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AN ECOCRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF ANTHROPOCENTRISM IN THE CAMEROONIAN PRESS

Walter Abo Acha

Department of English, University of Yaounde 1, and Government High School
Bessi-Awum, Batibo, Cameroon
correspondence: achawaltz@yahoo.co.uk
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Abstract

The manner in which the media presents nature matters a lot. The media legitimises abusive beliefs. On this basis, this work investigated the ecologically oppressive ideologies reinforced by the Cameroonian English newspaper. Analysis focused on uncovering-to-resist discursive patterns that activated anthropocentrism (human dominance over nature). The data comprised thirty-five newspaper articles randomly selected from nine English Language newspaper publishers in Cameroon. Ecocriticrical discourse analysis (EcoCDA) is the theoretical framework adopted in this study. The descriptive statistical method (DSM) was used to analyse the data. Analyses subsumed identification, quantification and interpretation of discourse entities. Findings revealed that the Cameroonian press used diverse language patterns to manipulate agents, processes and aftermaths of environmental depletion. The press, thus, encoded anthropocentric ideologies in discursive forms like pronouns, verbs, transitivity, personification and jargon. Ecological injustices uncovered and resisted included deforestation, consumerism and growth, mineral extraction and construction, inter alia. Cognizant of the sustenance nature that offers earthly life, it was recommended that press [wo]men should refrain from manipulative language forms and stories that downplay efforts to conserve nature. They should rather cover nature-conserving stories regularly, and in language forms that align with and reinforce global efforts to protect and conserve the biophysical environment.

Keywords: anthropocentrism, Ecocritical Discourse Analysis, ecology, ecolinguistics, ideology

Introduction

Discourse is a repository of varied strata of social meanings. It is [re]produced to transmit a desired ideology, notably to reinforce or debunk a political, cultural or ecological construct or thought. Its meaning-driven structure and texture, according to Murtaza and Qasmi (2013), explains the reason that discourse producers adopt unique strategies. In tandem with Griffiths (2006), the use of different discursive styles is not fortuitous, nonetheless, they are meant to make the producer (speaker) as communicative and 'persuasive' as much as possible, and the interlocutor (listener) to be as 'interpretative' as intended (p. 9). Persuasion in discourse, therefore, is an offshoot of the textual and contextual pattern(s) woven by the

producer. In essence, text producers make tactful use of linguistic and pragmatic styles that activate intended meanings and change.

Utterances convey different meanings in different contexts. The sensitivity of ideologies to language use accounts for the suspicions and different interpretations that addressees give a particular utterance. To buttress this line of thought, Grice (1975) postulates that the ideology-welded nature of language (discourse) has rendered it 'non-neutral' and fluid in different contexts (Yule, 1996, p. 36). In alignment with the latter, Jørgensen and Philips (2002) argue that language use in every human endeavour is seldom neutral to different identities, social relations, and environment, as it plays a pivotal role in constructing and striving for social change. The incongruity between language use and meaning in different contexts justifies the reason most interlocutors fail to interpret the intended meaning of an utterance. When listeners breach an interpretation, the consequence is that they would be incapable of identifying, and therefore, complacent with destructive, hegemonic ideologies in discourse.

Amid other discourse genres, Van Dijk (2015) considers the media the most powerful conduit of social meaning. It is a tool used by political and capitalist elite to manipulate social meaning. In line with Fairclough (2001), the media institutionalises social inequalities or dominance of minority and less powerful groups via the propagation of discriminatory ideologies: racism, gender (sexism), class, and many others. The dominance advocated by the media is not just [hu]man-[wo]man, but equally human-nature. Like other discourse practices, the media, via stories and language choices, has potentials that legitimise human dominance over nature, thus, anthropocentrism (Stibbe, 2015).

In the relationship between the material and the symbolic (semiotic); and the textual and the ideological, Peeples (2015) describes the media a social practice wherein language and signs (images) are deployed subjectively to refer to the "environment or the natural world". In this light, the function of the media is considered to overlap with that of rhetoric, as both are persuasion-oriented. The texts and textual categories in the media that evoke the environment, in fact, serve as persuasive strategies to effect what Burk (as cited in Peeples (ibid) refers to as reflecting, deflecting or selecting a particular reality or belief. DeLuca 1999, p. 14) perceives language and signs that are ideological referent as "mind bombs" that shape public opinion, and so, must be checked.

In clear terms, the intensions of the 'stories' evoked by Stibbe (ibid) take manifest in the discursive resources and the abusive ecological frames mushrooming from them. In Halliday's (2001) seminal paper, "New Ways of Meaning", he forebodes that there are victimising and dominance-inspiring resources of grammar that coexist "to construe reality in a certain way; and it is a way that is no longer good for our health as a species". (p. 103) "New ways of meaning", in essence, underpins the use of novel discourse practices that legitimise inequalities between humans and other biospecies. Grammatical constructions, Mühlhäusler (2003) adds, are some of the language habits that have exacerbated the contemporary ecological collapse. Deviant discourse practices that blur an agent(s) or doer(s) of environmental injustice are accused of acting in furtherance of the same act(s) committed by eco-aggressors. Language uses suchlike, in fact, telltale an attitude of domination, and thus, nonchalance towards the conservation and/or survival of the natural environment, thus anthopocentric.

Fairclough (1989) considers discourse as a "social practice" invested with in-group (institutional) ideologies; and this convinces Fill and Mühlhäusler (2001) that language is a vector of ecological meanings: devastation or conservation. As pointed hitherto by Halliday (op.cit.), language has lexical and grammatical potentials that [re]produce and reinforce ecological [in]equality. This encompasses the use of what Stibbe (2001) considers manipulative lexico-syntactic and pragmatic resources; which will be the subject of analysis in this work.

In furtherance of the thoughts above, Stibbe (2014; 2015) considers Language (discourse) as having potentials that can either drive motifs of nature protection and conservation, or facilitate the devastation and eventual destruction of the biophysical environment. In these ambivalent agenda, the media, being a circuit of social meaning, plays a prominent role to transmit and institutionalise ecological ideologies. The media reports natural disaster, policy actions on conservation, and nonetheless, propagates capitalistic ideologies. In this light, the media influences public opinion by framing reality to reflect imaginary or possible worlds (Fairclough, 2003); to advocate conservation or consumerism. The production of an imaginary world(s), therefore, implicates the proliferation of bias-welded language constructs that culminate in abusive ecological meanings in the media. This manipulation has inspired Ardrèvol-Abreu (2015) to impugn the objectivity of the media in the framing of reality (p. 429). It is on this premise that this work investigates the hidden and transparent discursive tools that realise anthropocentrism in the Cameroonian newspaper of English expression.

Language, Ecology and Ideology

Contemporary discourse has been very concerned with the current state of the natural environment. In his seminar publication, "Language Ecology" (1972), Einar Haugen was the pioneer scholar who galvanised global theorisation on the connection between language and its environment of use [language(s) contact]. Albeit the euphoria that embraced this shift from structuralism, Haugen's (ibid) paradigm was criticised by contemporary linguists, cf. Mühlhäusler (1996; 1998); Fill and Mühlhäusler (2001); Fill (2002); who refuted Haugen's (ibid) "metaphorical definition of environment as "the society that uses it as one of its codes" (p. 325). This was considered an ontological flaw, considering that its inbuilt was silent, and therefore, indifferent to the plights (devastation) of the natural environment. The lapses of the Haugenian [metaphorical] paradigm sparked the emergence of environmental policy approach (policy-oriented approach) to environmental discourse analysis championed by Luisa Maffi and Peter Müwhäusler, and lately, Arran Stibbe. This novel scientific experience has led to a unique, innovative linguistic field called 'ecolinguistics'. Steffensen and Fill (2014) define ecolinguistics as investigation of "language-nature relations" in discourse (p. 9); otherwise, the symbiosis between culture (language) and nature. This paradigm shift termed 'Ecolinguistics' has caused science and society to experience what Stibbe (2012) brands an "ecological turn" in linguistics, thus, the "ecolinguistic turn" (p. 1). The "ecolinguistic turn" is marked by global consciousness vis-à-vis the role language plays in reinforcing nature conservation or depletion.

Singer (as cited in Stibbe, 2001, p. 149) postulates that "the English language, like other languages, reflects the prejudices of its users". In this regard, it is established that the distinction between "animals and people" gives room for

'speciesism'; which is an out-group cognition that discriminates and, eventually, detaches the human environment from the non-human environment. This takes into cognizance the fact that [eco]discourse is rife with surreptitious power ideologies: dominance, discrimination, oppression and exploitation of the non-human environment. Power (disciminatory) ideologies in discourse take diverse forms.

Anthropocentrism is the superordinate ideology that reflects or manifests the discrimination between homo sapiens and other biospecies. The concept of "linguistic anthropocentrism" was first postulated in Michael Halliday's 'New Ways of Meaning' (2001). Chen (2015), thus, discusses "linguistic anthropocentrism" from two perspectives: firstly, as discourse trends that construct culture-nature relations, foregrounding the usability of the nature to humans; and secondly, the advocacy of environmentally unsustainable practices (consumerism, construction and natural resource exploitation) in discourse. Like speciecisism, anthropocentrism is an ecologically biased concept that privileges human animals the centre of the ecosystem, and therefore, and vests them with powers to exercises absolute control, domination and use of non-human animals for their survival. Anthropocentric discourses are human-centred, and as McNenny (2018) expatiates, use extenuating language constructs (notably metaphorical frames) that conceal or downplay environmental abuses perpetrated by humans. The anthropocentic ideologies (forest exploitation, fishing, hunting and mining, inter alia) that are seated in anthropocentric discourse, as McNenny (ibid) warns, frustrate sustainability education and/or ventures in great proportions.

Maffi (1998) advances that environmentalists have always considered Christianity as the pioneer doctrine and catalyst of anthropocentrism. In line with the premise above, environmentalists have tagged Christianity a hegemonic movement that places the human race over the control (dominance) of nature. This opinionated centre position, Maffi (ibid) explains, gives humans the pretext to plunder nature for their comfort. Jowett (1921) refutes the thought that anthropocentric language constructs are limited to Christianity, for Aristotle is equally culpable for propagating the environmentally dangerous ideology that birds, animals and plants "exist for the sake of man" (p. 10). In essence, this ecosophy rather expedites the rate of environmental degradation by subjugating the biophysical environment to human exploitation.

Moreover, acute anthropocentrism also revrberates in an ecosophy Stibbe (2015) has identified with the coinage 'cornucopianism' (p. 12). This ecosophy that is qualified as "politically conservative", thus, priorities human creativity and technological innovation and advancement over the biophysical environment. 'cornucopianism', in fact, defends the view that it behoves the human race to expedite industrial progress in order to satisfy their biological and social needs (Ridley, 2010). This ideology is insouciant to the harm (notably natural resource exploitation, consumerism and pollution) industrialisation causes the natural environment. Industrialisation, which Ridley (ibid) considers a pretext of economic growth, has provoked ambivalent feelings in Baker (2006) who counsels that growth drives should go in tandem with environmental protection. Baker (ibid), thus makes a very optimistic projection that economic growth that is accompanied by environmental consciousness vis-à-vis conservation leads to the ecosophy Stibbe (op. cit.) terms "sustainable development".

Adams and Gruen (2014) aver that ecofeminists, in parallel stance with socio-ecologists, have rather created a link between what Stibbe (2015) qualifies as men's "oppression of animals and the environment, and [equally] men's domination of women" (p. 12). It is strongly argued that the conservation and stability of nature can be feasible only if women are liberated from male dominion, and given an equitable social position and recognition; like that arrogated their domineering male counterpart. The epistemological position of ecofeminists is that if women are not emancipated from male domination, they will never be able to add their voices to environmental advocacy, and so, man's (human) domination and oppression of the biophysical environment will continue to thrive.

Anthropocentrism in the Media
Negative discourse, rather, projects and reinforces damaging constructs about the natural environment (Caspa, 2014). In accordance with the above, ensuing discussions would dwell on the varied constructs that political and public media circuits assign to nature (biophysical environment) and ecological catastrophes (climate change and global warming). The media discourses under review, as Fairclough (1995a) categorises, subsume ecological constructs in news, advertisements and music.

Stibbe (2003) blames the media for [re]producing and reinforcing the subjugation and shameful constructs that mainstream cultures and pork wear on pigs. The constructs imposed on the pig, as a useable resource, take manifest in the stigmatising language (metaphors, similes and idioms) connected to pigs in discourses. Expressions and clusters like "happy as a pig in the mire", "lucky pig"; "greedy pig" and "capitalist pig", inter alia, are referential to derogatory porcine attributes accorded human entities in discourse. The grammatical vehicle "Adjective + Pig" (fat pig; filthy pig, for instance) is the linguistic currency in cultural models that identify pigs with false, unpleasant and abusive meanings. The adjectival "filthy pig" implies pigs are filthy, and so mappings of pig metaphors into human entities have as perlocution to abuse. The latter abusive metaphor above infringes the existential rights of the pig as a natural entity. This presupposes that the media frames pig slaughter as an environment tidying plan.

In the investigation of media language during an environmental crisis, Alexander (2012) states that corporate bodies deploy highly manipulative discursive resources that obfuscate or mitigate environmental dangers that threaten their reputation. The language used in the face of an environmental disaster is effective in "saving of face", promoting self and restoring the credibility of corporations as nature protection partners. Media constructs that fail to conscientise public opinion on the environmental dangers of industrial disasters have provoked Frandsen and Johansen (2010) to accuse corporate bodies of hijacking and "instructing communication" in the media at the expense of nature (p. 544). It could be inferred that the use of "terminological control" (selective registers) to obscure the environmental damages of industrial disasters is a discursive enhancement of hegemonies that override and oppress nature.

In the study of ecological conscious in the Nigerian media, Japhet and Komolafe (2015) indict the Nigerian press for erasing the environment in their publications. In spite of the current environmental problems (deforestation, pollution and soil erosion) to which the Nigerian rural and metropolis are victims,

the Nigerian press has displayed robust insensitivity to environmental preservation by devoting unwavering attention to events and debates in politics, sports and entertainment. Even when the environment is selectively evoked, it is rather a post-disaster report(s) that exposes the press as lacking in proactiveness to natural disasters. Analysts have appraised the aforementioned framings as utter complacency with the ecological threats hitting Nigeria and the entire globe. Citing Ityavyar and Tyav (2013), Japhet and Komolafe (ibid) are critical to the fact that the Nigerian press is wanting in its mission to raise an alarm and educate the populace on environmental stakes apropos of adequate measures to restoring ecological sanity.

Lakoff (2010) expresses dissatisfaction with the skimpiness of environmental frames in the media and politics. The lack of suitably adequate frame to capture the reality of environmental depletion is what Lakoff (ibid) refers to as 'hypocognition' (p. 76). Environmentalism in media and political discourses is appraised as 'hypocognitive' on account of the dichotomy that is created between nature and humanity. When discourses frame the human environment as separate from the global physical environment, it thus, engenders an aura of anthropocentrism in humans; wherein they exhibit authority and dominance over nature. In effect, the media is cautioned to be environmentally proactive by framing "environmental action": using less energy, driving less, and walking more, et cetera.

Stibbe (2009) categorises advertising as a form of media discourse that undermines environmental sustainability. Advertising language is perceived as dangerous to the nature, as it employs catchy language constructs that manipulate the cognition of audience. This highly manipulative language whets the appetite for products, thus promoting the over-consumption of manufactured products that are considered 'unnecessary' (Stibbe, ibid, p. 38). Language patterns that boost unsatisfactory consumption are referred to as "pseudo-satisfier discourse". Advertising language that conditions human psyche to over-consume spurs production, which in turn elicits cumulative environmental risks in the form of over-exploitation of natural resources and pollution. The media has been proven, therefore, to frame consumerism by adopting manipulative language (notably metaphors) and semiotic resources that transfer the virtues of natural entities to a manufactured product. The modelling of corporate products with the image or values of an environmental entity is what Cox (2006) refers to as "green marketing" (p. 373).

Ecolinguistics is still a nascent field in Cameroon. To the best of the researcher's understanding, most indigenous Cameroonian researchers, cf. Fai (2018); Tabe and Fieze (2018); Soh (2020), continue to take keen interest in the investigation of political ideologies in the media. Even when a glimpse of awareness is displayed about the effects of media constructs and the current ecological state, most Cameroonian researchers still shun from conducting a content analysis of ecological meanings (frames) [re]produced and reinforced by the Cameroonian media to focusing on the frequency of nature stories (discourse); cf. Kengoum 2011); Angwah (2019). Insofar as the Cameroonian experience is concerned, this work is unique and, thus, marks an innovation, complementary to Ubanako and Acha (2022)[1] in that it conducts an ecocrtical discourse analysis of

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[1] *Upcoming paper: An Ecocritical Discourse Analysis of Erasure in Cameroonian Media Discourse*

ecologically abusive language constructs in the Cameroonian newspaper of English expression.

Theoretical Considerations

In a bid to uncover what Abdul Jabar and Kaariah (2017: 358) consider "hidden and transparent" discursive categories (p. 358) that realise biased ecological constructs (anthropocentrism) in the Cameroonian newspaper, Ecocritical Discourse Analysis (EcoCDA) was adopted as the framework of analysis for this work. Critical analysis of "green discourse" (environment-related newspaper articles selected) will adopt Fairclough's (1989) tributary approach to the CDA. Lechevrel (2009) describes the pursuance of Fairclough's (ibid) critical approach to investigate hidden ideologies of dominance in environmental discourse as the "Eco-critical Discourse Analysis" model (p. 8). In effect, this analytical model questions the disproportionate power (oppressor-oppressed) relationships between men and women, and by implication, humans and the larger ecological systems that sustain terrestrial life.

Hidden and biased ecological meanings in discourse activate the asymmetry in the existence between culture and nature. It is in this regard that Milstein (2008: 173) reckons the epistemology of the EcoCDA a powerful "mediating force in [the] human-nature power relations". As an analytical framework that is disposed with tenets that are sensitive to power differences in discourse, it effectively resists by uncovering pragma-linguistic entities that resonate with varied forms of ecological (power) inequalities (human hegemony or anthropocentrism) that are embedded in nature writing (green discourses). This capacity to mediate and reshape ecological relations has sparked the emergence of a critical paradigm to ecological linguistics, thus, EcoCDA (Stibbe, 2014).

The application of the CDA to environmental discourse is in prompt response to Singer's (1990) caution that "the fundamental objections to racism […] apply equally to speciesism" (p. 6). The analytical parameters of the CDA in eco-discourses have inspired resistance to injustices against nature (Stibbe, 2014; 2015b). This paradigm that is still in its gestation phase has not got a succinct approach and definite scope yet. Nonetheless, Stibbe (2014) shapes and delimits the approach that is in vogue by stating that it:

> *[…] consists of questioning the stories that underpin our current unsustainable civilisation, exposing those stories that are clearly not working, that are leading to ecological destruction and social injustice, and finding new stories that work better in the conditions of the world that we face* (p. 117).

Invested with potentials to probe, expose and question the ecologically unfriendly "stories we live by", the EcoCDA prescribes wholesome ideologies and practices that are instructive of ecological inclusion and parity, and sustainability. In essence, the EcoCDA is in pursuance of justice via the search for novel stories (discourse trends) that have potentials to safeguard the survival of the biophysical environment, and in addition, remedy or assuage the current ecological strife: climate change and global warming.

Cognizant of the existence of destructive discourses that institutionalise ecological inequalities, the EcoCDA has been chosen because of its efficacy in

uncovering and resisting surreptitious hegemonic ideologies in the environmental texts selected. Being a rich toolbox for the analysis of biased and abusive constructs (language) in discourses, the EcoCDA has potentials to create awareness on the dangerous symbiosis between ecologically abusive language and the progressive wearing out of the biophysical environment. Approaches to ecolinguistic theory may vary, but the goals and importance remain the same. As far this work is concerned, the relevance of the EcoCDA, which Stibbe (2014) rather considers characteristics (pp. 4-5), includes the fact that:

- It draws public attention to discourses that profoundly impact man's treatment of fellow [wo]man, and their relationship with the larger ecological systems.
- The EcoCDA analyses linguistic patterns that are encoded with particular worldviews or culture-rooted ideologies.
- It is within the purview of the EcoCDA to interpret the explicit or implicit ecosophies based on the social meaning (world view) projected. This is judged from the depth of interaction between human and non-human animal; and how this interaction fuses with and relates to the physical environment.
- EcoCDA has the epistemological wherewithal to expose nature-endangering discourses, which Harré et al. (as cited in Stibbe, 2015, p. 29) derogatorily label 'greenspeak'. 'Greenspeak' is a manipulative language pattern that has as function the simplification, mitigation or concealment of agents (causes) of environmental hazards, environmentally harmful activities, behaviours and/or their effects.
- This model is effective in creating public awareness about ecologically aggressive discourses that should be abandoned, and in remedy, encourages the conception and transmission of [positive] 'stories' that advance ecological sustainability efforts at [inter]national levels.

Method

Methodology can be considered the directory of every research piece; it stipulates the task(s) at every stage of this research piece. Methodology, alternatively labelled 'procedure', refers to the entire research plan and/or steps that were followed in this research work (Singh, 2006, p. 26). In essence, this research work was conducted in pursuance of Ebim's (2016) prescription that "a good, sound and logical research output should be governed by a well-defined research methodology based on scientific principles" (p. 5). These scientific principles (steps) subsume choices of type, source and collection of data; theoretical framework; techniques of statistical analyses of data; and presentation of results.

Singh (2006) describes population as people, animals, trees, vehicles, books or objects manifesting or are affected by a problem under study. This study that investigates anthropocentric undertones in Cameroonian media discourse has as population, newspaper articles (in English expression). It is worth emphasising that population chosen for this research piece is not an entire newspaper, but suitable articles that framed the environment. The data, so to speak, constituted thirty-five (35) newspaper articles extracted from nine (09) newspaper publishers of English expression. The corpus analysed in this work is classified Table 1 below.

Table 1. Statistics of Anthropocentric Newspaper Articles Used

| S/N | Newspaper Publisher | Number of Newspaper: | |
		Issues Analysed	Articles Analysed
1	Cameroon Tribune	03	04
2	Cameroon Business Today	04	07
3	Municipal Updates	02	04
4	The Sun	04	04
5	The Eden	03	03
6	The Star	03	03
7	The Median	02	03
8	The Green Reporter	03	05
9	Eco-Outlook	02	02
	Total	25	35

These articles were collected between March 2019 and July 2020. Considering that time is not a factor sustained in this work, the data does not represent a synchronic or diachronic survey, but rather, simply an arbitrary selection that suits the purpose of this study. It is to this effect that the judgemental sampling technique was used to select the newspaper. Each edition of the newspapers was selected based on the availability of an environmental article(s) advocating an ecologically abusive ideology: consumerism, natural resource exploitation (deforestation, fishing and hunting, etcetera) and industrialisation. While most of the data were news articles of general interest, a few others were advertorials.

The data was analysed using the descriptive statistical method (DSM). This is a quantitative and qualitative method that involved selecting suitable environmental newspaper articles; building a mini-corpus; classifying the articles, identifying and interpreting discursive categories encoded with abusive ecological ideologies. The quantitative method involved giving the frequencies (numerical values) of the discursive categories identified, meanwhile, qualitative aspect related to giving the ecological bearings (undertones) of the discursive entities identified in the corpus. In all, data analysis involved three tasks: identification, interpretation and discussion of discourse patterns.

Findings and Discussion

Analysis was conducted on textual and contextual component that knit ecological inequalities in Cameroonian newspapers. In the thirty-five (35) environmental newspaper articles analysed in this part of the corpus, six (06) discursive patterns were identified. The pursuance of analysis was geared at interpreting and discussing the abusive ecosophy (ecological philosophy) each of these categories engenders vis-à-vis the ecosystem they evoked in their usage.

Pronouns

The seven (07) main types of pronouns identified in this part of the corpus included *we*, *our*, *us*, *all*, *their*, *I* and *my*. These pronouns that were personal and possessive singular and plural forms were classified apropos of the meanings encoded in them. These pronouns are classified as follows.

Table 2. Frequency of Pronouns Used

Pronoun Type	Frequency	Percentage (%)
We /Our /Us/ all	14	70
Their	03	15
I and My	03	15
Total	20	100

The most dominant pronouns were inclusive pronouns, mostly of the third person plural category: *we*, *our* and *us*. This dominant category, with a frequency of 14 (70%), is exemplified in the excerpts below.

> *[1] Paul Biya ... had implored Cameroonians to "produce what **we** consume and consume what **we** produce"* (*Cameroon Business Today*, No. 162 of 01-07/07/2020, p11)
>
> *[2] **We** will ... shape the assessment and work for the benefit of **all*** (*The Eden*, No. 1146 of 26/03/2020, p7)
>
> *[3] Reducing **our** use of plastics ... should be seriously considered* (*The Green Reporter*, Vol. 1, No. 020 of October 2019, p4)

As seen in the instances above, plural pronouns, most especially, of the third person category were used as a manipulative tool to unjustly blame everybody for the deteriorating environment, and in turn, call for a general environmental response. The use of *we* and *our* is a shifting and including device that considers innocent, but victimised masses, as accomplices in nature erosion. The false inclusion of innocent masses in different nature restoration, protection and conservation ideologies and/or activities with recourse to plural pronouns, in effect, shifts the blame and burden of environmental degradation from the economic (capitalist) elite to the entire society.

To add, *I* and *my*, and *their* are at par with very scanty occurrences of 03 (15%). The main peculiarity with the use of *their* is that it downgrades nature to a resource owned by humans. See the examples that follow.

> *[4] ... eating habits changed with the destruction of **their** forest ... The community can no longer fish with ... invading of **their** water by large-scale fishermen* (*The Median*, No. 391 of 15/06/2020, p6)
>
> *[5] When **I** go back to Maroua, **I** return to **my** meat* (*The Sun*, No. 0613 of 23/07/2020, p6)

The phrases *destruction of **their** forest*; and *invading **their** water by large-scale fishermen* in *[4]* above, thus, subjugate nature to the ownership, use and control of human communities. This ownership and what can be termed "resourcification" accounts for the persistence in abusive and unsustainable exploitation of nature by human beings. The use of ***my*** in *[5]*, like the case with ***their***, also disparages nature as an ordinary object that is subject to ownership. This accounts for the different exploitative tendencies and/or abuses perpetrated against nature and her entities.

Verbs Activating Anthropocentrism

The use of verbs that reinforce ecological inequalities was prominent in the newspapers selected. In essence, these verbs literally mean actions that inflict pains on the biophysical environment. Out of the forty (40) erasing verbs identified, twenty-seven (67.5 %) majority epitomise [violent] actions that wear-out the

country's natural environment in the forms of exploitation, industrialisation and construction, as exemplified in the following instances:

[6] *The affected zone **was still emitting** smoke* (*Cameroon Tribune*, No. 11856/8055 of 03/06/2019, p4)

[7] *The plastics eventually **find** their way into water bodies, **causing** harm to aquatic animal* (*The Green Reporter*, Vol. 1, No. 020 of October 2019, p4)

[8] *The oil **spread** downriver, first along the Coca River ... eventually even **reaching** Peru, **contaminating** water, soils, plants and wildlife along the way* (*Eco-Outlook*, No. 031 of 20/07/2020, p12)

From these utterances, it could be observed that the use of verb forms like *was still emitting*, *have been threatening*, *destroyed/ were completely destroyed*, *burn, spread, contaminating, unleashed* and *aggravated* are semantically loaded with violent, and therefore, ecologically erasing actions that decimate nature in one way or the other. They are literally expressive of environmental aggression; or the aggressiveness and harshness of nature provoked by depletion. These natural hazards that endanger human existence are still anthropogenic, as evident in the verbs above. In effect, these verbs realise the exploitation of the natural resources.

Moreover, verbs that reproduce the consumption and marketisation of nature (economic growth) come second, with a frequency of 08 (20 %). Reporters' growth interests, thus, account for the use of verbs that reverberate with the consumption and commercialisation of nature. Such verbs that are commonplace in the discourse type Stibbe (2015: 29) derogates as "green advertising" (marketing of natural entities) refer to ecologically devastating actions imbued in the italicised verbs that follow.

[9] *Quality and standard is another issue that **pushes** Cameroonians to **import** products* (*Cameroon Business Today*, No. 127 of 16-22/10/2019, p24)

[10] *... the tusks had **disappeared** from their keeping without their knowledge* (*Municipal Updates*, Vol. 3, No. 082 of 13/07/2020, p6)

[11] *... growth this year **will fall** to its lowest rate* (*Cameroon Business Today*, No. 127 of 16-22/10/2019, p24)

Like other verbs in this category, the use of *pushes* and *import* in *[9]* above, thus, are markers of precipitated urges to consume natural entities unsustainably. While *disappear* in *[10]* denotes exploitation, *will fall* in *[11]* activates calls for increased or heightened consumerism that boosts growth plans. In varied patterns, so to speak, verbs in this category advocate the unsustainable exploitation and consumption of plants and animals; that face threats of extinction.

The scantiest in this part are verbal constructs that are suggestive of actions directed towards the exploitation of the country's forest riches. Below are some examples from the corpus.

[12] *Cameroon's legal framework **has organised** the forestry sector into 3 categories* (*Cameroon Business Today*, No. 107 of 22-28/05/2019, p11)

[13] *The forestry policy seeks ... **to promote** and **diversify** the use of locally processed products* (*Cameroon Business Today*, No. 107 of 22-28/05/2019, p11)

[14] *... the Project Manager ... lamented that ... we noticed an area **lost** 2.21 ha of tree cover* (*The Median*, No. 391 of 15/06/2020, p6)

While the verbs *has organized*, *promote* and *diversify* are telling of concerted, gang-up exploitation of the country's forest with the complicity of policy makers, the verb *lost* intimates the disappearance of Cameroon's forest, without stating the causes.

Mode of Transitivity

This is a grammatical (syntactic) aspect that relates to the directness of the action (effect) of the verb on a direct object. In this segment of the corpus, it was manifest that Cameroonian newspaper reporters manipulated, thus downplayed, the impact of deleterious environmental actions and/or activities by concealing the natural entity directly affected by such actions. With the motif to project the process in lieu of the agent, reporters used two modes of transitivity to manipulate meaning, viz; nominalisation and ergative.

Nominalisation

By nominalisation, focus was on language uses involving the conversion of ecologically erasing action verbs into nominal or noun [groups]. The nominalisation of destructive environmental actions was expedient and efficacious in covering the agency (doer) of the action. Eighty-seven (87) such instances were found downplaying on varied environmentally harmful actions, as considered in the table below.

Table 3. Nominalisation of Biosphere Eroding Actions

Eco-abuse Nominalised	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Biosphere Degradation/ Pollution	43	49.43
Forest Exploitation (Deforestation)	29	33.33
Nature Exploitation/ Consumerism/ Marketisation	15	17.24
Total	87	100

Table 3, in fact, testifies of the preponderance of language constructs that realise the nominalisation of mineral extracting, industrialising and constructing actions that wear-out the biophysical environment. Some instances of nominalisation extracted from the corpus, in which journalists hid the agents of the aforementioned ecological abuses are illustrated below.

[15] *SONARA intends to maximise the **use of crude oil** produced in Cameroon ... It [SONARA] only buys from **extraction companies*** (*Cameroon Tribune*, No. 11856/8055 of 03/06/2019, p4)

[16] *... investigations into the socio-environmental impact of the **construction of the dam** says ... ha have been destroyed* (Cameroon Business Today, No. 110 of 19-25/06/2019, p2)

[17] *... eating habits changed with the **destruction of their forest**, they are faced with a **loss of their cultural identity** with the **destruction of the Dengdeng forest** that hosted their cultural rituals* (*Cameroon Business Today*, No. 110 of 19-25/06/2019, p2)

[18] ***... natural resource extraction** and **processing** account for more than 90% **global diversity loss** and **water stress**, and ... global **greenhouse gas emissions*** (*The Green Reporter*, Vol. 1, No. 023 of March 2020, p10)

> [19] These oil **spills** are as much **a threat** to their physical health as it is to their spiritual well-being (*Eco-Outlook*, No. 031 of 20/07/2020, p12)

Extracted from the excerpts above, tactful verb-to-noun [group] conversions like *use* of crude oil, *extraction* companies*, construction* of the dam*, destruction* of their forest*, destruction* of the Dengdeng forest, natural resource *extraction* and *processing,* global greenhouse gas *emissions,* oil *spills* and *a threat*, inter alia, were strategic linguistic tools to transform concrete ecologically abusive actions (verbs) into processes and/or phenomena (nouns) whose causes were covered or unknown. In the nominalisation instance *extraction companies* from *[15]* above, in fact manipulates the construct clear accusation "companies extract minerals". In other patterns like *destruction of their forest* and *greenhouse gas emissions* from *[17]* and *[18]* respectively, the journalist strengthen ecological abuses by transforming ecologically abusive [action] verbs into nouns to shade their agents. The suppression of the agents in these instances is robustly manipulative, thus ecologically erasing.

Second in occurrence are nominalising patterns and groups that cover perpetrators of forest exploitation (deforestation). Twenty-nine (29) instances were found nominalising abuses perpetrated against the country's forests and forest resources. From the foregoing statistics, 33.33% of the eighty-seven (87) nominalisation threads found in the corpus downplayed acts of violence orchestrated on Cameroon's forest reserves. Such nominalising instances are presented below.

> [19] Local communities adjacent to forest zones are reaping ... the **exploitation of the natural resources** (*Cameroon Business Today*, No. 107 of 22-28/05/2019, p11)
>
> [20] ... inhabitants generated revenue ... for the **exploitation of 1,096 cubic metres** of **sawn wood** (*Cameroon Business Today*, No. 107 of 22-28/05/2019, p6)
>
> [21] A delegation of **wood exploiters** operating in Cameroon will take part in the **wood fair** (*Cameroon Business Today*, No. 110 of 19-25/06/2019, p2)
>
> [22] The study identifies areas of intact forest ... for protection ... and survival of **threatened species** (*The Green Reporter*, Vol. 1, No. 020 of October 2019, p5)

Among others, the deployment of lexico-syntactic patterns in the corpus like *destruction* to Madagascar's eastern rainforest; *overharvesting*; *threatened species*; *freshly cut wood*; *wood exploiters*; *log processing*; *exploitation* of the forest; *processing* (value addition) of timber; *sawn wood*; and *exploitation* of the natural resources, thus, were manipulative tendencies meant to soften punishable acts of forest destruction. The structures *exploitation of the natural resources* and *wood exploiters*, from *[19]* and *[21]* for instance, respectively nominalise the active verbs (actions) "… *exploit natural resources*" and "A delegation that *exploits wood*". With this, journalists displayed guilt and/or bias for these abuses as they were projected as mere occurrences that have no or unknown causes. This follows the tactful evasion or non-existence of the agency of this environmental abuse in the utterance.

