza della natura che si propone un fine diverso, e usa mezzi diversi, rispetto alla scienza moderna’ (Nasr, *Scienza e civiltà nell'Islam*, op. cit., p. 33). Critico verso la modernità occidentale, Nasr si ispira all'idea di ‘scienza sacra’, difesa dai perennialisti (come R. Guénon, T. Burckhardt, F. Schuon e M. Valsan, pensatori europei convertiti all'Islam).

¹⁶ Cfr. Campanini, M., *Islam* (Milano: La scuola, 2013), p. 17.

¹⁷ L'invito a ricercare la conoscenza è presente già nei primi versetti coranici rivelati: ‘Leggi! In nome del tuo Signore che ha creato, ha creato l'uomo da un'aderenza. Leggi, che il tuo Signore è il Generosissimo, Colui Che ha insegnato mediante il calamo, che ha insegnato all'uomo quello che non sapeva’ (Q. 96:1-5, da *Il Corano*, tr. H.R. Piccardo (Roma: Newton Compton, 2015). Inoltre, nella sura *La giovenca*, Dio insegna ad Adamo i ‘nomi’ – che indicano, forse, le parole usate per indicare le cose o addirittura la loro essenza – e gli comanda di insegnarli agli angeli: lo invita, quindi, a dare prova delle sue capacità intellettive (cfr. Q. 2:30-33). L'invito alla ricerca del sapere ricorre anche nei detti comunemente attribuiti al Profeta (ad esempio ‘Cercate la conoscenza, anche fino in Cina’).

nozioni scientifiche¹⁸. Nel mondo arabo, un certo spirito razionale è stato incoraggiato dalla risposta a necessità legate allo studio delle fonti sacre e pratiche religiose: pensiamo all'elaborazione di metodi esegetici, allo studio sistematico della lingua araba, ma anche alla necessità di determinare, sulla base di calcoli astronomici, il primo giorno del *ramadān* e la *qibla*¹⁹. Questi esempi mostrano che, sin dalle prime fasi dell'Islam, i musulmani hanno sentito il bisogno di mettere a punto un metodo di studio basato sulla solidità dei dati sperimentali e con una pretesa di accuratezza che non troviamo nei greci. Gli arabi hanno saputo sintetizzare le basi teoriche dei greci con quelle degli indiani (dai quali hanno ereditato le 'cifre arabe') e coltivare lo studio della matematica, che ha assunto una funzione propedeutica alle altre scienze e alla realizzazione di invenzioni tecniche²⁰. Fra i primi scienziati musulmani dell'epoca d'oro ad aver adottato un metodo quantitativo e sperimentale, ricordiamo l'alchimista persiano Ġābir Ibn Ḥayyān (721-822). La *kīmīyyā* di Ġābir si basa su credenze metafisiche e pseudoscientifiche, che oggi potrebbero apparire bizzarre, ma gli esperimenti descritti nel *corpus* ġābiriano mostrano un'attenzione scrupolosa nello studio delle sostanze secondo criteri quantitativi e perseguivano fini sia pratici, sia teorici (come la classificazione delle sostanze e lo studio della loro composizione)²¹. Oltre a

¹⁸ Sull'uso di queste ed altre espressioni arabe, si veda Campanini, M., *Islam e politica* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2015), p. 141. Combinando i termini, Ibn Ḥaldūn parla persino di *'ulūm al-falsafa wa al-ḥikma*. Sulle diverse opinioni circa il termine *'ilm*, si veda Guessoum, N., *Islam's Quantum Question: Reconciling Muslim Tradition and Modern Science* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), pp. 53-61. Muzaffar Iqbal afferma che 'a differenza del greco e del latino, l'arabo ha un termine specifico, che sta per scienza: *al-'ilm*. Questa parola e i suoi derivati si presentano di frequente nel Corano. Viene usata per definire tutti i tipi di conoscenza, non solo il sapere riguardante lo studio della natura' (Iqbal, M., *Science and Islam* (Westport CT - London: Greenwood, 2007), p. 21, traduzione dell'autore). Effettivamente, diversi termini greci ruotano attorno al concetto di 'conoscenza' (ad esempio, *epistēmē*, *noūs*, *lógos* e *philosophia*), ma tendono ad essere specifici, non generici. Non possiamo dire lo stesso del latino *sapientia*, che viene usato in diversi contesti.

¹⁹ Cfr. Djebbar, A., *Storia della scienza araba. Il patrimonio intellettuale dell'Islam. Dialogo con Jean Rosmorduc*, tr. M. Campanini (Milano: Raffaello Cortina, 2002 [2001]), cap. 2.

²⁰ La matematica ha giocato un ruolo fondamentale per la realizzazione *strumenti ed invenzioni: pompe, meccanismi di sollevamento, i primi astrolabi di precisione, sfere armillari, meridiane, orologi, quadranti ed altri strumenti di misurazione*. Cfr. Samsó, J., 'Al-Andalus, A Bridge Between Arabic and European Science', in *Alhadra I* (2015), pp. 104-122. Tra le più significative invenzioni degli arabi, vale la pena ricordare la *macchina volante (non funzionante) di Ibn Fīrnās (810-887), che avrebbe ispirato Leonardo da Vinci, e gli automi di al-Jazarī (1136-1206)*.

²¹ Nella tradizione alchemica araba, distinguiamo un'alchimia 'fisica' (*de facto* assimilabile all'odierna chimica), dedicata allo studio delle sostanze e dei processi necessari ad alterare la loro composizione, da un'alchimia 'spirituale', la quale, attraverso un

Ġābir (e ad eventuali altri alchimisti che si sono firmati a suo nome), possiamo prendere come esempio di razionalità scientifica anche gli astronomi arabi, che sono stati in grado di compilare tavole più precise di quelle tolemaiche, sebbene le loro cosmologie si inserivano ancora nell'ottica del geocentrismo. I modelli planetari degli arabi sono stati di grande importanza per i rinascimentali: ad esempio, Copernico cita Tābit Ibn Qurra, al-Battānī, al-Bīrūnī e, forse per via indiretta, si basa sulle ricerche di Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī²². Non possiamo stabilire fino a che punto Copernico conoscesse le teorie di questi astronomi e se abbiano giocato un ruolo nell'elaborazione dell'eliocentrismo, ma considerando l'influenza della scuola di Marāghah, i cui esponenti hanno preso le distanze dal modello tolemaico, non è da scartare l'ipotesi che ci siano state anche 'radici islamiche' alla base della rivoluzione copernicana²³.

Per confrontare gli scenari della scienza araba e quelli della scienza moderna, poniamo l'accento sul ruolo assunto dai luoghi della scienza. Sappiamo che in Europa il coronamento delle relazioni tra gli studiosi avviene con il sorgere delle prime società scientifiche, come l'Accademia dei Lincei. Queste realtà, sorrette inizialmente dall'iniziativa dei singoli membri, hanno cominciato via via ad attirare l'interesse dei sovrani, i quali, soprattutto dal XVII sec. in poi, hanno finanziato le ricerche, indirizzandole alla risoluzione di problemi pratici e favorendo l'integrazione della scienza nella società. Troviamo un fenomeno simile anche nel contesto islamico medievale. Anche gli scienziati musulmani medievali operavano nei loro 'laboratori', luoghi entro i quali si favoriva l'interscambio delle conoscenze. A tal proposito, nel mondo intellettuale islamico, erano comuni gli spostamenti da un centro all'altro (come per

linguaggio metaforico, presenta una dottrina di perfezionamento interiore, che si è intrecciata a quella sufi. Cfr. Nasr, *Scienza e civiltà nell'Islam*, op. cit., cap. 9. Su Ġābir, cfr. ivi, pp. 211-219 e Al-Khalili, *La casa della saggezza*, op. cit., cap. 4. Vanno fatte alcune precisazioni: innanzitutto, di Ġābir sappiamo pochissimo; in secondo luogo, per quanto riguarda il *corpus* ġābiriano, facciamo presente che esso raccoglie al suo interno scritti appartenenti ad epoche diverse e, quindi, attribuibili ad autori distinti – senza considerare la questione relativa al 'Geber latino'. Ai fini della nostra argomentazione, però, questo ha importanza relativa, in quanto a noi importa evidenziare che gli scritti alchemici in questione rappresentano un valido esempio di scienza sperimentale. Per quanto riguarda la questione delle pseudoscienze, invece, ricordiamo che molti sapienti musulmani, come al-Bīrūnī e Ibn Ḥaldūn, hanno assunto un approccio razionale al sapere ed hanno criticato le forme della magia, inserendole tendenzialmente nell'ambito della superstizione popolare.

²² Si è dimostrato che la cosiddetta 'coppia di Ṭūsī' viene ripresentata nel *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*, in maniera pressoché invariata. Cfr. ivi, pp. 261-262.

²³ Per approfondimenti, si legga Guessoum, N., 'Copernicus and Ibn al-Shatir. Does the Copernican Revolution have Islamic Roots?', in *The Observatory*, CXXVIII (2008), pp. 231-239.

gli scolastici latini) e i contatti a distanza – si pensi allo scambio epistolare tra i persiani al-Bīrūnī e Ibn Sīnā, vissuti tra i secoli X e XI. È lecito, però, affermare che la scienza è stata anche un'impresa collettiva, in vista di fini altrettanto collettivi, anche nel mondo islamico? Il ritrovamento di manoscritti di argomento tecnico-scientifico nelle biblioteche delle madrase sembra suggerire che, in genere, le autorità religiose non fossero avverse allo studio della natura, pur mantenendo qualche riserva in merito: ad esempio, al-Ġazālī (1058-1111) afferma che 'è necessario porre un freno a tutti coloro che studiano le scienze matematiche²⁴', in quanto la precisione e l'incontrovertibilità del sillogismo può sviare dalla fede, basata su contenuti indimostrabili, e indurre a credere alle verità dei filosofi miscredenti. Con questo, al-Ġazālī vuole tutelare la religione da potenziali minacce, ma certamente non arrestare lo studio della matematica: 'commette un grande crimine contro la religione chi pensa che l'Islam possa essere difeso mediante la negazione delle scienze matematiche²⁵', perché ciò significherebbe professare l'ignoranza e negare gli stessi principi e contenuti del Corano. Non si può dire che i teologi musulmani fossero avversi alle scienze: nel kalām non mancano le riflessioni scientifiche sull'atomismo, sulla concezione del tempo e del mondo. Aggiungiamo che, già sul finire del califfato omayyade, fra i facoltosi di Baġdād erano comuni le donazioni e la pratica di lasciare post-mortem parte dei propri beni alla scienza – che, in tal caso, diventavano 'beni di mano morta' (habūs o waqf, in termini giuridici²⁶). Abbiamo ragione di pensare che a incoraggiare studi e traduzioni non fossero solo i mecenati: è probabile che, durante il regno degli abbasidi, l'esigenza di approfondire questioni scientifiche e filosofiche fosse ben sentita all'interno della società²⁷.

La prosperità degli studi scientifici e lo sviluppo della tecnica nell'epoca d'oro della scienza araba suggerisce che una rivoluzione scientifica sarebbe potuta 'scoppiare' all'interno del suo contesto, prima ancora che in Europa. Nel mondo islamico, non troviamo un ostacolo alla scienza analogo a quello rappresentato dai dogmi della Chiesa, in Europa. Molti scienziati arabi possono essere considerati precursori del fenomeno europeo, tuttavia le loro numerose invenzioni e scoperte non sono state

²⁴ Al-Ghazālī, *Il libro che preserva dall'errore*, in Id., *Le luci della sapienza*, tr. it. M. Campanini (Milano: SE, 2017), pp. 32-33.

²⁵ Ivi, p. 33.

²⁶ Sul mecenatismo, si legga Djebbar, *Storia della scienza araba*, op. cit., pp. 58-62.