To add, linguistic patterns that nominalise the exploitation, consumption and marketisation of nature were equally ocular in the corpus. Fifteen (17.24 %) of the nominalisation instances identified masked and blunted actions that expedite the erosion of nature. These patterns are instantiated in the excerpts that follow.

[23] ... *for whom* **animal ownership** *ensures varying degrees of sustainable farming* (*Cameroon Tribune*, No. 11931/8130 of 19/09/2019, p19)

[24] *... 11,000 ha of hydro agriculture and* **fish farming sites** *will be established* (*Municipal   Updates*, Vol. 3, No. 082 of 13/07/2020, p7)

[25] *A notorious* **wildlife trafficker** *has been arrested for unlawful possession of ivory tusks* (*Eco-Outlook*, No. 029 of 22/06/2017, p4)

The use of nominal construct like *animal ownership*; *consumption*; *imported goods*; *food-industry products*; *food products*; *fish farming sites*; and *wildlife trafficker*, manipulate ecologically oppressive actions into phenomena-denoting nouns. This manipulation is an act of complicity with ecological injustice, as it blurs the identity of perpetrators of exploitation, consumption and commercialisation of nature.

Ergative

Also remarkable in this segment was the use of abstract nouns denoting environmental calamities as the subjects of utterances. It equally involved ambiguous subjects and/or objects that obfuscate the agency (human causes) and media of varied abuses on the ecosystem. The fifty-one (51) instances of ergative identified are classified in table 3 that follows.

Table 4. Occurrences of the Use of Ergative

Eco-abuse Obfuscated	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Mineral extraction/ industrialisation/ construction	25	49.02
Forest Exploitation (Deforestation)	17	33.33
Consumerism/ economic growth/ marketisation of nature	09	17.65
Total	51	100

With a frequency of twenty-five (49.02%), the majority of ergative forms identified in this segment are obfuscating agencies that wear-out biosphere via activities like mineral extraction, industrialisation and construction. Some excerpts of ergative forms extracted from the corpus are given below.

[26] *The project ...* **will involve the drilling of an appraisal well to target gas** (*The Eden*, No.   1146 of 26/03/2020, p7)

[27] *A report published by SAILD ...reveals that* **the realisation of the hydroelectricity dam project … is bringing untold socio-environmental destruction** (*The Eden*, No. 1146 of 26/03/2020, p7)

[28] *... the* **total economic damage to the world's marine ecosystem** *amounts to at least 13   billion dollars yearly* (*The Median*, No. 391 of 15/06/2020, p6)

[29] *Most of these plastics are ... disposable plastics* **which create even more problems by clogging the drainage system, littering the streets and environment** (*The Green Reporter*, Vol. 1, No. 020 of October 2019, p4)

*[30] One way to reduce greenhouse gases is **the use of recycled and environmentally friendly building materials** (The Green Reporter, Vol. 1, No. 023 of March 2020, p8)*

*[31] … a landslide ruptured three pipelines along the Coca River, **spilling at least 15,800 barrel of crude oil in a region long affected by a history of toxic dumping** (Eco-Outlook, No. 031 of 20/07/2020, p12)*

In utterance *[26]*, for example, the reporter used an evasive subject (the erasing activity itself) that performs a non-action verb, thus, obscuring the image of mineral exploiters that wear out the biophysical environment. Moreover, by presenting *disposable plastics* as a subject that *create even more* (environmental) *problems* in *[29]*, the journalist constructs plastic litter as agents of pollution in the environment, shading the identities of producers and consumers of the products in plastic containers being littered. The reporters deployed ergative to safeguard the public image of mineral extractors and capitalist; who desire profit at the malevolence of the biophysical environment. In essence, the use of ergative exposes the complacency of the media in harbouring capitalistic drives that exacerbate the degrading state of the biophysical environment.

Forms that manipulate the identity of forest exploiters, on their part, attained a prominence rate of seventeen (33.33%). The manipulation of agency is instantiated in the following utterances:

*[32] "… **trashing the rainforest and natural habitats** is what makes zoonotic diseases like COVID-19 spread more easily" (Municipal Updates, Vol. 3, No. 083 of 20/07/2020, p5)*

*[33] The **dense curtain of trees … grows thinner** until eventually, **it opens on a bare patch of land**, the size of three football pitches (The Green Reporter, Vol. 1, No. 020 of October 2019, p5)*

*[34] Around **two thirds of Russian logging are going to China**, where **factories process it into furniture and flooring** (The Green Reporter, Vol. 1, No. 022 of January 2020, p2)*

Just as in *[33]* in which the journalist uses a more stative and/or descriptive verb, *grows*, acting on a compliment, without revealing the cause, *[34]* on its part uses an abstract [the proportion of exploited Russian wood (*two thirds of Russian logging*)] and inanimate nouns (*factories*) as metaphorical nouns that perform the actions of *going to China* and *process it into furniture and flooring*. These syntactic constructs, thus, cover the identities of persons (companies) that abuse (unsustainably exploit, export and transform) forest potentials. This shading tendency, in fact, minimises the repercussions of the activities of forest exploiters on the ecosystem.

The least occurrence in this segment is recorded by syntactic forms that cloud the face of consumers and marketers of nature. This scanty occurrence of seven (17.65%) also adduces the complicity of Cameroonian reporters in eco-oppressive practices like consumerism and commercialisation. Some instances are exemplified below.

*[35] … **livestock, fisheries and dairy products often get short in supply** in some parts of Cameroon (Cameroon Tribune, No. 11931/8130 of 19/09/2019, p19)*

*[36] **Even if growth picks-up in 2020**, the current rift could lead to changes* (*Cameroon Business Today*, No. 127 of 16-22/10/2019, p24)

*[37] The SDO said it is **disgraceful for … Kumba to harbour chunks of household refuse*** (*The Median*, No. 396 of 20/07/2020, p3)

Considering *[36]* above, reporters cover stakeholders (consumers and producers) by presenting the abstract noun *growth* as an animate that resuscitates and advances, thus, covering agents of growth. To add, the reporter of *[37]* unjustly incriminates by shifting the blame to '*Kumba'* (an environment) for harbouring (hiding/ keeping) waste. As a discursive technique aimed at manipulating, physical space is rather blamed for unrestrained refuse disposal, not those who litter the town. Ergative is a powerful device used to shade persons and companies that pollute the environment.

Personification

Sixteen (16) instances of personification were found framing different forms of environmental abuses. As would be presented and analysed subsequently, this involved the use of language patterns that transfer to the environment human attributes that engender violence and equally inflict pain. Moreover, reporters effected manipulation by using abstract nouns (states of degraded environment) to cover agency of violence. The statistics of the use of personification is presented as follow:

Table 5. Use of Personification

Abuse Personified	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Consumerism/ economic growth/ marketisation of nature	06	37.5
Forest Exploitation (Deforestation)	05	31.25
Mineral extraction/ industrialisation/ construction	05	31.25
Total	16	100

The results in Table 5 stipulate that the personification of acts of consumerism, economic growth and marketisation of nature are the most abusive, with a frequency of six (37.5%). These abusive tropes are exemplified below.

*[38] Today, even more of **the world economy is moving** in synch, this time, **growth is decelerating*** (*Cameroon Business Today*, No. 127 of 16-22/10/2019, p24)

*[39] The food industry … **has grown significantly** from 764-2,564 companies* (*Cameroon Business Today*, No. 162 of 01-07/07/2020, p11)

In the tropes "*the world economy is moving*" and "*food industry … has grown significantly*" in [38] and [39] respectively, reporters construct economic growth as a person moving forward. Economic growth is constructed to as an improvement or progress in the lives of consumers (Cameroonian). This construct is manipulative as it shoves to the background, the effects of unsustainable exploitation and consumption of the country's natural resources expedited by (economic) growth motives.

In addition, the personification of exploited mineral and forest resources follow suit with an occurrence of five (31.25%) each. The anthropocentric meanings transmitted could be analysed in the following excerpts:

*[40] ... much of **Bamenda's waste** is dumped at random* (*Cameroon Tribune*, No. 11863/8062 of 13/06/2019, p4)

*[41] Oil representatives may not care whether **oil kills nature or the people**, but the ICC does* (*Eco-Outlook*, No. 031 of 20/07/2020, p12)

*[42] … **the stressed taiga faces a multiplicity of threats*** (*Municipal Updates*, Vol. 3, No. 083   of 20/07/2020, p5)

In utterance *[40]*, the reporter deploys personification to arrogate the origin and/or ownership of filth (urban decay or pollution) to a physical environment (Bamenda). The possessive [construct] *Bamenda's waste* unjustly lays blames of waste emission and disposal on natural space, therefore, manipulating the identity of the real polluters. As concerns *[41]*, exploited natural resources are personified as agency of violence against humanity. The devastated state of the biophysical environment is rather incriminated with acts of killing. By so doing, mineral extraction is constructed/ justified to be a defence mechanism against and remedy for the aggressiveness of nature against human animals. In *[42]*, the endangered forest is presented as 'stressed' to manipulate the notion and/or gravity of abuse. In essence, the attribution of abusive human attribute to natural entity was meant to hide the human agent.

Technical Register

The use of technical register (jargon) was also found to be of great significance in the realisation of abusive ecological frames. On the whole, fifteen (15) technical registers were found in this segment. The use of technical (specialised) diction in news discourse was to attain a manipulative aim; as it clouded anthropocentric ideologies. In most cases, the lexical composition of these specialised words displays semantic neutrality in the lay reader. The semantically void content of these registers, in effect, covered ecologically erasing activities: consumerism, industrialisation and economic growth, as quantified below.

Table 6. Statistics of Technical Register Abuse Shaded

Technical Register	Abuse Shaded	Frequency	Percentage (%)
aquaculture livestock projects GDP finished products economic patriotism ecocide ecosystem ecocide ecocide	Consumerism/ growth/ marketisation of nature	09	60
processing value addition finished semi-finished products export by-products	Mineral extraction/ industrialisation/ construction	06	40
Total		15	100

Majority of the technical registers in this segment were those that blurred acts of consumerism, economic growth and marketisation of nature, with a frequency of nine (60 %). The use of specialised, uncommon registers and expressions like *aquaculture*, *livestock projects*, *GDP*, *finished products*, *economic patriotism* and *ecocide*, etcetera, were lexical devices rather used with a manipulative intent; they are semantically laden with ideals. See the illustrations below.

> *[43] the country has a favourable climate and ecology ... for different types of **aquaculture** and **livestock projects** (Cameroon Tribune, No. 11931/8130 of 19/09/2019, p19)*

> *[44] It [SONARA] also exported some of its **finished products** to CEMAC countries and markets (Cameroon Business Today, No. 110 of 19-25/06/2019, p11)*

The register *livestock projects* in *[43]* gives the false implication that the rearing and eventual consumption of animals is, so to speak, a developmental initiative. The notion of '*projects*' is development driven. As for *[44]*, *finished products* leaves the [lay] reader with the swayed view that meat adds quality (more meaning) to human life. In essence, reporters project injustices (inequalities) perpetrated againg nature in distorted patterns that mitigate and/or conceal the dangers of consumerism and economic growth on the biophysical environment.

Also visible in this part of the corpus are technical registers relating to the mineral extraction and industrialisation; that have an occurrence of six (40 %). The distribution of specialised diction, for instance *processing* of timber, *by-products, semi-finished products, finished products* and *export*, label industrial products in relation to the state and stages of industrial processes. This conceptualisation activates the omission of the dangers caused by industrial activities on the biophysical environment. The use of jargon that watered down the deleterious consequences of industrial activities was, in fact, intended to distort meaning, and so, wield dominance.

Recommendations

On the basis of the key findings vis-à-vis the ecological dangers engendered by and unique to some language patterns analysed above, it behoves the researcher to make some recommendations that could improve upon nature reporting in the [inter]national media landscape. The natural environment is a collective asset whose care, protection and conservation require a collective effort, and so, it is important for linguistics to conduct frequent enquiries on novel and routine discursive patterns that enact anthropocentrism. The results of such studies should be used to caution Cameroonian journalists against manipulative language uses that reinforce ecological domination. Cameroonian linguists could frequently organise or take part in workshops and seminars organised by other stakeholders to train journalists on ideal journalistic practices. It is in such fora that linguists should illustrate concrete instances and/or examples of pragma-linguistic (syntactic, lexical, metaphorical and euphemistic) patterns in media discourses that respectively enhance environmental freedom and oppression. In a nutshell, to play a concrete role in environmental activism, linguists should be more concerned with the types of environmental frame transmitted by the Cameroonian media, and

equally liaise with media regulatory organs in the country to enact environmental justice.

In espousal of Stibbe's (2015) argument that the biophysical environment is pliable to the "stories we live by", it is worth emphasising that the media should propagate stories that idealise natural entities. As a powerful circuit of social meaning, frequent projections or coverage of media stories about the intrinsic values of nature to humanity would be both entertaining and educating. Such stories would weave enormous ecological meanings if nature-idealising metaphors, resisters, proverbs and idioms are used.

Lastly, the National Communication Council should take the responsibility to organise frequent workshops and symposia for journalists, with the environment being a regular item on the agenda. Different partners and specialists (ecolinguists, environmentalist, horticulturists, socio-anthropologist, zoologist and botanists) involved in environmental protection should be invited to share conservation experiences and/or train journalists on techniques of positively framing nature and related phenomena

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Conclusion

The critique of destructive discourses was intended to expose and create awareness about manipulative (eco-abusive) discourse practices that should be resisted. I was found that Cameroonian newspaper journalists weave and transmit ecologically destructive ideologies (consumerism, forest exploitation, mineral extraction, industrialisation and economic growth, among others) with recourse to hidden and transparent pragma-linguistic categories. In this regard, pronouns, verbs, transitivity (nominalisation and ergative), personification and technical register were uncovered to be potent and efficacious manipulative (discursive) devices that activated human dominance over nature, thus anthropocentrism in the Cameroonian newspaper. In essence, this research work complements others to galvanise resistance against ecologically biased language patterns and/or anthropocentric constructs seated in newspaper discourses. So, it was found that the enactment and reinforcement of speciesism (human dominance and devastation of the biophysical environment) in the Cameroonian press was constructed by dint of lexico-syntactic and pragmatic resources, and therefore, should neither be read nor interpreted with levity nor complacency. Finally, it was found that the media is a powerful conduit of diverse and polar ecological frames. For the media to play a constructive (rather than destructive) role in the Cameroonian landscape, it should sympathise with concerted efforts that advocate nature protection and sustainable development, by projecting nature in patterns that are idealizing and conserving. In other words, the Cameroonian media should refrain from the advocacy of consumerism, exploitation/ extraction and economic growth. It should embrace and engage in environmental activism; nature protection and preservation, and sustainable development.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE UNNARRATABLE IN
FAE MYENNE NG'S *BONE*

Sufen Wu
Guangdong University of Foreign Studies, China
correspondence: 1477263803@qq.com

Abstract

Bone, a novel written by Chinese American novelist Fae Myenne Ng, is concerned with the fictional history of a family of Chinese immigrants who live in the Chinatown of San Francisco from the 1960's to 1990's. In *Bone*, Ng not only does a good job in speaking out the difficulties and hardships the immigrants encounter on the new soil but also hides some information beneath the surface, leaving it unnarrated, like Ona's inner activities and Mah's adultery and the Chinese Exclusion Law. Therefore, this study, drawing on the theory of the unnarratable put forward by Warhol, aims to study the supranarratable, the antinarratable, and the paranarratable, three categories of the unnarratable, so as to discover the connection between the author's intentions with the text and to fumble out the hidden plot within Ng's *Bone*. Only when we find out the unnarrated and combine it with the narrated can we better understand the Chinese Americans' stories and their unspeakable bone-piercing pain.

Keywords: Fae Myenne Ng, *Bone*, the unnarratable, pain

Introduction

Fae Myenne Ng (1956-) is a first-generation Chinese American novelist. As the offspring of Chinese immigrants in America, she has seen her parents' hard-working and has experienced a difficult life in the new country. And she writes those sufferings into her first novel *Bone* (1993), which mainly talks about the story happening in a Chinese immigrant family of five. Leila is the narrator. Her stepfather Leon is a "paper son", marrying Mah, who has cheated in their marriage. Even though they toil and moil every day, they still cannot build a happy family because a succession of defeat, friend's treachery, and most importantly, the death of their daughter Ona, give them a huge hit and cast a shadow over their lives. Although the story is melancholic, *Bone* still has been welcomed around the world once published and is a finalist for the 1994 Faulkner Fiction Award.

There are already quite a lot of studies dealing with *Bone*. The research can be segmented into five groups. The first one is concerned with Ona's committing suicide and her bone. For example, Chang (2010) analyzes Ona's death from the perspective of racial-political essentialism. The second group copes with the characters' trauma. For instance, Juliana Chang studies the main characters' traumatic experience. The third group focuses on self and subjectivity. To name a few, LeBlanc (2000) elaborates on the relationship between Leila's quest for self and "the invention of new language promised in Leila's neologism 'backdaire'" (p. 12). And Ferguson (2015) delves into how "the subjectivities of Ng's characters are informed by the unstable and shifting binary of Chinese/American identity within the American capitalist economic system" (p. 248). The fourth one concentrates on the characters' position in society. For instance, Szmanko (2018) discusses how Ng presents Chinese American characters' positionality in Chinese American community and American society through "the representation of whiteness" (p. 131).

The last category is about narrative strategies. Gee (2004) elucidates how Leila takes advantages of her status as the first-person narrator to create "a distinguishable hierarchy based on her attempt to find a center that is neither too Chinese nor too American" (p. 129). Gee (2004) discovers that in Leila's discourse, herself and her boyfriend who "share a hybrid space between the American and the Chinese" (p. 139) enjoy the highest hierarchy. And Gee finds that Leila puts other characters in the lower level of the hierarchy because in Leila's eyes they either strictly confirm to the Chinese tradition or are completely Americanized.

From the literature review, we can see that there is no one analyzing the unnarratable within the novel. And the unnarratable is very important for us to comprehend the unspeakable sufferings those Chinese Americans have experienced. Therefore, this paper tries to study the unnarratable in *Bone* based on American literary scholar Robyn Warhol's definition and classification of the unnarratable.

Method

The method applied in this essay is close reading, which is helpful for us to discover the unnarratable in Ng's *Bone*. In order to find out why Ng chooses not to make the narrator speak out the unnarratable, this study takes into consideration the historical factors, cultural difference, and intertextuality.

As early as in 1994, Warhol has discussed "the unnarratable" in essay "Narrating the Unnarratable: Gender and Metonymy in the Victorian Novel". And in 2007, in "Neonarrative; or How to Render the Unnarratable in Realist Fiction and Contemporary Film", Warhol, based on the word "the disnarrated" which is newly-coined by Gerald Prince, puts forward another word "the unnarrated". It "refers to those passages that explicitly do not tell what is supposed to have happened, foregrounding the narrator's refusal to narrate" (Warhol, 2007, p. 221).

Warhol further points out that both the disnarrated and the unnarrated belong to the unnarratable. And the unnarratable can be classified into four categories. They are the subnarratable, the supranarratable, the antinarratable and the paranarratable.

Based on Warhol's remarks and classification regarding "the unnarratable", this paper aims to analyze the supranarratable, which is Ona's psychological activities, the antinarratable, namely Mah's committing adultery and the paranarratable, Chinese Exclusion Law. Through the analysis, it can be figured out how Ng takes advantage of the three types of "the unnarratable" to hide secrets from readers and the bone-piercing pain in the hidden plot can be dug out.

Findings and Discussion
The Supranarratable: Ona's Psychological Activities

In terms of the definition of the supranarratable, Warhol points out that it means something that "can't be told because it's ineffable" and "is not susceptible to narration". The prefix "supra" is "above", which means that something has gone beyond the reach of narration. And it "comprises those events that defy narrative, foregrounding the inadequacy of language or of visual image to achieve full representation, even of fictitious events" (Warhol, 2007, p. 223). Warhol also gives some examples to better illustrate what supranarratable refers to, one of which is "the shock she received can better be imagined than described" (Warhol, 2007, p. 223). From this example, we can see that how other characters feel is beyond the narrator's comprehension or that the narrator's narration of other characters' emotions can hardly match up with their true feelings. So we can conclude that except the narrator's inner feelings, other characters' psychological activities are supranarratable. It is also the case in *Bone*. The narrator is Leila, and she cannot tell us how her sister Ona feels. Nor can she inform us of what kind of psychological activities Ona goes through.

In *Bone*, due to the limitation of focalization, Ona's psychological activities are supranarratable. Whether when she is forced to break up with her beloved boyfriend, or when she is seen crying in the bathroom, or when she decides to commit suicide, there is no description about her inner feelings and psychological activities. And the most noticeable example is her shoplifting. When she gets caught shoplifting, Leila and their father Leon come to pick her up. From Leila's perspective, we can see that Ona "looked as calm and rested as if she were lifting her head from a nap" (Ng, 1993, p. 139).

Later, Leila repeats that "Ona looked like Little Miss No-Big-Deal" (Ng, 1993, p. 139). From the two descriptions, we can sense that in Leila's eyes, Ona behaves in a queer fashion. Even though Leila confesses that she feels "surprised" towards Ona's abnormal reaction of being caught shoplifting, she doesn't question Ona why she behaves in that weird manner and Leila fails to provide readers with Ona's inner feeling. This is quite strange because we can see that later when Leon takes them to eat ice-cream, Leila mentions that they "sat in a lipstick-red booth" (Ng, 1993, p.

140). Instead of saying that it is a red booth, she adds that it is lipstick-red. So we can sense that Leila cares greatly about her sister's stealing lipstick and her mind is occupied with it, that's why she sees the booth lipstick-red. But Leila still fails to find the reason behind Ona's aberrant reaction, nor does she narrate Ona's psychological activities. Seeing this, we cannot help wondering why Leila doesn't ask about Ona's inner feelings.

In an interview with Shaw (1993), Ng herself confesses that sometimes she purposefully leaves out some information and she holds the following view:

> I wanted the narrator's trueness to invite the reader into this world, and I allow the unfolding of the story itself to sustain this intimacy between the narrator and the reader. Reading is a very private experience and the reader brings their own worlds of insights and possibilities to the book. (8)

With her words, we readers can make bold assumptions regarding the reasons for the supranarratable.

The assumption I come up with is that Ng wants to expose the pseudo communication within the immigrants' family. In terms of the definition of pseudo communication, the Psychology Dictionary gives the following explanation, "Pseudo communication refers to distorted attempts at communication using fragments of words and apparent gibberish. Some cases also include gestures." In the case of Ona's shoplifting, Leila chooses to remain silent even though she realizes that Ona's reaction is abnormal. This is the extreme version of pseudo communication. And Leon also doesn't question Ona about her misdeed, instead, he asks his girls not to tell Mah. "Our secret. It was only a little thing. Only lipstick." (Ng, 1993, p. 139-140) Ostensibly, what he conveys to his daughters helps Ona get rid of being scolded by Mah and it seems that Leon solves the problem quickly. But profoundly speaking, Leon has done a piece of pseudo communication because the communication is not two-way; he has not listened to Ona's inner feelings. What he has done is just to makes Ona accept what he says, ignoring her willingness.

Another question follows, why is there pseudo communication among them? One sound reason is cultural difference. Leon has been brought up within Chinese culture and he is influenced by the creed of turning problems into small ones and small problems into no problems at all. So he speaks such kind of words and takes no account of Ona's real need. Ona who receives more western education than her father does, in fact, needs others to regard her as an individual and care about her inner feeling. But what she obtains is only the pseudo communication.

However, the pseudo communication is not merely confined to Leon and Ona. In terms of mother-daughter, husband-wife relationships, there also exists such kind of communication. Leila notices the pseudo communication within her family and reveals her inner desire for a sound and effective conversation with others.

> I wanted to say: I didn't marry in shame. I didn't marry like you... I wanted to shake [Mah] and ask, what about me? Don't I count? Don't I matter? ... I

should have asked Ona, Why are you crying, what are you sad about? ... We didn't talk about Leon's bruised and swollen face or his limp. (Ng, 1993, p. 23, 91, 137, 171)

From Leila's plea, we can notice that her family is imbued with pseudo communication. Because they have no opportunity to express their inner feeling, just as some scholar points out that "Leila's role as second-generation caretaker, as manager of immigrant labor, requires that her own feelings become encrypted secrets: the unspoken" (J. Chang, 2012, p. 34). They are accustomed to hide their feeling and they take it for granted not to question others' emotions. Gradually, their conversation is pseudo communication.

Based on the above analysis, it is sound to conclude that Ng exposes pseudo communication through the supranarratable, namely Ona's psychological activities. And there is a need to recognize that the pseudo communication has something to do with the difference between Chinese culture and the American one. Through the exposition, we readers come to realize the grave consequence culture clash brings about and the family hardships the immigrants have to experience in the new and vast territory.

The Antinarratable: Mah's Committing Adultery

As for the antinarratable, the prefix "anti" means "against". And Warhol thinks antinarratable is the equivalence of "what shouldn't be told" because it antis "social convention" and "the antinarratable transgresses social laws or taboos, and for that reason remains unspoken" (Warhol, 2007, p. 224). She also mentions in her paper that "[s]ex ... is always antinarratable, and can only be known by its results as they play themselves out in the plot (for instance in the presence of new babies, disillusioned hearts, or ruined reputations)" (Warhol, 2007, p. 224). From this, we can see that because of social taboos, sex is usually the topic that authors make narrators avoid talking about, not to mention adultery. In *Bone*, Ng, without exception, arranges characters to circumvent narrating Mah's committing adultery. "Leon and Mah never talked about Tommie Hom." (Ng, 1993, p. 112) Tommie Hom is the man whom Mah has sex with.

Therefore, if Leon and Mah refuse to mention Tommie Hom, it means that they are reluctant to speak of Mah's adultery. Yet the adultery is still known by "ruined reputation". Other Chinatown people talk about it. "Wives have told their husbands, who told their park-bench buddies, who told the Newspaper Man, who kept on telling till it was old news." (Ng, 1993, p. 156)

Among Chinese American writers' works, another book also involves Chinese woman's adultery in America. That is Louis Chu's *Eat a Bowl of Tea*. In this novel, Chinatown people also spread out the female protagonist Mei Oi's adultery. One Chinese says, "I told you the last time that Ah Song... I saw him coming out of Wah Gay's daughter-in-law's apartment. He didn't go there just to pin a flower on her dress this time either." (Chu, 1979, p. 116) The narrator uses

negative sentences to express a positive meaning, in an attempt to pass on the scandal to others.

With the two examples, we can see that adultery is something antinarratable and usually known in the presence of "ruined reputation". But why do authors, following the social taboos, make characters avoid narrating adultery? In *Bone*, Ng does it with the purpose to show the traditional Chinese way of dealing with a family scandal, which is to hide it and deliberately forget it. In *The Woman Warrior*, a novel written by Maxine Hong Kingston, there is a story about the unnamed aunt's adultery. When the narrator's mother is going to tell her the aunt's story, her mother says, "[y]ou must not tell anyone what I am about to tell you. In China your father had a sister who killed herself." (Kingston, 1997, p. 3) The aunt commits suicide because of the villagers' abuse and attack towards her adultery. The whole family members regard it as a scandal and purposefully remove the aunt from their memory and give her no name. Following the traditional Chinese way, family member's adultery is antinarratable.

But does hiding is a reasonable way? From the example in *The Woman Warrior*, the narrator refuses to hide the unnamed aunt's story and even imagines the love story between the aunt and the man. This example makes us wonder which way is better, the hiding one or the telling one. From my point of view, Ng seems to be in favor of the latter because she senses that keeping too many secrets is a burden for everyone. Those main characters are all very good at keeping secrets.

> We learned it from Mah and Leon. They were always saying. Don't tell this and don't tell that. Mah was afraid of what people inside Chinatown were saying and Leon was paranoid about everything outside Chinatown. We graduated from keeping their secrets to keeping our own. (Ng, 1993, p. 112)

The secrets are too many for them. For Ona, scholars are analyzing the reasons for her committing suicide. What they find "is not a singular cause, but rather the diffuse unfolding of hardship, sorrow, and endurance" (J. Chang, 2005, p. 114). The endless sorrow and difficulties and unspeakable secrets are too much for Ona, so she chooses to end her life. Ona's death is for escape and freedom, which accords with some scholar's remark - "Ona's falling to her death is imagined as a flight, a common association of death with transcendence and freedom." (Zhou, 2014, p. 112) So we can sense that Ona' death, to some extent, is an act to pursue freedom, getting rid of the endurance of keeping those countless unnarratable secretes. And for Nina, the youngest daughter, after her parents' marriage gets broken and Ona's death, she leaves home and gets rid of those secrets immediately. Even "Leila herself seeks to be released from Mah, this alley, Chinatown" (Lee, 2008, p. 28). And for Leon, some scholar notices that "Mah's affair cannot be spoken of because of the pain that it causes Leon" (J. Chang, 2012, p. 34). But not mentioning Mah's affair doesn't ease Leon's pain, instead, it leads to his escape. Some scholar contends that Leon's sailing is a kind of escape, forty-days outside

Chinatown is a medicine to cure his broken heart (Zhou, 2014, p. 112). From these, it is fair to say that hiding or not narrating the secrets is not the ideal way and it even results in serious consequences.

In the interview with Shaw (1993), Ng also claims that "[t]he book is about the desire to escape and the dangers of doing so". Seeing the danger, the author thus arranges Nina to set an example for Leila to tell secrets out. Nina is brave to speak out that she has a miscarriage, regardless of others' opposition towards it. Influenced by Nina, Leila gets the courage to narrate the family secrets in the reverse chronology within the novel and she presents the story to readers step-by-step. Therefore, we can conclude that Ng thinks telling out is the better way to deal with those secrets.

In short, after studying the antinarratable, which is Mah's committing adultery, we readers get to know the traditional Chinese way of dealing with such kind of scandal, that is they choose to hide it. However, hiding a scandal makes people involved in it suffer more and unable to cope with it but escape from it. Taking this, Ng hopes to give Chinese Americans a suggestion, namely, telling out their secrets.

The Paranarratable: Chinese Exclusion Act

In light of paranarratable, Warhol defines it as "what wouldn't be told because of formal convention". It "transgresses a law of literary genre" (Warhol, 2007, p. 226). For readers' better understanding, Warhol presents an example: "[I]n the feminocentric nineteenth-century novel, ... the heroine can in the end only get married or die... For a Victorian novelist to choose an alternate outcome to a heroine's marriage plot, then, would be to attempt to narrate the paranarratable" (Warhol, 2007, p. 226). In this example, we can see that if the author intends to give a detail that runs counter to the "formal convention", then the writer is narrating the paranarratable.

In Chinese American literature, the Chinese Exclusion Act is the paranarratable because "[d]ominant narratives of the modern nation-state are structured by Enlightenment values of development and progress" (J. Chang, 2012, p. 32) and the Chinese Exclusion Act is the opposite type, so it is left paranarratable. Some scholar adds that narrating the Chinese Exclusion Act is against the "dominant narrative of assimilation, progress, and the American Dream" (Zhou, 2014, p. 100). Therefore, in *Bone*, Ng writes the Act vaguely. She only mentions that "the laws that excluded him now held him captive" (Ng, 1993, p. 57).

So why does the author follow the trend and refuse to illustrate the laws in a detailed manner? Before that, we should talk about why there is the Chinese Exclusion Act. From 1848, many Chinese came to America because of the lure of gold. Later in 1865, the construction of the transcontinental railway needed a large number of workers and numerous Chinese were attracted by it. Yet in the 1870s, America came across economic recession and the labor market became saturated

and many Americans started to complain that the Chinese took their job opportunities away. So the whole society was hostile to the Chinese, just as western scholar Philip Chin maintains, "economic misery led to xenophobia among many white Americans" (Chin, 2013, p. 8). And in 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act was enacted and the Chinese became the mere community that was excluded from America by the federal government (Chan, 1991; T. Kim, 1999). After knowing how the Chinese Exclusion Act comes into being, we can go back to the question - Why is the Chinese Exclusion Act paranarratable under Ng's pen?

One supposition can be made that Ng makes this novel embedded with the paranarratable, in an attempt to drive the readers to participate in the meaning construction of the novel by digging out the hidden text of the narrative and finding new clues of the novel. Such being the case, the author succeeds in enriching the text. To put it specifically, she aims to let readers themselves find out the hidden interrelations among the dilemma and hardships Chinese Americans go through. As it is seen by some scholar, "Ng weaves together...the Chinese American working-class paper sons and bachelors, inscribing the Chinatown space with Chinese American histories unavailable in the official history of the U.S. nation-state, invisible in the dominant narrative of assimilation, progress, and the American Dream." (Zhou, 2014, p. 100)

The first interrelation among hardships and the Chinese Exclusion Act is "paper sons". Because of the severe restriction laws, it's almost impossible for Chinese to land on American soil since 1882 (Ng, 2009). Later in 1906, the earthquake in San Francisca caused a great fire, which damaged almost all the files collected in the city hall (Lai, Lim, & Yung, 2014; Lowe, 1996; Ng, 2009). Some Chinese took advantage of this opportunity to change their identity information and lied that they were born in America, aiming at getting a green card. Some even grabbed the spoon to claim that they had children in China, in an attempt to get the immigration quotas. They then sold these quotas to others and many Chinese went to great lengths to get these quotas. In *Bone*, Leon is a case in point. Goellnicht (2000) notices that Leon's birth year in accordance with his false immigration papers is 1924, "the very year in which a new American Immigration Act was passed specifically … making it impossible for Chinese men to immigrate unless they could prove that their fathers were born in the U.S" (p. 304). Leon enters into America as a "paper son" with the hope of making a fortune in the vast territory.

However, Leon gradually comes to realize that his American Dream is extremely hard to fulfill and being a "paper son" is not a good thing. Because "paper son" is a false identity, Leon cannot claim his identity in front of the authority for fear of deportation. When Leila takes him to apply for social security, the officer "asked Leon why he had so many aliases? So many different dates of birth? Did he have a passport? A birth certificate? A driver's license?" "Leon had nothing but his anger, and like a string of firecrackers popping, he started cursing." (Ng, 1993, p. 56) Faced with the officer's questions, Leon can say nothing but a curse. Because

once his false identity is revealed, he will face the punishment of being sent back to China. Such kind of worry is so strong that even though the government offers "a confession of illegal entry bought you naturalization papers" program and guarantees that "paper son" will not be sent back if they admit who they are in the confession program, Leon still declines to confess his false identity because he "didn't trust the government" (Ng, 1993, p. 57).

What's worse, the exclusion law and Leon's "paper son" identity bring him a traumatic experience, which makes him can merely find a sense of security in keeping things. "Leon kept things because he believed time mattered. Old made good." (Ng, 1993, p. 58) The paper he saves and "all the letters addressed to Leon should prove to the people at the social security office that this country was his place, too. Leon had paid; Leon had earned his rights." (Ng, 1993, p. 58) The habit of keeping things, in Leon's eyes, is a way to prove his identity and offers him a sense of safety. In *Long Days' Journey into Night* (1962), the protagonist James also lacks a sense of security because when they immigrate to America, his father abandons them. This traumatic experience makes him can merely feel safe with the possession of motionless land. Both Leon's and James' queer habits demonstrate that they have been greatly hurt by the new identity and new environment. And it can be seen that the stranger their habits are, the less secure they feel in their inner hearts.

The second interrelation among dilemma and the Chinese Exclusion Act is the "bachelor society" in Chinatown, just as some scholar observes that "Ng further indicates the connection between the deprived lives of Chinese immigrants like Leon and the history of Chinese exclusion through...her observations of other old bachelors in other places of Chinatown" (Zhou, 2014, p. 100). And Ng (2009) herself acknowledges that "the creation of the Exclusion Act resulted in a bachelor society that interrupted the continuity of a generation of Chinese Americans" (p. 120). The Chinese Exclusion Act makes it clear that Chinese women are prohibited to enter into America to reunite with their husbands and American women will lose their green card if they marry Chinese immigrants, which leads to many Chinese men being single in the rest of their lives. Quite a lot of Chinese American writers have described the "bachelor" scenario in their works. To name a few, in *Eat a Bowl of Tea* Louis Chu mentions Wang Wah Gay and Lee Gong can only contact their wives who are in China through letters. They live as "married bachelors" (E. Kim, 1982, p. 97) even though they have wives. Just as certain scholar puts forward, "*Eat a Bowl of Tea* portrays the waning years of Wang Wah Gay and his fellow Chinatown 'bachelors', men whose labor was recruited by the United States and who ended up unable to establish families" (J. Chang, 2012, p. 36).

Likewise, in *Bone* Ng also describes the "bachelor society". Leila once walks past the chess tables where groups of bachelors gather there and she confesses that "I never liked being the only girl on the upper level of the park. More than once, an old guy has come up and asked, 'My room? Date?' 'It was just pathetic.'" (Ng, 1993,

p. 8) Those "bachelors" can only sleep with prostitutes. That's why the old guy questions Leila if she wants to go to his room. And the word "pathetic" expresses not only Leila's feelings but also the author's. Ng expresses her sympathy for those "bachelors".

Another interrelation among hardships and the Chinese Exclusion Act is racial discrimination, which makes Chinese people encounter many rejections in their lives. "A rejection from the army: unfit. A job rejection: unskilled. An apartment: unavailable" (Ng, 1993, p. 57). Even when those Chinese immigrants are lucky enough to get a job, it is a base one with a low salary. The jobs they undertake can illustrate the discrimination to a greater extent. In *Bone*, Leon has been "a fry cook at Wa-jin's, a busboy at the Waterfront Restaurant by the Wharf, a janitor at a print shop downtown" (Ng, 1993, p. 55). He takes the basest job and even though he works very hard, the salary is not as per his hard sweat. Some scholar names this situation as "racial labor exploitation" (J. Chang, 2012, p. 35). When Mah says that the money Leon makes is not enough, he replies, "It's as much as I could. You don't know. You're inside Chinatown; it's safe. You don't know. Outside, it's different." (Ng, 1993, p. 181).

The narrator purposefully doesn't inform us of the detailed harsh reality outside and how different it is outside Chinatown, in an attempt to let us imagine how hard it is. Just like Leila, she can see that "Leon hardly slept. He worked double shifts - one night slipped into another, tied together by a few hours' sleep" (Ng, 1993, p. 181). But Leon says that "it wasn't time he was spending, it was sweat. He said life was work and death the dream" (Ng, 1993, p. 181). His perception of life and death stuns us but it appropriately interprets Chinese Americans' tough lives brought about by racial discrimination.

From the above three kinds of hardships the Chinese Americans experience, we can find the common point within the three, that is "*Bone* continues to confront the lingering effects of U.S. exclusionary laws on working-class Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans, including the psychological impact of spatialized social positions of race and class on the major characters" (Zhou, 2014, p. 95). The author purposefully doesn't narrate the act so as to make readers associate these difficulties with the Chinese Exclusion Act and come to realize that its lingering effect has embedded in every Chinese American.

Conclusion

To conclude, in the process of reading *Bone*, we readers not only need to pay attention to the narrated but also should concentrate on the unnarratable, which entails countless difficulties and troubles Chinese immigrants encounter. Ng, as an offspring of Chinese immigrants in America, has experienced the unspeakable hardships and she is fully aware of the fact that the unnarratable can be better understood by readers through their exploration of the unnarrated discourse. So in *Bone*, she manipulates this effective narrative strategy to guide readers to enter into

the novel's hidden text and plot. And only when we readers combine the narrated and the unnarrated can we fumble out the author's intention and the hidden plot in the text and better understand the Chinese Americans' stories and their bone-piercing pain.

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ON INVESTIGATING THE SYMBOLIC POWER OF EDUCATIONAL ENTERPRISES IN NTT PROVINCE: A LITERATURE REVIEW

Yulius Nahak[1], Markus Budiraharjo[2]
[1,2]Sanata Dharma University, Indonesia
anaksulung508@gmail.com; mbudiraharjo1@gmail.com
correspondence: anaksulung508@gmail.com
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Abstract
From a Bourdieuan perspective, the production of knowledge in the form of empirical studies validates the symbolic power of certain groups. It is arguably proposed that the more empirical studies published in particular groups of people, the more robust the symbolic power of the respective group is. This study is set to reveal the degree of academic productivity of East Nusa Tenggara as a symbolic power owned by scholars in the area, as demonstrated by empirical studies conducted to investigate educational issues. Two research questions were proposed namely: (1) what areas of inquiries did the researchers pursue; and (2) what are their major findings? Sixty-four scholarly articles related to the English learning-teaching (published from 2016 to 2021) were analysed using document analysis methods to identify the most up-to-date research themes. The findings indicated that teaching strategies and material innovations were the most often researched topics (41 articles), followed by variables affecting English language learning (14 articles), perceptions of English learning-teaching (5 articles), and teaching competences (4 articles). The conclusion is that academic production is low, cross-validating that low symbolic power correlates to more concrete components (i.e., high-degree of poverty).

Keywords: educational enterprises, review of literature, NTT Province, symbolic power

Introduction

The rationale of this study is grounded on a Bourdieuan perspective of "symbolic capital as a crucial source of power" (Cattani, Gino, Ferriani, Simone & Allison, 2014) in the form of socio-cultural artifacts of certain groups of people. A realist, Bourdieu sought to elaborate the interplay among social, economic, and cultural capital as symbolic power accumulation (Bourdieu, 1984), which will decide actors' ability to impose on their cultural replicas. He claims that a symbolic system like this is critical to the perpetuation of dominant social institutions.

In depth, Bourdieu (1984) contends that the aspects of social, economic, and cultural capitals have interacted with one another and established the way how people perceive and react to the social world, which is also called habitus. A habitus reflects on how group culture and personal history affect the body and mind; and it "contributes towards reproducing the power relations" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p.31). According to Bordieu (1984), the struggle for symbolic dominance takes place between groupings, which are characterized by specific sets of capitals and their relationships to one another.

Further elaborations on symbolic power, especially with regards to the academic productivity of scholars in a particular place, gain more relevance in today's knowledge-based society. On the one hand, given the vast amount of information available at the moment, the knowledge transmission model of learning is no longer relevant to the coming generation (Betts & Smith, 2005). Central to the knowledge-based society is the notion of academic literacy skills, i.e. the capacity to problematize certain issues found in society, frame them within certain conceptual frameworks, and write them in academic papers (Lillis & Scott, 2015).

Looking into the Indonesian context, we discover various discrepancies across provinces. The provinces in Java, Bali, and Sumatra islands have been considered to get more privileges than others. This has been proven by the researchers that the provinces in Java are more developed than provinces outside of Java, which can be ascribed in part to earlier development plans that typically focused on Java, especially under Suharto's rule (Frankema & Marks, 2010). Furthermore, Kurniawan, de Groot, and Mulder (2019, p.90) stated that in terms of socio-economic development, Indonesia is split into two primary divisions: a reasonably developed western region (Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, and Bali) and a relatively undeveloped eastern region (Sulawesi, Maluku, Papua, West Nusa Tenggara, and East Nusa Tenggara).

This study focuses on one of Indonesia's poor eastern areas, the East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) Province, in terms of academic production, as a means of bolstering the region's symbolic power. To begin with, a variety of elements influence NTT province's symbolic strength, including socio-economic, socio-cultural, human resources, and, most notably, a lack of academic production. East Nusa Tenggara Province was characterized by Barlow & Bellis (1991) in Barlow, Bellis, & Andrews (2017, p.1) as one of the poorest areas of Indonesia due to its arid environment, inadequate communications, and poorly constructed infrastructure. This fact is proven by the socio-economic data from the Central Bureau of National which showed that NTT province ranks 3rd lowest out of 34 provinces nationally (Human Development Index of 2019 was 65.23).

This high degree of poverty affected the other aspects of life including the educational condition of NTT Province. For example, Barlow & Gondowarsito (1991) in Barlow, Bellis & Andrews (2017, p.22) on socio-economic features and potentials, noted that educational facilities in the NTT province are once again underdeveloped, with most rural people seldom completing primary school and illiteracy being a severe problem in remoter areas. Consequently, human resource in NTT is one of the weaker aspects. For instance, Siburian (2017) found that for the residents of Belu Regency in NTT, the shackles of poverty, caused mostly by "the low quality of human resources" are obstacles for hem to be more creative, innovative, and productive. These are the reasons why NTT is categorized into the

3T (tertinggal, terdepan dan terluar) areas which means the most left behind, the foremost, and outermost (*cf.* NTT, Muhammad, Hafizha, Setyaningrum & Zahra, 2020). These facts prove that NTT province still has daunting challenges to be faced. One of the powerful solutions proposed by Barlow & Bellis (1991) in Barlow, Bellis, & Andrews (2017, p.4) is that to achieve the potential for change and growth in NTT province, the people of NTT require assistance in the form of better technology, guidance, and improved infrastructures, both physical and social. Although these remedies have been applied, the task of improving NTT's educational quality continues.

When contrasted to educational circumstances in other regions of Indonesia's western hemisphere, Sanda, Setyosari, Widiati, and Kuswandi (2016) contended that the NTT region's educational conditions may be judged to fall short of national norms. One of the realities is that NTT consists of 67 Higher education institutions: 14 universities (public and private), 2 institutes, 36 colleges, 6 polytechnics, and 9 academies (Dunia Perkuliahan, 2021). Moreover, data posted by Sari (2015) revealed that the huge majority of higher education institutions are accredited B and C, and there is only one institution accredited A (S1-Pendidikan Theology-STKIP Santo Paulus, Ruteng – Manggarai, Flores). Besides the accreditation grade, the empirical studies produced by those higher education institutions are still very low. Thus, one of the intentions behind this research is to encourage researchers and educators to produce more empirical findings in the NTT context that functioned as the decision-making in strengthening the educational quality of the area.

To proceed to a deeper elaboration of academic productivity as a basic element of symbolic power, the Bourdieuan perspective of symbolic capital is applied. Drawing from such a realistic perspective, this study sets out to reveal how symbolic power is exercised in terms of academic research in the English language learning and teaching process. We now refer to it as "Knowledge-Based Society", a society in which knowledge is utilized to empower and improve people's lives on a cultural and material level, as well as to develop a more sustainable society (World Science Forum - Budapest, 2003). That means knowledge is constructed through a systematic effort (research) that can be validated or falsified.

Moreover, in the knowledge-based society, the idea, like information, is not only fundamental, but it also takes precedence, manifesting itself as ineffable and tangible, necessary and real, useful and productive (World Science Forum - Budapest, 2003). Therefore, we claim that in the context of a knowledge-based society nowadays, scientific research becomes a symbolic power to confirm how the transformation of the socio-cultural aspect exists in society. If in case, the research is lacking then the one that takes charge of the decision-making in the area is not the empirical findings but rather, the traditions (environment and indigenous leaders) and the authorities (states offices and religious leaders).

In clarifying the issues raised in the rationale part, the support theories regarding the role of scientific research are explored. Then, the notions of the knowledge-based society, self-actualization, and the relevance of English language acquisition in the context of educational development are explained.

Symbolic power in the form of scientific research

The concept of "symbolic power" may be backtracked to the idea of mistaken consciousness proposed by Friedrich Engels. According to Engels, things and social ties are endowed with a societal worth that is established by the persons participating in interactions (Marx and Engels Correspondence, 1893). It was further expanded by Louis Althusser in his writings on Ideological State Apparatuses, in which he argued that the latter's authority is partially founded on symbolic repression (Althusser, 1972). That is to say, power is assessed in terms of material possession; the more you possess, the more powerful you become.

Initially, the notion of symbolic power, also known as symbolic dominance, was first proposed by Pierre Bourdieu to argue that cultural roles matter more than economic reasons in determining how power hierarchies are positioned and reproduced across cultures. Maintaining supremacy in a system involves both status and economic prosperity, rather than merely possessing the means of production. Bourdieu believed that symbolic power is the basic goal of social existence, and that it is depicted as an endeavour to achieve everything, namely notoriety, respect, honour, glory, authority, and everything else that is associated with symbolic power as acknowledged power (Bourdieu, 1984, p.251). According to Bourdieu, cultural reproduction is the major role of the education system.

Therefore, to have more influence in an area, its educational system needs to be improved. With this in mind, scientific research becomes one of the aspects that helps to develop the symbolic force of a region's educational culture.

Knowledge-Based Society

A knowledge-based society is imaginative and devoted to lifelong learning (World Science Forum - Budapest, 2003). According to Lungu (2019), the knowledge society is a grace condition in which people's imaginations blend reason with passion, calculus with inspiration. In a knowledge-based society, where all types of knowledge are disseminated in innovative ways, the population's equitable access to knowledge is critical.

In terms of society and environment, research and scientific knowledge must remain 'human', including moral responsibility and the preservation of humanity's cultural and linguistic past, as well as variation in creativity. Concerning ourselves with the rights and duties of other living creatures in the environment is also an ethical aspect of the study (World Science Forum - Budapest, 2003).

Self-actualization

In his book The Organism (1939), Goldstein coined the word "self-actualization," which he defined as "the impulse to actualize, as much as possible, individual potential." Later in his hierarchy of requirements, Maslow (1968) coined the term "self-actualization" to represent human beings' ultimate wants and highest-level desires. However, as self-actualization is a lifetime process (Rogers, 1961), a way of life (Gowan, 1972), and a challenge of living, several supportive variables should be addressed (Kerr, 1991).

Maslow (1968) believes that in order to realize oneself, one must first meet one's basic needs (e.g., physiological, safety, belonging, and esteem). While according to Hanlon's (1968) point of view, schools as the principal educational organizations, are accountable for equipping students to broaden their worldview

and picture their self-actualization aspirations. Gopinath (2020) went on to say that the willingness to become self-actualized should start in the classroom.

In brief, Maslow (2011) maintained that self-actualization refers to a person's "full human development," and thus, "self-actualization improves and impacts the quality of life" (Tripathi, 2018) that lead to the possessing of symbolic power as individuals or collective.

The role of the English language in educational development

Today, the English language appears to have become a required skill for students and professionals alike since it is an international language to utilize while talking across countries. Crystal (2005) said in this regard that English is used as a foreign language to communicate between countries, particularly in the domains of political, social, educational, and economic development. Hence, in the context of NTT Province, which is neighbouring to the country of East Timor, the English language is very useful as a means of interaction. Noge, Wau & Lado (2020, p.2), the researchers from NTT, argued that English is not an enhancer in life, but it is obligatory, without good skills, proficiency, and good knowledge of English, then one will experience various difficulties in achieving success. Moreover, in academic literacy studies, Widyawati (2021) noted that the majority of high-quality literature is written in English and has not been translated into Indonesian. Consequently, to expose more to the original texts written in English, one should understand better the English language that is used.

Based on these values, then learning English is beneficial for self-actualization. We now claim that the more English language is practiced in an area, the better educational development of that area is enhanced. This is a way of establishing symbolic power by learning English as an international language that opens for a broad insight and knowledge gaining (Reddy, 2016).

Method
Research design

This is a review that synthesized some of the scholarly articles from which the conclusions were taken in a holistic interpretation based on the reviewers' own experiences, beliefs, and models (Campbell, 2001). A qualitative approach was applied in this study which tried to examine anything based on the data gathered (Darmalaksana, 2020, p.5) or to study the content or message of various published article documents. The researchers reviewed all relevant articles on the context of English language learning and teaching reality in the East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) Province.

Journal articles

Articles taken were published in the period from 2016 through 2021, to identify the most up-to-date research topics/themes as suggested by Bowen (2009) that when conducting qualitative document analysis, we collect a variety of quality documents.

Data collection

Data collection techniques were performed through *Google Scholar* search, by searching per-regencies (in 22 regencies of NTT). The total number of publications related to English language learning and teaching in NTT was sixty-four (64), based on the articles received.

Data analysis

The researchers used document analysis to analyse the data. In doing so, the data processing was done by analysing each abstract in the articles collected. To gain a deeper understanding, each article was read multiple times to gain a more comprehensive understanding of them. The findings of the analysis were organized into relevant themes and validated by the second researcher to guarantee that its interpretation was accurate.

Findings

There are a total of 64 basic results of previous studies linked to the English language learning and teaching reality in the NTT Province, (see figure 1).
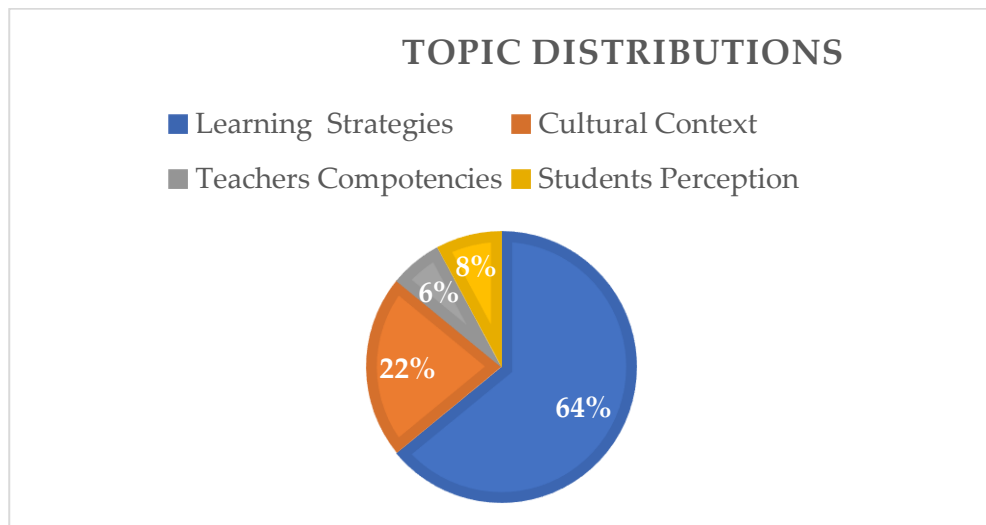
Figure 1. Topic distributions

Overall discovery, learning strategies, and materials are 41 articles (64%); socio-cultural context is 14 articles (22%); teachers' competencies are 4 articles (6%); students' perceptions on English learning are 5 articles (8%).

Table 1. The summary of major findings

No.	Author(s)	Major Findings
Learning-teaching strategies and developing learning materials		
1	Balan & Djuniadi, (2016).	The purpose of a computer-based English subject test for 2nd grade students in vocational high schools near the border with East Timor is to develop familiarity with computers and the internet.
2	Yanpitherszon (2016).	COW (Collect, Organize, Write) Strategy was used to enhance the 11th graders of SMAN 1 Soe, TTS

3	Erfiani (2017).	In Universitas Timor, a storytelling technique can help second-semester students enhance their speaking skills.
4	Pada, Setyosari, Degeng & Widiati (2017).	When compared to the Direct Learning Model, the Interactive Learning Model for English Discourse Reading Comprehension Grade VIII in Kupang is superior.
5	Ribak, Syamsiyah & Lema (2017).	At SMA Muhammadiyah, Maumere, there is a favorable effect of using image series in teaching writing method text to students in the 10th grade.
6	Salem (2017).	The use of mind mapping effectively improved 10th grade of SMA N. 4 Kupang student's writing ability.
7	Tafuy & Banu (2017).	Strategies of STKIP Soe in translating short stories: literal, direct and free translation, transposition, omission, modulation, compensation by splitting even doing Google translate.
9	Yumelking (2017).	Students at Kupang's state secondary schools can improve their listening skills by using a storytelling method.
10	Benu (2018).	Code-switching (English - Indonesian, and vice-versa) is effective in enhancing a meaningful English learning.
11	Janggo (2018).	The cooperative script technique helped 8th grade students at SMP N Kewapante in Maumere improve their reading comprehension.
12	Leoanak & Amalo (2018).	Teachers at Rijalul Ghad Islamic School in Kupang used waste products (papers and mineral water bottles) to teach English utilizing instructional media.
13	Leoanak & Bonik (2018).	High School instructors in Kupang apply pedagogical values of code-switching in EFL teaching and learning processes.
14	Neno & Erfiani (2018).	At Timor University in TTU regency, the Jigsaw Method can improve students' interactions with teachers and other students.
15	Ota (2018).	The importance of communicative learning resources for Flores University's elementary teacher study program students.
16	Yanpitherszon (2018).	Interview strategies is helpful to teach simple present tense at SMAN 1 Soe, TTS.
17	Yumelking (2018).	Under Frater Private Junior High School, Maumere, instructional materials in the bilingual model include both English and Indonesian as mediums of instruction.
18	Basoeki, Sari & Saragi (2019).	Students at Kupang State Polytechnic can enhance their English skills by listening to English songs or viewing English movies.
19	Bire, Bustan & Semiun (2019)	The English language learning framework was created using Sabunese folklore and realized as a learning media in the form of a Learning Preparation Plan (LPP).

20	Daar (2019).	For the three learning styles, students at health vocational schools in Ruteng use a medium language learning strategy: cognitive strategy, metacognitive strategy, and social strategy.
21	Dheghu & Rosdiana Mata (2019).	It was adequate to produce an English textbook for Junior High School students that was based on the social-cultural of Ngada Flores and included photos and illustrations.
22	Liunokas (2019).	Think-pair-share strategy to develop English vocabulary among 4th-semester students of English Education Department, UNDANA, Kupang.
23	Malelak, Eky, Bargaihing & Plaituka (2019).	The English Games method assisted students in class 8th at SMP Negeri 6 Kupang in learning activities and improving their English-speaking ability.
24	Rahas (2019).	At SMAN 2 Kupang, the fishbowl approach was used to assist students enhance their speaking abilities.
25	Sakan & Utanto (2019).	Students' learning motivation is increased using Audio Learning at Junior High School, Kupang.
26	Taka (2019).	Grade 10th' students in SMA Kristen Mercusuar Kupang used pair-teaching to expand their vocabulary.
27	Yanpitherszon (2019).	The English Education Department at Nusa Cendana University, Kupang, used a think-pair-share technique to help 4th-semester students improve vocabulary.
28	Hamidah (2020).	The use of flashcards in the classroom to teach English vocabulary to Grade VII students at SMPN 2 Kupang has had a favourable impact.
29	Jimun, Ilyas & Nasar (2020).	In SMP Negeri 1 Ende, learning activities employing the gallery learning technique contribute to students' learning outcomes.
30	Lao (2020).	When made English composition, students at SMA Negeri 1 Kupang used translation techniques by mentally translating Indonesian into English.
31	Maromon (2020).	Using elicitation strategies in the classroom can help students in West Timor become more engaged, raise their concentration, stimulate involvement, and improve their understanding.
32	Metboki & Hambandim (2020).	In Kupang, using the Grammar-Translation Method, Contextual Language Teaching, and Total Physical Response can help housemaids improve their basic English.
33	Napitupulu (2020).	Google Classroom was used to help with online learning throughout the pandemic Covid-19 at Universitas Timor.
34	Noge, Wau & Lado (2020).	Fun Tutoring is a way to improve children's ability to understand English at SDI Kolokoa, Ngada.
35	Nomleni (2020).	Employed Direct Method in teaching vocabulary to the 1st year of SMA Sudirman Kupang has served a positive influence.

36	Sadipun (2020).	The English language abilities of Ende's English Lover Community (ELC) participants improved as a result of the community service activity.
37	Sampebua, Marisa & Sampebua (2020).	An English Vocabulary Learning Application to enhance meaningful learning among students at the Liliba Public State Elementary School, Kupang.
38	Semiun & Luruk (2020).	The content validity of an English summative test administered at a public junior high school in Kupang was high.
39	Tanau, Tosi & Metboki (2020).	Children at Kupang City have followed the initiated tutoring and show good performance in basic English.
40	Liwun & Alinda (2021).	At SMA Negeri 1 Maumere, using Pictures Media might successfully improve students' speaking abilities.
41	Pali, Mbabho & Wali (2021).	English for the Beginners through joyful learning methods have a positive impact on learning interest and improved English skills for participants at SDI Turekisa, Ngada.
Factors that influence the English language learning and teaching		
1	Sudaryono (2016).	The low ethnic complexity in the Belu Regency and South-Central Timor Border Region represents a natural linguistic phenomenon in social life dimensions.
2	Jempol (2017).	For 11th-grade students with High Achievement of SMA N 4 Kupang, social elements as compromising variables to succeed in English learning.
3	Lao (2017).	The interference of the first language (L1) in 12th grade students of SMA Negeri 1 Kupang English writings resulted in mental processes in the students' brains.
4	Malaibui (2017).	Common problems encountered by the 7th Semester Students at Tribuana University, Alor in doing translation text were the lexical problem, syntactical problem, and the cultural problem.
5	Noge (2017).	Different systems between Utetoto (Nagekeo Regency) and English Verbal Sentences that caused some difficulties for Utetoto students in learning English.
6	Vinhas & Darmawan (2017).	Students in the 8th semester at IKIP Muhammadiyah Maumere made a variety of grammatical mistakes, including: Interlingual error, intralingual error, learning context, and communication strategy are all terms that can be used interchangeably.
7	Jem & Semana (2018).	Because of the surroundings, narrative scenario, cultural linkages, and lack of English understanding among Manggarai Senior High School students, common interference in phrases and tenses arises.
8	Darmawan & Suryoputro (2019).	Final stops and sibilants, initial and final affricates, and interdentals were the most common pronunciation problems among Sikka Maumere EFL participants.
9	Latupeirissa & Sayd (2019).	Identification of grammatical errors in preparations, pronouns, and pluralization, articles, conjunctions,

		and subject-verb agreements by students of State Polytechnic in Kupang.
10	Malaikosa & Sahayu (2019).	The challenges in implementing EFL curriculum 2013 in Alor regency: making lesson plans, implementing the scientific approach in the classroom, doing authentic assessment, and lack of learning resources.
11	Rafael (2019).	Interference, intra-lingual, and developmental mistakes by first semester English Education Department students at STKIP CBN, Kupang are among the reasons of pronunciation difficulties.
12	Daar & Ndorang (2020).	Students mainly undertake the teacher-designed English learning activities, but they are not involved in learning autonomy, which leads to a self-learning habit.
13	Do Nacimento (2020).	Only one out of every eight Atambua students had a multilingual background, using three languages to achieve the highest level (3), despite learning English during the golden period.
14	Malaikosa & Taopan (2020).	Too many students, inadequate time, and a lack of teaching resources were all issues with applying scientific processes to teach English in junior high school in rural locations (especially Alor).
The teaching competencies and the role of English language teachers		
1	Ja (2017).	In the EFL Class of Ende's Public Senior High Schools, all English teachers have a little part in encouraging learners' learning autonomy.
2	Lao, Kaipatty & Jeronimo (2017).	At SMA Negeri 2 Kupang, four English teacher competencies were identified.
3	Ginting & Kuswandono (2020)	A favorable attitude about creating HOTS tasks among Flores Island instructors, as well as the problems they confront.
4	Sulaiman (2021).	The role of English teachers at SMA Negeri 1 Kupang is enough to help students explore their potentials to master English competencies.
Perceptions on the English language learning and teaching		
1	Penton & Abor (2017).	Students in the English Study Program at Tribuana University, Alor, contended that singing English songs might help them improve their English vocabulary.
2	Lawa & Liwulangi (2019).	Differences between 10th-grade students of boys and girls in learning English in terms of scores, discipline, self-confidence, and home assignments at a private high school in Kupang.
3	Lomi & Mbato (2021).	Pre-service English teachers in an NTT undergraduate program were motivated by altruism to become English instructors.
4	Taopan & Siregar (2021).	the preparatory period English teachers at a university in NTT get an understanding of the importance of technology by observing their lecturer's usage of technology.

5	Wanti, Alur, Oktaviana & Daar (2021).	SDI Karot - Manggarai Regency pupils were ecstatic to participate in English learning activities involving Vocabulary Games.

Discussions

Based on the published research articles investigated, it is clear that: first and foremost, the themes that had been raised tend to be micro-level in nature (English learning: strategies and materials, socio-cultural context influences, teacher's roles, and students' perceptions). Surprisingly, there is no discussion that raises discourse more broadly to the field of policy framework, such as curriculum policies, etc., that situated a less connection with the national discourse. In fact, one of the key issues encountered by EFL teachers is the conflicts in the application of the latest EFL curriculum (2013) in rural parts of NTT province. For instance, in Alor Regency, the researchers have proven that there were some problems in implementing the EFL curriculum 2013: Teachers have difficulties in making lesson plans, implementing the scientific approach in the classroom, doing an authentic assessment, and lack of learning resources (Malaikosa & Sahayu, 2019). In addition, Malaikosa & Taopan (2020) found that other problems in using the scientific steps on teaching English were too many students, limited allocation time is given, and lack of teaching sources. Therefore, the competencies of EFL teachers in NTT need to be promoted and developed in order to improve the quality of education in the area.

Secondly, a number of relevant research topics for today, perspective educational psychology, haven't been explored much by the researchers or not even considered as urgent to be emphasized, such as learner autonomy, metacognitive strategies, self-regulated learning, self-efficacious learning, and learning motivation. There were two papers referenced autonomous learning (Ja, 2017; Daar & Ndorang, 2020), but this material was insufficient to promote awareness about the relevance of autonomous English language learning methodologies in the NTT environment. The fact is that *learning autonomy in the area is still* lacking that needs to be promoted since it emphasizes learners' motivation to achieve their goals. According to Wulandari (2017), autonomous learning refers to students' readiness to undertake learning activities that are motivated by a force inside them in order to reach goals that are deemed worthwhile and beneficial. Autonomous learning is connected to the metacognitive strategy which is stated by Daar (2019) as lower than cognitive strategy in English learning. Therefore, being an effective learner means being autonomous, metacognitive, efficacious, regulated and a motivated learner as well. All these values will be contributed to learning success when the learners are informed and recommended to do so.

Third, the sexy issues since 2015, such as character education (CE), and technology adoption (TPACK) were also less explored. There are indications related to progress (relevance) of the use of technology, such as Google Classroom (Napitupulu, 2020), Audio Learning (Sakan & Utanto, 2019), Pictures Media (Liwun & Alinda, 2021), English vocabulary Learning Application (Sampebua, Marisa & Sampebua, 2020), computer-based test (Balan & Djuniadi, 2016), listening to English songs or watching English movies (Basoeki, Sari, & Saragi, 2019; Penton & Abor, 2017), technological awareness in ELT (Taopan, & Siregar,

2021). But basically, the use of technology has not been developed much. In reality nowadays due to the pandemic situations, technology plays an important role in the educational system which can be over regarded by neither teachers nor students. Hence, it is critical to provide competent teachers with the necessary technical skills in order for them to lead their students.

Fourth, some topics used in the field of English learning and teaching of NTT context are already outdated, such as first language (L1) interference (Lao, 2017; Jem & Semana, 2018), the bilingual model of English learning (Yumelking, 2018), and Grammar Translation Method (Metboki & Hambandim (2020). These approaches are no longer used since we have been living in the Post-Method Era (Kumaravadivelu, 1994) since the 1990s, which has forced us to rethink our approach to language instruction and teacher education (Kumaravadivelu, 2006a). Therefore, this review is important to give a critical viewpoint that raises awareness to update our English learning and teaching methods based on the Post-Method Era.

Fifth, the number of 64 articles for publication on the field of EFL studies in 22 regencies of NNT province is considered as low empirical studies. Therefore, symbolic power has become an issue that needs to be strengthened to support self-actualization. That means the traditions and authorities were dominant means of decision-making. The problem is that the traditions can be biased by the claims, not empirical data. Because of that, the truth can be manipulated by the authorities and traditions. In other words, the cultural transformation is very much hampered because of traditions and established power in the area. That is why scientific data are more valid and accurate in relation to decision-making since they speak of data findings. Therefore, when scientific research is lacking, then the symbolic power of the area is also weak.

Finally, the total number of them is sixty-seven (67) Higher Education Institutions in the East Nusa Tenggara Province-Indonesia (14 universities, 2 institutes, 36 colleges, 6 poly techniques, and 9 academies) haven't been much instrumental in creating research habitus (in Bourdieu's point of view). Moreover, the majors of these institutions in general, are accredited B and C, except one major that is credited A. This confirms what Sanda, et.al claimed that the NTT region's educational conditions are below national norms (Sanda, et.al., 2016).