²⁷ Concordiamo con la tesi 'appropriazionista' di A.I. Sabra (contrapposta alla tesi 'marginalista' di G.E. von Grunebaum, il quale ritiene che, nel mondo islamico, l'attività scientifica sia stata appannaggio di un'élite e che la massa non abbia percepito l'invito coranico a studiare la natura). Cfr. Lettinck, 'Science in Adab Literature', in *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* XXI (2011), pp. 149-163.

sufficienti ad innescare un'effettiva rivoluzione scientifica in terra d'Islam, tanto meno ad alimentare un mito del progresso paragonabile a quello occidentale. Su questo punto, il filosofo persiano *Seyyed Hossein Nasr* (1933-) *affermerrebbe che il progresso non fa parte degli ideali dell'Islam, in quanto, per i musulmani, 'la storia è una successione di elementi accidentali i quali non incidono in alcun modo sui principi atemporali dell'Islam. Essi sono interessati più alla conoscenza e alla 'realizzazione' di questi principi che non a coltivare l'originalità e il mutamento come virtù intrinseche'.* Questa risposta non è del tutto soddisfacente e parte dal presupposto che gli scienziati del periodo aureo dell'Islam fossero tutti caratterizzati da una determinata forma mentis islamica. Nasr tende a relativizzare i fatti tanto quanto Renan, sostenitore di una tesi diametralmente opposta, secondo la quale molti filosofi arabi 'non soltanto non sono arabi di sangue, ma non hanno niente di arabo nel loro spirito'²⁸. Ritornando al nostro quesito, evidenziamo che l'idea di progresso si lega alla concezione della scienza come sapere cumulativo, abbracciata dai moderni. In Europa, un fattore determinante per l'accelerazione della crescita del sapere in tutti i campi è stato, in particolare, la diffusione della stampa a caratteri mobili, che nel mondo islamico, per diverse ragioni, non avviene (se non con grande ritardo). Nei paesi islamici, qualcosa di simile ad una rivoluzione scientifica si realizza soltanto in età contemporanea, ma per ragioni diverse da quelle che hanno determinato l'emergere della scienza moderna in Europa. Le cause dell'assenza di una vera e propria rivoluzione scientifica nel mondo arabo sono diverse e cerchiamo di elencarle ora, commentando alcune opinioni di altri studiosi, a partire da quella dell'islamologo Massimo Campanini, che risponde alla questione nei seguenti termini:

Nonostante Cristianesimo e Islam nascano e si sviluppino in un humus comune, c'è un discrimine storico che li ha divisi: le tre rivoluzioni costitutive del moderno 'occidentale' (la rivoluzione scientifica, la rivoluzione francese e la rivoluzione industriale) hanno coinvolto il mondo islamico con grande ritardo [...] Relativamente alla rivoluzione scientifica, due fattori negativi sono stati determinanti: l'incapacità di sviluppare un 'discorso sul metodo' e soprattutto, a monte di questo, l'ipertrofia del diritto che ha fagocitato le scienze speculative. Se si leggono le opere di teologia musulmana moderna e contemporanea ci si rende conto che

²⁸ Renan, *L'islamisme et la science*, op. cit., p. 15, traduzione dell'autore. Renan sostiene che l'atteggiamento dell'Islam osteggia la propensione al sapere ed è convinto che, quindi, gli scienziati musulmani abbiano tradito lo spirito della loro religione, servendosi dell'arabo come strumento per diffondere il sapere ereditato dai greci. Questa tesi è in linea con l'orientalismo del XIX secolo, imbevuto dei pregiudizi del colonialismo.

rimangono legate a una metafisica tradizionale, spesso, soprattutto in ambito sciita, di carattere gnostico. Non c'è stato in Islam un Cartesio che abbia, per così dire, 'matematizzato' la metafisica ritenendo possibile parlare di Dio in termini apodittici. D'altro canto, l'origine divina della giurisprudenza (*sharī'a*), pur elaborata umanamente (*fiqh*), ha subordinato a quella le scienze speculative come la filosofia, che non hanno avuto modo di rivendicare un proprio spazio epistemologico²⁹[...].

Introducendo le teorie di Kuhn e Koyré, abbiamo visto che solitamente un cambiamento di paradigma scientifico avviene in seguito all'introduzione di una nuova visione delle cose e di un nuovo modo di fare scienza. La nascita della scienza moderna, come abbiamo detto, non sarebbe potuta avvenire se gli scienziati non avessero cominciato a studiare la natura attraverso gli strumenti della matematica e secondo il metodo sperimentale, dato che gli esperimenti, oltre ad essere ripetibili, servono a convalidare le teorie scientifiche sulla base di dati empirici e, soprattutto, quantitativi. Abbiamo visto che gli arabi hanno fatto enormi progressi negli studi sulla matematica, che per loro è stata fondamentale, in supporto ad altre discipline e alle invenzioni tecnologiche della meccanica. Tuttavia, nel pensiero islamico classico è assente, ad esempio una riflessione approfondita sul ruolo della matematica in rapporto alla scienza, e manca, inoltre, una discussione sul metodo scientifico. La *falsafa* ha affrontato anche questioni epistemologiche, ma non si può dire che i filosofi islamici abbiano avuto un'influenza decisiva sulla società islamica e, inoltre, sono stati bersagliati da teologi e giuristi. Da questo ultimo aspetto, passiamo ad evidenziare il secondo fattore evidenziato da Campanini nel precedente passo, ovvero la predominanza della giurisprudenza, enfatizzata dal fenomeno noto come la chiusura delle porte dell'*īğtihād*, *che gradualmente (all'incirca dal XI secolo) ha portato ad una delimitazione dello 'sforzo' individuale teso all'interpretazione delle fonti sacre in senso critico*. Gli ostacoli al progredire delle scienze sono dovuti, in parte, a cause esterne. Tenendo d'occhio lo scacchiere geopolitico del XIII secolo, si può notare che i domini islamici, oltre ad essere frammentati fra loro, erano minacciati su più fronti: in Andalusia dalla *Reconquista*, in Terra Santa dai crociati e, sul versante orientale, dai mongoli di Hülägü Khan, che nel 1258 hanno preso Bagdād, l'allora principale centro politico e culturale della civiltà islamica dell'epoca. Naturalmente, molti scienziati hanno continuato a portare avanti le loro ricerche anche in tempo di guerra – si pensi a Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, che per scampare all'invasione mongola, si rifugiò dapprima presso gli

²⁹ Campanini, M., *L'Islam, religione dell'Occidente* (Milano - Udine: Mimesis, 2016), pp. 149-150.

ismailiti della fortezza di Alamūt e, quando questa venne distrutta, divenne un astrologo di corte di Hülāgü, ottenendone i favori per la costruzione dell'osservatorio di Marāgah. Detto ciò, noi riteniamo che ad aver provocato la chiusura delle porte dell'ig̃tihād non può essere stata esclusivamente la crisi culturale legata ai conflitti militari. In rapporto a tale fenomeno poniamo, innanzitutto, un irrigidimento dottrinale, dovuto al prevalere di una scienza al di sopra di tutte le altre: la giurisprudenza (basata sui sistemi delle quattro principali scuole giuridico-religiose). Nel mondo islamico, spesso sono stati proprio i giuristi ad attaccare i filosofi – si pensi alla critica di al-Ġazālī (1058-1111) verso l'eternità del mondo ed altre dottrine greche, poi respinta da Ibn Rušd (1126-1198), ultimo esponente della filosofia islamica medievale falsafa³⁰ – in seguito, all'approccio filosofico razionale hanno prevalso la mistica e la teosofia, ispirate in parte all'avicennismo. Il tramonto della filosofia islamica medievale non ha giovato alla scienza araba. Nonostante ciò, l'attività scientifica non si è mai interrotta, ma la tecnologia dei paesi islamici non si è evoluta di pari passo a quella degli europei dell'età moderna, finendo con il diventare obsoleta, e ciò ha determinato la superiorità militare dell'Occidente³¹, destinato a diventare colonizzatore del Medio Oriente e ad imporre agli arabi (in maniera forzata e repentina) le proprie categorie di pensiero, inclusa una prospettiva scientifica fondamentalmente atea – che aveva già iniziato a fare a meno dell'idea di Dio con l'introduzione del meccanicismo cartesiano, in un'epoca in cui i filosofi iniziavano a contraddire sempre più spesso le prospettive tradizionali, difese dal dogma religioso cristiano. Torneremo a ragionare su questi aspetti nelle pagine seguenti.

Ora ci interessa capire la ragione per cui nel mondo islamico la tecnica si è evoluta più lentamente e in ritardo rispetto a quanto avvenuto nel contesto europeo (con la conseguenza che dal XV secolo in poi il dislivello tra l'Occidente e l'Impero Ottomano è cresciuto progressivamente). Alberto Ventura risponde nei seguenti termini al quesito che ci siamo posti:

³⁰ Cfr. Averroè, *L'incoerenza dell'incoerenza dei filosofi*, tr. it. M. Campanini (Torino: UTET, 2006).

³¹ A tal proposito, segnaliamo lo studio di Cipolla, C.M., *Vele e cannoni*, tr. it. F. Prausello (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011 [1965]), cap. 2. Cipolla afferma che gli ottomani 'non riuscirono mai ad andare al di là dello stadio iniziale: non riuscirono a mai a trasformare l'artiglieria in arma da campagna. [...] In sostanza, gli ottomani fecero buon uso dei cannoni sempre e solo nelle operazioni di assedio' (ivi, pp. 77-79) – cannoni che, nonostante la loro efficacia, erano spesso difettosi e si incrinavano facilmente. Per quanto riguarda la tecnica navale, gli ottomani non hanno imparato ad utilizzare i velieri oceanici prima della fine del XVI secolo, in netto ritardo rispetto agli europei.

Paradossalmente, si potrebbe rispondere in poche parole a questo complesso interrogativo affermando che l'Islam non ha vissuto una rivoluzione scientifica simile a quella occidentale proprio per la scarsa conflittualità fra rivelazione e ragione. Per precisare meglio, si può dire in estrema sintesi che lo sforzo di armonizzare i due versanti non ha consentito di separare più nettamente gli ambiti rispettivi, che nella cultura cristiana si sono invece trovati in posizione più chiaramente antagonista ed hanno quindi meglio precisato la propria identità. Gli storici della scienza ben sanno quanto in Europa sia stata fondamentale per la nascita del pensiero scientifico moderno una certa attitudine 'ermetica', nel senso che i primi passi dell'umanesimo scientifico sono stati condotti in ambienti fortemente tinti di sapere esoterico. Dalla trasformazione dell'alchimia in chimica sino al Rosicrucianesimo di un Newton e alla nascita della Royal Society, la componente per così dire 'settaria' e comunque antagonista alla religione ufficiale (soprattutto di parte cattolica) è risultata uno stimolo non secondario dell'elaborazione scientifica. Nell'Islam nulla del genere è potuto avvenire. Laddove era già abitudine armonizzare il pensiero filosofico-scientifico con il sapere spirituale, non si è avvertita l'esigenza di separare dialetticamente le due cose, col risultato di non attribuire alla speculazione sulle scienze uno statuto autonomo rispetto alla comune nozione di conoscenza³².

Oltre a quanto è stato detto finora, Ventura ci mostra che, ad aver impedito una rivoluzione scientifica araba, non è stato tanto il fatto che, come si è detto, teologi e giuristi hanno messo in secondo piano il ruolo dei filosofi. Piuttosto, la causa di ciò è stata l'assenza di un vero e proprio conflitto tra fede e ragione nel mondo islamico. Come afferma Muzaffar Iqbal, nonostante lo sforzo di vari pensatori musulmani di suddividere le scienze secondo una precisa classificazione, 'tutte le diramazioni di questa erano strettamente connesse da un asse verticale, lungo tutta la prospettiva epistemologica – una base del concetto coranico del sapere³³,

³² Il testo è tratto dalla relazione (presentata nell'Ottobre del 2006 a Frascati, per l'INFN) da Ventura, A., *L'Islam e il pensiero scientifico*, www.inf.infn.it/edu/incontri/2006/relazioni/Ventura.doc (consultato il 25/04/2019), p. 6. Sul ruolo delle scienze occulte nello sviluppo della scienza moderna, si legga Rossi, p. , *La nascita della scienza moderna in Europa* (Roma - Bari: Laterza, 1997), in particolare il cap. 2.