Looking at these realities, the urgency for more scientific studies is demanded of the Higher Education Institutions to be developed to improve the education quality in NTT province. Because, according to Bourdieu's realism, the more scientific research outputs are developed, the more symbolic power in a particular area is established and developed.

Conclusion

This review was held to find out the area of inquiries that the researchers pursued; and to discover their empirical findings related to English learning and teaching reality in the East Nusa Tenggara Province- Indonesia. The document analysis data revealed that there were 64 publications published between 2016 and 2021, which were divided into four categories: First, the highest number is in the area of teaching strategies and material developments with 41 articles; then, the socio-cultural context which affects the English language learning is the second highest with 14 articles; followed by the students' perception of English language

learning and teaching consisted of 5 articles; and concluded by the teaching competencies and the role of teachers with 4 articles. To sum it up, NTT's high level of poverty, lack of human resources in different areas, get along with a limited number of scientific researches, resulted in a low symbolic power that impacts other components of self-actualization. The findings of this study should serve as a reminder to teachers, lecturers, and researchers of the relevance of the English learning and teaching process in the educational setting as it relates to the NTT province's symbolic power.

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THINKING WITH ROY AND ŽIŽEK
ON THE FREEDOM OF A FORCED COVID-19 'NEW NORMAL'

Allan M. Abiera[1], Prakriti Mukherjee[2], & Jan Gresil S. Kahambing[2]
[1] Southern Leyte State University, Philippines
[2,3] University of Macau, SAR China
allan.abiera@yahoo.com[1], prakriti92@gmail.com[2], and vince_jb7@hotmail.com[3]
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Abstract

The increasing imagination of crisis within the contemporary scene is set within the state of emergency that is the Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic. In this background, there is the problem of redefining the conditions of normality. The paper aims to take some insights about how to think through this predicament from Arundhati Roy and Slavoj Žižek who are, the authors deemed, subversives against the normal regulatory course of thought. To do this, the study applies the method of textual hermeneutics on both thinker's oeuvre, particularly those that relate to the pandemic and specifically Roy's *AZADI* and Žižek's *Pa(ndem)ic!* 1 and 2, and contextualizes their energetic radical visions to one of the co-authors' compiled takes on various cases during COVID-19. In this paper's reading, which attempts to succinctly open a leeway for such takes by aligning the implications *with* both thinkers' views for thinking forward and enacting possibilities, Roy's resolve through love and Žižek's notion of a forced choice can be reflected on in traversing the inevitable portal of the 'New Normal.'

Keywords: COVID-19, forced choice, freedom, love, new normal, thinking

Introduction
The COVID-19 'Crisis' and the 'New Normal' Background

As of this writing, the Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic has already recorded 410 million cases with 5.81 million deaths. The pandemic has shown, at this point, the many faces of a loaded disaster in the sense that for some areas, one can experience an ecological crisis, a medical emergency, and terrorism (Kahambing, 2021a). Comparable to the ecological crisis in *Living in the End Times,* the situation is also a mishmash of sociological, technological, and biological systems (Žižek, 2010). In Slavoj Žižek's *Pandemic!: COVID-19 Shakes the World* (2020)*,* three conspicuous faces are obvious: "medical (the epidemic itself), economic (which will hit hard whatever the outcome of the epidemic), and psychological" [even at the level of "simple bodily contact"]. Peters (2020), for instance, mentions this idea of pandemic love that stays distant from its object of affection, which for Žižek means realizing "a new appreciation of the intimate bodily contact" wherein "one should therefore turn around the common wisdom according to which sexual lust is bodily while love is spiritual:

sexual love is more bodily than sex without love" (2020b, p.3). On the outset, economies are crumbling and new forms of relationalities (but also of oppressive systems) are emerging, effectively damaging the ways in which people live. It has redefined and stacked the meaning of 'crisis' particularly as it affects what it means to be human, human decency (and its obverse of dehumanization; see Markowitz, et.al.), or in education, the humanities (Duque, et.al. 2021). Like Adorno's *Minima Moralia* (2020 [1951])*,* a suspicion to thinking *after a damaged life* permeates.

It seems, then, that with the rise of these "new" modalities of living, the question of the novelty of thoughts arising and the conditions ahead describe and prescribe a problem that would be and is already labeled as "new normal." As Galfarsoro (2010, p. 3) laconically claims: "There is no possible return to the normality of the past. Another new 'normal' is needed." And this necessity confronts us with the burden of choice albeit it appears that forced decisions are already being made in the everyday dispositions of everyone under a global vulnerable situation. Because of the virus, "we are united by our escape from the lowest form of life. This is not a matter of choice. Rather, we are already responding in this way" (Kremer, 2020, p. 7). The branding of the "New Normal" might be, to put it in Heideggerian terms, the simultaneous veiling and unveiling of what is supposed to be the situation of normalcy *as* a kind of 'old' normal. The New Normal could just be old wine in new wineskins, and the choice is mired by obfuscatory language and setups.

The increasing imagination of crisis within the contemporary scene is, therefore, set within the state of emergency of the pandemic. In this background, there is the problem of redefining the conditions of normality. The paper aims to take some insights about how to think through this predicament from Arundhati Roy and Slavoj Žižek who are, the authors deemed, subversives against the normal regulatory course of thought.

Theoretical Framework

To assess the theoretical framing of the background, the sides of the analysis should also be complex, thinking simultaneously of the new and the old, of the forthcoming and/or the 'always-already.' Arundhati Roy and Slavoj Žižek both have taken the task of writing possibilities in this enigmatic state-of-affairs under the name of 'Normal.' For instance, what Žižek (2020, p. 16) designates as "a modest conspiracy theory"—where "the representatives of the existing global capitalist order are […] ruthlessly exploiting the epidemic in order to impose a new form of governance" under which "many old and weak people will be sacrificed and left to die" so that the "most probable outcome […] is that a new barbarian capitalism will prevail,"—Roy already counts as fact especially in her country, India. Throughout her works, one can see that this 'new barbarian capitalism' is an existing and continually damaging threat to freedom. Her reflections of India's dismal state range from mass displacements from dam projects in *The Cost of Living* (1999), unseen local and fringe-forms of struggle in *Walking with the Comrades* (2011), and the unjust plight of the Kashmir region in *Kashmir: The Case for Freedom* (2011). It is interesting to emphasize this '*for*' in freedom rather than *of* freedom because, like the migrant and displaced indigenous groups in the Philippines (Molabola, et. al., 2020; Kahambing, 2021j),

the struggle is still ongoing. With the pandemic, these past problems become graver and mystified with what can be described in a compounding metaphor as blacker darkness. Reviewing Žižek's *Pandemic,* Gunkel aptly hits the problem: "the question therefore is not, 'when can things go back to normal?' The question should be 'why do we want things to go back to normal, when in fact things have never been normal?'" (2020, p. 6).

The backdrop of *forced* choices, under the conditions of uncertainty, ironically tarries this contingency with necessity – that we have to move along – and this makes up an inevitability, the inescapability of trudging a portal and the role of *thinking* that comes with it. Arundhati Roy in her latest work, *AZADI,* says that "…as the Covid-19 pandemic burns through us, our world is passing through a portal […] We may not always have a choice—but not thinking about it will not be an option" (Roy, 2020; see also Webster & Neal, 2021).

Method

For the methodology, the paper uses textual hermeneutics to gather insights for contextual application. This aims not just to clarify what is obscure (see Kahambing, 2020) but, based on *Hermeneuein's* original directional meaning, also to 'translate' (Palmer, 1969). This paper then both 1) explains and 2) translates both thinker's oeuvre, particularly those that relate to the pandemic and specifically Roy's *AZADI* and Žižek's *Pa(ndem)ic!* 1 and 2, and contextualizes their energetic radical visions to one of the co-authors' compiled takes on various cases during COVID-19. The translation juxtaposes their ideas to some contexts, with some relevant reflections from the other co-authors as well. As Palmer (1969) says, 'translation, then, makes us conscious of the clash of our own world of understanding and that in which the work is operating' (p. 30).

Results

Think! On Freedom in/through Forced Choices

"Not thinking about it will not be an option" is the forced reflective stance Roy directs. Not writing about this forced choice, in this case, is also not an option. When Roy met Snowden in the Moscow Un-Summit, it was the same impulse of necessity to write it: "Yet it definitely cannot *not* be written about. Because it did happen" (Roy & Cusack, 2016, p. 81). Tied with responsibility, this form of writing is, for her, *Azadi* – the Urdu, originally Persian, name for *Freedom* (Roy, 2020, p. 31). Faced with the current COVID-19 crisis, the question of normality again should be met with the choice to trudge its portals. To quote at length her ending words to 'The Pandemic Is a Portal':

> Whatever it is, coronavirus has made the mighty kneel and brought the world to a halt like nothing else could. Our minds are still racing back and forth, longing for a return to "normality," trying to stitch our future to our past and refusing to acknowledge the rupture. But the rupture exists. And in the midst of this terrible despair, it offers us a chance to rethink the doomsday machine we have built for ourselves. Nothing could be worse than a return to normality. Historically, pandemics have forced humans to break with the past and imagine

their world anew. This one is no different. It is a portal, a gateway between one world and the next.

We can choose to walk through it, dragging the carcasses of our prejudice and hatred, our avarice, our data banks and dead ideas, our dead rivers and smoky skies behind us. Or we can walk through lightly, with little luggage, ready to imagine another world. And ready to fight for it. (Roy, 2020, pp. 117-118)

What can be initially inferred from this is that maybe there is nothing so wrong about the light reimagination of the new world, of the use of writing, or of fiction. In the case of Zižek, maybe even "a cute pair of mittens" could do it. In *Heaven in Disorder* (2021),

No simple universal formula can provide the answer—there are moments in which pragmatic support for modest progressive measures is needed; there are moments when a radical confrontation is the only way; and there are moments when a sobering silence (and a cute pair of mittens) speak more than a thousand words. (Zižek, 2021, p. 3).

This complex global predicament we are confronted with locates the power of fiction against a fascist hegemonic power. Capitalism ingrained with fascist, totalitarian governance seems to dictate power not just over life but also over death when biopolitics à la Foucault (1976) becomes what Mbembé calls 'necropolitics.' Roy sees this power as reductive of the governed by relegating them as ethereal subjects like spirits. Fictionalizing can include forwarding a different kind of story. Quoting Marx and Engel's *Communist Manifesto,* Roy mentions capitalism as the sorcerer unable to secure the netherworld's powers, enabling the market middle class to have a life adjoined to the dead – of the "ghosts of 250,000 debt-ridden farmers who have killed themselves, and of the 800 million who have been impoverished and dispossessed to make way for us. And who survive on less than twenty Indian rupees a day" (2014, p. 11). While film director Michael Moore (2009) has narrated capitalism as a (rather doomed or tragic) *love story* – the richest 1% in the American capitalist system owning more than the rest of 95% combined – India's case is a *ghost story*: "In a nation of 1.2 billion, India's one hundred richest people own assets equivalent to one-fourth of the GDP" (Roy, 2014, p. 10), reducing the rest as ghosts with ephemeral lives of survival, living between life and death. With the COVID-19 crisis, this story is brought into a 'new barbarism' in Žižek's words, openly corrupting the economy in broad daylight, robbing the poor ghosts of capitalism with their life essences.

In her conversation with Nick Estes (2020b), Roy speaks of *Azadi*—freedom for the Kashmiri— *fascism*, and *fiction*, the very subtitles of the book. Accordingly, freedom is to live with dignity. A viable way to do that is thinking through literary imagination, without the option of keeping quiet. As an architect by education and then working in cinema to her first fictional book, *The God of Small Things* (1997), traversing the 'end of imagination' does not mean telling the truth to power, but telling the story of *our* fight. With the Modi government and

the fascists around him, under a 'One Nation, One Language' symbolic violence, language is "a perfect entry point." The problem of fascism is a problem of caste (*Jāti*) and its modern proliferations. While anthropologists now use 'ethnicity' rather than race, and while race is different from caste, there are comparable elements when the caste system becomes permanently woven in the fabric of cultural and societal relations. Roy, however, speaks of caste's dangerous underpinnings, that is, when caste has given itself religious sanctions. With this divine guarantee in caste, priests (*brahmins*), warriors (*kshatriyas*), traders (*vaisya*), workers (*sudras*), and the untouchables (*dalits*), retain their standing with little and no chance of social mobility. In *The Doctor and the Saint: Caste, Race, and Annihilation of Caste,* she connects this quandary with the apparatuses of capitalism.

> Can caste be annihilated? Not unless we show the courage to rearrange the stars in our firmament. Not unless those who call themselves revolutionary develop a radical critique of Brahminism. Not unless those who understand Brahminism sharpen their critique of capitalism. (Roy, 2017, p. 104).

Such a critique would be possible if its radicality can combat the fake history that enlivens the role of caste in India, where fascism, hand-in-hand with capitalism, controls every aspect of life that the dishonesty becomes unbelievable. With massacres happening in the Modi-Trump meeting and news channels, media outlets including Bollywood make resistance disappear as major human rights activists, students, are put into prison. The poor, Roy says, no longer reside in the imagination of the elite, even in literature, so that they are simply attached to the environment or background. The economy is crashing and the lockdowns – which is merely social compression for people who don't have homes – displace a lot of workers. All this with warfare, classes, surveillance, polarizations in mind. Imagining this, along with global climate change coupled with what Naomi Klein (2007) calls 'disaster capitalism' where those in power profit from crises, and when chaos and things break down, the transition will not be easy. The poor, those in lower castes, indigenous groups fight displacement and are begging for citizenship, but democracy is compromised because the election machinery is controlled by the party. And Gandhi didn't change his caste-based views but only sugar-coated the system, that yes, it is one's hereditary job to clean shit, but it is a holy job! Concerning writing, Roy (2020b) says that "the problem is not always simplification, the problem is of a kind of nationalism that eulogizes the densest occupation in the world and demonizes the people." And out of necessity, "these things have to be said. Ultimately, India needs *Azadi* from Kashmir almost more than Kashmir needs *Azadi* from India. India's ship is sinking and a lot of this is because of this hate-fuelled blind rage that it can't manage to see through." The possibility for solidarity at this point is a way of understanding one's position, both subjectively and in the big picture. In her words, "before any kind of solidarity can be embarked upon, one needs to understand what's going on there. Solidarity could begin with reading. Read and understand what has been going on to people" (Roy, 2020b). In her conversation with Imani Perry, Roy (2020a)

states: "What can we do except stand up and keep speaking about it and writing about it, putting ourselves in the way of it, telling a different story."

Roy calls for the *Azadi* that rethinks the future and the cleavage humanity has created that enabled the living conditions of people with non-ideal environments. A line in her *The End of Imagination* can continue with a more active proposal: "railing against the past will not heal us. History has *happened*. It's over and done with. All we can do is to change its course by encouraging what we love instead of destroying what we don't" (Roy, 1998, p. 67). Roy is radically suspect about this absolute eulogy for nationalism. "What sort of love is this love that we have for countries? What sort of country is it that will ever live up to our dreams? What sort of dreams were these that have been broken?" (Roy & Cusack, 2016, p. 91). For her,

> An old-growth forest, a mountain range, or a river valley is more important and certainly more lovable than any country will ever be. I could weep for a river valley, and I have. But for a country? Oh man, I don't know... (Roy & Cusack, 2016, p. 95).

Speaking about the portal with the freedom to trudge it promotes a radical way of thinking about thinking: that thinking is about finding possibilities out of seemingly deadlocked choices. They speak of moving forward amid the stalemate of an event where, in our current predicament of COVID – the World Health Organization (WHO) says – will "mutate like the flu and is likely here to stay" (Mendez, 2021). For Žižek, this portal, within a global frame, also presents a choice. Featherstone (2021) abstracted his review quite clearly:

> Žižek founds the basis of humanity in our (human) mortality and being toward death that open out onto a new horizon of releasement (*Gelassenheit*) beyond biotechnoeconomic nihilism. Žižek imagines that the pandemic presents humanity with an existential choice about the way we organize social life. This choice is between the biopolitical domination of Chinese authoritarianism that seeks to control every aspect of life, American disaster capitalism that accepts the brutality of the state of nature, and finally Žižek's utopian spirit of communism based on a recognition of human and planetary finitude.

A pressing problem here is the ignorance about choosing the right choice. In *Pandemic 2: Chronicles of a Time Lost,* Zizek (2020) combats this "will not-to-know", the "refusal to take the pandemic seriously that is now apparent" in the form of "it is better to act as if nothing serious is occurring—let the scientists search for a vaccine but otherwise leave us alone to continue with life as usual" (p. 142). Here, he presents 5 crucial points. First, the refusal to *think* is often taken as a special "excess-knowledge" on the part of conspiracists claiming and imposing a secret 'deep state' plot that takes control of everything. This refusal makes up for a kind of ignorance that has 'eyes wide open' but listens only to conspiracy theories. Second, the refusal is 'not direct denial' but is, in psychoanalytic terms, a 'fetishistic disavowal' that assumes the stance of "'I know

very well (that the pandemic is serious), but'—but I cannot accept it, I suspend the symbolic efficiency of my knowledge and continue to act as though I don't know it" (p. 143). Third, we mustn't trust science absolutely because, citing Heidegger, 'science doesn't think', that is, it lacks the reflexive procedure proper in ethics to reflect on subjectivity and the current "social and ideological presuppositions and implications" (p. 144). Fourth, this non-thinking aspect of science, which is different from non-cognition – thinking is different from cognition – is a strength because 'to function in our daily lives, we have to ignore many things' (p. 144). And finally, this refusal to think is not about the oppressed manipulated by those in power. Those in power are also manipulated by their own ignorance since they also don't know what they are doing. Consequently, the ignorance of the oppressed is 'not simply imposed on them from outside, but is immanent to their way of life.' As Zizek explicates concerning mandatory masks and manipulative policies that the oppressed perceive as violent threats to their freedom and dignity: "People 'ignore' the full truth of the pandemic not because of some epistemological limitation or animalistic will not-to-know, but because of a deep existential anxiety: are we still human when we are *forced* to act like this?" (p. 146). Herein lies the full calling for a choice is laid open as he caps it:

> *This* is the choice we all have to make: will we succumb to the temptation of the will-to-ignorance or are we ready to really *think* the pandemic, not only as a bio-chemical health issue but as something rooted in the complex totality of our (humanity's) place in nature and of our social and ideological relations—a decision that may entail that we behave "unnaturally" and construct a new normality? (Zizek, 2020, p. 146).

Thinking with possibilities can even extend to thinking about utopias. The irony of utopia under totalitarianism, however, is the existence of a *gulag*, an adjoining hell (Kundera, 1980). Here, Zizek claims that "we should dare to enact the impossible, we should rediscover how to, not imagine, but to enact utopias" (Zizek, 2004; 2017). This is freedom. For Zizek, one can paradoxically have freedom in forced choices. He says that: "In the subject's relationship to the community to which he belongs, there is always such a paradoxical point of *choix forcé*—at this point, the community is saying to the subject: you have the freedom to choose, but on condition that you choose the right thing" (Zizek, 1989, p. 186). This connects to Roy's line that we might reword as: It's not that we may not always have a choice but we have nothing but a forced choice to enter the portal of the new normal. That is to say, we need to confront the new normal by 'encouraging with love.' Roy and Zizek's words provide an impetus for thinking and it is along those lines that we confer with responding and reflecting one of the co-author's takes on various cases and contexts during the pandemic.

Thinking about Some COVID-19 Public Health Cases

In reflecting on this fact, whatever we do with and in this portal, the concept of the 'vanishing mediator' hovers over the historical horizon (Kahambing, 2019; 2021f). The ethical choices to be made in the portal can synthesize a new structure of the world. The specifics of this in the pandemic are crucial decisions.

The first case could be to rethink public health in crowded facilities, particularly the determination of prisons and, consequently, the persons deprived of liberty (PDLs) as an extremely vulnerable population during the pandemic (Kahambing, 2021c). Drawing from one of the co-authors' weekly apostolate visits to one of the metropolitan jails in the Philippines (2013-2014), for instance, the dismal situation can be exposed as the conspicuous inequality and depravity of the PDLs' basic right to have adequate sleeping space (Kahambing, 2021g). Taking this into account, there is the requirement for contact-tracing methods in preventing contagion, which can follow the Irish model albeit with some insufficiencies for application. The problem is noticeably much graver than simply proposing to form Contact Tracing Teams (CTTs). Here, not just in prisons but also in spaces that are highly dense with overpopulation, the decisions for these are critical in future contagion and viral waves. Reimagining these spaces can mean ethically thinking about mass vaccinations, moral arguments for prioritarianism, and compact forms of communal solidarity (Bautista, et.al, 2020) that engage with thorough collective-based decisions. It is difficult to remember the mass cremations in India, in another case, which signaled the failure to act imaginably in preventing the fatal effects of contagion.

A second case could be to rethink food and sustainability. In the pandemic, a sustainable diet and cruciform ethics – sacrificing affluence for the planet – can be crucial (Kahambing, 2021e). However, this decisive move is not a universal duty but must be context-specific. That assertion that: 'Everyone must really do this. However, not everyone can practice these things, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, some individuals cannot afford to eat, much more have a healthy diet' (Cabatbat, 2021), and taking this merely as a starter for awakening the community is not the point. The context of cruciform ethics is, in reiteration with emphasis, to assert self-emptying habits like lessening of consumption, particularly – and not universally – to affluent human societies that '*practice a gluttony of excessive or wasteful eating, or energy profligacy,*' which categorically excludes 'some individuals' who 'cannot afford to eat' in a seemingly moralizing stance. The position argues for a kenotic element of sustainability, which was later complemented with the consideration of the very same individuals under the disturbing condition of eating recycled food waste in the Philippines called 'Pagpag' (Kahambing, 2021h). In India, the pandemic has enabled the poor to refuse any kind of work because they are getting food at a minimal cost just by sitting at home. A co-author from such country claims that the lower class is receiving food and money (given for their survival), the upper class never suffers that much but it is the middle class that are the guinea pigs, or "the new poor", the new ghosts living off of the cadavers of bad governance.

This brings us to the third and critical case on global health governance (Kahambing, 2021a). After stipulating that an ethical consideration *can* adopt an 'open-minded epistemology' in vaccinations (also expounded this elsewhere; see Kahambing, 2021b), one can proceed to an original position of a radicalization – an opening up from solidly shut or conserved moral dispositions – of certain strict interpretative forms of shut conservatism that impede the achievement of herd immunity: the ethical principle of autonomy (e.g. waiting and preferring vaccine brands) and the philosophical and religious reasons for vaccine exemptions (e.g. personal hesitancies, often without proper health education, or religious mandates,

including those that seem to expect blind obedience) (Kahambing, 2021d; 2021i). Rights-based rethinking of the use of 'Mandatory' in COVID-19 vaccinations should be balanced with the risk-based arguments (Yu & Kahambing, 2022), which avoids stigmatization (Kahambing & Edilo, 2020). There is a need for proper health education and an aversion to blind obedience. An important feature of this radicalization is not terroristic. Not all *radical* means are necessarily impositions in the same way that radical extremist Islam implies the ideological apparatus for global terrorism. Another is that herd immunity does not necessarily mean 100% inoculation to be 'imposed,' but the definition of the concept also mutates like the virus – hence the possibility of zugzwang (Kahambing, 2021). This is not a moral imposition but an amoral way of traversing deeply molded cultural kinds of moral conservatism similar to Roy's critique of caste.

In modern uses, caste should be contextually different from class. One co-author lives in a small town in West Bengal, a city known for its progressive thinking, where the caste system is not viewed in a harsh way and caste is only noticed when you go to *mandir* for offerings or to get married or other special occasions. In which case, those in the earlier generations preferred same-caste or upper-caste marriages but the current generation tends to prefer to look for partners in lower caste so that they can look for a secured future. Due to the pandemic situation, some special policies were necessary for the survival of the lower class but because the lower class very often consists of the people from the lower caste, these policies also strengthened the caste system as an unintended consequence. That means that these policy measures need a fresh look so that more productive, sustainable situations prevail. There are ways to circumvent the system and with the pandemic, new opportunities arise with odd mobilities.

The radical move, of course, is not a form of mental gymnastics in a sanctuary or ivory tower. And the ethics of thinking at this point in the pandemic for Žižek has a huge caveat: we should be wary of certain radicalities that do not change anything, or to "pseudo-radical intellectuals who criticize the existing order from a comfortable morally superior position, well aware that their criticism will have no actual effects" (Žižek, 2021a). A vital certain lesson in the *Cambridge Textbook of Bioethics* is imperative: "religious points of view cannot be allowed to dominate the ethical aspects of clinical decision making. These traditions should have a voice but not a veto" (Boyle & Novak, 2008). *A voice but not a veto* – such heavy words do not of course mean moral imposition but a plea for voices to have a genuine dialogue, hence producing a more cogent view with a proper understanding of context. Otherwise, we would be correctly hitting tennis balls but on different tennis courts. The New Normal should be about finding the right forced choices.

Here, the idea of absolute unity is again counterproductive under the impulse of emergency. "While we have not unified humanity, maybe the pandemic driven discovery of the necessity of quiet time, personal coping tools, authentic love, and the beauty of basics will move us one step closer towards each other and Žižek's vision of global solidarity" (Whitcomb, 2020). Solidarity is not about hastened results, and for Roy, this can even take a terrifying turn of events. That is to say, thinking must not hasten to overestimate or underestimate matters.

Conclusion

Thinking must not be confined to dualistic modalities such as whether actions are obligations or impositions, but must radically find possibilities, especially in a state where the term 'New Normal' seems to be a forced condition we must accept. In this setup, we are confronted with a forced choice to enter the 'portal.' With the existence of variants and the prospect of COVID-19 mutations represented currently by *Omicron,* and going towards the end, possibly by *Omega,* what does this mean for thinking amid a forced choice?

Roy recollects from previous essays in *My Seditious Heart* that thinking out of love is a necessary path to take because of the stakes at hand so not thinking is not an option. She says, "But let's not forget that the stakes we're playing for are huge. Our fatigue and our shame could mean the end of us. The end of our children and our children's children. *Of everything we love.* We have to reach within ourselves and find the strength *to think*. To fight" (Roy, 2019, p. 23). As another co-author puts it in one of his books, "nothing matters except your love" (Abiera, 2019, p. 22). Finding an existential meaning is a life-altering event that gives a shot of hope (Egargo & Kahambing, 2021).

Isn't this the same energy for freedom? Here, freedom too *as* fighting out of love is not about the contingent demands and wants that voluntary choice demonstrates. Freedom is not making petty choices or just choosing binaries – between pizza or ice cream perhaps – but is instead a matter of choosing one's fate (Kahambing, 2019). Fate, much like forced choice, is not fixed and we can still choose our forced choice albeit paradoxically through its necessity. In this sense, *thinking,* which latches on to the concept of freedom as love, seeks to find radical possibilities within the necessary path that we should take in changing the coordinates of the 'New Normal.'

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SAVING "JOGED MATARAM" VIA YOUTUBE: PRESERVATION AND DISEMINATION OF LOCAL CULTURE IN THE DIGITAL AGE

Arif Eko Suprihono
Institut Seni Indonesia, Yogyakarta
correspondence: arifeko@isi.ac.id
https://doi.org/10.24071/ijhs.v5i2.4304
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Abstract

This research examines the paradigm shift of cultural policy within the Yogyakarta Royal Palace in embracing technology by means of social media to make the palace performance called "Joged Mataram" known to public. The data used in this qualitative research include various YouTube uploads of the screen- dance. Ethnographic method and detailed analysis of the uploads were put to use in this study. The results prove that the Yogyakarta Royal Palace had anticipated the digital age development by involving cultural citizens through the use of social media. Dance documentation products can be seen as cultural strategy in participating in the digital life. It is also proven that the artistic approach of the Yogyakarta Royal Palace requires netizens' participation to opine as to whether the palace performances can still meet the demands of the changing times.

Keywords: dissemination, screen-dance, preservation, YouTube uploads

Introduction

The last few years before the pandemic had seen an explosion of interest in flash mob dance videos on YouTube. It began in mid-2019 when a flash mob dance "Beksan Wanara" was shown in the Malioboro Street area of Yogyakarta, Indonesia that won the attention of shoppers and passers-by in this famous tourist and business district. The recorded event was uploaded via YouTube and went viral on social media. All the dancers are young people performing not on stage but in the middle of the road, in front of people who pass by for shopping and sightseeing along Malioboro Street.

YouTube is indeed one popular social media platform with a very high level of community engagement (Hadley, 2017; Aronczyk, 2021). This interactive medium provides opportunities to communicate almost all aspects of people's lives alongside its limitations and advantages (Thelwall, 2018). The videos on screen-dance featuring Yogyakarta Palace performers, for example, is an evident of the power of YouTube to attract viewers who formerly may know very little about the culture. It is worth predicting that the strategy of uploading the otherwise exclusive palace activities has its own political interests. Behind the

content uploads is interest in cultural preservation. It is only natural, as suggested by Ardalan (2009) and Li & Yao (2021), that netizens often respond to any posts with negative thoughts, questioning as they do, the political purposes behind the publicizing of one's cultural activity.

Netizens are unlikely aware of the motivation in uploading the classical dance via social media. Gong (2017) is right to say that there is negotiation in cultural identity in this digital age. The digital community may presumably have no idea whether the use of YouTube has some particular impacts on the cultural atmosphere within the Yogyakarta Palace. Meanwhile, the public is also curiousto know the view of the noble citizens themselves about the uploaded videos. Citizenship in a digital society is justified when attempting to gain recognition because technology matters for both individuals and communities (Fernandes, 2020; Mossberger & Tolbert, 2021). It is safe to say for now that dissemination and digital documentation of such cultural activity as classical dance is a form of cultural strategy (cfr. Lee, 2019). The internet community tends to think that the implementation of technology is no other than the digital human capital. As it is, the netizens have the freedom to react, play role, and get involved in the cultural dynamic.

Every social media content upload is sure to have a specific purpose, not limited to the socialization of ideas, but also its impacts on cultural business through the media. The cultural communication between content uploaders, in this case Yogyakarta Palace, and the community has involved cultural facts, emotionalties, as well as the aesthetics knowledge of the uploaded material. The number of respondents to various content posts on social media has financial consequences that help boost creative economy. The cultural citizenship of digital society is a cultural phenomenon that oscillate between rights and obligations, to say nothing of the community dialogue with various issues of self-identity. Digital platforms have provided an opportunity to collect and share myriads of data. Just as digital platforms in bioscience are helpful for community-based monitoring (Johnson et al., 2021), so do data from multiple knowledge systems including indigenous knowledge that comes from individuals and communities identified as traditional societies.

Given the often-alleged meaning of social media activity for cultural institutions (Suvattanadilok, 2021), it is worth investigating whether Yogyakarta Palace dance (henceforth called "Joged Mataram") uploads on social media can be seen as a form of digital strategy. It is also important to examine how the cultural activity has attempted to deal with globalization. Here, globalization should not be simplified to mean a flow of trade and finance or to convergent markets worldwide. Rather, it must be interpreted as a complex phenomenon of the international outlook and progress in several cultural dimensions. This article will deal with these issues by closely examining the reason and passion behind the uploads of "Joged Mataram" via YouTube.

Method

This qualitative research follows that of Berends & Deken (2021) in terms of composing the process; and the systematic methodology is built on Gioia (2021). In other words, the method is ethnographic with detailed analysis. Data on "Joged Mataram" were found on YouTube. The sample was assessed to accord with

specific criteria used as data. Following Jayathilaka (2021), verbal data from several artists/dancers were used to compare with the uploads. Here, methods on ethnography were used systematically to explore the cultural phenomenon of the "Joged Mataram" uploading from the point of view of the research subject in YouTube media. Data analysis was done using the ATLAS.ti application. Data analysis was conducted to see the aesthetic impact of the adaptation from the stage into a screen display. The analysis was done to examine the development of self-identity vis-à-vis cultural identity within the global digital era of today.

Findings and Discussion
From the Classic to the Masses

"Joged Mataram" or the classical dance style of Yogyakarta refers to the cultural products of the Yogyakarta Palace. Sultan Hamengku Buwana X's heritage dance has a philosophy of life, functioning as it does to mould the noble citizens' character of boldness known philosophically as *sawiji*, *greged*, *sengguh*, *ora mingkuh* (Rini, 2020, p. 267). The Yogyakarta people's view of life is imbued within this philosophy. "Joged Mataram" functions as behaviour or a way of life. This dance style is therefore a display of the Yogyakarta Palace's authority in introducing a dance movement that is created with a level of technical excellence to display such confidence and self-assurance (Yogyakarta DIK, 2018). The dance is thus not limited to the basic understanding of dancing but it further instils self-confidence in society. As such, the classical dance style of Yogyakarta requires its own training (Rini, 2020). The basic concept of the classical dance refers to traditional forms with unique norms, rules of the state, and standard techniques to maintain the quality of the dance's artistic values.

Historically, the Yogyakarta court dance was an exclusive activity of the noble citizens since the reign of Sultan Hamengku Buwana VII. Yogya dance learning was expanded out of the palace walls during Sultan Hamengku Buwana VII (Putranto, 2019). It was not until the reign of Sultan Hamengku Buwana IX that the dance was taught at informal educational institutions since (Hadi, 2017). Next, with the authority of Sultan Hamengku Buwana X, freedom has been given to the dance to enter as a citizen of world culture through social media. Cultural citizenship has accordingly been fought for during the reign of Sultan Hamengku Buwana X through the use of social media (Putranto, 2019; Anderson, 2021). The application of Joged Mataram is wide open not only for classical Yogyakarta dance performers, but to the masses, for instance by way of flash mob dance.

A simple form of action is shown in Jogja flash mob dance. Dancers in flash mob called "Beksan Wanara" and "Beksan Menak" are no longer bound to wear dancers' costumes but they are free to wear their casual clothes. The main idea in presenting "Joged Mataram" without the attributes of traditional dance clothing shows the palace is now open to new adjustment in accordance with the staging environment as shown in Figure 1 (https://tinyurl.com/ybxkuc6v).

Figure 1. People behind the flashmob

Screen-dance as Preservation and Expansion

The Yogyakarta Palace arts and cultural activities are deliberately packed with screen-dance to reach the wider community. The palace attempts to overcome the limits of noble exclusivity, local cultural ethnicity, and demographic fragmentation. The audience's presence in the stage environment of the show is expanded with the company of netizens in various separate places. Screen-dance uploads provide vast possibilities to show the preservation movements to the wider audience.

Figure 1. Sekaten – Gandawerdaya puppet show

As shown in Figure 2 (https://tinyurl.com/y9dqdlq2), only a limited audience can enjoy the dance performance. This is to say that the classical dance style of Yogyakarta has entered a new era when reaching out wider audience via screen-dance. The technical issue of creating dance products to be aired on social media is known as screen-dance (Anderson, 2021). Screen-dance works require a model of aesthetic understanding of the screen to be the final product of a stage shows that change in shape (Arendell & Barnes R, 2016). Screen-dance creates at least three layers of perception over the original image of the dancer's movements and motion that is mediated through the camera.

There is a change in the aesthetic stage of the show into a screen aesthetic. The actualization of the preservation movement is indicated in the form of documentation and dissemination through the interaction of internet culture. Aspects of cinematography define the aesthetics of the screen-dance at the time of documenting the events. The camera's shooting angle shows the details of the

show to the audience. The camera framing option replaces the stage distance of the show. For clarity, Figure 3 (https://tinyurl.com/ycztb9wv) is provided below.

Figure 2. Closing of the exhibition Sang Adiwira—Wayang wong Jayapusaka

The staging environment is no longer a particular part of the palace building. The opportunity to use such environment as malls and other crowd settings does not limit flash mob staging as shown below in Figure 4 (https://tinyurl.com/ybv8syn8). As a result, the broader reach of the netizens' understanding will significantly benefit business opportunities in the digital era.

Figure 3. Beksan Menak flash mob

Embracing Global Community

Digital communication technology has entered all levels of society and various forms of cultural activity. The utilization of social media by the Yogyakarta Palace is a strategy used by a traditional institution to join the global community. The existence of Kawedanan Hageng Punakawan Kridha Mardawa Keraton Yogyakarta is a form of control to enter the cultural community of the world. Social Media includes many different online platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, LinkedIn, podcasts, YouTube, etc. YouTube, as one of the social media becomes the chosen platform by the Yogyakarta Palace, coupled with the strength of the community base to conduct preservation and heritage conservation that is both sustainable and comprehensive. The performing arts stage cannot do without the application of new technologies with internet protocols. The exciting thing behind digital technology interventions in dance performance art, as Anderson (2021) argued, is documentation and preservation.

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The impact of social media on society is massive and it eliminates demographic and geographical barriers (McKenzie, 2019). The influence of "Joged Mataram" on YouTube can be seen in various forms of uploads. Through these uploaded materials, it can be understood that interactive video is the aesthetic work of video commonly found in streaming culture. During the reign of Sultan Hamengku Buwana X, the use of social media can be considered as one form of cultural institution's involvement in global life. In flash mob posts to break MURI (Indonesia Record Museum) records, for example, it is clear that efforts have been made to socialize and democratize palace art into the dance activities of the wider community.

YouTube opens up opportunities to upload and disseminate various forms of community cultural activities. The beauty and uniqueness of the Jogja dance has attracted the attention of netizens. The potential of digital media environment makes it possible to perform narrative descriptions of ideas, motion, and activities regarding "Joged Mataram". Shyu et al. (2020) have shown that the screening of good public health service is beneficial to recovery due to public engagement. Similarly, public engagement through social media is highly relevant to the preservation efforts and cultural documentation of the palace traditions. Thisupload material provides appropriate value to build experience in understanding, appreciating, and preserving the classic heritage. This finding is comparable to the study done by Zabulis et al. (2020) that investigates the representation and preservation of heritage crafts in Greek.

Creativity and Business Opportunity

A number of studies have shown that social media can be both creative and income generating. YouTube has a great chance to be used as a business institution (Onder & Zengin, 2021). Several providers are found with Jogja dancecontents. Indeed, motivation in uploading such contents is open to different interpretations (Burgess, 2009; Liang et al, 2021). The stage audience carried various forms of uploads; and the Yogyakarta Palace institution provided critical information about "Joged Mataram" claiming that it has an excellent charm quality.

The seriousness of the creative work of the Yogyakarta palace in preparing preservation products for uploads on YouTube is shown first to the innovative team. At the end of each uploaded product, the names of the creative actors with each varied chores are given due credits. As such, the uploads are prepared and well planned by the creative teams. Creative teams are issue of importance in any aesthetic production (Dandekar, 2021). One example of flash mob dance from the Yogyakarta Palace is shown in Figure 5 (https://tinyurl.com/ycrbs8bd).

Figure 4. Golek Menak llashmob in Malioboro

At this stage, cultural dissemination and the preservation of local cultural activities is clear. Preservation of cultural traditions can be the basis of the civilization of a society. It can even be tangible in the development of art traditions to become stronger. In the long run, confidence in managing a culture of tradition can increase self-confidence. Dance posts on YouTube show the openness of appreciation of people from various regions. Geographical and demographic limitations are no longer characteristic of the uniqueness of Jogja dance in the palace environment. The post proves the struggle of cultural citizenship for the local arts to get a response in the digital community. The show's function is no longer limited by the rituals of noble citizens in the palace but can be extended to the netizen community of performance observers. Staging flash mob by using public areas is very profitable for connoisseurship of the beauty of the Jogja dance.

Although the presence of the audience in traditional performances is different from the involvement of netizens on social media, netizens' presence is significant Gallardo et al. (2021) claim that digital inclusion has significance impacts on community development. The participation of the dance viewers on YouTube provides evidence of some achievement in cultural communication, both in documentation and in the democratization of palace culture. This article thus has made known to us the concept of performing arts documentation as digital parity – the level of connectivity, devices, and production skills that lead to an inclusive community of dance arts in the digital age.

Conclusion

This article has shown that YouTube upload products involve five fundamental aspects of forming cultural preservation actions. First, attention to classical dance uploads on YouTube will be seen as the critical activity of the Yogyakarta Palace in affirming the life of dance arts. Second, there is an opportunity to enter the digital community with confidence. Third, the Yogyakarta palace becomes the guardian agency of dance traditions and performing dance activities in a broader sense. Fourth, an opportunity has occurred to build a connection between citizens of the world's culture and performers of the otherwise nearly extinct or least known culture. Lastly, creative business opportunity is another advantage of this digital transformation. Thus, the idea of

utilizing social media for the socialization of cultural activities of Yogyakarta Palace is very strategic. Upload content production activities open their way for the dance artists' creativity in adopting stage art to screen art. Awareness of uploading footage of the "Joged Mataram" on YouTube is an instrumental act of cultural preservation. The change of aesthetics from the stage to screen dance is worthy of appreciation. Cinematography technology is a challenge for the aesthetic adjustment of YouTube. The consequences of cultural activities in the palace environment require institutional as well as cultural anticipation. The administration of creative work uploads will significantly determine the success of every artistic effort in the scope of Yogyakarta nobles.

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Sanata Dharma University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

REPRESENTATION OF SOCIAL ACTORS IN *THE JAKARTA POST* AND *TEMPO* ABOUT MAKASSAR CATHEDRAL CHURCH'S SUICIDE BOMBING CASE AND PEACE JOURNALISM

Yosephine Wastu Prajnaputri
Sanata Dharma University
correspondence: yosephineprajna@gmail.com
https://doi.org/10.24071/ijhs.v5i2.3704
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Abstract
Religious radicalism which leads to terrorist attacks has long been a thorn in Indonesia as a culturally rich secular country. In spite of that, present-day radical religious groups are weakened after years of spreading terrors. Their weakening is indicated especially by their shift to internet-based radicalization strategy. It opens up an opportunity for collective counterterrorism and deradicalization attempts regardless of how implicit and shrouded the strategy maybe. One of ways to seize that, is the implementation of Peace Journalism principle which has been proven as successful in building peace and preventing the proliferation of violent radical ideologies. This Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) study aims at discussing the representation of social actors in *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo* online news about Makassar Cathedral church's suicide bombing case and its correlation to the implementation of Peace Journalism principles.

Keywords: CDA, peace journalism, representation of social actors, terrorism

Introduction

Religious radicalism which leads to current terrorist attacks suchlike the Makassar Cathedral church's suicide bombing case has been a thorn in Indonesia as a culturally rich secular country. The encounter between Indonesia and religious groups took place even long before the formation of the Republic of Indonesia. Zakiyah (2016) elaborates an example where Islamic societies played an essential role in mobilizing the mass and recruiting human resources in the fight against Dutch and Japanese colonialists (p. 24). Yet every encounter is solely the beginning of a dynamic relationship that has its own ups and downs.

The early recorded conflict in the history of Indonesians' relationship with radical religious groups was provoked by clerics in Minangkabau and resulted in *Padri* war around the 1800s. *Padri* was a title used to refer to *ulama* or religious clerics who had completed their pilgrimages to sacred site and returned to West Sumatra. The conflict was started when *Padri* community urged for implementing religious law widely albeit the existence of *Adat* society who held traditional Minangkabau culture tightly and resided side by side with the community in the

same region. It then resolved after thirty years and gave birth to concepts of *Adat Basandi Syarak Syarak Basandi Kitabullah, Syarak Mamato,* and *Adat Mamakai* as assimilation products between Islamic and traditional Minangkabau principles (Asrinaldi & Yoserizal, 2020, pp. 163-164). Though *Padri* war had an implicit economic motive related to the struggle for dominance over coffee as the main commodity at that time (Indra, 2017, p. 80), the community's urges for implementing religious law and dominating the particular area are also shared by present radical religious groups.

Autocratic leaderships performed by Sukarno and Suharto suppressed activities of radical religious groups which mostly derived from anti-colonialist guerilla groups. Still, the suppression did not wipe radicalism out. Indonesians have suffered from hundreds of terrorist attacks carried out by radical religious groups especially after the uncertainty of Indonesia's political transition in 1998 (Vaughn, Chanlett-Avery, Lum, Manyin, & Niksch, 2008, p. 6).

New order regime's downfall that followed by the start of the reformation era opened doors for economic and people's welfare improvement, freedom of speech, increasing opportunities for human rights struggles, and the potential for conflict and violence. Indra (2017) says that the proliferation of radical religious ideologies which had been done in private began to be more exposed to the public after the downfall. Radical religious groups who supported the *Salafi Da'wa* even developed paramilitary movements called *Laskar Jihad* (p. 86). Aside from that, radical religious groups in conflicting areas such as Moluccas also developed militia groups that justified acts of violence to achieve their goal of dominating particular area. Al Qurtuby (2016) notes that during 1999-2000, "existed about 25 Christian militia groups consisting of about 100 to 200 members operating all over the island of Ambon" with "60 percent of these militia fighters consisted of, mainly, youths between 12 and 25 years old—few were women" and they are called *Agas* (pp. 76-77). Radical religious groups in Indonesia, as if celebrating the reformation, nourished after the fall of New Order era.

In spite of that, present-day radical religious groups are weakened after years of enjoying their triumphs. Their weakening is indicated by changes of characteristics. Temby (2020) states that characteristics of radical religious groups; the structure of organization or hierarchy, attacks' patterns, memberships, technical ability, and the radicalization strategies, had changed. Current groups' structural orders are more flexible and their attacks are more sporadic. In addition to that, female and young members took more roles. Members are armed with lower technical capabilities as well as limited access to weapons. Their radical ideologies, compared to prior groups, are propagated on the internet and social media because their modes of communication shifted to internet-based for avoiding detection and arrest (pp. 4-15).

Here the internet-based radicalization strategy opens up an opportunity for ideological struggle or resistance in the form of deradicalization attempts through the spread of non-radical ideologies on the internet. Sumarwoto, Mahmutarrom, & Ifrani (2020) evaluates two ways in combating terrorism: 1) prevention, 2) eradication. Both are applied by the Indonesian government yet they suggest that the latter is proven to be less effective since the number of terrorist attacks in Indonesia keep growing albeit eradication attempts that include even death threats. In line with Sumarwoto, Mahmutarrom, & Ifrani, Damayanti (2012) encourages a

collective prevention attempt in combating terrorism among diverse parties, "the Indonesian government should activate all resources which ultimately requires the involvement and coordination of security apparatus, intelligent agency, military, ministries, local authorities as well as the public" (p. 37).

The press media is one of central parties to be integrated in the attempt as it embraces varied parties through accessible and structured dissemination of information. Elshimi (2018) highlights that the press as publicly-consumed media plays crucial role in disseminating discourses related to terrorism. He concerns about media, both online and printed press media, for the way it portrays terrorism alongside potential implications of the portrayal. Elshimi (2018) and Misztal, Danforth, Hurley, & Michek (2018) then stress that all media are platforms to be integrated properly in the collective counterterrorism attempts which prevent further proliferation of radical ideologies and violence. Kustana (2017) even asserts that "the Indonesian media gives indirect education to Indonesian people regarding methods to combat terrorism" (p. 89). A middle ground for it, as suggest by Edvinsson (2018), Budak (2018), Wibowo (2018), Ongenga (2019), and many others, is the implementation of Peace Journalism proposed by Galtung and Fischer (2013) and developed by Hussain and Lynch (2018). Peace jourmalism is a journalism principle that focuses on conflict resolution and peace to prevent violence and further proliferation of conflicts' roots, including radical ideologies, through the press media.

Corresponding to the suggestion about peace journalism and the counterterrorism agenda, this study is aimed at correlating the representation of social actors to the concept of peace journalism towards proffering a simple illustration of peace journalism's implementation. Discussion in this study will be based on Critical Discourse Analysis or CDA (Fairclough, 1995) principle, Representation of Social Actors (Leeuwen, 2008), and Peace Journalism (Galtung & Fischer, 2013, Hussain & Lynch, 2018, and Jacob, 2016) theories. Two online news that each was published by the *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo* about Makassar Cathedral church suicide bombing case will be objects of this study.

Method

This study is a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) that aims at bringing: 1) the representation of social actors in *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo's* online news about Makassar Cathedral church's suicide bombing case and 2) whether the representation of social actors reflect the peace journalism for discussion. Fairclough (1995) formulates that CDA is a multidisciplinary approach which sought for revealing the hidden agenda in discourses. He states that CDA is categorized in two forms: "linguistic and intertextual analysis" (p. 185). This study will perform linguistic and intertextual analysis based on two concepts as follows.

Linguistic analysis of this study is based on the concept of social actors' representation by Van Leeuwen to reveal the implicit narration within discourses. The intertextual analysis of this study will be formulated by the help of Peace Journalism concept proposed by Johan Galtung and developed by Jake Lynch. The representation of social actors will help the researcher in observing whether Peace Journalism is reflected in the news.

Two online news about Makassar Cathedral Church's suicide bombing case, one from each *The Jakarta Post* (entitled: "Newlywed suicide bombers identified

in Makassar church attack") and *Tempo* (entitled: "Suicide Bombing in Makassar; Densus 88 Nab 13 Suspected Terrorists in 3 Regions*")* is selected as the object of this study. *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo* are selected over other online media in Indonesia as they are popular media that provide English-language news. *Tempo* is a media that has planted its roots in Indonesia for more than 40 years while the *The Jakarta Post* is Indonesia's current leading English-language media that, "generally permitted greater leeway when commenting on sensitive political issues than its Indonesian counterparts" (Eklof, 2003, p. 14). Both media's popularities are indisputable thus they have more than enough chance to participate in the counterterrorism attempt. Five steps are taken in carrying out this study: 1) data collection of social actors comprised in every sentence of the news, 2) categorization of social actors into five groups specifically perpetrators, victims, authorities, affiliations of the prior three groups, and others, 3) identification of social actors' representation strategies, 4) intertextual analysis of social actors' representation strategies in relation to Peace Journalism, 5) conclusions' drawing.

Findings and Discussion

Findings and discussion of this study will be delivered in two sections. Firstly, the researcher will present findings on the analysis of social actors' representation strategies, detailed modes, and role allocation according to Leeuwen's framework. Findings on three social actors' groups (perpetrators, victims, and authorities), out of all five groups, will be presented individually as they took leading roles in both media's news. Secondly, the researcher will present findings on the analysis of the implementation of Peace Journalism in *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo*'s online news about Makassar Cathedral Church's suicide bombing case. The analysis will be based only on the representation of perpetrators, victims, and authorities as leading social actors of the phenomena.

Perpetrators: Members of The Society, Members of A Terrorist Group

Perpetrators of Makassar Cathedral Church's suicide bombing case are represented by *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo* rather differently. This difference is reflected in two main points: perpetrators' relations to other actors and perpetrators' names or titles. *The Jakarta Post* introduced perpetrators by presenting perpetrators' relations with their acquaintances (family, neighbors or Makassar residents) besides their relations to radical religious group whereas *Tempo* introduced perpetrators through their affiliation to radical religious groups only (JAD). Their different preferences are realized in role allocations and representation strategies of social actors. Perpetrators are largely represented as passive actors who are being testified about his involvement both in the society and the bombing by diverse parties (Makassar resident, perpetrators' family, the police, and JAD) in *The Jakarta Post*. Rather different, *Tempo* represents perpetrators as passive actors whose involvement in the bombing is the only matter being testified by only one actor: authorities. It denotes that *The Jakarta Post* emphasize perpetrators' relations with varied actors. Contrarywise, *Tempo* put perpetrators as passive actors whose relations are limited to radical religious group and being under the power of authorities.

In addition to role allocation, *the Jakarta Post* and *Tempo* adopted disparate detailed of representation's modes in terms of quantity and their ways of adopting

them. perpetrators are represented through many detailed modes of inclusion; classification, functionalization, relational identification, individualization, collectivization, as well as impersonalization strategies *the Jakarta Post*. For instance, in (JP/P1/L13/2), perpetrators are addressed as *the street food seller* which involves suffix *-er* in *seller* and indicates their function or their occupation. Perpetrators are also represented as *newlyweds* in (JP/P1/L1/1) which implies that perpetrators belong to certain classification of marriage status/phase. Besides, perpetrators are represented through classification strategy as a *male suspect* and a passive actor where another actor (Makassar resident) testified that perpetrators "*lived in a rented house*" (JP/P1/L13/2). Various strategies of representation reflect that *The Jakarta Post* offers diverse sides of perpetrators' life: their identities as *newlyweds, bombers, street food seller*, as well as their relations to other actors: *Makassar resident* and *family*. On the other hand, *Tempo* represents perpetrators through three inclusion strategies only; association, relational-identification, and collectivization, with an emphasis on their relations with JAD. The first mode implies that perpetrators are represented as parts of a group, the second mode implies that perpetrators are represented as having kinship or work relations to each other or other actors, the third mode implies that perpetrators are represented as a collective or a whole group. For instance, in (TP/P1/L4/2) perpetrators are represented as *members of the same group in Villa Mutiara* thus they are represented both through *association* and *relational identification* along with other 'members of the same group'. *Tempo,* in contrast to *The Jakarta Post*, represent perpetrators as mere perpetrators: members of a radical religious group which involved in acts of terrorism.

Besides detailed representation modes, different preferences of perpetrators' representation between *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo* are apparent in the way both media addressed perpetrators. Titles of both media have actually reflected their different ways of representing perpetrators. *The Jakarta Post* refers to perpetrators as *newlyweds* while *Tempo* addressed perpetrators as *terrorists*: *Newlywed suicide bombers identified in Makassar church attack* (The Jakarta Post) and *Suicide Bombing in Makassar; Densus 88 Nab 13 Suspected Terrorists in 3 Regions* (Tempo). In addition to that, *The Jakarta Post* referred to perpetrators with much more variety compared to *Tempo*. *Newlyweds, the couple, the street food seller, the pair, the male suspects, and the suicide bombers* are examples of the way *The Jakarta Post* addressed them. *Tempo*, instead, addressed them as: *two suicide bombers, members of the group, L* and *YSF* (perpetrators' names). *The Jakarta Post* represents perpetrators as members of the society as well as perpetrators of Makassar Cathedral Church's suicide bombing case whereas *Tempo* represents perpetrators as members of radical religious group (JAD) that has been the mastermind behind various acts of terrorism in Indonesia.

Victims: There Is No Single Victim

Victims are represented equivalently by the two media as a collective of social actors who feel the damaging impact of perpetrators' actions. This representation reflects that victims of Makassar Cathedral Church's suicide bombing case comprise of plenty of people. Broadly speaking, *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo* accentuate violence, as well as suicide bombing in particular, do not result in a single victim but many victims. Such highlight on the number of victims is

identified from the inclusion strategies, detailed representation's modes while the role allocation of victims highlights victims' position as the recipient of actions. Furthermore, the number of victims is also apparent in the way both media addressed victims as social actors in the Makassar Cathedral Church's suicide bombing case although *The Jakarta Post* addressed victims more varied than *Tempo*. Victims, for instance, are referred to as *worshippers, victims, congregants, the church, people, security forces,* and *the Catholic Cathedral Church* by *The Jakarta Post* whereas *Tempo* referred to them as *churchgoers, the Cathedral Church, they,* and *the security personnel.* Nonetheless, strategies of victims' representation in both media are rather similar.

Inclusion strategies of representation is used solely to represent victims as social actors: there are no exclusion strategies. Such preference implies that both *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo* intend to present the effect of the bombing case to complement their reports on the cause or background, chronological order, or involving actors of the bombing. Collectivization strategy of inclusion representation is the most-identified representation modes of victims in *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo*'s online news about Makassar Cathedral Church's suicide bombing case. The strategy, as previously mentioned, implies that social actors belong to a group or a collective. It also implies that the number of the social actors is plural. Both media applies the strategy in almost all representation of social actors although it is used in conjunction with other strategies such as functionalization and classification strategies. For instance, in (JP/P1/L2/2), victims are represented by T*he Jakarta Post* as *worshippers* which is identified as both collectivization for its plural form and functionalization for its *-er* suffix that indicates its function. *Tempo* also represents victims through collectivization and classification strategies in the word *churchgoers* in (TP/P1/L17/3). The word choice connotes the use of collectivization strategy in its plural form and classification in the way that its *-er* suffix does not indicate the function or the occupation of victims as *churchgoers* but the classification of victims as those who go to church.

In addition to the inclusion representation and collectivization strategy, victims are represented as passive actors who received actions such as being reported by authorities, being wounded by perpetrators, and others. The passive role allocation emphasizes victims' position as actors who received actions from other actors and feel the damaging impact of perpetrators' actions. For instance, in (JP/P1/L2/2), victims are represented by *The Jakarta Post* as *20 people* whose role is passive actors that *were wounded* by the bombing incident. *Tempo,* likewise, represents victims as *churchgoers* in (TP/P1/L17/3) who *were injured* as the result of the explosion. Victims are represented as a collective who feel the damaging impact of the bombing in the Makassar Cathedral Church's suicide bombing case in *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo*'s online news.

Authorities: Performing A Function and A One-Man Show

Authority is a group of social actors in *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo's* online news about Makassar Cathedral Church's suicide bombing case whose role is handling terrorist attacks. As the name implies, this group of social actors has the authority to carry out investigations, record data, collect evidence, and arrest perpetrators of the bombing. Both media represents authorities based on their capacity equivalently. However, the researcher identifies that both media's manners

in representing authorities in contrast to other social actors are pretty distinctive. *Tempo,* for instance, represented authorities with the highest frequency compared to other social actors while *The Jakarta Post* represented all social actors adequately. Authorities are represented 17 times out of 42 times of all social actors' groups representations in *Tempo's* news about Makassar Cathedral Church's suicide bombing case. This implies that the representation of authorities as a group of social actors in *Tempo* covers around 40% of the total representation of all social actors' groups in the news. When being set side by side, the quantitative ratio of authorities' representations between *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo* is 9:17. Such a clear difference of quantity is in line with how both media address authorities: *Tempo* has more diversified names in representing authorities than *The Jakarta Post. The National Police, the South Sulawesi Police Headquarter, the National Police's anti-terror squad Densus 88, Densus 88,* and *Sigit* are names used by *Tempo* in representing authorities. In contrast, *The Jakarta Post* only represents authorities by four names: *police, authorities, Indonesia's Counter-Terror Squad,* and *National Police Chief Gen. Listyo Sigit Prabowo.* The two media's manners when representing authorities in contrast to other actors based on the number of representations and the diversified names are distinctive: *Tempo* represents authorities strongly while *The Jakarta Post* represents authorities fairly than other social actors.

In addition to the number of representations and the diversified names, *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo* have different preferences for the inclusion strategies of authorities' representation modes. *Tempo* preferred to represent authorities primarily through individualization and utterance autonomization. These two representation strategies are akin because individualization implies that an actor is represented as an individual. At the same time, utterance of autonomization indicates that an individual actor is represented based on his or her statements. Authorities represented by *Tempo* as "Sigit" (the National Police Chief) in (TP/P1/L4/3). The representation takes active role where Sigit underwent verbal process of transitivity "said". Such combination of the active role allocation and verbal process of transitivity indicates that an actor is represented through utterance autonomization strategy. Hence authorities are represented in (TP/P1/L4/3) through two strategies simultaneously: individualization and utterance autonomization. Simultaneous adoption of the two representation strategies, reflected in "Sigit" and his verbal processes, is often identified in *Tempo's* news about the Makassar Cathedral Church's suicide bombing case. "Sigit" as one of *Tempo's* names for authorities' representations is combined with "said", "explained", "remarked", and "appealed" in 10 of 17 representations of authorities. This denotes that *Tempo* represents authorities as a social actor by narrowing their identities to one individual: Sigit.

Relatively different, *The Jakarta Post* preferred to represent authorities predominantly through functionalization strategy. The strategy narrows social actors' identity to their functions or occupations. For instance, *The Jakarta Post* represents authorities as "the police" in (JP/P1/L9/1), (JP/P1/L1/3), (JP/P1/L3/3), (JP/P1/L15/1). It also represents them as "authorities" in (JP/LP1/L7/1) and (JP/P1/L1/1). Such preference is reflected in how *The Jakarta Post* addressed authorities in their news as well: names used to address authorities are related to authorities' functions or occupations. *Police, authorities, Indonesia's Counter-*

Terror Squad, and *National Police Chief Gen. Listyo Sigit Prabowo* indicate that the social actors work or function as authorities in the case of Makassar Cathedral Church's suicide bombing. Nevertheless, *The Jakarta Post* also represents authorities through other strategies of social actors' representation such as collectivization, individualization, and classification. Collectivization and functionalization strategies are always simultaneously adopted in representing authorities as "authorities" in *The Jakarta Post's* news. It is because "authorities" indicates both function of the actor and the its plural number. The use of two strategies highlights that authorities are represented as a collective or a group of people who work as authorities and function in accordance to their occupation.

Representations of Social Actors and the Peace Journalism

Peace Journalism principle, as stated by Galtung, Jacob, and Hussain & Lynch, strives for conflict resolution through "good journalism". It rejects disregards of wrongdoings or conflict reduction and aims at one goal: accurately presenting reality. To do so, there are some points of Peace Journalism to be pondered as guidelines for journalists in constructing news and for researchers in analyzing the application of Peace Journalism in discourses. Two points of Peace Journalism will be discussed in relation to representations of perpetrators, victims, and authorities in *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo's* online news about Makassar Cathedral Church's suicide bombing case. Both points are 'people-oriented' and 'voices from all parties' as suggested by Hussain & Lynch (2018) and Jacob (2016). Discussion on aforementioned points will be delivered in accordance to the representations of perpetrators, victims, authorities.

Perpetrators are represented very differently by the two media. *The Jakarta Post* represents perpetrators as members of the society while *Tempo* represents perpetrators as members of a terrorist group through detailed modes of inclusion representation strategy. Perpetrators, in *The Jakarta Post*, are represented as members of the society who sell street food and build relatively decent affiliation with residents through collectivization and classification strategies. *Tempo* represents perpetrators based on their affiliations with radical religious groups such as JAD and Villa Mutiara's study group through association mode of inclusion strategy. When being related to the two points of PJ, *The Jakarta Post's* representations of perpetrators bespeak Peace Journalism more than *Tempo*. *The Jakarta Post* strives to show the human sides of perpetrators more than *Tempo* by presenting perpetrators as others (street food seller, newlyweds, parts of a family, Makassar residents) than mere perpetrators. Such representation indicates 'people-oriented' and 'voices from all parties' principles because it places perpetrators as humans and gives voices for perpetrators' affiliations (Makassar residents and perpetrators' family) to give testimony about perpetrators' involvement in the society. *Tempo,* however, strives to show perpetrators' affiliations with radical religious group to report the actual progress of the bombing case's investigation. Nevertheless, it does not indicate 'people-oriented' point clearly since perpetrators are represented more as villains than humans who have diverse sides of life or roles in the society. The representation limits perpetrators' identities as mere perpetrators. Though such limitation may contribute to conflict resolution given that it informs readers about the actual investigation process to build readers' awareness, it leaves no gaps for perpetrators' human side. It also does not leave room for

perpetrators to speak up because all representations of perpetrators are based on authorities' statements.

On the other hand, victims are represented according to Peace Journalism as both media highlight their human sides. Representations of victims of the bombing case are equable in the two media. Both *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo* represent victims based on their quantity. Such representation implies that violence, especially the suicide bombing case, results in plenty of victims. It will evoke readers' sympathy and prevent further violence in the long run as well. The 'people-oriented' point of Peace Journalism suggested by Hussain & Lynch (2018) and Jacob (2016) is identifiable in victims' representations. As one of the social actors in Makassar Cathedral Church's suicide bombing case, victims are represented as humans through detailed modes of inclusion strategy such as collectivization and classification strategies. Nevertheless, victims are positioned as passive actors in both media. They are represented primarily as passive actors who feel the damaging impact of the bombing. Unlike other two leading actors, there is no room for victims to represent themselves because their sufferings and experiences are already represented through other actors' or the reporter's statements. It might seem customary given victims, as the name suggest, are social actors who receive a relatively terrible end from actions of other actors or from incidents. Still, the point of 'voices from all parties can be applied in this case since victims of the bombing are in a situation that allows them to play active role. The two points of Peace Journalism are not entirely recognizable in both *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo's* victims' representations.

Authorities as one of leading social actors in *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo's* online news about Makassar Cathedral Church's suicide bombing case are represented in accordance with the two points of Peace Journalism. Representation strategies of authorities in the two media suggest that authorities' human sides are represented through their functions. At the same time, their active role allocations imply that authorities are given rooms to act and speak. Authorities' representations in both media, in contrast to other actors, clearly illustrate two points of Peace Journalism: 'people-oriented' and 'voices from all parties.' Yet *Tempo's* manner in representing authorities may not fully address the aims of Peace Journalism principles. Authorities are represented as dominant active actors in *Tempo* given their number of representations is the largest amongst all social actors. Besides, authorities' dominance is evident in their relation with perpetrators as perpetrators are represented primarily through authorities' statements. Such dominance is less coherent with Peace Journalism principles that uphold voices for all parties equally. Hence authorities' representation in *Tempo* needs to be investigated further given that it may impact readers' impression on the conflict although it clearly illustrates 'people-oriented' and 'voice from all parties' points. Instead of focusing on conflict resolution through impartial coverage and "good journalism", *Tempo* perpetuates authorities' dominance.

Conclusion

Terrorist attacks as manifestations of religious radicalism have been long-term threats in Indonesia. Radical religious groups suchlike JAD keep growing especially after the downfall of the New Order notwithstanding eradication attempts performed by Indonesian government. Despite that, present-day radical religious

groups have weakened and their radicalization strategy shifted to be internet-based. The shift opens up opportunity for ideological struggle and deradicalization attempts as internet is open to the public. One of ways to seize the opportunity is through engaging the media in such attempts.

Peace Journalism as a principle of journalism that is proven to be effective in preventing conflict, including proliferation of violent radical ideologies, can be applied as a deradicalization strategy through the media. Constant application of the principle may prevent proliferation of violent radical ideologies given that society will focus more on the conflict resolution rather than the violence and violent radical ideologies. In this regard, representations of conflicting parties are crucial in Peace Journalism since they shape readers' perspectives in understanding the conflict. This section will present conclusions that include the representation of parties or social actors in *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo's* online news about Makassar Cathedral Church's suicide bombing and the application of two points of Peace Journalism based on the representations.

Perpetrators, victims, and authorities are three leading parties or social actors in *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo's* online news about Makassar Cathedral Church's suicide bombing case. They are represented through various representation strategies and different role allocations by the two media. Perpetrators are represented in relatively distinct manners by both media: *The Jakarta Post* represents perpetrators as members of the society while *Tempo* represents perpetrators as members of a terrorist group. Victims, on the other hand, are represented similarly in both media. They are represented based on their large quantity. Such representation indicates that victims of violence, particularly the suicide bombing, are never singular. Authorities are represented in distinct ways by the two media. The social actors are represented by the two media differently. *The Jakarta Post's* authorities are represented as parties who have a function or job of handling acts of terror. *Tempo* represented the authorities as an institution whose identity was represented by only one person.

In addition to representations of social actors, Peace Journalism principles are identifiable in *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo's* online news about Makassar Cathedral Church's suicide bombing case. 'People-oriented' as a point of Peace Journalism principle is visible in both media's representations of perpetrators, victims, and authorities given that the two media strives to represent them as humans. Nonetheless, actors' identities are narrowed to certain labels such as 'terrorist' or 'perpetrators' in *Tempo*. The second point, 'voices from all parties', is also visible in representations of perpetrators and authorities. Perpetrators' voices are represented through their affiliations such as their neighbors (Makassar residents) and their family in *The Jakarta Post*. Authorities in *Tempo,* by contrast, are given the largest space to speak their voices. Nevertheless, the researcher finds that *Tempo's* manner in representing authorities may not fully address the aims of Peace Journalism principles as it perpetuates authorities' dominance instead of presenting impartial coverage.

In conclusion, *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo* present distinctive representations of perpetrators and authorities. At the same time, the two media present akin representation of victims. Both media's application of 'people-oriented' and 'voices from all parties' points of Peace Journalism is identifiable to a certain degree based on their representations of perpetrators, victims, and

authorities. This study, however, offers only a simple example of the analysis on the representation of Makassar Cathedral Church's suicide bombing case's social actors in *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo* along with their relation to Peace Journalism. This study is yet capable of providing a comprehensive assessment of how Indonesian media represents perpetrators, victims, and authorities as social actors in the suicide bombing at the Makassar Cathedral Church. At the same time, this study is not sufficiently expert to evaluate the application of Peace Journalism principles in Indonesian media. Thus, the researcher expects that this study can encourage other researchers to further investigate the representation of social actors in media's coverage of terrorism in Indonesia and the application of Peace Journalism on the topic.