³³ Iqbal, *Science and Islam*, op. cit., p. 22, traduzione dell'autore. Sulla classificazione delle scienze, si veda Forcada, M., 'Tbn Bājja and the Classification of the Sciences in al-Andalus', in *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy XVI*, 2 (2006), pp. 287-307. Alcuni autori, come il giudice Šā'id al-Andalusī (1029-1070) e l'aristotelico Ibn Bāğğa (1085-1138), hanno escluso le scienze religiose dalle loro classificazioni. L'andaluso Ibn Hazm (994-1064) propone addirittura due modelli speculari: uno per i filosofi ed uno per i dotti in scienze religiose.

reso da al-Ġazālī attraverso una pittoresca metafora, secondo la quale il Corano sarebbe come una collana, le cui perle rappresentano le scienze, in quanto ‘ogni cosa possibile, data la perfezione della natura divina, è in essa presente e reale. Ne deriva che i principi fondamentali di tutte le scienze [...] sono contenuti nel Corano³⁴’. Questo genere di concezioni avrebbe sfavorito, da un lato, la specializzazione del sapere – fondamentale per l'emergere della visione scientifica dei moderni e dell'immagine dello scienziato – e, dall'altro, la costruzione identitaria della scienza araba, costringendo il suo sviluppo all'interno della dimensione religiosa – mentre, in Occidente, l'emancipazione della scienza dalla religione è avvenuta proprio dal momento che il dogma è entrato apertamente in conflitto con le teorie e le scoperte scientifiche dei moderni. A tal proposito, se pensiamo che la gran parte degli sforzi intellettuali dell'Islam, in seguito alla chiusura delle porte dell'iq̣tihad, si è concentrata nell'ambito giuridico, è significativo – ma non deve stupire – che la giurisprudenza islamica (fiqh) sia rimasta vincolata al fondamento della šarī'a (mentre il diritto pubblico, negli stati occidentali, non pretende affatto di essere la trascrizione giuridica dei valori cristiani, che sono rimasti, assumendo una forma secolarizzata). Questo esempio mostra ancor più chiaramente la differenza tra lo scenario mediorientale e quello occidentale e dovrebbe rendere ancor meglio l'idea di quanto sconvolgente possa essere stato, per la civiltà islamica, l'impatto con l'Occidente. Da esso è nata la necessità di trovare nuovi principi, in grado di rendere compatibili due diverse Weltanschauungen e prevenire il rischio che la mentalità occidentale possa assorbire quella islamica, spingendola a perdere di vista qualsiasi telos spirituale e ad intraprendere l'inarrestabile corsa al progresso – un processo orientato al perfezionamento della tecnica, intesa come fine (e non come mezzo³⁵). Su questo punto, vale la pena soffermarci su quanto afferma il filosofo Emanuele Severino:

Da mezzo della produzione capitalistica della ricchezza, la tecnica è destinata a diventare lo scopo di tale produzione e di ogni forza che – come il comunismo, la democrazia, il cristianesimo, l'islam – abbia inteso o

³⁴ Al-Ġhazālī, *Le perle del Corano*, tr. it. M. Campanini (Milano: BUR, 2016), p. 129.

³⁵ A tal riguardo, restano valide le parole di Hans Jonas: ‘Se il concetto di ‘tecnica’ indica approssimativamente l'uso di strumenti e dispositivi artificiali per le necessità della vita, unitamente alla loro originaria invenzione, alla loro fabbricazione iterativa, al loro ricorrente perfezionamento e poi in certi casi al loro inserimento nell'arsenale esistente, allora tale semplice descrizione si adatta in pieno alla maggior parte della tecnica nel corso della storia dell'umanità (di cui è coeva), ma non alla moderna tecnologia’ (Jonas, H., *Tecnica, medicina ed etica. Prassi del principio responsabilità*, tr. it. A. Benussi (Torino: Einaudi, 1997 [1985]), p. 8).

intenda servirsi della tecnica per realizzare i propri scopi specifici (e tra loro conflittuali). In questo rovesciamento, dove il mezzo diventa fine e il fine diventa mezzo, si esprime nel modo più visibile il tramonto, inevitabile, della tradizione occidentale. A quest'ultima appartiene anche l'islam, in forza delle comuni radici religiose e filosofiche. Nel rovesciamento di mezzi e fini, di cui stiamo parlando, le radici religiose e filosofiche che accomunano le democrazie occidentali e l'islam sono dunque destinate a diventare mezzi di cui la tecnica si serve per la realizzazione del proprio scopo essenziale: l'incremento infinito della capacità di realizzare scopi³⁶.

Non appoggiamo questa tesi per almeno due ragioni. In primo luogo, troviamo insoddisfacente la definizione di Islam come 'forza' e improprio l'accostamento con categorie politiche come il comunismo e la democrazia³⁷: piuttosto, l'Islam è un sistema politico, religioso, sociale, economico e giuridico, una visione del mondo e un'ortoprassi – aspetti che vengono riassunti sotto il termine arabo *dīn*. La seconda ragione della nostra critica è che l'attuale ruolo dell'Islam non rispecchia quello del Cristianesimo e, come si è detto, l'Europa ha vissuto un processo che ha portato la scienza a rendersi indipendente dalla religione, ma non si può dire lo stesso del Medio Oriente, in cui un tale cambiamento non è avvenuto spontaneamente, bensì come conseguenza del colonialismo e dell'esportazione del modello occidentale. Severino ritiene che, *appropriandosi degli ideali del progresso tecnologico, l'Islam sia destinato a rendersi sempre più simile all'Occidente, fino a perdere i propri tratti distintivi*:

La filosofia del nostro tempo non ha legittimato soltanto le forme di vita che risultano intollerabili alla coscienza islamica, ma ha spianato il terreno dove la volontà di potenza della tecnica è legittimata a progettare il dominio indefinitamente crescente sul mondo. [...] Si illude, l'islam, di potersi servire dell'arma contro la mano che saldamente la impugna. La tecnica rispecchia la 'morte di Dio' ed è quindi il cavallo di Troia contro chi vuole servirsene affinché sia fatta la volontà di Dio³⁸.

È vero che nel mondo islamico ci sono state tendenze al secolarismo – si pensi alle riforme del kemalismo in Turchia. La 'profezia' che sopra

³⁶ Severino, E., *Dall'Islam a Prometeo* (Milano: Rizzoli, 2003), p. 11.

³⁷ Non vogliamo dire, con questo, che l'Islam esclude *a priori* la democrazia. Alcuni teorici islamisti contemporanei hanno elaborato il concetto di 'stato civile' (*dawla madaniyya*), per il quale lo stato islamico si basa sulla Legge religiosa, è costituzionale e la sua autorità si fonda sulla volontà popolare, nella misura in cui la libera consultazione (*shūrā*) articola il rapporto amministrativo tra il popolo e il sovrano. Si potrebbe intendere la *dawla madaniyya* come una potenziale forma di 'democrazia islamica'. Cfr. Campanini. *Islam e politica*, op. cit., pp. 280-281.

³⁸ Ivi, pp. 24-25.

Severino ci presenta in termini nietzschiani, tuttavia, può essere smontata dai fatti. È evidente che, se la tecnica è un cavallo di Troia, allora l'Islam ha cercato un modo per cavalcarlo. Sappiamo che, nella seconda metà del XIX secolo, sono emerse due tendenze politiche, sociali e culturali in risposta allo sconvolgimento provocato dall'ingresso dell'Occidente nel mondo islamico: la *nahḍa* (lett. 'rinascita') e l'*islāḥ* (lett. 'miglioramento'). I protagonisti storici di questi movimenti hanno tentato, a loro modo, di instaurare un rapporto con la modernità e, quindi, anche con la dimensione della scienza e della tecnica³⁹. A proposito dell'*islāḥ*, vale la pena ricordare l'egiziano Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849-1905), che ha rivendicato il carattere 'razionale' del Corano ed ha evidenziato lo spirito scientifico insito nella religione islamica, affermando che essa

*trae fuori l'intelligenza dal suo assopimento e la risveglia dal lungo sonno nel quale aveva obliato se stessa. [...] La voce dell'Islam si eleva contro i pregiudizi dell'ignoranza, dichiara che l'uomo non è stato creato per lasciarsi guidare con le briglie, ma che è proprio della sua natura lasciarsi guidare dalla scienza e dalla conoscenza: la scienza dell'universo e la conoscenza delle cose del passato*⁴⁰.

Sulla stessa linea ideologica, ascrivibile all'*islāḥ*, possiamo collocare anche l'indiano – oggi diremmo pakistano – Muḥammad Iqbāl (1877-1938), il quale, ritenendo che 'il bisogno di una forma scientifica del sapere religioso risulta essere soltanto naturale⁴¹', ha tentato di 'ricostruire' il pensiero islamico, per mostrarne i tratti comuni con la modernità (e quelli che, addirittura, ne travalicano i limiti). Similmente ad 'Abduh, Iqbāl ha sostenuto che 'lo spirito empirico generale del Corano, che ha generato nei suoi fedeli un senso di reverenza per la realtà e, in ultima istanza, li ha resi i fondatori della scienza moderna⁴²'. Su questo punto, il filosofo pakistano sembra sovrastimare gli scienziati arabi dell'età d'oro dell'Islam, considerando che non avviene la presa di coscienza di un vero e proprio metodo scientifico fra gli arabi e che nella

³⁹ Rimandiamo a Campanini, M., *Storia del Medio Oriente contemporaneo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2014), cap. 3.

⁴⁰ Abduh, M., *Trattato sull'unicità divina*, tr. it. G. Rami (Bologna: Il Ponte, 2003), p. 143.

⁴¹ Iqbāl, M., *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (London: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1934), p. V, traduzione dell'autore. Il Corano potrebbe ribadire questo concetto anche attraverso le sue narrazioni: ad esempio, secondo l'interpretazione di Iqbāl, Adamo non coglie il frutto proibito in quanto cade in tentazione, bensì perché intende osservare le conseguenze del suo gesto, proprio come uno scienziato, nel condurre esperimenti, altera l'ambiente per studiare le leggi della natura. Cfr. *ivi*, pp. 88 ss.

⁴² *Ivi*, p. 13.

loro tradizione non c'è stato alcun Cartesio. Quel che ci importa, è che questi ed altri pensatori hanno cercato di saldare positivamente la tradizione islamica alla scienza moderna occidentale, almeno sul piano teorico. In tempi recenti, ci sono stati ulteriori tentativi di offrire una rilettura in chiave moderna dell'Islam: soprattutto grazie al web, ha trovato larga diffusione il cosiddetto 'commentario scientifico' (tafsīr 'ilmī), un modello di esegesi coranica basata sull'assunto che nel Corano siano contenute tutte le verità scientifiche, comprese le scoperte più recenti⁴³ – idea che, in linea di massima, era già stata formulata dal teologo medievale al-Ġazālī, tornando a quanto è stato affermato nelle precedenti pagine. Pur basandosi su una forzatura interpretativa del testo e arrivando a conclusioni al limite dell'assurdo, non possiamo negare che l'approccio esegetico del tafsīr 'ilmī denoti il bisogno di armonizzare scienza e religione – un bisogno che oggidì è sentito anche a livello popolare e, quindi, non soltanto tra intellettuali del calibro di Iqbāl. Sia i modernisti del secolo scorso, sia fenomeni come la diffusione del commentary scientifico, a nostro parere, dimostrano che il processo volto a sanare le ferite aperte dal colonialismo è ancora in atto e l'Islam è in cerca di nuove soluzioni per far fronte ai problemi della contemporaneità. Se inizialmente la scienza moderna è stata sentita dai musulmani come un elemento estraneo alla loro cultura, è normale che sia nata l'esigenza di un principio in grado di far concordare due dimensioni apparentemente incompatibili. Come sostiene Nasr,

Se le scienze moderne stanno diventando di più di una 'coda' trapiantata sul corpo dell'Islam o addirittura un elemento alieno, la cui indigestione potrebbe danneggiare i criteri universali del mondo islamico, i musulmani devono trovare i principi islamici universali alla luce dei quali debba essere giudicata la validità di tutte le scienze⁴⁴.

La questione dell'armonizzazione di tradizione e innovazione, però, resta ancora aperta. Prima di passare alle conclusioni, vediamo di riassumere brevemente quanto è stato detto finora, così da costruire il quadro della nostra analisi. A mo' di introduzione, abbiamo parlato a grandi linee della rivoluzione scientifica e delle sue cause, seguendo la celebre interpretazione kuhniiana, che illustra la nascita della scienza moderna come il frutto del cambiamento del precedente paradigma (che, agganciandoci alle riflessioni di Koyré, abbiamo visto essere legato al

⁴³ Cfr. Bigliardi, S., 'The Contemporary Debate on the Harmony between Islam and Science: Emergence and Challenges of a New Generation' in *Social Epistemology* XXVIII, 2 (2014), pp. 167-186.

⁴⁴ Nasr, S.H., *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines. Conceptions of Nature and Methods Used for Its Study by the Ihwān al-safā', al-Bīrūnī and Ibn Sīnā* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1978), p. XXII, traduzione dell'autore.

modello greco, qualitativo e non quantitativo). In seguito, si sono confrontati i tratti distintivi della scienza moderna e quelli della scienza araba, relativa ad un'altra fase storica e ad un contesto non europeo (con qualche eccezione, *in primis* il caso dell'Andalusia). Si detto, inoltre, che molti aspetti caratterizzanti l'attività di ricerca e il *mindset* degli scienziati moderni europei erano presenti già fra gli arabi medievali, che sono loro precursori, in un certo senso: del resto, abbiamo visto che il contributo della scienza araba – che, in una prospettiva storica, ha svolto il ruolo da ponte tra la tradizione greca e quella moderna – è stato fondamentale prima per gli scolastici medievali e poi per i rinascimentali. Si è mostrato che la religione islamica, in maniera più o meno esplicita, ha incoraggiato lo studio della natura e ciò deve aver determinato, in parte, la fortuna della tradizione scientifica araba, fino al sopraggiungere di una successiva fase di declino, legata a fattori sociologici e geopolitici, coeva ad un periodo di crescita degli studi scientifici e di progresso tecnologico dell'Occidente, che è stato in grado di superare e poi dominare il Medio Oriente. Il mondo islamico, che appare sempre meno slegato dall'Occidente, deve fare i conti con concetti che hanno attraversato il secolo dei lumi e sono rimasti in grembo ad una società secolare. L'ipotesi di Severino, secondo la quale la forza 'prometeica' del progresso tecnico-scientifico è destinata a schiacciare la natura spirituale dell'Islam, è da escludere. Detto ciò, restano da stabilire le modalità con le quali, in tempi odierni, l'Islam si può rapportare alla razionalità scientifica dell'Occidente, ponendo le basi per nuovi sviluppi nella propria tradizione culturale.

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THE SALARYMAN AND HIS *SENRYU* POEMS

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Abstract: *In the last 50 years or so Japanese studies have dedicated their attention to a particular individual whose efforts were paramount to building Japan as it is today: the salaryman. This individual is at the same time in the spotlight, and on the silent hero's spot. The salaryman, the driving force of postwar Japanese economic growth, was analyzed through economical and historical lenses in books and studies that were looking for the concealed "miracle" of Japanese development after Second World War. It is only in recent years that some studies and newspaper articles investigate the presence of salaryman in the social consciousness and his representation in popular culture. This article aims at circumscribing the salaryman in one particular manifestation of popular culture, senryu poems, written and ranked by any interested Japanese. Two categories will be then used to analyze these poems, the private life and the work life of the salaryman as shown in senryu. The image of the salaryman is afterwards compared with the representation given by economical and historical studies.*

Keywords: salaryman, senryu, image, inner self

The word 'salaryman' was formed by using together "salary" and "man". Around 1960 the term was written in two separate words, "salary man". Shortly after the appearance of the notion, the space between the words disappeared. It is plausible that this happened because of the increased sense of autonomy of the word that came to define a new social class. The dictionary definition of salaryman is "a white-collar worker whose income is guaranteed in the form of a monthly regularly paid salary". Easy to notice, the word salaryman applies only to male workers¹.

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¹ A word for the female counterpart would be *salarywoman*, (romaji transliteration: sararī ūman), but this word is used only sporadically by the Japanese people. Moreover, as a proof that this word is newly formed, it was impossible to find any reference about it in 2002. The word slowly started to be accepted and used, it appears in "The Japan Times" in 2004, and "The Economist" in 2005, but it is still not an independent entry in the dictionaries. Moreover, a simple search on the internet will find sites where the word is used both in English (salarywoman) and in Japanese (sararī ūman, 「サラリーウーマン」). Another word, "sararī gāru" (salary girl, サラリーガール), "a woman that has a continuous and regular job as employee of a company or of a

The salaryman was in the middle of the life revolution that took place in the '60s, when the number of nuclear families began to increase as opposed to the traditional three-generation families. The salaryman from this period caught the eye of researchers. J.C. Abegglen, who coined the term *Japan Incorporated* that appeared for the first time in a **Fortune magazine** from 1963. Abegglen states that at the corporate level it is more difficult to be successful in an economy in rapid growth than in a mature economy, leaving not much to say about the salaryman, even if he was the worker who ensured productivity and therefore shape the economy.

Another view follows the roots of the "salary man". Ezra F. Vogel² describes the "new middle class" as being formed by the families of the "salary man". According to Vogel, the "salary man" is rooted on the samurai administrator of the Tokugawa period³. The salaryman expects to work overtime anytime at his company's request, he is reluctant to take all the free time to which he is officially entitled⁴. In exchange, the company provides regularity, security, free time and various side benefits that are said to "constitute the joy of living"⁵: parties, athletic meetings, trips sponsored by the company⁶. Vogel appreciates that the salaryman is in a transition occurring at the social level, with many of the values of the Tokugawa period mixed with values held by modern industrialized societies⁷.

Thomas Rohlen affirms that more than half of the working population in Japan is working in a company⁸, that the study of the white-collar workers deserves great attention⁹, and takes as anthropological fieldwork the internal life of a Japanese bank. Rohlen focuses on the worker inside

corporation and receives a periodical payment, i.e. a monthly salary" appears in **Nihon Kokugo Daijiten** as early as 1976. This word may be in the dictionaries, but Japanese informants did not confirm it as being an active word on the news or in casual conversation in the street. Yet another term for the female white-collar workers in use is derived from the English "carrier woman" (kyaria ūman、キャリアウーマン), already in the Japanese language dictionaries. Anyway, the nuance of the "career woman" is focusing on a veteran female employee who concentrates particularly on her own professional carrier and goes on to management positions ("*Salaryman*" in *Japan: Illustrated Sararīman Hen*. Japan Travel Bureau, 2000.)

² Vogel, Ezra F., *Japan's New Middle Class: The Salary Man and His Family in a Tokyo Suburb*. Univ of California Press, 1963.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 3;

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35;

⁵ *Ibid.*;

⁶ *Ibid.*;

⁷ Vogel, Ezra F., *Japan's New Middle Class: The Salary Man and His Family in a Tokyo Suburb*. Univ of California Press, 1963, pp. 255 - 268;

⁸ Rohlen, Thomas P., *For harmony and strength: Japanese white-collar organization in anthropological perspective*. No. 9. Univ of California Press, 1979, p. 1;

⁹ *Ibid.*;

the group, and he scrutinizes the organization of a bank (members, quasi members and nonmembers¹⁰), the ranks inside the company¹¹, the ceremony of entering the bank that gives the opportunity to the president to promise to take care of their children¹².

Bruce Stronach considers that the salarymen form the class that is “generally representative of the society”¹³. According to Stronach, the Japanese society itself was founded on a sense of legitimacy in which the salaryman was willing to give up personal freedom and liberty, both to the state and the company for which he worked, in return for economic development. Stronach affirms that “the goal of economic existed on both a national and economic level”¹⁴ reconfirming therefore the “diligent worker” promoted in the 1960s-70s¹⁵.

A change in the salaryman’s position was noted by authors such as S.J. Dunung¹⁶. Young Japanese salarymen show signs that they want to enjoy leisure time with their families. They are willing to change employers in order to get a better balance between professional and personal lives, no longer willing to give complete, blind loyalty to their employer¹⁷. Numerous newspaper articles tend to show the challenges of the salaryman that needs to adapt to the changing society¹⁸.

About the same time as Stronach, Yoshimura and Anderson¹⁹ reaffirm the loyalty to the company, and the greater importance of the company over the family life. However, the salaryman they discuss works in a bank, and this is considered among the most traditional work environments for a salaryman. The modern switch in the analysis of Yoshimura and Anderson is double model implying double standards. In other words, relativity is important: the reactions greatly depend on the situation, harmony does

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24;

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-31;

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 38;

¹³ Stronach, Bruce. *Beyond the Rising Sun: Nationalism in Contemporary Japan*. Praeger, 2000;

¹⁴ *Ibid.*;

¹⁵ Leung, A., Zietsma, C. and Peredo, A.M., “Emergent Identity Work and Institutional Change: The ‘Quiet’ Revolution of Japanese Middle-Class Housewives”, in *Organization Studies*, 35, 2014, p. 458;

¹⁶ Dunung, Sanjyot P. *Doing business in Asia: The complete guide*. New York, NY: Lexington Books, 1995;

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16;

¹⁸ For example: “Meet the new salaryman” in the *Economist*, November 10, 2005; C. Joyce, “Salarymen find that a job is no longer for life in modern Japan”, in *The Telegraph*, May 27, 2006; Shoji K. “A salaryman is left blinking in the dust left by the #MeToo charge”, in *The Japan Times*, February 12, 2018;

¹⁹ Yoshimura, N., and P. Anderson. *Inside the Kaisha: Demystifying Japanese Business Behavior*, Boston, Mass.: Harvard Business School Press, 1997.

not mean trust, cooperation leaves room for competition, and the long-term thinking is doubled by individual short-term orientation.

The descriptions above are made by researches based on an economic and social points of view. In the following part of this article the focus is on the cultural image, more specifically on how the salaryman is described in a popular form of poetry, *senryu*.

Senryu (川柳, literally *river willow*) is a seventeen-syllable form of poetry starting in the Edo period. The origin of this poetry genre is attributed to the poet Karai Senryu (柄井川柳), and his name became the name of this type of poems. A *senryu* has the same syllable pattern as the haiku: 5-7-5, but in opposition to the haiku, that is centered on nature, *senryu* is usually about people and most often uses a satirical, sometimes self-derisory tone. *Senryu* was recently re-discovered and remodeled into a popular form of poetry, by stimulating people to participate in different thematic contests.

The first reason for using *senryu* is that the goal of these poems is not to focus on a product or on the promotion of a product. A second reason is that the *senryu* authors are protected by a pen name, therefore there is a greater likelihood that they can freely open up about their feelings and their thoughts. For these reasons, the *senryu* poems can be viewed as canvases that express presumably in a more candid and more unmediated form the inner world of those who wrote them.

The poems used for this research are all focusing on the salaryman. The source for all the *senryu* poems is an online contest that has been taking place for --- years, known under the name of “Salaryman *Senryu* Contest” (サラリーマン川柳コンクール)²⁰. The contest started in 1987 at the initiative of DAI-ICHI Life Insurance company, ltd. The main characteristic is that anybody can write and upload a poem on the contest’s website. The writers are all amateur poets, and free to choose whatever pen name they want. All poems must relate to the salaryman and his life. All the poems are gathered at the end of the year, in December, and for approximately one month, from mid-February to mid-March, anybody and everybody can vote for those ten *senryu* poems they like most. The results are made public in April and the winners get prizes.