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DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS AND PARENTS' COMMUNICATIVE ACTS: THEIR IMPLICATIONS ON MODELS OF CHILD'S USE OF LANGUAGE

Rafael Ibe Santos
University of Asia and the Pacific
correspondence: rafael.santos@uap.asia
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Abstract
This case study investigated Halliday's models of child's use of language involving an English-Filipino bilingual boy and how he was influenced by certain demographic factors and parents' communicative acts. Data was from nine videos that captured the child's naturally occurring interactions involving his parents and family friends between the ages 2.6 and 4.10 within a span of almost three years. The multimethod approach was used in analyzing data, namely, qualitative frequency analysis and online interview for triangulation purposes. Five of the seven functions of language in children were demonstrated and appeared to have been influenced by ethnicity, age, gender, and parents' communicative acts and attitude but not by bilingualism as earlier predicted. More importantly, four nascent models were exhibited, suggesting that there could be more than seven language functions in children as previously posited by Halliday. The *esteem function, rescue function, corrective function, and asserting function,* reflective of models of child's use of language in Filipino and Asian contexts, were discovered and such typologies are proposed in this study. Findings have implications on bilingualism, language teaching, and language development theories.

Keywords: child, function/s, Halliday, language, model/s

Introduction

For young children, language is and has power, a tool to achieve what they desire in their day-to-day experience (Halliday, 2002, p. 53). Like a magic wand, it is tapped for their own advantage. In the words of Byrnes and Wasik (2009), "the most skilled and successful language users choose ways of communicating that accomplish their goals while also helping them maintain positive social relationships with others" (p. 37). According to O'Grady (2005), children can "talk effortlessly in [an] impossible language" (p. 1), and as early as age two, typically developing children demonstrate what they are capable of accomplishing in terms of language use. Halliday (2002) notes that the brain of a young child is a complex machine, able to construct a highly complex schema that constitutes,

guides, and governs the use of language. Not only is the child able to fully grasp what language is but can also internalize what it is for. He elaborates:

> The child knows what language is because he knows what language does. The determining elements in the young child's experience are the successful demands on language that he himself has made, the particular needs that have been satisfied by language for him. (p.50)

Two important arguments about language use in children are raised here. First, youngsters understand what constitutes the language that they were born in. Second, it is understood that language exists for a purpose, meaning it has certain functions, and it is these functions that they want to take advantage of.

The ability to use language is undergirded by Chomsky's theory of linguistic competence and performance. The competence-performance theory is similar to De Saussure's concepts of langue and parole, the first referring to the abstract systems and rules of language and the latter to application of language systems (Lukens-Bull & Zahn, 2018). Competence consists of a collection of linguistic systems to be mastered by the language learner, making the production of countless number of sentences possible. It ought to be exhibited via the articulation of language rules, an aptitude referred to as performance. Competence, therefore, is the built-in knowledge of language units while performance is the actualization of linguistic codes in concrete situations (Devitt, 2015).

Children's Goals and Intentions in Language Use

In 1978, Ann Carter (as cited in Hoft, 2014) published a seminal work on how developing young children use language and established what she called the systematic use of "'sound-gesture' combinations to express eight different communicative functions" (p.102). These are: (a) requesting help, (b) directing the listener's attention, and (c) expressing pleasure. Referring to them as "goals", Carter believed that a typical child uses different facets of a language to articulate his or her thoughts as well as needs and emotions (p. 19). The communicative strategies were listed as: (a) getting help in obtaining object, (b) drawing attention to object, (c) drawing attention to self, (d) getting or giving object, (e) getting help in changing situation, (f) getting help in removing object, and (g) expressing pleasure. Expounding on the list, Ninio (1995, as cited in Hoff, 2014), labels these strategies as "intentions" which are used to express the following: (a) agreeing/disagreeing with a proposition, (b) correcting an utterance, (c) asking a yes-no question, (d), requesting clarification utterance, (e) giving affirmative or negative answers to yes-no questions, (f) making a verbal move in telephone game/pick-a-boo game, (g) making object transfer, (h) marking completion of action and the falling of an object, and (i) exclaiming in disapproval, distress, surprise or enthusiasm. The first two intentions reflect children's capacity to make decisions, as well as showing of approval/disapproval, and expressing their opinions against something that is perceived as incorrect. The third and fourth intentions reveal the capacity of children to be actively engaged in conversation, knowing when and what to ask in order to comprehend utterances and supplying

answers to questions. The other intentions embody the child's feelings and emotions, both positive and negative.

Incidentally, Halliday also refers to "intentions" which represent both "material and intellectual needs" (p. 50). He posits that language use among children is not a matter of talking, but a matter of meaning. He argues:

> For the child, all language is doing something: in other words, it has meaning. It has meaning in a very broad sense including here a range of functions which the adult does not normally think of as meaningful…The child's awareness of language cannot be isolated from his awareness of language function…(p. 53).

Halliday's Models of Child's Use of Language

Based on his extensive pen and paper method of recording his son's communicative repertoire, Halliday concluded that young children use language for manipulation, ordering or commanding, establishing connections, showcasing their uniqueness, questioning, imagining, and articulating ideas. By the time a child reaches the age of 5, he or she is thought to have possessed and used these language functions in varying degrees. In their daily experiences, children observe that language could be used to regulate behavior, and soon they find themselves adopting the same practice, known as the regulatory model. They realize that through language instructions can be given and compliance demanded, thus, a tool for controlling or manipulating the environment. Manipulative tendencies do not always require complete utterances but can be expressed via "a noise in commanding tone", "a contextualized yell" or any other imperatives (p. 50). This function evolves, becoming more elaborate as "experience of the potentialities of language [increases]" (p. 51). To get along with others or establish connections with important persons in their lives, boys and girls perform the interactional model. Every young child, explains Halliday, is able to internalize language while actively listening and talking to others. The fourth function, known as the personal model, demonstrates individuality and uniqueness by way of expression of feelings, personal preferences, and attitudes.

In Hallidayan tradition, every normal child is intrinsically inquisitive, seeking explanations for things that they see or do not understand, an investigative function called heuristic model. Language can also be a viable instrument to create an imaginary realm, and this accounts for the imaginative model demonstrated through dramatic games like storytelling activities. This make-believe construction or reconstruction does not need to be confined to the sophisticated but may be as simple as "pure sound" or "rhythmic sequences of rhymes and chiming syllables" (p. 52). Encompassing all the other functions of the child's model of language is the representational model which is seen through the articulation of inner thoughts. More dominant in later years as the child matures, this function shows the child that there is more to language than merely achieving something or controlling others: it is a tool for one to be heard and understood. Throughout childhood, some or all these functions are employed by children to realize their goals.

Demographic Factors and Language Use and Development

Certain demographic considerations have been associated with language production. These factors include ethnicity/race, gender, bilingualism, and parents' communicative acts. The fourth variable encompasses parental activities, practices, intentions, communicative competence, parenting style, etc. that may result to or involve interactions with a child.

Ethnicity or race has been linked with how children develop and use language. For instance, studies have shown that African American children tend to demonstrate inferior language skills as compared to their white counterparts (Basit et al., 2014). Faitar (2011) also found that socioeconomic status of parents as well as their race impact their children's language performance. Gender also plays an important role in terms of verbal abilities, which become apparent at an early age (Barel & Tzischinsky, 2018). Girls are said to develop verbal skills faster than boys (Adani & Cepanec, 2019). Between ages 2 to 4, females demonstrate more pronounced non-verbal and verbal skills (Toivainen et al., 2017). A related study that determined preschoolers' fundamental motor skills proficiency found certain differences between the two sexes, but distinction is not consistent during such period (Kokštejn, Musálek, & Tufano, 2017).

Bilingualism also factors in when it comes to language skills (Bialystok, Craik, & Luk, 2012). It is also normal for bilingual children to possess one dominant language and one that is weaker (Van Dijk et al., 2021). Children who acquire two languages before age three are classified as early childhood bilinguals, while those who learn their L2 beyond that age are referred to as later childhood bilinguals (Kapa & Colombo, 2013). Others refer to these classifications as simultaneous and sequential bilingualism (Stoehr et al., 2018). In the former, acquisition of two languages takes place at the same rate while in the latter, learning of an L2 occurs at a later time. (Bird, Genesee, & Verhoeven, 2016). In terms of language dominance, bilinguals can be classified as either as balanced bilinguals' (both L1 and L2 having equal dominance) and unbalanced bilinguals' where either language is dominant (Tsui et al., 2019). A child may be categorized as bilingual even if he or she has not achieved fluency in the L2, known as incipient bilingualism (Ansah et al., 2017). Bilinguals tend to demonstrate linguistic and cognitive advantage compared to monolinguals (Blom, 2017). Across all ages, bilinguals are thought to demonstrate executive control compared to monolinguals (Kousaie et al., 2014).

Majority of Filipinos are either multilingual or bilingual (Ledesma & Morris, 2011; Wattimena & Manara, 2016) because they get exposed to or acquire multiple languages because of the existence of multiple languages in the Philippines (Dimaculangan, 2018; Dita, 2009; Unsworth, 2013). Residents of Metro Manila, for example, may speak English aside from Filipino, the national language. Inhabitants in the northern or southern parts of the Philippines have their own mother tongues besides the two official languages (Tupas, 2015). Some parents coming from middle to upper classes especially in urban centers tend to introduce English to their growing children, hence, becoming their first language. As they interact outside the home and in school, children may acquire Filipino which is the most widely spoken language in the archipelagic nation spoken by at least 28 million (Tanaka et al., 2014). Alternatively, children with Filipino as their

L1 are forced to learn the language by being sent to English-only schools (Dawe, 2014)

Children's language skills are said to be affected by their parents' behaviors. Madigan (2015) and colleagues have found that responsive parenting helps facilitate language development. This is seen through the level of sensitivity to the overall needs of children (Wade, 2018), and particularly obvious among boys (Barnett, 2012). Manifestations of sensitive parenting are mothers' warmth, affection, and pleasure when interacting with the child (Brophy-Herb et al., 2012; Madigan et al., 2019). Sensitive or responsive parenting involves giving attention to verbalizations and initiations from the child as well as communicative activities (Madigan et al., 2019). Use of emotion words, desire words, assertions, and cognitive words also aid in language development (Brophy-Herb et al., 2012). All these, occurring within the context of social relations, constitute language input that facilitate language competence (Pancsofar & Vernon-Feagans, 2006). Additionally, parents' self-efficacy, which relates to their emotional and communicative competences, has positive impact on children's language development (Albarran & Reich, 2013). Similarly, maternal social support when children are young is beneficial for early language development (Chang, 2017).

Method

The focus of this case study is a young boy who was exposed to English as his first language (L1). Based on the video recordings, the parents had intended to ground the child in this language although he is slowly being introduced to select expressions in Filipino, his emergent L2. The boy is considered as incipient bilingual, able to communicate through his L1 but not in his L2. In this case study, the utterances of the subject between the age of 2.10 and 4.6 years old were examined to determine Halliday's child's models of language use. A descriptive study, this work attempted to correlate the demonstration of the models with four demographic factors namely, ethnicity, age, gender, and type of bilingualism, and parents' communicative acts. Other possible factors that could influence language use in young children were not the concern of this study.

Sources of data are nine videos recorded in a span of three years from October 30, 2018, to June 5, 2020, each lasting between less than a minute to more than three minutes. Containing the child's interactions with parents and family friends, the recordings represented both regular and special socializations, all occurring in a natural environment. The utterances were captured via smartphones when the child. The recordings were done to document what the parents perceived as milestones in his life. Some of the videos have been made available on Instagram and YouTube and were supplied to the researcher upon request. The child is a son of a minister in his early 30s and an event organizer-host mother who engages in a lot of communicative functions as part of her job. The subject spoke only English since every member of the family communicated to him in the language, although the mother has started introducing him to some Filipino words through children's stories in the vernacular.

The nine recordings were deemed sufficient in ascertaining how language was used since they represented unique situations wherein the subject is on an interactive mode, according to O'Grady, (2005), who recommends documentation when a child is expressive and actively engages with others. The capturing of the

nine videos coincides with O'Grady's advice since they are not limited to "just one setting or...one conversational partner" (p. 201). Following the transcriptions, the data was analyzed using descriptive method to determine the models demonstrated and how they correlated with four demographic factors. Frequency analysis was used in classifying utterances based on Halliday's functions of language in children. Select demographic factors such the communicative practices of the parents were correlated with his language use. Results were triangulated with an online interview with the parents, conducted via Messenger chat to determine the role of parental communicative acts and habits.

This study is guided by the following research questions:

1. How were the Hallidayan models of child's use of language demonstrated by the boy?
2. How are demographic factors and parents' communicative acts correlated with language use in the child?

Findings and Discussion

This paper looked at how an incipient bilingual boy used English (L1) and Filipino (his emerging L2) in his interactions with his father (JPK) and mother (KK). In this section, the Hallidayan models of child's use of language are presented through multiple productions of morphemes and more complicated lexical combinations such as phrases, clauses, and sentences, as well as non-verbal forms of communication.

Demonstration of Models of Child's Use of Language

The first video is a short conversation while the mother and the child were aboard their vehicle on their way to a Disney event when the child was 2.10 years old. The parent attempts to rectify incorrect language productions of her son and takes advantage of the same for socialization. The utterances such as "Ah…ah-wana", "Mana", "Wana" of the boy are responses to the mother's promptings (6, 8, 10). This shows the use of the interactional function of language. In lines 7, 8, and 9, the default use of language is the interactional function, apparently because of the age of the child. Note that in these lines (except line 8), the boy does not initiate interactions but merely responds to prompts from the parents. Again, this is understandable because of the age of the child.

The second video is an interaction between the subject—aged 2.11 years old at the time of the recording—and his parents on their way to their resort cabin during a family trip south of Manila. Aboard a cart drawn by a water buffalo, the parents strike a conversation with their son, and responds with the words "Ethan", "Poknut", and "Cho-nut" (6, 11, & 13). Here, the interactional model is also exhibited. In line 15, he surprises his parents with the longer phrase, "Is eating" while pointing to the animal, demonstrating that he can make sense of the events around him, somehow reflecting an element of the personal function.

Video 3 is storytelling time, filmed when the subject was 3.1 years old. While the mother and son are reading a children's book, the boy reacts with mostly incomplete sentences and mono-syllabic short utterances such as "Yeah", "the track", "boul-der", "truck", and "the lookout" (6, 13, 17, 21, 34, & 37). Being a participant and an observer in this interaction, the child illustrates the interactional model. An explanation for very limited linguistic outputs from the child is his

focus on playtime rather than on the storytelling, aside of course from his age. Noticeable here is the progression of the child's use of language from the default interactional function to personal function, which is more pronounced, and this appears to be influenced by his age.

The fourth video is also a reading time. The goal, according to the mother in an online interview, is to introduce Tagalog (Filipino) lexicon. In line 5, the child, who was 3 years old at the time of the filming, articulates the phrase, "Wagon, mama", reflecting the interactional and instrumental functions. Based on the video, the child is not demanding but merely expressive of a desire to have his toy, which the mother sidelines and focuses on the task at hand. This appears to be a variant of instrumental model without the intent to control or manipulate. Having difficulty learning a new language, the boy resorts to his comic ways which are also seen in the other videos. He acts and sounds funny by mimicking his mother albeit incorrectly, and when gently chided, he responds with laughter and made-up word combinations such as pata-poo-poo (17, 19 & 21), which appear to be an intentional distortion of "puto bumbong", a steamed rice delicacy available at Christmastime). When unable to deliver the right phonemes, the child resorts to comic ways and alters the words, again, to sound hilarious.

We see here the intentional use of phonological and morphological distortions to divert the adult's attention from his errors. It suggests that young children resort to diversionary tactics (such as mimicking, being funny, word distortion, etc.) to demonstrate another language use that Halliday did not find in his study. This is understandable since Halliday based his theory on his observations of his son Nigel up to the age of 18 months only (Thwaite, 2019). This technique found in the Filipino boy appears to reflect the diversionary function of child language as posited by Canadian psycholinguist Frank Smith (Thwaite, 2019). But unlike Smith's typology, the diversion employed in the case study is not an end to itself but a means to another function. It is possible that the boy engages in diversionary function to avoid correction or chastisement. Conversely, the child's ego appears to be affected whenever he is unable to produce the correct phonemes, hence, the distraction. The child's alterations and funny ways are apparently intended to steer away the focus from his childish blunders and highlight his other strengths or potentials.

The child is insinuating that beyond his phonological gaffes, he has other things to offer to the world, demonstrating what I will call the *esteem* model or "I am confident" and "I am an achiever" function which elicits affirmation from adults. The child distracts the mother in an attempt to direct her attention to his other ways of showcasing language performance and away from his perceived lack of linguistic competence (Ahearn, 2017). Because he cannot produce the compound "puto bumbong" correctly, the child offers the distorted but funny version "pata-poo-poo". Similarly, unable to utter another compound "sapin-sapin" and producing "pasin-pasin" instead, the boy concocts "sapin-dadu". Highlighted in this transcription is a non-Hallidayan function of language. I propose this to be reflective of the *esteem* function of child's use of language. For the boy, the *esteem* function is a matter of great importance. The video culminates with the praise, "Very good!" (44) from the mother. In this video, the child, who is a bit older, demonstrates two Hallidayan models and a new function, possibly Asian/Filipino child's use of language.

Video 5 is family bonding time at a swimming pool. Recorded in this clip are short but complete sentences. The interactional model is obvious in this case. The question, "How about me?" (6) communicates a desire to imitate what the boy's father is doing, that is, spouting water with his hands. Categorizing this expression according to the remaining Hallidayan lenses in terms of functions of language is problematic since it does not seem to fit any of them. At first glance, we may assume that it demonstrates an element of the interactional function, but a deeper analysis will show that the child wants his dad to teach him how to squirt water using his hands. The statement is also not reflective of the personal model because the subject has no particular capability or talent to showcase. We can sense a wish to be like his father or to perform an activity that adults can do. More than a case of idolizing his father, the boy is displaying another function that Halliday may not have accounted for. Although partly reflective of the instrumental function, it is not in any way controlling or manipulative. In fact, the child is requesting assistance from his parent. At the very least, this may be a variant of the regulatory model—sans the manipulation—and I call it the "Teach me" function or the *supporting* model wherein the child communicates a need for adult assistance in performing an activity.

In line 12, the boy reacts with, "Not funny, papa!" when his father splashes water at him. Based on Chomskyan orientation, these linguistic codes could have been produced independently by him, or if Vygotsky is right, this could have been absorbed from his environment (Akhmetova, Chelnokova, & Morozova, 2017). We see a sharing of an idea which has some elements of the interactional and representational models. However, examined closely, the remark expresses rebuke in a lighter tone, thus, the statement deserves another label. Indicating correction, the child projects to the father that the splashing of water was unwelcome and even wrong. This may be referred to as the *corrective* or *judgmental* model. In this situation, more complicated or novel models are demonstrated.

In the sixth video, the subject is with his mother in the home of family friends, unwrapping egg-shaped presents as part of the Easter celebration while engaged in conversation with the adults. The boy, now 4.4 years old, does not seem to be distracted by the activity. While occupied with the presents, the boy actively interacts as shown below:

Boy: To crack an egg…
KK: So what are you doing?
Boy: Cracking the egg…
KK: And then…
Boy: And then, you can crack an egg and crumble it in the eggs. No! (unwrapping Easter egg)

The mother and son are into a snappy and lively question-and-answer discourse. The boy provides straightforward answers, showing his deep involvement in both the dialogue and the activity. This is further shown by the next lines:

KK: So what are we gonna do with those eggs?
Boy: Keep it.

KK: Keep it and?
Boy: The baby… the baby scramble.

The dialogue depicts the child as an active participant and as an observer in a social interaction, reflecting the interactional model. No other models were observed, apparently because the video is short.

In video 7, the boy is seen crying uncontrollably and is upset to the point that he resorts to wailing as the father attends to his concern. He uses words and cries to express what he wants. In the interaction, the boy, now 4.5 years old, articulates that he misses doing exercises. Although the boy does not directly make demands, his statement, "I miss exercise" can be interpreted as, "Let us/me have exercise or I will keep crying". This scenario showcases personal and interactional models. When asked how many hip openers he wanted, the child is explicit and with emphasis declares, "Fifty!" The boy is able to communicate what he wants or demands through the use of language while crying and wailing at the same time (lines 13,14, and 17). By resorting to loud cries as a way to control an adult, the child shows the instrumental model. Manipulation or control can be subtle and not necessarily expressed through a "full dress imperative" which is observed in the recording (p. 50). In the same scenario, the boy articulates his frustrations, and he does so by wailing at the same time, reflecting the representational model. In this context, the child demonstrates four models of language use.

The eighth video is a recording of a child learning Filipino, the boy's emerging L2, through the art of reading. The mother, using a children's Filipino book, assists the latter in recalling previously learned lexical items in the vernacular. The reading session takes place by the kitchen table, and both are seated. Part of the dialogue goes:

KK: Okay, anong mga nakasampay, ___ (name of the boy is called)? May?
[Okay, what is hung, ___ (boy's child)? Those are…]
Boy: [unintelligible] … at medyas. […and socks.]
KK: May… butas… [There is…a hole]
Boy: Butas…[hole]
KK: Na…na…[in…in the]
Boy: Bayong. [native shopping bag.]
KK: Bayong. [native shopping bag.]

In this segment, participation is at its peak and the child maintains a high level of excitement as demonstrated by his ecstatic tone throughout the interaction, an example of interactional model. Similarly, the boy manifests his enjoyment in the activity by constantly laughing and making appropriate gestures (e.g. pointing at the broom when reading about the word). The following lines indicate the pleasure being exhibited by the child during the interaction via reading:

Boy: Haring… bundok! [celebratory or excitedly] [King…mountain!]
KK: May haring… [The king…]
Boy: Soldier [laughs]!

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Not only does the boy actively participate, but he also engages with exuberance, giggling, and laughing as he performs oral sentence completion. The following dialog adds to the role of the child as a participant (being a listener and reader) and as a communicator, all of which reveal his amusement. Note specifically the first line which shows the child amused, apparently by the picture of a monkey, which was being talked about, or by his own mistake, giggling as he expresses agreement to the mother's subtle correction.

Boy: wehenga, unggoy. [right, monkey.] (agrees; giggles)
KK: Papel…[Paper]
Boy: Vinta. [Muslim boat]
KK: na Vinta [Muslim boat]. Ito ay matibay na…   [This is a sturdy…]
Boy: Walis! [Broom!] (points to a broom in the kitchen)
KK: Ito ay bagong… [This is a new…]
Boy: Xylophone.

The fifth line documents a gesture made by the child, pointing to an object, apparently a broom in the kitchen (though not captured in the video) when he says, "Walis!" or broom in Filipino. The action is performed with glee. The remaining lines in the mother-child conversation culminate in the emphatic delivery of the word "Filipino!", referring to the local alphabets that are illustrated in the book. The lines read:

KK: Makulay na…   [A colorful…]
Boy: Yo-yo! (points up) Upstairs.
KK: Unan na… [A pillow that is…]
Boy: Zebra.
KK: Wow! Iyan ay ang alpabetong…[These are the alphabets in…]
Boy: Filipino!

The emotion as conveyed by the boy suggests not just elation but also satisfaction with the activity, perhaps partly because of the funny-sounding words unfamiliar to him. In all this, the child showcases the interactional model, demonstrating how much he values and enjoy such interaction. As the boy exhibits comical actions and making himself sound funny, he appears to demonstrate his uniqueness, a reflection of the personal model. He does this when he points to a broom and the location of a yoyo upstairs (by pointing up)- again with a funny face and gestures. Many instances in the exchange showcase the boy's propensity to act comically while at the same time spotlights his wit. The boy's words and actions are a show of a sense of pride in a positive sense, somewhat reflective of the personal function, but not fully. I will return to this shortly. As far as the funny personality of the boy, it appears that children find pleasure in showcasing who they are especially in comfortable situations like the home.

I also reiterate the *esteem* model or "I am confident" or "I am achiever" function, which reveals more than just identity, individuality, uniqueness, ideas, and intentions. I theorize that this use of language in (Filipino) children may be connected to the psychological need to be affirmed, classified under esteem needs

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popularized by Maslow (Lester, 2013). Reflecting a higher need, this expression of a desire to be valued and accepted is related to self-respect or self-esteem. The former reflects individuals' regard to their standing while the latter refers to their confidence and satisfaction in themselves. Self-esteem, which is ego-driven, is classified into two types. The first is experienced when a person is accorded respect and affirmation or some form of acknowledgment. The second emanates from a person's own assessment of himself or herself. This kind of esteem is shown through independence and self-confidence (Pinquart & Gerke, 2019). In the case of the subject, it was clear that there was no intention to receive something or to be attended to, a common goal in communicative repertoire of young kids (Hoft, 2014). The boy was simply enjoying an activity while exhibiting the *esteem model*. I posit that children, at least Filipino kids, use language as an instrument to highlight their important place in the family and community, and they do so by articulating confidence, achievement, etc. We see here a showcase of child power, that children are as capable and confident as adults. At the very least, this is a call from children to be recognized as smart individuals or co-equal with adults.

In the same video, the imaginative model is also evident as shown by the words "meow" and "corn dog". Note the lines below (47-55):

KK: May… maliksing…[There is…a nimble…]
Boy: Kuting! [Kitten!] Meow!
KK: May kumpol na…[A bunch of…]
Boy: Osan… ng chick-leta!   [clock of the bike!]
KK: Ng… lansones! [longkong]
Boy: Lansones-si!
KK: May mais na…[Corn that is…]
Boy: Corn dog?
KK: No, it's not corn dog. Mais na nilaga. [Boiled corn.]

After giving the correct answer, which is "kitten", the youngster pairs it with the appropriate sound that is associated with the cat, and he does so without prompting. This shows the boy's sense of imagination, instantly recalling the sound associated with the feline. In line 54, the child produces the phrase "corn dog", a combination of a real corn and a child's delight of the same name which contains no corn at all, but a hotdog fried in a batter. The production of such word further reveals the child's imagination. In this video, four child's models of language use were observed including the new *esteem* function.

The ninth and last video, which is an interaction between the boy and his parents, is replete with utterances that reveal the boy's affinity with his mother. The recording begins with an announcement from the child, "Mama, to be love life with me" (line 5) followed by a question from the father, "Who will you like to hold hands with forever?", providing context to the child's declaration. The interaction continues with the following lines (7 and 10):

Boy: Mama, love life.
JPK: [Laughs]
KK (Mother): Only?

Boy: Only Mama.

In line 7, his earlier pronouncement is repeated, which captures his feelings for his mother, and affirmed in line 10 with a two-word response to an inquiry about the certainty of the boy's remark. The reply is direct, and it is backed with both the promise and an assertion, "I miss you, Mamaaaa!" (line 16). This signifies the subject's effort to prove the sincerity of his statements, thus, the emphatic declaration. Despite its short duration, the video captured four ways by which the boy used language. First, the personal model is demonstrated as shown by his personal preferences and feelings while also producing words that reveal his identity—that he possesses love or is capable of loving. Second, since the utterances reflect the child's thoughts and feelings about his mother, which also unpack certain "content" or "propositions" (Halliday, 2002, p. 50), representational model is seen. The utterances reveal the child's conception of an ideal female partner in life, thus the phrase "to be love life with me". Furthermore, the concept of boy-girl relationship or even marriage, apparently observed from his parents, are conveyed. The child's desire to interact or connect with significant people in his life indicates the interactional function. Fourth, the imaginative model was reflected as the child envisioned a future life with a female as represented by the mother. Although he did not engage in the typical storytelling activities of make-believes, he nevertheless demonstrated such function through the surprising expression "love life" which was mentioned twice. Halliday explains that this function need not be sophisticatedly communicated. Again, four models are demonstrated in this recording.

Child's Models of Language Use, Demographic Factors, and Parents' Role

This study analyzed nine video recordings of a Manila-based child whose L1 is English and whose use of Filipino was just emerging. Five out of the seven Hallidayan language models were displayed: instrumental, interactional, personal, representational, and imaginative. More functions were observed in the last two videos where the child was more mature. Crying and wailing which are forms of manipulation demonstrated the instrumental model. The data is replete with examples that showcase the child's talents, skills, preferences, attitude, identity, and uniqueness which showed the personal model. In terms of the interactional model, the boy was an active participant in activities while actively engaged in conversations within those realms. The child asserted his place in the family and in the world, showing the representational model which allowed him to impart his propositions and important ideas. The imaginative model was seen but rather in uniquely "boyish ways". In place of typical narratives, the child produced animal sounds, offered a substitute lexicon for an object in a funny way, and seemed to act out expressions.

Of the five child's model of language use, the most prominent are the interactional and personal functions which were demonstrated six times. The second most prominent models are the representational and imaginative (each used two times), with the instrumental model being the least prominent having been used only once. Table below shows the models of child's use of language, their frequency of use, and their prominence.

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Table 1. Functions of language, their frequency of use, and their prominence

Model of Child's Language Use	Frequency of Use	Prominence
Instrumental	once	least prominent
Interactional	six times	very prominent
Personal	six times	very prominent
Imaginative	twice	prominent
Representational	twice	prominent
Regulatory	not demonstrated	not applicable
Heuristic	not demonstrated	not applicable
Total	17 times	

Certain utterances in the data that did not correspond to Halliday's child's models of language use. A total of four language functions, unique to Philippine and Asian context, were uncovered. The boy exhibited what I call the *esteem* model, exhibited by insinuating his need for affirmation while showcasing achievement through his wit, hilarious sounds and behavior, and production of concocted/distorted phonemes. Such distortions, which are referred to as diversions (Thwaite, 2019), were intentional so that the attention would veer away from the child's errors and focus instead on his funny antics. Two more models were uncovered: the *rescue* model and *judgmental* model, the former reflective of the child's need to be assisted or taught a skill or the "help me" or "rescue me" function. This typology is proposed as it the scenario did not fit any of the Hallidayan functions, although one may argue that this is a variant of the regulatory function but without the manipulation. The child showed the *corrective* or *judgmental* model when he described a behavior of his father as unacceptable or unwelcome. This shows that young children use language not only to communicate thoughts but to rebuke or make judgments. Halliday has a vague classification called representational function, which can practically stand for almost everything a child utters. It is obvious that young children use language not simply to communicate inner thoughts but to rebuke or make judgments. Communication experts teach us that we communicate to express or inform, which reflects Halliday's representation model, and to persuade or convince which mirrors the instrumental function. When one analyzes a certain behavior or speech act and labels it as "not funny", the child is demonstrating language maturity and an ability to synthesize information, verbal or non-verbal. The *corrective* or *judgmental* function corresponds to Austin's concept of expressives, speech acts that are used to make assessment of psychological states or attitude (Ramayanti & Marlina, 2018). When the boy uttered, "Wagon, mama", he was expressing a desire but without pressure, a fusion of the instrumental and representational functions, but both fall short of accounting for the utterances. I propose another function which I call the *asserting* model, coming very close to the *judgmental* function that assesses information that the child perceives.

The imaginative model was uniquely demonstrated, however, it was not as obvious as predicted. The regulatory and heuristic models did not surface in the analysis. While the child attempted to control his father in a subtle way (video 8), he never manifested signs of regulation. Indications of inquisitiveness (the heuristic function) were not detected. There were no signs that the subject was

investigating the bigger world- something that relates to heuristic model. This is not surprising since, as Halliday argues, uses of languages do not develop simultaneously. In fact, some functions develop ahead of the others and vice-versa. There is a possibility that manifestations of certain models may not have been captured in the nine videos; thus, appearing to be untapped. The length of some of the recordings could have also missed some functions.

We now turn to certain demographic considerations and parenting factors in order to provide explanations for the use of language and the phenomena encountered. The obvious models as well as the novel assisting, esteem, asserting, and corrective functions appear to be linked to the language behaviors of Orientals like Filipinos. Also, the new functions of language that the child demonstrated may not have been accounted for by Halliday since his theorizing is of a western orientation. In this study, I examined the possible connection between language models and certain demographics of the boy, namely ethnicity, age, gender, and type of bilingualism in addition to his parents' communicative acts and attitude. Findings showed that besides ethnicity, the child's gender, age, and parents' communicative acts helped influence language development and use. Bilingualism did not appear to be a significant variable in terms of language models in the child.

Results also point to the role of race in the demonstration of the models of child's use of language and the display of previously unaccounted functions. Asian/Filipino kids may use language quite differently from European children as shown in this research. Basit et al. (2014) and Faitar (2011) have linked race with socioeconomic status (SES) and language production in children, one's ethnicity predicts language skills. In the case of the boy, his apparent advanced verbal skills were shaped and enhanced by both SES and ethnicity. Besides ethnicity, gender appeared to have influenced the demonstration of the models of language use in children. In his interactions, the boy seemed to differ from his parents, particularly the mother in terms of word choice. The mother pointed to a corn, but the boy saw a "corn dog", and for a bunch of local fruits, the boy perceived them as a clock. Experts believe that the language spoken by people reflect and shape their worldviews (Allard-Kropp, 2020), hence, in the case of the subject, his language use could have been influenced by who he is such as his gender. Although girls tend to develop language skills faster than boys, Etchell et al. (2018) believe that gender differences may be distinct only at certain developmental stages. Thus, demonstration of advance verbal skills is also possible among boys, and, as asserted earlier, this development could have been influenced by his ethnicity and parents' communicative acts and habits.

Age was a major factor in the language use of the boy. As he matured, he tended to showcase more models. In addition, novel models that seemed to be distinctly Filipino and Asian were shown when the child was between three and four years old. Experts agree and explain that children between ages 3 and 5 can engage in more complex conversations characterized by deep thoughts as well as feelings ("Language Development", 2021). It is also at this period when they become more inquisitive and try to make sense of their surroundings. Additionally, grammar and lexicon also expand and so their curiosity with other topics that were not of interest before. These provide support to the verbal skills

that the child in this study demonstrated, particularly his use of multiple models including the new ones that Halliday did not posit.