The poems used in this research are picked from among the top winning poems in different years. Since the poems were chosen by regular people, it is expected that Japanese people themselves considered these poems among the most representative. The images from the poems are

²⁰ More details about this contest at <https://event.dai-ichi-life.co.jp/company/senryu/index.html> (last access September 23, 2019);

most plausible the image held by those who chose them to be the prized ones from all the submitted poems.

It must be again reminded that it is the vote of the Japanese people who care to vote that is placing the poems from one to one hundred and that the place they occupy reflects the opinion of real people. The outcome of real people voting for the poems they like is that their choice is the proof of the topic most of the voting people resonate with. Their choice shows they agree with the realistic face of the relationships described in the poems. The votes of these people reaffirm the intentions and feelings of the authors of the poems and represent a critical point of view over the reality.

The contest seems to be popular among the Japanese population, from both the number of poems entered in the contest and the number of people voting online for these poems, with some fluctuations as per below. In 2002 there were 24,529 *senryu* poems submitted for the 16th contest; in 2011, 26,686 poems were online and last year, in 2018, 43,691 poems were submitted for the 32nd contest. The 33rd contest is taking place at this very moment, with submissions to be accepted from September 18, 2019 and until November 31, 2019.

	contest #	total poems submitted	votes for first place	votes for second place	votes for third place	total number of votes
2002	16	24,529	6,831	4,657	4,647	134,338
2011	23	26,686 ²¹	2,219	2,217	1,971 ²²	82,209
2018	32	43,691	3,446	3,253	3,032	107,000

While the categories and the poems will be discussed, below, it is worth looking into the topics that appear in the *senryu* poems. Among the *senryu* poems submitted in 2002, the ones voted on the first 100 positions are found classified into the following categories²³.

- 19 poems focus on news and trending topics;
- 14 poems have as topic the workplace and the OLs;
- 9 poems refer to the section about the couple life;
- 8 are about politics and economics;
- 8 poems enter in the section about domestic life;
- 6 poems focus on boss and subordinate relationship;
- 5 poems refer to the salaryman in the parent-child relationship;

²¹ <https://career.oricon.co.jp/news/87796/> (last access September 23, 2019)

²² https://www.dai-ichi-life.co.jp/company/news/2011/2011_014.html (last access September 23, 2019)

²³ at the following site: www.dai-ichi-life.co.jp/news/nro2_42.html (last access January 8, 2004);

- 5 poems are in the section about drinking, karaoke, commuting and transfer;
- 13 poems on any other any other subject not listed above was included in a category called “miscellaneous”.

In 2010, the topic of the first 100 poems are distributed into the following categories²⁴:

- 33 refer to news and trending topics
- 13 poems enter in the section about couple life
- 13 are about the workplace
- 11 poems are related to domestic life
- 7 poems are about parent-child relationship
- 3 poems discuss the boss and subordinate relationship.

We can notice that the themes used through the time changed in importance and therefore in the number of submissions. Some of the categories from 2002 have disappeared in 2010²⁵: “politics and economics”, “drinking, karaoke, commuting and transfer”, and the “miscellaneous” category. “News and trending”, “couple life” and “domestic life” topics gain in popularity, while “the boss and subordinate relationships” together with “workplace” slide on the number of poems hitting the first 100.

By re-arranging some of the categories listed above into sections that take into consideration more general topics, there are two new sections that can be constructed:

1. **Private life of the salaryman.** The following sections can be put together: couple life, domestic life, parent-child relationship, drinking, karaoke, commuting. This new bigger category makes the private life of the salaryman the best represented topic among the topics covered by the *senryu*;

2. **Work life of the salaryman.** The following two sections cover the topics related to work: workplace, office ladies, boss and relationships with the subordinates.

The other categories provided by the DAI-ICHI Life Insurance company Ltd. are not relevant for the theme of this article and therefore they are not discussed. These two recategorized greater sections above will be taken into consideration when investigating some of the most voted *senryu* poems:

1). **Private life of the salaryman**, and especially the relations with the wife, with the children and finally the relations among the salaryman,

²⁴ <https://career.oricon.co.jp/news/84608/> (last access September 23, 2019)

²⁵ DAI-ICHI Life Insurance company, ltd supplied the categories.

his wife and children will be investigated the poems below. Among the *senryu* poems that were voted on the first places, it is to note that there is not even one illustrating the relations between the salaryman and his parents. However, there are some poems that show the older salaryman and his grandchildren.

Most of the prized *senryu* are about the wife and life with wife. Here are two poems that were the most voted and received the first prize in the early 90's.

*I leave, she is still sleeping, I return, (she is) already sleeping...*²⁶
(the 5th edition, 1992, first place)

The poem above shows the different life rhythm of the salaryman and of his wife. The wife is behaving differently from what is usually imagined as a submissive wife. From what we understand from this poem, she is not preparing breakfast for her husband, and probably no lunch box either, in opposition with the commonly shared image of wives waking up earlier than the husband to prepare his meals.

Even so, with no much time to see her during weekdays, it seems that weekends are enough to see his wife in a different way:

*My sweet wife, after 10 years, turned out to be a fearful wife.*²⁷
(the 6th edition, 1993 first place)

Then, in the latter years, the poems show to be more and more outspoken, so that in the 2000s, the relation with the wife is even more dramatically depicted:

*If I only could go back to the day of proposing – I would decline it.*²⁸
(the 13th edition, 2000, first place)

*They say, “connected by love’s red thread”, but we are cordless.*²⁹
(the 14th edition, 2001, second place)

*The only one thing more harmful to the body than tobacco: a complaining wife.*³⁰
(the 16th edition, 2003, first place)

²⁶ With 7,609 votes out of 171,109. 「まだ寝てる 帰ってみれば もう寝てる」；

²⁷ With 9,927 votes out of 221,641. 「いい家内 10年経ったら おっ家内」；

²⁸ With 3,725 votes out of 84, 535. 「プロポーズ あの日にかえって ことわりたい」；

²⁹ With 2,642 votes out of 84, 140. 「赤い糸 やがて夫婦は コードレス」；

³⁰ With 5,493 votes out of 106,225. 「タバコより 体に悪い 妻のグチ」；

The trend continues to progress, so that in 2018, the second-place poem depicts a wife that is always right:

*"It is wrong!" If my wife says it, it must be so.*³¹

(the 31st edition, 2018, second place)

The poem on the first place in 2016 illustrates the late-life divorces, a social situation that was reported in the newspapers as well as by statistics³².

*Wife leaves immediately after receiving severance pay*³³

(the 29th edition, 2016, first place)

The relations with children are described like this through the years:

*Vanishing the dreams of the parents one after another, the child is growing up.*³⁴

(the 4th edition, 1991, 7th place)

Even if the different kinds of sacrifices the parents have to do for their children sometimes means that the parents have to give up the dreams they once had, this is not generating admiration or gratitude from the part of the children for their parents, father included:

*After somebody told my daughter that she resembles to me, she burst into tears.*³⁵

(the 10th edition, 1997, the third place)

*In my house my child adores Pokemon*³⁶ *but chases away his own father.*³⁷

(the 11th edition, 1998, first prize)

The technological candor of a retired salaryman is revealed when hanging around with his grandchildren. He shows a complete lack of knowledge about the modern electronic gadgets:

*What is a digital camera eating, I asked my grandson.*³⁸

(the 15th edition, 2002, first place)

³¹ With 3,113 votes out of around 84,000. 『ちがうだろ!』 妻が言うなら そうだらう」；

³² The Japanese Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare - 厚生労働省

³³ With 6,305 votes out of 112,595. 「退職金 もらった瞬間 妻ドローン」；

³⁴ With 5,215 votes out of 192, 521. 「親の希望 (ゆめ) つぎつぎ消して 子は育つ」；

³⁵ With 4,961 votes out of 153,451. 「パパ似だと 言われ泣きだす わが娘」；

³⁶ Short of Pocket Monsters, famous characters from the cartoons;

³⁷ With 7,020 votes out of 135,297. 「わが家では 子供ポケモン パパノケモン」；

³⁸ With 5,493 votes out of 106,225. 「デジカメの エサはなんだと 孫に聞く」；

And here is how life philosophy and the domestic atmosphere from the salaryman's family are summed up in different poems. As a remark, the bitterest poems are those expressing the salaryman's loneliness and sadness. These feelings show up every time he feels he is forgotten, when he realizes he is somehow not connected in any way with his family, and the fact that they live together comes out to be a pure chance³⁹:

*The father came back home: the daughter is still out, the wife is sleeping.*⁴⁰

(the 8th edition, 1995, 4th place)

The salaryman often seeks refuge and understanding in communicating with the pets they endow with the human feelings the salaryman is longing for:

*The father returns home. The most delighted is the dog, Pochi.*⁴¹

(the 4th edition, 1991, third place)

Sometimes the pets are not a support for their hurt feelings, but on the contrary, they are competitors for the attention and care of the family, and the salaryman is certainly not the winner in this competition:

*I heard "Let's eat!"; it was not for me, but for the cat, Tama*⁴².

(the 9th edition, 1996, first place)

Under these circumstances, it is difficult to accept responsibilities, especially if they are related to the housekeeping:

*The last to take the daily bath, the father has to clean it, too.*⁴³

(the 13th edition, 2000, the 5th place)

The way things are described above are contradicting the stereotyped image for it; generally it is assumed that the father is the first of the family to take the bath, the children would follow, and finally, the lady of the house will be the last in order to take the bath, having also the responsibility to clean the bathtub so that the following day the father can go and use the clean bath, then the children, and so on, every day.

³⁹ The Japanese society is facing a problem connected with the family life: father is considered a burden and is felt as disturbing all the other family members. This feeling is towards all the fathers and husbands, including the salarymen, and it is the feeling towards the salarymen that it is used in this research;

⁴⁰ With 7,340 votes out of 250,217. 「父帰る 娘出かける 妻眠る」;

⁴¹ With 7,560 votes out of 192,521. 「父帰る 一番喜ぶ 犬のポチ」;

⁴² With 6,416 votes out of 187,574. 「『ゴハンよ』と 呼ばれて行けば タマだった」;

⁴³ With 2,003 votes out of 84,535. 「風呂の順 オヤジ最後で 掃除つき」;

When things do not happen as they used to, the older salaryman blames on the age and asks rhetorically:

*How come that you never get old? Tell me the secret, Sazae-san.*⁴⁴
(the 5th edition, 1992, 7th place)

It is not his age bringing all these changes in the habits of the family, but the different system of values that replaced the one he knew.

The poems above show a salaryman past his prime years who lost some advantages at the work place and finds himself losing his esteem at home, as well. He feels sad without showing that he understands why all this happens to him.

Sometimes he is envying the baseball players he admires for their success and for the money they receive:

*Ichiro's three-day pay – my salary for an entire year.*⁴⁵
(the 14th edition, 2001, 6th place)

*My annual income, one hit of bat of Godzilla Matsui.*⁴⁶
(the 16th edition, 2003, 7th place)

It is not difficult to imagine that the salaryman, too, once wanted to become a famous baseball player, the dream of many Japanese boys.

The *senryu* poems also describe the salaryman enjoying the nightlife, since he can sometimes make his own choice about how to live his life:

*Mornings – really slump; noon – recovering a little; evening – perfect condition.*⁴⁷

(the 7th edition, 1994, 10th place)

The tone of the *senryu*, is more aggressive, as the salaryman bitterly acknowledges that there is no way to go back and change reality. Some salarymen think drinking can soothe their regrets, and some seem to live two lives: in one, they work as hard as they can during the day; in the other one, they own their nights.

2). The *senryu* poems that connect to the **Salaryman's Workday**, or that describe the salaryman's feelings about his work do not always show his eagerness in doing his job. Let's give some examples from the poems composed and placed among the first ten poems within different years.

⁴⁴ With 4,220 votes out of 171,109. 「年とらない 秘密教えて サザエさん」; Sazae-san (Mrs. Sazae) is a famous cartoons character;

⁴⁵ With 2,041 votes out of 84,140. 「イチローの 三日分だよ 我が年収」;

⁴⁶ With 3,157 votes out of 134,338. 「年収は ゴジラ松井の 一打席」;

⁴⁷ With 4,940 votes out of 233,863. 「あさ不調 ひるまあまあで よる元気」;

In general, the poems are not so mild and the life inside the office does not seem so peaceful, calm and bright. The salaryman is ignorant about any other job he is not doing:

*I do not know this. It is beyond my responsibilities.*⁴⁸

(the 5th edition, 1992, 9th place)

He sometimes struggles to perform his job due to trifling causes:

*My boss asked me to type this, but I don't understand his handwriting.*⁴⁹

(the 11th edition, 1998, 8th place)

They also complain about the little understanding the boss has about computers. Especially this one is a theme always present in *senryu* through the years:

*F1 is for "first floor"? asks the section chief.*⁵⁰

(the 5th edition, 1992, 10th place)

*What is this place where all these people are surfing? asks the boss.*⁵¹

(the 14th edition, 2001, first place)

Then, all employees prove a good knowledge of the slogans:

*Do your best! Take it easy! Do not take a rest!*⁵²

(the 6th edition, 1993, 6th place)

*Let's work, let's not do overtime work, let's give good results!*⁵³

(the 12th edition, 1999, 8th place)

Even in such conditions, some people have different problems with their jobs:

*I was introduced to a new colleague – it was my father.*⁵⁴

(the 13th edition, 2000, 9th place)

*Hire me here at this job center – there are so many people coming!*⁵⁵

(the 15th edition, 2002, third place)

*Do we receive any compensation for being restructured? asks the employee.*⁵⁶

(the 15th edition, 2002, 10th place)

While the boss is not doing anything to make the situation easier:

⁴⁸ With 3,767 votes out of 171,109. 「知りません それは私の 担当外」;

⁴⁹ With 2,696 votes out of 135,297. 「ワプロを頼む上司の字が読めね」

⁵⁰ With 3,449 votes out of 171,109. 「F1を 1階フロアと いう課長」;

⁵¹ With 2,985 votes out of 84,140. 「ドットコム どこが混むのと 聞く上司」;

⁵² With 7,543 votes out of 221,641. 「頑張れよ 無理をするなよ 休むなよ」;

⁵³ With 2,201 votes out of 111,390. 「仕事しろ 残業するな 成果出せ」;

⁵⁴ With 1,614 votes out of 84,535. 「新社員 紹介されたら 父だった」;

⁵⁵ With 2,957 votes out of 106,225. 「職安で 働かせろよ この盛況」;

⁵⁶ With 2,144 votes out of 106,225. 「リストラも 労災ですかと 聞く社員」;

*Always shouting “Cost down!”, you cost a lot.*⁵⁷

(the 12th edition, 1999, first place),

but even is inferring more and more duties on the behalf of the salaryman:

*“No problem! We’ll do it!”, says the boss, but I have to do it.*⁵⁸

(the 13th edition, 2000, second place)

The salaryman in *senryu* is never highly speaking about his boss, not even with faint admiration. It is easy to imagine an older boss that cannot and maybe does not really want to catch up with the technology, and then the younger employees always have to explain things that for them are more or less common sense. Then, even if the work-related slogans are present in everybody’s conscience, the salaryman considers that the boss is not giving up the advantages he has been enjoying all the way, but even more, does not hesitate to make any of the necessary changes at the subordinates’ expenses. It is especially the older salarymen who did not reach head positions to pay this price.

Conclusion

Integrating the analysis above, it is the moment to decide if the characteristics of the salarymen can be constantly divided into two solid categories, one being the “heroic salaryman” and the other “ordinary salaryman”.

The heroic salaryman is depicted in the economic and historical researches. He is the Japanese white-collar worker that is easily recognized: suit, correctly cut hair, briefcase in his hand. He is one of the many employees of the company who heroically goes to work every day. He is the one who works long hours and whose selfless efforts brought Japanese economy on third place in the world (classified by the GDP, after USA and China⁵⁹). This salaryman is the hero, the *economic samurai*, one the many wheels that make the companies, the economy and the society work.

The ordinary salaryman is the worker who has an inner life of his own. He has a wife, children and grandchildren, he has hobbies and likes and dislikes. He can notice what happens around him, even if most of the times he might choose not to express all that he carries with him in his heart.

⁵⁷ With 3,941 votes out of 111,390. 「コストダウン さけぶあんたが コスト高」;

⁵⁸ With 2,502 votes out of 84,535. 「ハイ！できます 上司は言うがやるのオレ！」.

⁵⁹ <http://statisticstimes.com/economy/projected-world-gdp-ranking.php> (last access September 24, 2019)

The *senryu* poems are showing more from the inner self of the salaryman, since he is protected by the pen name and he can freely say what is on his mind. It might be one of the few instances when he can speak out.

The fact that real people are voting for their favourite *senryu* poem shows the degree of acknowledgement and approval from the part of the Japanese people for these ideas that the salaryman expresses freely. According to these poems, the image of the real salaryman is not that of the heroic worker, the economic samurai, but as a mere person trying to regain his happiness and self-esteem both inside and outside his home.

Thus, one outcome that imposes is that the nowadays salaryman is not a sacred economic symbol anymore. The individual voice of the salaryman expressing his opinion gets repeated again and again over the years with each and every *senryu* contest and asserts that none of all the people surrounding him (boss, coworkers, family, etc.) is sustaining his efforts any more. The salaryman is in solitude, and the only way he can still feel like a member of a group is by raising his voice and adding it to the voice of other desacralized heroes.

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VERBAL INDICATORS OF LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL IDENTITY (PERSONAL PRONOUNS AS THE EXAMPLE)

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Abstract: *The purpose of this article is to shed light on the peculiarities of using personal pronouns as expressions of cultural information in the communicative act and as special markers of individualization and self-identification.*

The methodological basis of the study is the activity approach, in which culture is interpreted as a holistic system of different forms of human activity, i.e. culture connects society with the individual; it is a way of its entry into social life, a way of existence of a social group in interaction with nature, other social groups, which covers in particular, ethno-cultural stereotypes. The study of language, reflecting universal and ethno-specific ways of categorizing and conceptualizing the world, the history and modern existence of its speakers, is one of the most effective ways of studying cultural phenomena. The basis of the research strategy was the cultural-semiotic method, the method of semantic-differential scales and the systematic approach. Therefore, studying the phenomena of culture and the phenomena of language in the linguistic-cultural paradigm will help to deepen the understanding of the mental code of Ukrainians. The semantics and pragmatics of personal pronouns in a

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communicative act at the linguistic-mental level is a fragment of the Ukrainian linguistic picture of the world.

The use of personal pronouns as special markers of individualization and self-identification is conditioned by the mental identity of Ukrainians and is one of the many elements of the identity code of ethnos information that depends on the specifics of the national world perception.

Keywords: *linguistic-cultural identity, verbal indicator, communicative act, personal pronoun, communicative act.*

Introduction

In the dichotomy "language – culture" both language and culture are interdependent constructs. Language, which reflect, stores and accumulates cultural information, shapes a person's mentality, *his/her* cultural consciousness. Culture through archetypes, mythologized stereotypes operates in the language of its modern carriers¹. It is well known, that any cultural stereotype and any single act of social behavior explicitly or implicitly contain the communication as its component that is needed to preserve and transmit it from generation to generation. Naturally, linguistic units, focused on establishing the basic parameters of communication, are the expression of meanings – elements of the system of cultural codes. The main, defining national-marked component of national culture and its identifier is language, which accumulates the memory of the nation, its cognitive-historical experience, spiritual and aesthetic ideals, traditions and customs. In addition, it is through language that they convey social experience, culture, mentality, behavior patterns. At the same time, language is an element of complex cultural phenomena, in particular traditions and rituals. It is recognized as an important component of social culture, which is an attribute of any society and has ethnic characteristics due to various factors: natural and climatic conditions, historical path of ethnicity, contacts with other peoples, features of religion, etc².

Communication flow is also influenced by the linguistic and cultural environment both of the national and the local level, which determines the models of linguistic behavior of representatives of a particular people. Personal pronouns are the markers of communicative roles in most

¹ Shynkaruk, V. D., Kharchenko, S. V., Zavalnyuk, I. Ya., *"Language-culture" dichotomy in formation of the mental sphere of ethnic consciousness and specificity of national world perception*. Bulletin of the National Academy of Management Personnel of Culture and Arts: Sciences. Kyiv: Idea-print, Vol. 1. 2019, 97p.

² Radevych-Vynnyts'kyy, Ya., *Etyket i kul'tura spilkuvannya*. Kyiv: T-vo «Znannya», 11 p.

languages. At the same time, pronouns serve as carriers of many additional meanings that manifest the traditions of communication inherent in a particular community. The system of meanings of personal pronouns of a particular language is a kind of cultural code that reflects not only the core aspects of the speech interaction of representatives of a particular culture, but also captures the most important social roles and characteristics^{3,4}. This system is generated and modified throughout the existence of the language and is a means of relaying relevant meanings within a particular national culture.

The analysis of the scientific literature

In the XX – at the beginning of the XXI century cultural and national stereotypes of linguistic consciousness, the interrelationship of language and culture, linguistic-cultural traditions, verbal linguistic-cultural markers, etc., are increasingly becoming part of the scientific interest of Ukrainian linguists, in particular B. Azhnyuk, P. Hrytsenko, I. Holubovska, V. Zhaivoronok, I. Zavalnyuk, M. Kalko, V. Kononenko, T. Kosmeda, V. Moiseienko, V. Ponomarenko, T. Semashko, M. Stepanenko, M. Teleka, S. Kharchenko, V. Shynkaruk, N. Yasakova, and others.

The purpose of the study

The purpose of this article is to shed light on the peculiarities of using personal pronouns as expressions of cultural information in the communicative act and as special markers of individualization and self-identification.

Methodology of the study

The methodological basis of the study is the activity approach, in which culture is interpreted as a holistic system of different forms of human activity, i.e. culture connects society with the individual; it is a way of its entry into social life, a way of existence of a social group in interaction with nature, other social groups, which covers in particular, ethno-cultural stereotypes. The study of language, reflecting universal and ethno-specific ways of categorizing and conceptualizing the world, the history and modern existence of its speakers, is one of the most effective ways of studying cultural phenomena. The basis of the research strategy

³ Teleky, M.M., Shynkaruk, V.D., *Sotsialni katehoriï modusu v tekstakh epistoliarnoho zhanru*. Kyiv, Mykolaiv: Pedagogical University named after Petra Mohyly, 2007, pp. 32-41.

⁴ Yasakova, N., *Katehoriia personalnosti: pryroda, struktura ta reprezentatsiia v ukrainskii literaturnii movi*. Kyiv: NaUKMA, 2016, pp. 212-275.

was the cultural-semiotic method, the method of semantic-differential scales and the systematic approach.

Theoretical basis and results

Every linguistic personality is unique, has *his/her* thesaurus, formed under the influence of the linguistic-cultural and socio-cultural environment, *his/her* models of linguistic behavior, *his/her* system of communicative values. Although the terms of communication may be diverse, the use of different ways of pointing to its participants has general laws. The pragmatic variants of personal pronouns values reflect both the human traits of the course of communicative acts and the national and cultural traditions of the Ukrainian people.

Communication takes place in accordance with the relevant rules of politeness, principles of cooperation and co-working, using certain strategies and tactics in speech interaction⁵. The choice of a particular model of expression, filling it with vocabulary in specific grammatical forms depends on many communicatively relevant circumstances, as well as on the actualized cultural information, which manifests itself in the language through cultural semes, cultural background, cultural concepts and cultural connotation⁶.

Certain ways of pointing the speaker to himself, the interlocutor and a third person in various communication situations constitute a single system for representatives of one linguistic and cultural community. They are evaluated positively or negatively as being in conformity with or contrary to accepted traditions of communication. Thus, the speaker chooses one of the possible ways to refer to himself and the interlocutor according to the communicative roles, assessing the communicative statuses of the participants in the speech interaction (the extent of their communicative rights and responsibilities), which are conditioned by social statuses and roles. These methods reflect behavior patterns and stereotypes associated with these roles, peculiar to native speakers. Pronouns as markers of social culture explicate the properties of that culture of pragmatic variability of the categorical meanings of the first and second persons attests to the diversity of social statuses and roles of the speaker and the addressee (equal/unequal partners), the formality/informality of the communication situation, the degree of

⁵ Teleky, M.M., Shynkaruk, V.D., *Sotsialni katehorii modusu v tekstakh epistoliarnoho zhanru*. Kyiv, Mykolaiv: Pedagogical University named after Petra Mohyly, 2007, p. 23.

⁶ Shynkaruk, V.D., Kharchenko, S.V., Zavalnyuk, I. Ya., *"Language-culture" dyctotomy in formation of the mental sphere of ethnic consciousness and specificity of national world perception*. Bulletin of the National Academy of Management Personnel of Culture and Arts: Sciences. Kyiv: Idea-print, Vol.1. 2019, p. 99.

acquaintance of the interlocutors, the nature of personal relationships between them (friendly/neutral/conflict), the upbringing of the speaker. Appropriateness / non-conformity of the use of these markers to the standards of a particular culture his physical condition (normal/unhealthy/alcoholic or narcotic intoxication), emotional state and purpose of communication. Thus, the indications of the participants of the communicative act reflect pragmatic presuppositions of a social nature, the content of which depends directly on the socio-cultural traditions of the ethnic group.

The speaker is the creator of the communicative-pragmatic field, organizing it from the standpoint of self-centeredness. It is the speaker who determines the place of the interlocutor in the social hierarchy in view of his own status⁷. Speaker's assessments, such as appealing to *you (sing.)* or *you (pl.)*, may not coincide with the interlocutor's vision, which creates a conflict between communicators, since successful interaction is possible only when interpretations of social structure are conventionalized⁸. The likelihood of conflict increases significantly, when the speaker and the addressee belong to different linguistic cultures, because they are characterized by different stereotypes of communicative behavior, and various aspects are relevant to their selection, such as the age or gender of the interlocutors, the formality/informality of the situation, etc. In the process of communication, there are peculiar pragmatic conventions – implicit norms, rules and models of communicative interaction, which regulate and harmonize the relations between the communicants in the dialogue. Formed within the limits of ethnic consciousness as the dominant way of seeing the world, ethnic stereotypes, functioning in a certain cultural society, through cultural forms, consolidate cultural traditions and habits in the consciousness of the ethnic group; act as regulators of linguistic ethno-consciousness and behavior; promote awareness of ethnicity by members of a single community; form part of the linguistic and cultural picture of the world of ethnicity, etc⁹. Representatives of different linguistic cultures have different social stereotypes and ideas about their influence on the course of communication and use of pronouns.

Speech activity in the linguistic and cultural environment is dynamic; it is modified by the influence of external and internal factors, in

⁷ Teleky, M.M., Shynkaruk, V.D., *Sotsialni katehorii modusu v tekstakh epistoliarnoho zhanru*. Kyiv, Mykolaiv: Pedagogical University named after Petra Mohyly, 2007, pp. 33-34.

⁸ Deyk, T.A., *Yazyk. Poznaniye. Kommunikatsiya*. Moscow: Progress, 1989, p. 22.

⁹ Semashko, T.F., *Movna stereotypizatsiia sensorneho spryiniattia v ukrainskii linhvokulturi*. Kyiv, 2017, p. 21.

particular, such as ordering and hierarchization of social life. Accordingly, the use of personal pronouns is changing, that is, social status-related speech variants of personal meanings are characterized not only by ethno-linguistic specificity but also historically. For example, the widespread earlier appeal to parents as *you (pl.)* is gradually replaced by the appeal to *you (sing.)* as a result of reducing the social distance between children and parents, changing perceptions of their rights and responsibilities, reducing the ritual in intergenerational relationships. Replacing *you (pl.)* with *you (sing.)* attests to the equally respectful attitude towards older family members (sometimes you even addressed older siblings), and changes in the child's social status. She is no longer considered by peasant tradition to be another working hand in the family, as a person entirely dependent on the will of the parents. Numerous Ukrainian proverbs and ceremonies demonstrate their special importance in the fate of man. An important event in the life of even an adult son or daughter did not occur without parental blessing. If the parents did not consent to the marriage, they did not enter into it. The child who violated the will of the parents was considered doomed to an unhappy destiny, and the most severe punishment was the parental curse. Thus, the Ukrainian traditions in different forms reflected the value of the family in the life of the peasant and the decisive role of parents, who pass on land to adult children. The emergence of a new tradition of addressing you is conditioned by the socio-economic and cultural changes that took place during the XX century. These include, in particular, an increase in urban population and the destruction of commonplace relationships between peasant family members, resulting from the loss of private land ownership and forced collectivization. Nowadays, the use of *you (sing.)* on parents, grandparents or other elderly relatives is perceived as an attribute of democracy and emotional closeness of family members.

The functions of personal pronouns of the Ukrainian language in the dialogue represent the traditional notions of a place in society, importance, character of certain social roles, traditional for our culture. Among the methods to point to the speaker, there are those, related to a particular type of human activity. In the canonical communicative situation, the speaker points to himself with the pronoun *I*. In situations where the speaker performs special social roles, this pronoun is inferior to other units.

In accordance with the linguistic and cultural tradition, we often use the pronoun as a means of labeling communication, solidarity of courtesy, and oriented towards subjectivity in the interests of the addressee and the interests of the addressee. The addressee's use of other self-presentation options depends on the social, psychological or linguistic and cultural

situation. Some of these ways of self-presentation have deep historical roots, testifying to the influences of cultures of other nations.

In ancient Indo-European languages one of the first redistributions of functions of personal pronouns was held which, according to V. Ponomarenko, tended to be used instead of the so-called honorary / majestic (pluralismaiestatis (maiestaticus)) and authorial *we* (pluralis modestiae) "Modesty set")¹⁰. The use of plural forms to indicate the author of the text is characteristic not only of the Ukrainian language, but also of others, in particular German, Russian and Serbian. This demonstrates a certain commonality of scientific traditions in the countries where the speakers of these languages live. At the same time, in English-language scientific texts, which have become especially popular nowadays, we observe the regular use of the first-person singular pronoun. Since English has acquired the status of an international language of science and Ukrainian scholars use it both as readers and authors of professional texts, as well as speakers and participants in scientific discussions, there is a likelihood of spreading the English-speaking tradition in Ukrainian scientific discourse.

I. Matviyas notes that in the Russ chronicles the examples of using the author's *we* is already the XII century¹¹. Nowadays, in the Ukrainian language, author's *we* is first and foremost characteristic of a scientific discourse, for example: *...(we) will focus only on a brief overview of the concepts of verbal aspect in general and of aspectuality in particular* (M. Kalko); *(We) distinguish three basic levels of prose languagepolymorphism...* (S. Bybyk). However, it is also present in fiction and publicist texts, for example: *But this event cannot be considered an adventure, and we would not have mentioned it if Yavtukh had not thrown a new focus* (I. Senchenko); *We have already talked about the poet's willingness to humble* (V. Bazylevskyi).

In scientific discourse, in particular in written texts, oral reports, discussions, the use of the plural instead of singular is moderated by tradition and supported by the general tendency to objectify the content. The author of artistic or journalistic texts has less regard for tradition and has greater opportunities for self-presentation through various explicators of grammatical semantics of personality through various linguistic means.

¹⁰ Ponomarenko, V.P., *Vtorynna nominatsiia u zaimennykovii sferi // Indoievropeiska spadshchyna v leksytsi slovianskykh, baltiiskyykh, hermanskykh i romanskykh mov: semantychni ta slovotvirni zviazky i protsesy*. Kyiv: Publishing house of Dmitry Burago, 2013, pp. 483-484.

¹¹ Matviyas, I.H., *Syntaksys zaimennykiv v ukrainskii movi*. Kyiv: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1962, p.19.

A special kind of the author's *we are* inclusive. In this case, the performer of the action is the speaker who tries to involve the addressee(s) of the speech in the active perception of their actions. The author's inclusive *we* is actively used in pedagogical discourse, for example: *(We) will solve a similar equation; (We) will determine the area of the rectangle; (We) will consider another case.* Formation of the author's *we* inclusive, which is characterized by dialogue, involvement of the imaginary addressee in the explanation, H. Naenko notes in the scientific texts of the middle Ukrainian period (XVI-XVIII centuries). Such a model is given by translated samples, which were distributed in educational institutions, for example, in the "Dialectics" of J. Damaskin. As defining for academic discourse, it is also inherent in the Latin-language training courses of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, in particular in Stefan Yavorsky's and Heorhiy Konyssky's¹².

In scientific discourse, inclusive *we* is an instrument of objectification, since the author involves the reader or listener in his own observations and conclusions, for example: *As an example, (we) will consider generalizations in the theory of groups of concepts of "unit" ("single element") and "product" (M. Popovych); As (we) see, in this sense, the absolute imperfection of the first two options is combined with the correlation of the other two (M. Kalko).* We can perform the same function in a nonfiction text, for example: *(We) will suppose that the Prolitfront was not pressured and forced to disband (M. Khvylovyi); The result (we) can observe live (From the journal).*

Due to its function to ensure the interaction of the speaker and the addressee of the inclusive language, *we* are not perceived as a tribute to an outdated tradition. As a result of the democratization of the educational process and the reduction of the social distance between teacher and student, teacher and student, *we* are of particular relevance to the Ukrainian pedagogical culture.

The pluralis maiestatis *we* (honorative *we*) is much less common in the Ukrainian language. It is used occasionally in fiction texts, for example: *"Willing or not willing to give, // We will order to tear up! - // Lion was saying.* – heading the state. It survived during the period of sole rule and has become a tradition that has been learned in other countries. On the other hand, the tradition of using the Latin *nos* (we) in the meaning of maiestatis is derived from the triumvirates of the 1st century. B. C. Its confirmed appearance dates from the middle of the III-IV centuries. (beginning with the reign of Emperor Mark Anthony Gordian and his son),

¹² Naenko, H., *Adresantnist naukovykh tekstiv serednoukrainskoho period.* Ukrainska mova. Vol. 2. 2012, p. 121–122.

and distribution – V c.¹³. Up to the XVIII century appraising *we* was used by the Ukrainian authorities to denote their high social status in society¹⁴.

M. Sulyma noted the significant difference between *we* honorative and author's, emphasizing the foreign origin of both and the ancient tradition of using the latter in Ukrainian book memorabilia¹⁵. In the modern Ukrainian language, honorative *we* can be considered the grammatical historicism used in the modern Ukrainian language only in the fiction style. This method of monarchical self-presentation did not become widespread in the Ukrainian language, nor was popular the idea of monarchical rule. In addition, the Ukrainian folk-linguistic tradition is not aware of honorative *we*. Instead, author's *we* has become traditional in scientific discourse, and its inclusive version is actively used as a tool for objectification. Consequently, *we* are on the far periphery of system of pronoun meanings that reveal aspects of Ukrainian social culture.

Characteristic of the Ukrainian culture of communication is also the use of *we* instead of *I* in order to actualize family belonging, in particular in situations of invitation to a house, yard or table, for example: *(We) welcome to our home!- the old lady graciously pronounced, opening the hinged door* (H. Kosynka); *(We) ask* dear guests to the yard, – *Fedor bowed and pointed to the wicket with both hands* (H. Tyutyunnyk); to involve a socially independent recipient of a speech (a child, a seriously ill or elderly person) in their own actions, for example: *Now (we) will boil porridge; During the walk (we) will buy bread*. As with the author's *we*, in such cases, the speaker diminishes the attention to his own personality.

In modern language, we also use *we* instead of *I*, when a speaker acts as an official of a particular organization, he wants to emphasize his involvement (*we* corporate), e.g.: *The value of an organization such as the Council of Europe is that we draw the conclusions of our analysis on real facts... (From the journal). Recently we have been in America, now, as last year, (we) will be touring in Russia (From newspaper).*

An important component of traditional Ukrainian culture has been, and is, the cult of the family, a family that embraces adults and children, each of them feeling its representative. The usual questions for the Ukrainian village were *whose are you (masc.)? Whose are you (fem.)?* to identify a person; nicknames that applied to all members of a particular

¹³ Ponomarenko, V.P., *Vtorynna nominatsiia u zaimennykovii sferi // Indoieuropeiska spadshchyna v leksytsi slovianskykh, baltiiskyykh, hermanskykh i romanskykh mov: semantychni ta slovotvirni zviazky i protsesy*. Kyiv: Publishing house of Dmitry Burago, 2013, p. 484

¹⁴ Teleky, M.M., Shynkaruk, V.D., *Sotsialni katehorii modusu v tekstakh epistoliarnoho zhanru*. Kyiv, Mykolaiv: Pedagogical University named after Petra Mohyly, 2007, p. 50.

¹⁵ Sulyma, M., *Ukrainska fraza. Korotenki nacherky*. Kharkiv: Rukh, 1928, p.21.

family; perceptions of wrongful personal conduct as a shame for the whole family, which could result in expulsion from it. All of these traditions have identified a tendency to weaken the individualization of the subject, which is demonstrated by the spread of *we* instead of *I*.

Strengthening the position of the collective *we* was caused by the dominant Orthodox religion for a long time in most of Ukraine, which is characterized by the leveling of the individual. At the time of the Soviet Union, the collective ascendancy over the individual was fueled by propaganda, a tool which became the so-called ideological *we*, actively used in nonfiction texts. The ideological collective *we*, on the one hand, personified responsibility, and on the other, created the illusion of everyone's involvement in wealth, well-being, etc.

In the Ukrainian linguistic-cultural tradition of the second person, the researchers first of all point out the opposition of *you* (sing.) and the polite (honored) *you* (pl.)¹⁶. V. Ponomarenko analyzed secondary meanings of pronouns in the historical aspect, which were formed in many Indo-European languages to politely point to the addressee of the speech. According to the scientist, "the two-stage structure of appeal, the formation of which took place in different languages at different stages of their development, became, without doubt, the most common type ..."17. The appearance of the polite *you* (pl.) in the Ukrainian language V. Ponomarenko dates back to the XIV century and indicates that it should not be considered as a borrowing: "one should rather speak about the influence from other languages caused by active and heterogeneous in content and character in international or interstate, and also interlanguage contacts". The polite plural formation may have been influenced by Polish, in which similar shifts occurred almost at the earliest among the Slavic languages"18.

Contradiction between *you* (sing.) and *you* (pl.) in modern Ukrainian is multifaceted: each of the components of the opposition is embodied in a number of variants that reflect a certain type of social parameters of speech interaction. Among the parameters relevant to the communication

¹⁶ Teleky, M.M., Shynkaruk, V.D., *Sotsialni katehorii modusu v tekstakh epistoliarnoho zhanru*. Kyiv, Mykolaiv: Pedagogical University named after Petra Mohyly, 2007, p. 62.

¹⁷ Ponomarenko, V.P., *Vtorynna nominatsiia u zaimennykovii sferi // Indoieuropeiska spadshchyna v leksytsi slovianskykh, baltiiskyykh, hermanskykh i romanskykh mov: semantychni ta slovotvirni zviazky i protsesy*. Kyiv: Publishing house of Dmitry Burago, 2013, p. 552.

¹⁸ Ponomarenko, V.P., *Vtorynna nominatsiia u zaimennykovii sferi // Indoieuropeiska spadshchyna v leksytsi slovianskykh, baltiiskyykh, hermanskykh i romanskykh mov: semantychni ta slovotvirni zviazky i protsesy*. Kyiv: Publishing house of Dmitry Burago, 2013, pp. 552-553.

flow, they distinguish between age ratios, which are realized in the meanings adult/non-adult, intimacy, embodied in meanings ours/other's, social status, which may be symmetrical and asymmetrical, and also take into account the formality/informality of the situation relations between communicators¹⁹. Although communicative interaction can be characterized at the same time by several parameters, the speaker chooses a method of pointing to the addressee according to the features he considers most important. For example, in an informal situation of communication with an addressee of the same social status, the speaker uses a form of honor because the addressee of speaking is older. This characteristic of the individual is crucial in terms of social culture. Recall the tradition in public transport of giving way to an older person, which is seen as a display of courtesy and respect.

Normally, close acquaintance, informality of circumstances, equality with a partner or his or her lower status and role, friendship, warmth, intimacy, familiarity of relations are typical for *you (sing.)* – communication²⁰. Now it is *you (sing.)* that has become widespread in addressing children to mother and father, grandfathers and grandmothers, although it is traditional for many regions of Ukraine to use plural forms for a senior interlocutor, for example: –*Why is it you, grandma, are eating so bad today?* (H. Tyutyunnyk); *The wife asks: "Mom, don't you (pl.) listen to the radio, I'll throw it away!"* (L. Kostenko). Using *you (sing.)* outside the family circle to an adult, especially an older person is a violation of communication. It can be seen as a manifestation of a superficial, familiar attitude, a demonstrative humiliation of the addressee of speech, an element of cursing. At the same time, verbal forms of the second person singular are typical for military and sports teams. In the case of symmetrical use *you (sing.)* indicates the minimum social distance between the interlocutors, but if *you (sing.)* is used only by one of them, it will be perceived as a manifestation of social dominance.

Somewhere in Ukraine, there is a respectable plurality not only for the second but also for the third person²¹: – *At least the dogs did not bite ... Give her some stick – grandmother Natalka **are worried**, obviously forgetting that you **is** not afraid of dogs and they do not bite you. **You your selves** told us how you was little, could not walk yet, climbed into Sirko's doghouse and fell asleep there ...* (H. Tarasyuk). According to P.

¹⁹ Yasakova, N., *Katehoriia personalnosti: pryroda, struktura ta reprezentatsiia v ukrainskii literaturnii movi*. Kyiv: NaUKMA, 2016, p. 243.

²⁰ Teleky, M.M., Shynkaruk, V.D., *Sotsialni katehorii modusu v tekstakh epistoliarnoho zhanru*. Kyiv, Mykolaiv: Pedagogical University named after Petra Mohyly, 2007, p. 63.

²¹ Kharchenko, S., *Zasoby vyrazhennia sponukannia v ukrainskii literaturnii movi: semantyko-syntaktychnyi i komunikatyvnyi aspekty*. Kyiv: Milenium, 2015, p. 206.

Houtzagers, the revered plural regarding third parties is extended in the range from Slovenian to the middle of the Ukrainian language territory and is typologically connected with a small social distance between persons and warm relations between them²². This archaic form, for the Ukrainian language, preserves the features of social culture inherent in our ancestors, for whom expression of respect for persons of higher social status was more important than for modern Ukrainians.

Using *you (pl.)* is typical for the official situation, as well as for informal communication in the direction of junior/senior, underage/adult, between adult strangers regardless of age and gender²³. Often, *you (pl.)* witness a much older interlocutor, higher social status. At the same time, the official *you (pl.)* marks not so respectful attitude of the speaker to the interlocutor as the formality of the situation. Even close acquaintances, friends or relatives in the official situation use the accepted form of pointing to the addressee, although in informal communication they use close *you (sing.)*. The speaker chooses the honored plural even when such attributes of the addressee of speech as adulthood and lack of close acquaintance are valid.

In some cases, *you (pl.)* do not express respect for the recipient of the broadcast. Using the plural form used instead of the usual close *you (sing.)*, the speaker can attest to the removal of the interlocutor from the circle of friends or ironically²⁴.

It is characteristic of Ukrainians to appeal to God as *you (sing.)* that can be interpreted as preserving ancient traditions, since there are no polite forms of plural in the Bible. For the modern speaker the use of *you (sing.)* in appealing to God seems logical because of the distinctive specificity of the addressee of speech. Opposition *you (sing.)* – *you (pl.)* reflects the differences regarding individuals as members of society. The divine person (absolute) not covered by social relations, is above them, and therefore the parameters by which the choice is made to appeal to *you (sing.)* or *you (pl.)* are not applicable to such addressee²⁵. In written form, the specificity of the sacred *you (sing.)*, pointing to God, is often conveyed with a capital letter, e.g.: *You (sing.), God, the key and the gate at the same time, // And I, as a constant in You(sing.)– knock* (E. Andievska); *I*

²² Houtzagers, P., *The honorific third person plural in Slavic*. Russian Linguistics. Vol.42 (1). 2018, pp. 3-26.

²³ Teleky, M.M., Shynkaruk, V.D., *Sotsialni katehoriï modusu v tekstakh epistoliarnoho zhanru*. Kyiv, Mykolaiv: Pedagogical University named after Petra Mohyly, 2007, p. 61-62.

²⁴ Yasakova, N., *Katehoriia personalnosti: pryroda, struktura ta reprezentatsiia v ukrainskii literaturnii movi*. Kyiv: NaUKMA, 2016, pp. 252-253.

²⁵ Yasakova, N., *Katehoriia personalnosti: pryroda, struktura ta reprezentatsiia v ukrainskii literaturnii movi*. Kyiv: NaUKMA, 2016, p. 258.

asked *You* (*sing.*) for a source, and it jumped out of the ground in two steps ... (V. Herasimiyuk). The special design of the pronoun codifies its special status among other means of pointing to persons. Thus, the system of pronoun values reflects not only the most important parameters of communicative interaction between members of the society, but also the religious beliefs of native speakers.

The emergence and development of polite forms of treatment is certainly connected with the social differentiation of native speakers, with the formation of ideas about the difference in social statuses and the importance of certain social characteristics and roles. Different languages may be dominant in the choice of destination method. In the Ukrainian linguistic-cultural community, age-related attitudes are the dominant characteristics: the older recipient is approached by *you* (*pl.*), despite the equality of social status, the same profession, etc.

Conclusions

Therefore, studying the phenomena of culture and the phenomena of language in the linguistic-cultural paradigm will help to deepen the understanding of the mental code of Ukrainians. The semantics and pragmatics of personal pronouns in a communicative act at the linguistic-mental level is a fragment of the Ukrainian linguistic picture of the world.

The choice of the addressee's self-representation and representation of the addressee/addressees explicated by the pronouns *I* and *we* depends on extra-linguistic factors (circumstances of communication, status-role relationships, social and psychological distance between the addressees) and linguistic traditions of the linguistic and cultural community. Since honorative *we* is not known to the Ukrainian folk-linguistic tradition, we qualify it as a foreign element in linguistic and cultural identification. Author's *we* has become traditional in the scientific discourse, and we use it inclusive option as an objectification tool.

Usual prescriptions are used by participants in a communicative act in using the pronouns *you* (*sing.*) and *you* (*pl.*). Nowadays, pronouns, as indicators of social culture, express both traditional values for the Ukrainian linguistic community (respectful treatment of elders, in particular, parents of higher social status), and new perceptions of norms of social interaction, which attests to the spread *you* (*sing.*)

The use of personal pronouns as special markers of individualization and self-identification is conditioned by the mental identity of Ukrainians and is one of the many elements of the identity code of ethnos information that depends on the specifics of the national world perception, the history of our people.

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