Language input, sensitivity, and other communicative acts of the parents seemed to have aided the subject in demonstrating somewhat language competence (Brophy-Herb et al., 2012; Madigan et al., 2019; Pancsofar & Vernon-Feagans, 2006). Young children not only learn a language but also become adept in using it so that they become expert as language users and as members of society. In the case of the boy in this study, there was an active participation from the parents particularly the mother. In all the videos, the mother was actively engaging the subject. Communication was intentional. In short, demonstrating the functions of language became a reality because the parents' communicative acts and attitude. In an online interview, the mother explained that that she and her husband spent almost equal time in dialoguing with the boy. She, in particular, took advantage of available moments for mother-child interactions, obviously to help the boy develop speech. Because both parents were involved in the communication enterprise, the father being a minister (which involves preaching and teaching) and the mother as an event organizer-host (which requires a lot of interactions with people) appeared to have influenced the use of language in the child. As such, both could be described as socially and communicatively competent.

Implications

This study has implications bilingualism, language teaching, and language development theories. Regarding bilingualism, there are two important points to be made. First, acquiring more than two languages has become inevitable due to globalization. Even if growing children are not exposed to more knowledgeable individuals who speak a different language, there are countless external factors that can result to simultaneous, sequential, balanced or unbalanced, and incipient bilingualism. These factors include education and media such as the Internet. Second, while bilingualism is positively correlated with verbal and non-verbal skills and other cognitive functions, such cannot be true in all cases. Each child, as shown in this study is unique, and their language development and usage is dependent on their own unique circumstances at home and in their culture. Nevertheless, I do not discount the fact that since the subject here was just acquiring his L2, it was possible that such factor could have impacted his language skills at the time of the recording. It is possible that as the child gains more foothold in Filipino that he might be able to demonstrate more maturity in language use in the language and even in his L1.

Turning now to language teaching, it was obvious that language development is influenced greatly by parental involvement particularly by responsive, sensitive, and communicative mothers. Taking the time to interact with a typically growing child can stimulate responses in terms of language production, and parents will be surprised as to how much their offspring could demonstrate as they are talked to. Among preschoolers, communicative activities in the school environment can help enhance language development. This means employing routines and lessons that elicit child-child, child-teacher, and child-parent interactions will go a long way in achieving language skills.

In terms of theorizing, Filipino and Asian children demonstrate some unique models of child's use of language. They communicate to be esteemed or affirmed, to be assisted, to assert himself, and to correct. Although one may argue that these may be encompassed by the representational model, this particular function is just too broad, even vague to fully account for the uniqueness of Filipino or Asian children. The four typologies are more definite and descriptive of actual realities in models of child's use of language.

Conclusion

Halliday's models are a good starting point but may not be fully representative of all the possible functions of language in young children as shown in this video. The models are simply that—patterns or prototypes and may not entirely represent all reality. In the case of this research, it is clear that each child is unique, and that while the Hallidayan models assist in understanding language utilization, they may be found lacking to some extent. Halliday's context was European, and this study featured a Filipino male child in a bilingual context and whose parents demonstrated communicative acts and attitude. Ethnicity, gender, age, and parents' role seemed to have influenced the use of language models. Of the seven functions, five were evident, and these are the instrumental, interactional, personal, imaginative, and representational models. Obviously untapped were the regulatory and heuristic models. Of the five functions, the most prominent were the interactional and personal models. This shows that for young children, language is primarily for communication and for self-expression. It is a tool to achieve, accomplish, receive, and get. Four Filipino or Asian Models of child's use of language were observed, and these are the rescue, judgmental, esteem, and asserting functions. It can be inferred that these were not captured by Halliday in his participant observation study involving his son. A case study involving a female youngster can provide valuable data to validate the results of this research. Longer recordings and a greater number of videos (more than nine) are recommended in future studies of the same nature to arrive at more conclusive inferences. Alternatively, the investigation could be expanded to include another gender or involve more than two subjects and allow more interaction contexts to determine the functions of language among young kids. Finally, the same study could be applied with monolinguals and multilinguals as subjects.

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BEYOND THE PUBLIC HEALTH NARRATIVE: ABSTINENCE-ONLY EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

[1,2]**Angelica Raras Anindiati Ningtyas and Dewi H. Susilastuti**
[1,2]Universitas Gadjah Mada
[1]angelicararas@gmail.com; [2]dewi.haryani.s@ugm.ac.id
correspondence: angelicararas@gmail.com

Abstract
This research studies the intention and endeavour of Christian-based organizations, namely Family Research Council and Family Policy Alliance in disseminating the notion of sexuality in American society. This research utilizes a narrative analysis strategy and employs the following steps: 1) close reading the collected documents; 2) categorizing the recurring patterns of narratives using sociological perspective and cultural reproduction theory; 3) drawing a conclusion on the intention and efforts of Family Research Council and Family Policy Alliance in spreading the knowledge of sexuality. Using the narratives of aspirations and tensions which surrounds sexuality, this study shows that Family Research Council and Family Policy Alliance uphold Christian values as the organization's foundation and attempt to secure those principles in the 'sex-saturated society.' To accomplish the mission, Family Research Council and Family Policy Alliance promote abstinence-only education and oppose comprehensive sex education, arguing that comprehensive sex education holds liberal values that threaten the sanctity of the heterosexual relationship. This research demonstrates that Family Research Council and Family Policy Alliance, as Christian-based organizations, strive to preserve the conservative values that have been passed down from generation to generation.

Keywords: Christianity, education, moral perspective, sexuality

Introduction

In *The Default Power: The False Prophecy of America's Decline,* Josef Joffe (2009) declares that America is the default power. Joffe (2009, p. 31) states that America is 'the country that occupies center stage because nobody else has the requisite power and purpose. Competition, creation, and innovation play crucial role in creating American greatness. Nine years later, a study from National Science Foundation (2018) reports that America is the global leader in science and technology. However, it is safe to argue that technological developments are not in line with the developments in social aspects of America. America might be progressive in science and technology, but when it comes to sexuality, specifically sex education, it is not as advanced as the development of science and technology. Meanwhile, Austria is quite progressive in that it makes sex education a

mandatory program from primary to secondary school. In comparison, America's sex education is dismal and full of confusion (Picken 2020; Slominski 2021). Furthermore, as reported in a book entitled *Not Under My Roof – Parents, Teens, and the Culture of Sex*, Amy Schalet (2011, p. 3) explains that 'in America, teenage sex has been dramatized, fraught with cultural ambivalences, heated political struggles, and poor health outcomes'.

There are two sex education programs in America that have been popular since the 20th century. They are abstinence-only education and comprehensive sex education. Abstinence-only education, later rebranded as Sexual Risk Avoidance Education (SRAE) is the program that promotes the idea that the only effective method of preventing pregnancy is to practice abstinent until marriage. In addition, heterosexual marriage is the expected standard for sexual activity (Lavin, 2020, p. 36; William, 2011, p. 417). In SRAE program, necessary knowledge around sex, sexual health, and sexuality are restricted, perpetuating the stigma of open discussion on sexuality (Linberg & Boonstra, 2017). The other sex education program, namely comprehensive sex education, views sexuality as healthy and positive, covering broad topics such as "human reproduction, anatomy, physiology, and sexually transmitted infections, as well as issues such as masturbation, contraception, and abortion" (Irvine, 2011, p. 487).

Despite the good outcomes of comprehensive sex education, Trump's administration proposed a budget of $277 million to fund abstinence-only education focusing on sexual risk avoidance education and cut about $200 million funding for comprehensive sex education (Fox et al., 2019). In addition, it is reported that there was $15 million funding for community and faith-based groups or Christian-based organizations for abstinence-only education or sexual risk avoidance. The purposes of this sex education are to promote abstinence until marriage, specifically heterosexual marriage (Guttmacher Institute, 2017). In fact, report from *World Population Review* (2021) shows that the states which choose not to teach contraception and require to stress teaching on abstinence-only education have the highest rates of live births among teenage girls in the age of 15-19.

The discussion on sex education grows more complex since unlike Austria's sex education program, there is no federal mandate on how sex education should be taught in the United States. Slominski (2021) mentions that sex education in the United States is full of confusion, and data show similar facts about it. The report entitled *Sex and HIV Education* reveals that from 50 states in the United States, only 39 states and the District of Columbia requires sex education and/or HIV education. From 50 states in the United States, only three states ban the programs that promote religion, and there are 37 states plus DC which allow parents to remove their children from sex education programs (Guttmacher Institute, 2021). Those facts demonstrate how sex education varies across states. The policy of sex education is decided at the state and district level; therefore, it does make sense that every young people have various insight when it comes to sexuality.

The majority of publications on sex education in the United States focus on how sex education affects young people's sexual health and behaviour. This argument is presented mainly by public health organizations. However, little research has been done to examine the involvement of Christian-based

organizations in spreading the knowledge of sexuality. This article dissects the narratives of two Christian-based organizations, namely Family Research Council and Family Policy Alliance in their attempt to construct sexuality in American society.

Method

This research presents a qualitative analysis. Drawing from the publications of the Christian-based groups from the United States, namely Family Research Council (FRC) and Family Policy Alliance (FPA), this research explores the articles and news from the websites that show how these groups view sexuality in general. In an attempt to narrow down the variety of the documents, this research purposely selected the issues of sexuality and sex education in the websites of Family Research Council (FRC) and Family Policy Alliance (FPA). Both of these faith-based groups are chosen as the object material because they provide various information on how they, as institutions, participate in the public dissemination of knowledge on sexuality. This research also utilized secondary data such as e-book, journal articles, and news to enrich the discussion.

In analyzing the data, this study used a narrative analysis strategy to observe and understand the meaning of the experiences as revealed in the narrative. For the first step for analysis, the researcher read the collected document containing the information on sexuality and education issues. Next, the researcher notated the potentially relevant information, including interpreting and reflecting on the notes which had been written. After notating the data, the researcher categorized the recurring pattern found in the notes and examined the objectives of this study narratively. To make sense of the recurring pattern found in the data, this research utilized sociological perspective and cultural reproduction theory. The sociological perspective opens the understanding that sexuality is a product of social forces, which means that sexuality is born from diverse social practices which are meaningful to society (Siedman, 2011). To put it differently, sexuality is a manifestation of struggles between groups that contest various issues related to sexuality. Meanwhile, cultural reproduction theory helps to make sense that perception, practice, structures, and habitus are interrelated in a community (Bordieu 1990).

Findings and Discussion

Christianity as the guidance of sexual conduct

This section begins with exploration of the historical context of conservative groups in the United States. It is then followed by the examination of the general mission of Christian-based organizations about sexuality. The 1960s and 1970s saw the rise of sexual modernity in the United States in the form of open access for women to birth control and abortion. At the same time there was an emergence of homosexual's groups that began to struggle for their rights. As a result, the conservative group renewed their effort to revive their power within American society. In response to sexual modernity, a particular conservative movement called the New Right (NR) emerged in the 1970s. Those who participated in the New Right movement were the religious conservatives, such as evangelical Protestants and Catholics. They banded together to fight against abortion and LGBT rights (Blee and Creasap, 2010, p. 273). For the New Right followers,

sexual minorities were seen as deviant and threatening, and their existence should be stopped by confronting them. In an attempt to regain their power as the religious conservative groups, they support regulations on abstinence-only education, anti-pornography, and prayer in public schools (Schreiber 2008, as cited in Blee and Creasap 2010).

Despite the rise of sexual modernity in the '60s and '70s, the AIDS crisis in the 1980s forced people to rethink about sexuality and brought the conservative view of sexuality to the forefront. AIDS was initially known as a "gay disease" because the first cases were found among gay men in 1981. AIDS was the turning point of debate on sexuality. It strengthened the position of the conservative group that abstinence is the best option for young people. Many religious groups exercised scare-mongering tactics to dissuade young people from engaging in sexual activity. It also promoted abstinence as a mean to avoid the probability of contracting AIDS or associating with homosexual groups (Lavin, 2020, p. 30). The religious groups were not the only ones who use the momentum of the AIDS crisis to highlight the importance of abstinence. The federal government introduced regulation on sex education lesson in public schools. It passed the Adolescent Family Life Act (AFLA) in 1981, Section 510 Title V Abstinence Education Program in 1998, and the Community-Based Abstinence Education (CBAE) Program in 2000. The funds for the CBAE programs are directly funnelled through the community-based organizations, including faith-based organizations (Santelli et al., 2017).

The availability of the funding enables some faith-based organizations to keep on carrying abstinence-only sex education, among those organizations are Family Research Council and Family Policy Alliance. Family Research Council is a non-profit organization that focuses on the family-centered philosophy of public life. It was founded in 1983 by James Dobson. In an effort to meet their goals, Family Research Council plays a role as a research and educational organization that shares analysis and policy research in media and community about family issues from a biblical perspective. Family Research Council exemplifies the faith-based group that promotes Christianity as the foundation of their voice. This faith is revealed in the following statement: 'Believing that God is the author of life, liberty, and the family, FRC promotes the Judeo-Christian worldview as the basis for a just, free, and stable society.' (Family Research Council, n.d., General Information section, para. 1). The Family Research Council's view on marriage, family, and sexuality is heavily influenced by Christian belief that 'the only appropriate context for sexual relations is within the marriage of a man and a woman. Moreover, we believe that because God created us "male and female" (Gen 1:17), we have no right to re-create ourselves otherwise' (Family Research Council, n.d., Marriage, Family, and Sexuality section, para. 1).

Similarly, Family Policy Alliance, founded by James Dobson in 2004, plays a very prominent role as the voice of biblical citizens in the United States. It partnered with national and state-based allies in mobilizing support to elect pro-family leaders and to push forward the pro-family legislation. The Family Policy Alliance's view emphasizes the believe that sex is only meant for two people – one man and one woman as mentioned in this following statement: 'a God-given gift to be expressed within the context of a marriage between one man and one woman for life.' (Family Policy Alliance, n.d., Sexual Orientation section, para.

1). Moreover, both of these Christian-based organizations consider a sexual activity outside marriage as a distortion of God's gift of sexuality.

The rise of sexual modernity in the 20th century was accelerated by pop culture such as music, movie, fashion, and television shows. In response to the expansion of sexual modernity Christian-based organizations reignite their sense of identity, and firmly embrace a traditional set of social institution such as marriage, monogamy, and heterosexuality. To put it differently, both Family Research Council and Family Policy Alliance present a conservative teaching of sexuality as a response to what they perceive as the secularization of society. They delineate people based on their sexual orientation, namely heterosexual and homosexual. Weeks (2010) argues that since the 19th century American society has been obsessively differentiated people into normal or abnormal. The distinction between heterosexual and homosexual is the progression from the categorization of normal and abnormal. The religious conservatives have been trying to conserve the grouping of people's sexual orientation into heterosexual and homosexual up to now. These groups strive to present their values as valid. Bourdieu's (1990) reproduction strategy refers to the attempt of dominant group to impose their values as valid. The Family Research Council and Family Policy Alliance as dominant groups try to maintain their power by emphasizing the naturalness of heterosexuality.

The following section will demonstrate how Family Research Council and Family Policy Alliance–both represent the social institutions that shaped people's perspective on sexuality–narrate their thoughts and expectations on sexual behaviour. Both institutions oppose LGBTQ+ community and support abstinence-only education.

Securing the traditional values in the 'sex-saturated society'

Addressing the fact that the LGBTQ+ community has begun to fight for their rights in the 21st century, Family Research Council and Family Policy Alliance strengthen their efforts to restrict the idea of sexual rights in the American community. According to Family Research Council (n.d.), homosexuality, same-sex marriage, and transgenderism are forms of deviation from God's plan. In response to the LGBTQ+ movement, Peter Sprigg of Family Research Council, explains that as an institution, they resist calling the LGBTQ+ community with terms like "gay," "lesbian," or "bisexual" as the solo noun because it implies that Family Research Council supports the idea that 'some people's intrinsic, inborn, immutable identity as gay, lesbian, etc. is who they are.' (2018, p. 2). Rather than using the solo terms that are widespread these days, they prefer to use the terms 'people who engage in homosexual conduct' or 'people who identify as homosexual' to refer to the LGBTQ+ community (2018). Further, Sprigg (2018) argues that Family Research Council, as the conservative social institution, does not consider that people who identified as homosexual as inferior and do not deserve their rights as Americans. Instead, they regard homosexual conducts as harmful behaviours since it is antithetical to the will of God as explained in the following statement: 'The Bible and Christianity (which shape the religious beliefs of a majority of Americans) do not teach that "gay people are inferior." They teach that homosexual conduct is contrary to the will of God, and thus morally wrong or sinful (Sprigg, 2018, p. 9). Since homosexuality is viewed as a

morally wrong conduct, therefore, as the Christian-based group, Family Research Council advises that it is better for those people to keep their life private rather than opens it publicly by demanding the federal government to affirm and celebrate their existence as the LGBTQ+ community (Sprigg, 2018). The view of the Family Research Council on transgenderism is similar to that of homosexuality and same-sex marriage. Family Research Council refuses to recognize the gender of people who are not congruent with their biological construction.

Meanwhile, the Family Policy Alliance that supports similar values of sexuality takes a different approach in delivering their aspirations. Unlike the Family Research Council, which creates publications to highlight their area of concern, the Family Policy Alliance encourages those who have the same concern regarding sexuality to use their political rights to support their cause. This section presents the response of two supporters of the Family Policy Alliance towards the discussion on sexual orientation and gender identity. Meridian Baldacci, the Policy and Communications Strategist of Family Policy Alliance, published an article entitled *A Prayer for Our LGBT Neighbors* in response to the LGBTQ+ Pride Month in June 2021. Baldacci (2021) argues that Christians are saddened by that event because it is a celebration of sin in Christianity. The following statements are the two verses of the prayer:

> For those within the walls of the church who may claim the identity of LGBT, we pray for the work of your Holy Spirit and of the Church to call those in sin to repentance; For all those who identify as LGBT, or who are struggling with their sexual identity in another way, we pray that they would find the joy and freedom that only comes from following you as Lord. We pray that their hearts would be opened to see sin for what it is – and to see the joy of your salvation as greater (Baldacci, 2021, para. 7)

In the closing paragraphs of the publication, Baldacci (2021) encourages people who read the article to join the prayer and speak to the LGBTQ+ neighbors to follow the path of God. Meanwhile, Nicole Hudgens writes an   article entitled *URGENT: Stop the Implosion of Family Values in the Infrastructure Bill!* Hudgens (2021) encourage her audience to vote NO to the senators who supports the current infrastructure bill, specifically the Equality Act Language that focuses on prohibiting discrimination based on sex, sexual orientation and gender identity. As the representative of Family Policy Alliance, Hudgens (2021) disagrees with statements included in the bill that states the terms 'gender identity' as being 'actual or perceived.' According to Hudgens (2021), the bill is created and used to punish those who have religious beliefs in marriage and biological sex, which indirectly also infringes children's parental rights since parents can no longer convey their conservative faith as those belief can be construed as discriminative towards non heterosexual people.

From the above narratives, it is clear that the central discussion of the Family Research Council and the Family Policy Alliance is about morality. Both of them emphasize the idea that people who do not identified themselves as heterosexual do not share the values of the conservative group. Both of them do not verbally say that the LGBTQ+ community is inferior than their non-LGBTQ+ peers.

However, implicitly they stress that the LGBTQ+ community is outside the purview of "normalcy". Hence it is the best interest of the LGBTQ+ community to conform to the mainstream sexual norm, namely heterosexuality. By doing so the LGBTQ+ community maintain the harmony of larger community as it does not rock the boat. The Family Research Council and the Family Policy Alliance find the LGBTQ+ community's demand for government's support problematic. They perceive government's support to LGBTQ+ community as undermining the values that the Christian-based organization upholds. The previous point highlights that the Family Research Council and the Family Policy Alliance attempt to control people's sex lives and limit the sexual freedom of the individual. Besides controlling people's sex life, they propose the superior position of the Family Research Council and the Family Policy Alliance as Christian-based organizations by stigmatizing the LGBTQ+ community, albeit subtly (Fischer, 2011, p. 40).

Both the Family Research Council and the Family Policy Alliance argue that the infrastructure bill, specifically the Equality Act Language infringe parental rights for children. Their argument shows that the right to exercise religious belief is used as a weapon to preserve the conservative belief on sexuality at the cost of other belief. In other words, their inclusive tendency runs against the spirit of exclusiveness that provides room for equality for all people, irrespective of their sexual orientation and gender identity (Durgin, 2021). By promoting their conservative sexual belief and marginalizing other ways of looking at sexuality, both organizations solidify the notion their belief is superior to opposing viewpoints. The behavior and attitude of members of those Christian organizations represent what Bourdieu (2001) calls 'symbolic violence'. Symbolic violence refers to the attempt of the dominant groups in society to reproduce and maintain their narrative and alienate the minorities. By producing, and reproducing, narratives that push the LGBTQ+ community at the social margin of society, both groups create subtle mechanism that generate relations of domination (Bourdieu, 2002). Their narratives may normal and legitimate, but it represents an indirect and subtle form of abuse towards those who are harmed by those descriptions.

Criticizing the public schools in the United States for promoting comprehensive sex education

The Family Research Council and the Family Policy Alliance perceive themselves as institutions that will shape people's perspective on sexuality. Due to their belief, they support abstinence-only education. The Family Research Council, argues in their publication entitled *Sexual Risk-Avoidance Education* (2014), that abstinence-only education or Sexual Risk Avoidance Education (SRAE) mirrors the public health model. SRAE is designed to teach and encourage children to choose the risk avoidance approach rather than the risk reduction method (Grossu and Sprigg, 2014). According to their perspective, the risk avoidance approach, which entails encouraging children to avoid sexual activity before marriage, is considered the surest way to reduce the risk of teenage pregnancy (Grossu and Sprigg, 2014).

Ruse (2020) of the Family Research Council published a pamphlet entitled *Sex Education in Public Schools: Sexualization of Children and LGBT*

Indoctrination for parents. The purpose of this publication is to provide description on how public schools are teaching sex education. Ruse (2020) argues that sex education in public schools in this current era has shifted to the sex-positive attitude, which pushed the idea of inclusivity in educational content. Besides the concept of inclusivity, students are also taught about sexual consent. The purpose of teaching sexual consent to children is to equip them with a tool to resist sexual assault that may happen to them. However, Ruse (2020) views sexual consent as a means to promote sexual relations. Ruse (2020) argues that the concept of consent is not in accordance with Christian-based group's value: 'Consenting to a sex act does not make that act healthy, acceptable, or safe—especially when the actors are children! The "consent" movement seems less about avoiding assault and more about promoting sex and sexual rights.' (Ruse, 2020, p. 6). Ruse (2020) also argues that sex education could be manipulative in today's era. It presents the children with information to approve the concept of sexual rights and fluid sexual identities, such as affirmation to the LGBTQ+ community. Therefore, in the pamphlet, Ruse (2020) explains the harmful elements of comprehensive sex education in reference to the LGBTQ+ community. Furthermore, Ruse (2020) contends that comprehensive sex education promotes acceptance of diverse sexual orientations and gender identities. It also provides medically inaccurate information on homosexuality and transgenderism (2020, p. 15-16).

Likewise, the Family Policy Alliance published *Back to School – For Parents* in 2020. The aim of the publication is to outline steps for the parents to protect children from the inappropriate and biased material in public school known as comprehensive sex education. The publication strongly suggests the parents to support abstinence-only education or Sexual Risk Avoidance Education (SRAE). The Family Policy Alliance believes that SRAE protects children and youth from the possible consequences of sexual experimentation. In addition, SRAE is the real solution for sexually transmitted diseases, teen pregnancy, and emotional harm as a result of teen sexual activity (Family Policy Alliance, 2020). The Family Policy Alliances perceives comprehensive sex education as synonymous with public school's support for education which promotes the early engagement of sexual behavior (Family Policy Alliance, 2020). According to the Family Policy Alliance (2020, p.14), comprehensive sex education as a whole can be defined as the education that is 'not based on science, but radical social ideology, turning traditional notions of monogamy, marriage, and committed relationship, and abstinence on their heads.'

Hence, to weaken comprehensive sex education, parents are strongly encouraged to dissect some terms commonly associated with comprehensive sex education lessons such as consent, safe and healthy relationship, and medically accurate information. Similar to the Family Research Council's opinion on consent, the Family Policy Alliance also views consent as the permission to have sex – if no means no and yes means yes, it means consent teaches children to say yes to sexual activity (Family Policy Alliance, 2020). The Family Policy Alliance (2020) consider the concept safe and healthy relationships as deceptive as it only represents the viewpoint of some people. The organization sees government's attempts to define what is safe and healthy for children without considering the religious, moral, and ethical beliefs of each family (Family Policy Alliance,

2020). The Family Policy Alliance (2020) perceives the term medically accurate information as the support of left-leaning medical organizations on the ideology of abortion, same-sex marriage, and transgenderism (2020). In an attempt to curb the impacts of the comprehensive sex education materials, the Family Policy Alliance states that parents have the right to opt their children out of comprehensive sex education classes.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), one of the prominent international organizations, has a different stand on the comprehensive sex education. It recommends the comprehensive sex education for its inclusiveness and its potential to reduce marginalization of certain group of people. Promoting universal rights as the core component of education, the comprehensive sex education provides equal access and safe space for people regardless of their social background, gender, and sexual orientation. In its guidance UNESCO (2018, p,34) explains that comprehensive sex education 'takes a rights-based approach that emphasizes values such as inclusion, respect, equality, empathy, responsibility, and reciprocity as inextricably linked to the universal human rights' One of UNESCO's mission is to provide comprehensive sex education curriculum for both formal and non-formal education. UNESCO suggests several learning key concepts such as discussion on relationships, values, rights, culture and sexuality, skills for health and well-being, sexual and reproductive health, etc.

The narratives regarding comprehensive sex education offered by UNESCO and the Family Research Council and Family Policy Alliance demonstrate their different perception on the comprehensive sex education. UNESCO is on the side of the proponents of comprehensive sex education; therefore, it supports inclusiveness in sex education. On the other hand, the Family Research Council and the Family Policy Alliance support the advocates of the abstinence-only education. Both organizations rejected the teaching of the comprehensive sex education, particularly the concept of consent. By refusing to acknowledge the importance of consent through their narratives, both the Family Research Council and the Family Policy Alliance turn a blind eye to the rampant cases of sexual assault, abuse, and coercion. The Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) in the United States reveals that nearly 1 in 5 women experienced rape or attempted rape during their lifetime (Smith et al., 2018). Approximately 1 in 6 women experienced sexual coercion, such as being pressured to carry out sexual activity by someone who has a high influence and authority. Men in the United States also experience sexual abuse. Almost one-fifth of men report unwanted sexual contact like groping or touching (Smith et al., 2018). The Family Research Council and the Family Policy Alliance neglect those fact. At the same time, they refuse to equip children with skills to protect their bodily autonomy. They do not teach young people to understand what unwanted sexual attention is and what a healthy sexual relationship is. They have a very narrow focus, namely portraying the comprehensive sex education as a vehicle for the indoctrination of liberal values. They fail to see that the comprehensive sex education provides the necessary factual information on sexuality. Both organizations do not see sex education as an important life skill for young people, regardless of whether they will use this skill or not. The sole concern of the Family Research Council and the Family Policy Alliance is preserving conservative values on sexuality.

Consequently, they strongly believe that avoiding sexual acts is better than giving information on how to manage the risk of sexual activity. Through the narratives of the Family Research Council and the Family Policy Alliance on supporting abstinence sex education, the focus is no longer on the health and well-being of young people but rather on selling moral and religious beliefs to advance their own group's position.

Conclusion

The result and discussion above show that sexuality is not just a personal matter between people in a relationship, but it is also a social matter. As Christian-based organizations, the Family Research Council and the Family Policy Alliance have the tremendous power to regulate with whom people can have sex and make meaning to what is acceptable and unacceptable in terms of sexuality in society. Compiling the narratives from the Family Research Council and the Family Policy Alliance, this study presents a novel information on their intention and efforts as a Christian-based group representing the conservative values in the discussion of sexuality. Putting Christianity as the building block of sexuality, this study elucidates that the main intention of the Christian-based organizations is to conserve the sanctity of heterosexual relationships in the form of abstinence-only education and criticize the liberal values which are reflected in comprehensive sex education. Their narratives also show how the state's efforts in promoting sexual health discourse clash with the Christian doctrine. The sexual education class in the United States represents the contestation among groups with competing belief. The Family Research Council and the Family Policy Alliance assume the role of the social institution that tries to preserve the conservative view of sexuality. As a result, these two organizations do not view sexuality from the perspective of public health, but rather from the religious standpoint. Given their sustained attempts to shape the society's view on sexuality, their belief will be transmitted to the next generation. Thus, the tension between the conservative and liberal groups regarding the content of sexual education in the American schools will not end any time soon.

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A DETAILED OVERVIEW ON SOCIOLINGUISTIC COMPETENCE IN PEDAGOGICAL APPLICATIONS

Dedy Subandowo
Pázmány Péter Catholic University
correspondence: subandowo.dedy@hallgato.ppke.hu

Abstract
The purpose of this paper is to develop a general understanding of sociolinguistic competence in the pedagogical field. The discussion starts with an examination of communicative competence, which highlights some key components of communicative competence, as well as theoretical debates from experts. Following the discussion, there is an overview of sociolinguistic competence. Some linguists have developed a detailed explanation in this section, as well as the critical importance of distinguishing characteristic distinctions from other competences. The final section discusses how sociolinguistic competence can be applied in language pedagogy, such as academic writing and the roles of functional language in classroom discourses.

Keywords: sociolinguistic competence, pedagogical application, research methods

Introduction
For decades, some applied linguists have focused on the study of sociolinguistic competence. The term "sociolinguistic competence" refers to three frameworks for analyzing communicative competence: Hymes' (1972), Canale and Swain's (1980), and Bachman's (1990). One of the most powerful lines of attack on Chomsky's competence-performance concept is Hymes' (1972) concept of communicative competence. According to Hymes, acquiring language competence entails more than just linguistic form (grammatically correct sentences), but also awareness of language use in various contexts, such as knowing when and where to use the sentences. According to Hymes, rather than simply rejecting Chomsky's concept, he attempts to develop and redefine it within his framework of communicative competence. He argues that equating children's knowledge of a language with linguistic competence ignores issues such as appropriacy. In this sense, Hymes contends that children acquire knowledge not only as grammatical but also as appropriate. It means that children learn when to speak and when not to speak, as well as what to talk about with whom, when, where, and how (Hymes, 1972). In response to Chomsky's theory, Hymes divides competence into two types: linguistic and communicative competences. Linguistic competence is concerned with the creation and comprehension of grammatically correct sentences. Conversely, communicative competence is concerned with the

appropriateness and acceptability of what a person says in a given situation. This idea has been so prevalent that Dell Hymes is regarded as one of the forefathers of sociolinguistic theory (Weidemann, 1988).

Hymes, according to Dittmar (1976), was the first linguist to coin the term "communicative competence" with his demand for qualitative extensions of linguistic theory that included aspects of functional communication. Furthermore, rhymes incorporate the social context dimension (Matola, 1993). This idea then supports the emphasis on communicative competence, which is primarily paid to native speakers' ability to produce and understand context-based sentences as well as communicate effectively in socially diverse settings. In other words, communicative competence cannot be excluded from environmental situations such as speaker-hearer relationships.

Canale and Swain created a comprehensive theoretical framework of communicative competence (1980). Their communicative competence is comprised of three major components. First, grammatical competence is concerned with mastery of language code, specifically phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntax, semantics, and orthographic rules (Furkó & Mónos, 2013). It focuses on learners' abilities to construct sentences or utterances based on appropriate rules. Second, sociolinguistic competence is concerned with two sets of rules: socio-cultural rules and discourse rules. This ability is required for interpreting utterances for social meaning within a specific sociocultural context, depending on contextual factors such as topics, participant roles, settings, and interaction norms. It could be argued that someone who lacks this competency will find it difficult to interact with others (Fikron, 2018). Third, strategic competence is concerned with both verbal and nonverbal communication. This strategy may be used to compensate for communication breakdowns caused by insufficient competence. It includes paraphrasing unfamiliar grammatical forms and addressing strangers when they are unsure of their social status. Furthermore, this competence appears to aid in communication issues and difficulties. In essence, it appears that solving problems within the interaction is not possible unless grammatical and sociolinguistic competence is applied (Schmitt & Rodgers, 2020).

Bachman and Palmer propose a constructive approach to communicative competence (1996). They refer to communicative competence as "communicative language ability." According to their definition, communicative language ability focuses on two broad areas: language knowledge and strategic competence. Organizational and pragmatic knowledge are the two main integrative components of language knowledge. Knowledge of organizational units corresponds to knowledge of linguistic units and the rules for connecting them at the sentence and text levels. Pragmatics knowledge is divided into two categories: illocutionary competencies and sociolinguistic competencies. Illocutionary competence is the understanding of communication and how to carry it out. In addition, sociolinguistic competence includes the ability to use language appropriately in a given social context.

Bachman and Palmer's (1996) model places a premium on strategic competence, in contrast to Canale and Swain's (1980) emphasis on sociolinguistic competence. They define it as a set of metacognitive components or strategies that can be viewed as higher-order executive processes that provide cognitive

management in language use. Canale and Swain's (1980) framework is relatively simple and accessible in comparison to Bachman and Palmer's (1996) model. As a result, in many places today's ESL/EFL classes, this simplicity serves as a central reference (Furkó & Mónos, 2013). In contrast, Bachman and Palmer's (1996) model places communication skills in the context of language tests rather than instructions.

Celce-Murcia and Thurrell developed another concept of communicative competence after being dissatisfied with both Bachman and Palmer's (1996) and Canale & Swain's (1980). (1995). They argue that because communicative competence is essentially theoretical, it cannot be used as the foundation of a communicative language teaching syllabus. In doing so, emphasis has been placed on discourse competence as a key component. This component interacts with other critical elements such as lexico-grammatical building blocks (linguistic competence), actional organizing skills of communicative intent (actional competence), and sociocultural context (sociocultural competence) to shape the discourse, which in turn shapes the other three elements.

Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei, and Thurrel's (1995) model proposes five major components that are conceptually similar to Bachman and Palmer's (1996) framework. Discourse, linguistic, actional, sociocultural, and strategic competences are among them. Discourse competence is concerned with the selection, sequencing, and arrangement of words, structures, sentences, and utterances in order to produce a coherent spoken or written text. Linguistic competence refers to the fundamental elements of communication, such as sentence patterns and types, constituent structures, morphological inflection, and lexical resources, as well as the phonological and orthographic systems required for communication. Action Competence is concerned with a speaker's understanding of how to express messages appropriately within the larger social and cultural contexts of communication, in accordance with pragmatic factors relating to variation in language use. Strategically competent people have a set of skills that help them negotiate messages and solve problems, or they can compensate for flaws in their other skills.

The viewpoint of Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei, and Thurrel (1995) has become a standard in applied linguistics research and language teaching in general. This concept is useful in that it emphasizes the dynamic and interconnected nature of communicative competence. Aside from its applicability, it is also chosen as an underlying theoretical framework for current research projects, particularly those focusing on pedagogical aspects.

Sociolinguistic competence

Sociolinguistics is defined broadly as the study of language in society. According to Trudgill (1983), sociolinguistics has a close relationship with the social sciences. Sociolinguistics, according to Coupland and Jaworski (1997), focuses on languages as social and cultural phenomena, such as societies, social groups, speech communication, language dialect varieties, and styles. Sociolinguistics, in particular, investigates linguistic indicators of culture and power (Llamas, 2007). Furthermore, the study emphasizes not only language but also the social force of language events around the world. It covers grammar, vocabulary, corpus linguistics, discourse analysis, pragmatics, and phonology, as

well as the impact of ethnicity, gender, ideology, and social rank on language events (Purba, 2016). The primary goal of sociolinguistics research is scientific objectivity, which includes the social complexity of language in the real world. This means that this branch of linguistics tries to connect language in three different ways (Stern, 1983). First, it investigates general theoretical linguistics in the context of a study of language in society. Second, sociolinguistics refers to the concept of linguistic competencies of native speakers within the context of communicative competence. Third, sociolinguistics places a premium on the study of speech communities.

In the preceding statements, the concept of sociolinguistics as communicative competence appears to include a component of language proficiency (Newell, Caccamise, Boardman, & Holcomb, 1983). Language proficiency invariably implies the processing of linguistic elements as well as social and cultural knowledge. This means that when we communicate with a particular community, we must be aware of some sociolinguistic rules and social factors that may influence communication. This knowledge is essential for appropriately supporting our language use in the community. Sociolinguistic competence is the understanding of people's ability to use language appropriately (Janet Holmes, 2008). According to Canal (1983), sociolinguistic competence is influenced by contextual and socio-cultural factors. Setting, participants, goals and outcomes, forms and contents, manners and spirits, norms of interaction and interpretation, and genres are all examples of these characteristics (Saville-Troike, 1982). The time and location of the event, as well as the physical circumstances, are referred to as the setting. Participants range in age, gender, ethnicity, social status, and relationship status. The purposes of interaction are addressed by goal and outcome. Form and content in speech include options such as oral versus written forms. Manner and spirit highlight which speech act is performed. Interaction and interpretation norms refer to specific speaking behaviors as well as common knowledge or shared understandings. Genre refers to different types of events, such as a conversation, a lecture, a greeting, and so on.

Sociolinguistic competence can be found in a variety of contexts, including multilingual, monolingual, and migrant communities (Soler & Jordà, 2008). People in multilingual communities may use codes and language styles from a distinct language within their own language. Children in these communities, for example, tend to learn their first language while also continuing to learn another language for purposes such as education and communication in a broader range of contexts. It is worth noting that children appear to gradually develop and learn linguistic codes and varieties based on domains in their speech communities. Acquiring sociolinguistic competence in a monolingual community is concerned with learning to use the community language in a way that signals one's membership in various overlapping social groups and enacts a variety of social identities (Holmes, 2008). It has been demonstrated that linguistic features can appear in monolingual speech. Pronunciations, vocabulary, and grammar are all part of the feature. Another example of sociolinguistic competence can be found in immigrant generations who change their language while developing a broader range of context. When children move to a new community and only have a small domain, such as their family, they lose their heritage language. As a result,

acquiring sociolinguistic competence in this context appears to be recognized as a part of being a community member (Stone, 2002).

One important aspect of sociolinguistic competence is appropriateness. According to Canal (1983), there are two types of appropriateness: meaning and form categories. Appropriateness of meaning is concerned with the extent to which specific communicative functions, such as apologizing, commanding, refusing, attitudes (including politeness and formality), and ideas are deemed appropriate in a given context. Appropriateness of forms, on the other hand, refers to how well a given meaning fits into a given form. It consists of communicative functions, attitudes, and ideas. This is true in both verbal and nonverbal forms, as well as within a specific sociolinguistic context.

Developing sociolinguistic competence entails learning how to use language for various functions, such as getting things done in various contexts. In this sense, the ability to use language effectively and politely is regarded as crucial. When people from different communities come together, they appear to apply their own set of rules. According to Holmes (2008), this situation creates some challenges and even problems for them. As a result, embarrassment or misunderstandings are unavoidable. For example, how do we know when to respond to complex meanings expressed through indirect speech, such as "I am a little tired," with a direct question, such as "Do you want to come to a music concert?" How do we know when and how many small talkers to use at work, as well as what topics are appropriate? Thus, the concept of sociolinguistic competence sensitizes a broader range than linguistic structures. Constructing gender and identity, on the other hand, is allegedly considered part of sociolinguistic competence (Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003). Recognizing the distinctive features of women's and men's interaction in a community, according to this viewpoint, has been one of the characteristics of sociolinguistic competence.

Sociolinguistic Competence in Pedagogical Applications

The use of sociolinguistic competence can be divided into two major categories: written and spoken forms. This competence is frequently applied in written forms of scientific writing. Conversely, Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) in the classroom has focused on spoken forms, including how sociolinguistic competence is acquired.

Written forms

"Writing is an activity that involves the expansion of ideas." Writing, according to Hyland (2008), is an important aspect of social realities, institutions, and personal identities. It pervades all aspects of life, including professional and academic sciences. Writing in the academic sciences is synonymous with academic writing. This is regarded as an active, tumultuous engagement with the facts and principles of disciplines (Rose, 1985). Furthermore, Kaur and Singh (2015) contend that academic writing appears to present difficulties and challenges when it comes to organizing ideas, defending claims, and addressing readers. Some academic writers use technical vocabulary to distinguish themselves from other writers. Some people, on the other hand, may struggle to understand the meaning of a register related to a specific discipline, such as

health, nutrition, energy, communication, biology, sociology, and restricted fields such as robotics, radiology, physics, and so on. It is clear that English is the language of choice for writing publications in those fields, and people who use English as a first or second language may face some difficulties in finding the meanings. In this regard, sociolinguistic competence may aid them in comprehending the context's technical vocabulary (Matola, 1993).

According to Nida's (1992) comparison of language and anthropologist journals, authors impose several technical requirements on their writing, such as difficulties in vocabulary, attributive phrases, series of prepositional phrases, highly generic expressions, adverbial redundancy, parenthetical expressions, and sentence length, in which readers must understand the meaning based on sociolinguistic competence. Nida then examines those technical vocabularies using features such as right-hand versus left-hand extension. A right-hand extension of a related series of words or phrases, such as in a key dimension of the human mind in its natural habits, in the middle of social life, for example, appears to be easier to understand the meaning than a left-hand extension, such as in culturally orchestrated experimental schemata. Other aspects of acquiring sociolinguistic competence in the study include the use of footnotes, summaries, appendices, and mathematical formulas. These characteristics indicate that authors attempt to develop specialized and professional dialects through technical language and content, which for some journal editors can improve the publication's reputation. Nida (1992) stated that specialization in technical languages can make people feel superior to others.

Spoken forms

The rise of sociolinguistics has influenced a shift in language learning interest from linguistic competence to communicative competence (Savignon, 2017). As a result, this shift has resulted in a new situation in which learners who learn a new language must acquire a new vocabulary as well as a new set of phonological and syntactic rules, as well as speaking rules. Thus, the growth of sociolinguistic interest has made a significant contribution to the teaching of second language (L2) (Yu, 2005). As the desired goal of language teaching, this teaching emphasizes communicative competence (Matola, 1993).

L2 teachers have focused on the development of language learning through Communicative Language Teaching. This means that this method is solely intended to engage students in pragmatics, or the functional, authentic use of the target language for meaning purposes (Wolfson, 1989). As a result, students may achieve greater fluency and communicative confidence in the L2 (Lightbown and Spada, 1990). As previously explained in relation to sociolinguistic competence and cultural contexts, L2 learners must acquire this competence in order to integrate their studies. According to Yu (2005), sociolinguistic competence assists L2 learners in becoming successful in causing offense or misunderstanding in cross-cultural understandings. Furthermore, acquiring this competence may result in less negative first language (L1) transfer as a result of a large divergence between L1 and L2 sociocultural norms.

Some foreign language courses have included instructions on sociolinguistic competence for non-native speakers in order to avoid embarrassment and misunderstandings in cross-cultural communications (Kasper and Blum-Kulka,

1993). However, incorporating sociolinguistic competence into a pedagogical curriculum may be more difficult than it appears. It appears that teaching sociocultural rules to L2 learners will be a difficult task. Yu (2005) found that the instructor paid little attention to teaching sociolinguistic competence in four intermediate-level college freshman English classes in Taipei, Taiwan. After a four-month session of class meetings, the students show no significant improvement in acquiring sociolinguistic competence. The study found that, despite the fact that culture teaching has been advocated for many years by foreign language experts, it is still insignificant and sporadic in most L2 classrooms.

Conclusion

The concepts of sociolinguistic competence and communicative competence are inextricably linked. Linguists add a functional language to linguistic competence as a result of the development of theoretical frameworks relating to linguistic or grammatical competence. Language learning, according to this viewpoint, is not only the process by which learners successfully acquire a new language with standard grammar, but also understand meanings and use the language appropriately and effectively. As a result, the concept of sociolinguistic competence is proposed. The implementation of sociolinguistic competence is reflected in written and spoken forms, both of which have made a significant contribution. Some aspects of understanding technical vocabularies are dependent on contextual interpretation. Sociolinguistic competence in spoken forms, on the other hand, enables functional communication. It tries to emphasize that foreign language courses can be used to impose sociolinguistic competence. As a result, individuals learning a new language may benefit from this competence in order to avoid offense or misunderstanding in cross-cultural communication. It is worth noting that the incorporation of sociolinguistic competence into language pedagogy has ushered in a new era of Communicative Language Teaching, particularly for L2 teachers.

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PERCEPTION OF ISLAMIC CULTURAL POLICY IN BURUNDI

Simon Ntamwana
Ecole Normale Superieure Du Burundi, Burundi
correspondence: nituntasi@gmail.com
https://doi.org/10.24071/ijhs.v5i2.4522
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Abstract
The purpose of this paper was to examine the perception of Islamic religious cultural policy in Burundi. The research focused on the perception of culture-shaping policies based on Islam by Burundians. The discussion of the views of informants was based on Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas' approach to Islam and secularism. Primary data were collected from 40 university Christian students through questionnaires. The subjects included undergraduates and postgraduates studying in the Department of Languages and Social Sciences at *Ecole Normale Supérieure.* Secondary data were obtained from books, policy documents, and internet resources. It was found out that Christians in Burundi do not desire the Islamic cultural policy that is applied in Islamic States due mostly to its relation to radicalism and terrorism and the rejection of Christianism as a divinely revealed religion. Additionally, it was found out that some habits and practices among Muslims such as marrying many women, growing beard, and the secret bathing of the bodies of dead Muslims generate a negative perception of Islam. However, some values and arts that are practiced among Burundi Muslims such as women veiling, fashion, cookery, knitting, and embroidery are highly appreciated.

Keywords: cultural policy, Islamic cultural policy

Introduction
        As reflected through the 2018 constitution of the Republic, Burundi has innovated governance and public administration by introducing the concept of God in the constitution. As stated in the preamble, Burundians are responsible before God. In addition, following this new constitution, the President and Vice-President of the Republic and all the members of the government have to swear oath in the name of God by the constitutional court (Art. 107, 126, 138, 162). Moreover, like the earlier constitution versions, the Republic of Burundi recognizes equality of religions, races, ethnic groups, languages, and gender categories (Art.13). Following the enactment of this constitution, the members of the government organize thanksgiving crusades (Présidence, 1 Janvier 2022).
        In a similar vein, the members of the ruling party meet once a month (last Thursday of the month) to worship and praise God (Nkurunziza, 2022). This indicates that the government system is a secularism that is greatly influenced by Christianism and layers of Western civilization originating from the Belgian

colonization. While the Muslims are included in the governance, their cultural system is submerged by Christianism and especially Catholicism which involves the majority of the people (more than 60%). This, however, goes contrary to the colonial administration that marginalized Muslims by undermining the influence of their language (Swahili) in schools and official settings, abolishing some of their habits and subsequently Christianizing them. During the colonial era, Muslims were excluded from performing their Islamic rituals or liturgy in Christian dominant quarters (Gakumba,1987,p.15). With the new constitution and derived secular government, it is expedient to investigate the perception of Islamic cultural policy in Burundi. Through this evaluation, democratic governance and its interfaith dimensions in Burundi are grasped and all their implications to the administration of public affairs.

Islamic Cultural Policy

In "Secular Cultural Policy in Islamic countries: Desirability and Feasibility" (2015), Abbas Mehregan defines cultural policy as "a set of policies through which values, norms, beliefs, and traditions, in political, social, economic, legal, educational, and gender spheres are shaped and changed" (2). From this definition, Islamic cultural policy suggests any culture-making policy that is based on or grounded in Islam. In the context of religion, J. Ahearne views cultural policy as a form of sociocultural transmission system through which identity is defined, maintained, and reshaped; habits and values are inculcated; and the past and future of the society are represented (154). This means that this paper does not study cultural policy as a type of public policy that is related to art and culture, but, in the sense of Aysegul Guchan (2014) as a religion-related cultural policy. In other words, as Oliver Bennett maintains, religious cultural policy means "forms of cultural action" that are linked with a particular religious system and that shape attitudes and patterns of behavior of people in a particular society (2009). This means that Islamic cultural policy is different from any secularism that José Casanova refers to as a form of political system that constructs or symbolizes human experiences and traditions in a way void of any religious or church regulation (57). Even though Cassanova makes a distinction between religious cultural system and secularization, Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas links secularism to the Western civilization and ipso facto to Christianism.

Securalism in this way as admitted by Bangstad (2009) is a form of civil religion that is used by political leaders to manage the public affairs of the country (189). According to Naquib Al-Attas, Islam does not have anything to do with secularism (25). Contrary to other religions especially Christianism that is viewed "as a part of culture, of tradition; as a system of beliefs and practices and attitudes and values and aspirations that are created out of history and the confrontation of man and nature, and that evolve and undergo a process of development" […], Islam is a revealed religion which keeps its inherent political and social dimensions that Christianity lost due to its "misapplication of Greek philosophy in Western theology and metaphysics" (22). In addition, due to its divine revelation, Islam has a Revealed Law (*shariah*) that is "expressed in the teachings, sayings and model actions" (i.e., *Sunnah*) (28). Furthermore, Al-Attas refuses to refer to "the social, political, and economic dimensions of Islam" as socialism in Islam. He advocates that these sociocultural aspects of Islam evidence the integrating

nature of Islam rather than a form of secularism permeating it (44). This view is to some extent sustained by McLennan (2015, p.126). He considers secular governments to conceal to ironical by claiming public affairs administration void of layers of religiosity. Actually, as supported by Jahanbegloo (2009, p.317), totally secularized society does not exist, for any government is imbedded in the sociocultural tradition of the society whereby the religiosity is *sine qua non*.

Islamic cultural policy in this paper is then apprehended from this approach by Al-Attas as a sociocultural and political framing based on Islam. This culture making policy implies bringing Islamic religious values as a whole including wisdom, judicial system, arts, folklore, and aesthetics to Public policy, administration, and governance. Jahanbegloo refers to this as "the spiritualizing of public space" and contends that it is essential to harness human rights and humanism in the society by setting up a conducive Islamic jurisprudence capable of a modern Islamic society having nothing to do with Islamic state. For Ahearne (2014), this form of cultural policy differs from the mainstream cultural policy that is centered on the arts and creative economy. It is rather an "informal cultural policy" that deals with "strategic endeavors" by the government to shape national cultures, that is "sets of norms and symbolic matrices" (320). In the same spirit, Scullion and García (2005) make a distinction between cultural policy based on political economy and cultural studies on the one hand and cultural policy based on humanities and arts. For them, the former is formal cultural policy in the sense of Ahearne as it deals with the "study and management of cultural provision" (115) whereas the latter dealing with "aesthetics, taste, art and culture, policy and citizenship" is informal cultural policy (116).

This second approach to cultural policy can easily be grounded in a religious system. Thus Oliver Bennett points to the existence of catholic cultural policy (2009). He admits that the Roman Catholic Church uses the deliberations of Vatican II whereby the Pope and Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith use their theological and cultural authority to delineate and promote Christian consciousness that has to characterize Catholics (155). In a similar vein, Vital da Cunha argues for the existence of Pentecostal cultural policy in Brazil by pointing out the development of a Pentecostal culture in urban peripheries whereby changes made by the church in various social aspects affect the national culture that has hitherto been influenced by Catholicism (2018, p.1). As far as Islamic cultural policy is concerned, Pirouzfar and Absalan (2013) view it as Islamic cultural policy as government legislation that is grounded in Islamic culture or simply a form of policymaking that is anchored upon Islamic principles in such a way that "everything must be Islamic" and […] "everything […] should be based on divine regulations" (6). This paper looks with the views of Christians about programs, laws, or political practices that are grounded in the Islamic culture and worldview. In other words, in Islamic cultural policy, Islam plays an agent role in the promotion of cultural policy whereby the Islamic consciousness is envisioned.

Islam in Burundi

This research on the perception of the role of Islam in public affairs and administration among Burundians is of a paramount importance in the study of Political Islam in Burundi. The life of the Muslims and the expansion of Islam in Burundi has been dictated by social regulations which had for times marginalized

and discriminated Muslims. Earlier in the history of Burundi, records of Islam are traced back to the early 1880s. Apart from traditionalism or animist religious practice, Islam is the first religion to be introduced in Burundi in 1830 (Butoyi, p.54). The early Muslims were slavers from Zanzibar, the present Tanzania (Gakumba, p.5). The second wave of Muslims dated back to the 1890s. These were mainly Asians who came for trade under the auspices of the German colonisation. Others were auxiliaries helping in the colonial administration of Burundi. They included Indians, Pakistanis and Arabs, Mulattoes from East Africa, Swahili or Black Muslims from Tanzania. Religiously, the history of Burundi has been characterized by intolerance. During the German colonisation (1896-1916) and Belgian colonisation (1916-1962) as well, even though early Muslims in Burundi did not do proselytization to convert Burundians to Islam, they were despised by the European missionaries and Catholic Church (Gakumba, p.8).

Thus, in addition to preventing them from circulating among non-Muslims especially autochtones, Muslims were heavily taxed by the colonial administration, they were socio-culturally repressed in many ways, and their Koranic school was decreased by legislations which favoured colonial schools and missionary schools. In this vein, the economic legislation no 20/94 of 1st April 1921 excluded Muslims from doing business in Burundi by requiring them documents like European Language Proficiency Certificate, Primary School Certificate, and certificate proving their skills in accounting (Gakumba, p.15). This was a stumbling block to the Muslim community who were mostly speaking Swahili, Arabic and other Asian languages.

Likewise, the majority of Muslims had not completed primary schools and were not trained in business management. Moreover, the legislation no 19/93 of 29 March 1921, was also another oppression to the Muslim community of Burundi. Following this law Muslim's plots of land were expropriated by the government. They were dispossessed of their urban land in the capital Bujumbura and were displaced to farther places or peripheral zones like Rumonge in Bururi Province or Muzinda in Bubanza Province. This colonial policy aimed to prevent Muslims from converting people and influencing them in the decolonisation of Burundi. The limitation of Islamic influences in Burundi was also characterized by the law no 56 of 12 December 1924 and the Decree of 17 July 1931 which abolished polygamy, a practice that was favoured among Muslims. The Catholic Church also contributed in weakening Islamisation in Burundi. All the Muslim pupils in missionary primary schools were constrained to convert to Catholic Church after the fourth grade (Gakumba, p. 32). Subsequently, many Muslim children were then forced to convert to Catholicism since Secular Schools were very few. To further this anti-Islamist policy, the local Catholic church referred to the few secular state schools which did not proselyte Muslim children as atheist and prevented Catholic believers from sending their children to them. Thus Muslims parents had two options, that is, to send their children to the very few secular state schools and Protestant schools or to send them abroad. The Muslim community was referred to by the government and Catholic church as the Swahili to negatively connote them to liars.

Despite oppression of early Muslims in Burundi, Islam did some progress in the early 1900s (Gakumba, p.48). Mosques were built in many places among

others in Rumonge (1902), in Nyanza-lac (1921), in Bujumbura (1928), in Muzinda (1934), in Kayanza (1937), and in Rukago (1950). These Islamic worship places spread Muslim faith and Quranic teachings among Burundians. These early Islamic institutions relied on Tanzania, Libya, Qatar, Kuwait, Egypt and Saudi Arabia for qualified teachers. Thus after the Quranic teachings, Burundians had to further their studies in the aforementioned countries. Islamic strife to education climaxed with the creation of the first Junior High School in Buyenzi quarter in 1946 (Gakumba, p.53). Muslims' efforts to cope with this oppressing history are galvanised through their sociocultural organizations and fellowships. The main association is COMIBU which stands for Islamic Community of Burundi. It was founded in 1983 and was agreed by the government order No 560/19/83 of 13 April 1983 (Gakumba, p.58). In addition to strengthening Islam by consolidating all Muslims, its intent is the triumphant dissemination of Islam through Burundi and the claim of Muslim rights locally and internationally. In its objectives, COMIBU has to couple to the propagation of Islam the building of infrastructures such as mosques and schools in all provinces. To train Muslims morally and intellectually, COMIBU built schools for primary, secondary, and higher education focussing on religion, technical skills, sciences, and humanities. COMIBU like other Islamic movements in Burundi draws from the past of Burundi which has strongly limited the diffusion of Islam through public regulations and other practices. That is why as defined in its objectives, all its structures envision to expand Islam (Butoyi, p.91). Thus, having been the other among Christians, it becomes fascinating to do research on how Islamic cultural policy is perceived among the majority non-Muslims in Burundi. In what follows, the research methodology, literature review, objectives, and research questions, are described before the presentation of analysis and conclusion.

Method

The mixed method (qualitative and quantitative method) is central to this research. Firstly, the analysis of data is based on an explanatory survey method that is achieved through quantitatively collected data. The research instrument that is used is questionnaire. The obtained data were analyzed using the statistic descriptive analysis. Secondly, the quantitative analysis is coupled with the qualitative analysis to account for the views and feelings of the informants about the Islamic cultural policy in Burundi. The research subjects used are Christian students studying at the Burundi Higher Institute of Education (*Ecole Normale Supérieure du Burundi*). All the subjects live in the municipality of Bujumbura. The parameters of gender, age, and religious background are taken into account. 40 subjects in total were used. The convenience sampling method was used. After collection, the data were classified, interpreted, and analyzed through the lenses of Al-Attas'approach to Islam. The theories of religion as foundation of ethics and morality and knowledge as the essential feature of the nature of man and humanity are used. In the application of the theories, five sets of questions were used. The first one deals with the personal parameters of respondents. This includes the religion or religious denomination, gender, age, and education level of the respondents. Second, the respondents were asked about the significance of religion and Islam in public affairs management and policy. Thirdly, the respondents were asked about Islamic education as a core point in Islamic cultural

policy. Fourthly, the respondents were asked about their perception towards cultural practices including elements of material culture, customary culture, and folklore. Finally, they were asked about the establishment and promotion of Islamic cultural policy in Burundi. Answers to these questions were rated through tables. Then they were discussed based on the aforementioned theoretical framework.

From various theoretical approaches, many authors have studied the role of religion in public policy and management, among others Mark O'Neill (2011), Oliver Bennett (2009), Marrion Maddox (2011), Tobias Harding (2015), Jane Woddis (2010). In the furtherance of this point, many studies have been conducted on the issue of Islam and cultural policy. These include Karim Tartoussieh (2009), Nedret Kuran-Burc Burçoğlu (2011), Karim Tartoussieh (2011), Aysegul guchan (2014). The first sets of works on religion and public policy discussed religion in general or many religions excluding Islam and their interrelations to public policy and management. Some of them apprehended cultural policy as a broad term to mean the politics of the cultural system of nation. Others focus on the economic approach to cultural policy tackling therefore the issues of cultural heritage, urban regeneration, cultural education, Intellectual property, cultural tourism, cultural mapping, and cultural and creative industry. The existing literature on Islam and cultural policy deal with how the Islamic sociocultural universe informs the Muslim world and their policies. To the best of my knowledge no research has been done on the Islam and public policy in Burundi and more specifically on the attitudes of Muslims towards cultural policy. This study differs from the aforementioned writings by the fact that it focuses on the Burundi Muslim minority and examines their relations to public policy and the sociocultural system in which it is grounded.

This paper aims at:
1. Investigating how Burundi Non-Muslims perceive the role of religion in Public policy and administration
2. Examining how Islamic cultural policy is perceived by Non-Muslims in Burundi

To achieve these objectives, the research attempts to answer the following questions:
1. How do Non-Muslims perceive the role of religion and specifically Islam in public administration and policy?
2. How do Non-Muslims view the Islamic cultural policy and rationale behind it?

Findings and Discussion

The personal parameters of the respondents (table 1) reveal that they were all Christians including Catholics (62%) and Protestants (37.5%). They were mainly men, that is 90% over 10%. Actually, in the university *Ecole Normale Supérieure*, the number of women is still very inferior to that of men. Even though the majority of the informants were undergraduates (87.5%), they were all informed about Christian and Islamic religions. They were students majoring in English, Kirundi-Swahili, History, and French Education. Their age varied between 20 and 30. As some of them witnessed, many of them had responsibilities in their churches.

Table 1. Display of personal parameters of respondents

	Description	Number of respondents	% of respondents
Gender	Male	36	90
	Female	4	10
Religion	Catholic	25	62,5
	Protestant	15	37,5
Education level	undergraduate students	35	87,5
	postgraduate students	5	12,5
Age	20-25	23	57,5
	26-30	17	42,5

The frequency distribution of answers to the questions about the perception of religion and Islam in administration and public policy reveals that 47.5% of the respondents strongly agree or agree to the idea that religious politicians fit in public affairs administration and governance. This demonstrates that the elected government actors including the executive power, the legislative power, and the judicial power. This reaction is backed up by the religious background of the respondents. Actually, according to Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas Christianism does not involve significant social and political dimensions due to its historical development (22). In its teaching, Christianism advocates the separation of the religious and temporal powers. Consequently, any government which does not separate the Church and the State is viewed as a theocracy.

While the participants' views about the significance of religious politicians reveals a low rate, there is a high percentage with regard to religion and public administration. Thus, the frequency of those who strongly agree and agree is 80%. This is an indication of a high belief that front line and non-elected bureaucrats or administrators can be religious without impinging on the secular character of the government that is promoted by Christianism and its denominations. Even though religion may impact on the discretion of the local administrators, it cannot affect the democratic character of the government. This view is grounded in Christianism and the European secularism that is linked with it. This goes, according to Al-Attas, contrary to the Islamized world.

In fact, Islam supports a world that is "disenchanted or deprived" of "magical, mythological, animistic, national, and cultural tradition" rather than those that are ingrained political power and authority of God and His Prophet and of those who follow His Prophet (183). This divine inspired government is shunned by Non- Muslims. In the research, only 7.5% agreed or strongly agreed to the question "Burundi should implement only the laws of the *Sharia*". The negative answers (92.5%) highlights the bad perception of Islam among the research population. Among the reasons given by the respondents is that Islam lacks intolerance spirit and does not recognize the truth preached by other religions; Islam discriminates women by condoning polygamy; Islam marginalizes Christians by calling them infidels (*Kafir*). The other question in the rubric was about Islam and its democratic import and good governance. The respondents were asked whether it was democracy if government officers were all religious. Upon this question, 67.5% of the participants agreed or strongly agreed. This rate insinuates that the respondents do not make a mutually exclusive relationship between religion and democracy. Religiosity does not hinder good

governance. The answers of the informants on the role of religion and Islam in public affairs management and policy show that apart from the central government and elected government that should not be religious, other government members' involvement in public affairs would not hamper good governance in Burundi. But due to their religious background the respondents refuted any Sharia-based government. The rate frequency is displayed in the table below.

Table 2. Perception of religion and Islam in administration and public policy

Aspects of politics	Perception	Number of respondents	% of respondents
religious politicians	Agree	2	5
	Disagree	7	17,5
	strongly agree	17	42,5
	strongly disagree	14	35
religious administrator	Agree	14	35
	Disagree	3	7,5
	strongly agree	18	45
	strongly disagree	5	12,5
Sharia legal system	Agree	0	0
	Disagree	12	30
	strongly agree	3	7,5
	strongly disagree	25	62,5
Islamic governance	Agree	15	37,5
	Disagree	7	17,5
	strongly agree	12	30
	strongly disagree	6	15

To measure the desirability of Islamic cultural policy among Christians, questions about education were used. The connection between education and Islamic cultural policy is justified by Al-Attas' view of Islam. Actually, the Islamic universe revolves around knowledge or education. The Holy Qur'an is knowledge that includes "ethical, axiological, aesthetical and logical norms" that are immutable and that transcend time and space (46). This centrality of knowledge to the core values of Islam reveals that any Islamic Cultural policy must promote education policy. To the question about Islamic education policy, the respondents were asked whether the Islamic values should be included in the school curriculum in Burundi. Only 7.5% approved the idea. This low share proves the non-desirability of Islamic cultural policy among Burundi Christians.

The respondents view in teaching Islamic values in Burundi Schools a kind of Islamization that would uproot the Christian cultural traits that have been introduced and cemented by the Western tradition since the colonialization. The reality on the field is that the subject of religion in primary and secondary school is optional and minimized in terms of credit and weighted average. Except for Islamic-based schools wherein the learners can partake in the religion course, in other schools, the pupils and students choose between Protestantism and Catholicism. Muslim children who cannot choose between the two religious systems go outside to wait until the course period ends. This is a kind of marginalization on the side of the Muslim children. Muslim believers are,

however, allowed to perform their worship rites. In many schools they are given rooms for daily and weekly prayers. Thus, the respondents were asked about this aspect of Islamic cultural policy. The findings of the research show that 65% of the participants support Islamic worship in schools. This positive share among respondents pinpoints their belief in religious tolerance and liberty of religious expression. In addition, the frequency distribution reveals the respondents' decline of proselytization. Actually, they admit that the learners who are already Muslims should be allowed to meet for their prayer meetings. Moreover, they agree that religious infrastructural facilities should be given to them. In contrast they refuse to make the curriculum more multicultural by introducing Islam as a subject in the curriculum. The frequency distribution to Islamic cultural policy and education is displayed in the following table:

Table 3. Islam and Education policy

Islam and Education	Perception	Number of respondents	% of respondents
Values in curriculum	Agree	2	5
	Disagree	18	45
	strongly agree	1	2,5
	strongly disagree	19	47,5
Worship in schools	Agree	16	40
	Disagree	8	20
	strongly agree	10	25
	strongly disagree	6	15

The respondents were also asked about Islamic cultural policy by focusing on some aspects of culture. Six questions were mentioned in the questionnaire. The questions include elements of Islamic material, customary, and verbal culture. The focused elements and practice of culture include veiling for ladies, polygyny, long beard among men, knitting-embroidery, funeral rites, and worship ritual. About the desirability of these cultural practices, the frequency distribution of answers to the questions show that the vast majority of respondents strongly agreed or agreed to knitting and embroidery (97.5%). This points to the success of this handicraft practice among Muslim women in Burundi. The second element in share rate is veiling among Muslim women. The share percentage among the respondents is 70%. These two elements point to the image of the Muslim woman among Burundi Christians. Apart from the religious belief which 'tarnishes her', she is viewed as entrepreneur and beautiful. This representation is shared by both female and male respondents. The following practice in rate frequency is the way Muslims devote to prayers. The share percentage is 60%. It shows that the worship adoration ways of Muslims do not disturb Christians. The following cultural areas that were object of analysis were the long beard practice and funeral rites. These were rated at 30%. The majority of respondents did not agree with the funeral rites and body attire of Muslims. This is associated with the respondents' religious affiliations and background. Actually, while some Churches mostly, Protestants boost veiling and long skirts for ladies, they discourage long beard or any long hairy style.

Some people use beard to pejoratively refer to Muslims. The long beard exaggerates the stereotypes that Muslims are womanizers and polygamous. The Funeral performance on the bodies of dead people complicates the negative image

of the Muslim man who is viewed as vigorous male and a bull for mating. Through it, the Muslims are viewed as the fetish, witch, and dark man to fear. This negative signification of the Muslim has been exaggerated by the fact that the government has separated the cemetery into two parts, that is, one for Christians and another one for Muslims. Finally, in the questionnaire items, a question was asked about the respondents' desirability about Islamic policy in the perspective of marriage. Only 5%, that is, 2 persons of the responded agree to the spousal practice of Muslims. This is linked with the Christian doctrines that condemns polygamy and stresses monogamy. The answers prove the belief distance that exists between Christianity and Islam religion. The Islamic cultural policy is explained by Al-Attas as patterning to the divine Revelation to the Holy Prophet and Great Teacher Ahmad (Muhammad) who first interpreted the Sacred Law and delineated the model actions (*Sunnah*) to be followed by all Muslims (30). On the other hand, as Al-Attas admits, the core foundational pillars of the Christian cultural policy, especially the Catholicism, are the Nicea, Constantinople and Chalcedon creeds, Roman laws, and Graeco-Roman philosophy. These main pillars have dictated Christian cosmology, arts, and sciences (29).

Thus, while in the Christian universe and world view of Burundi Christians a long beard and polygamous man are condemned and associated with uncleanliness and a primitive character, Burundi Muslims view them as honor (*heshima*). This different view on the same cultural products corroborates Oliver Bennett's idea in "The Manufacture of Hope: Religion, Eschatology and the Culture of Optimism (2011)" that religion has the capacity to endow human beings with a sense of meaning and purpose (7). The differentiated feelings of the informants show that religions have enculturated the spirits of Burundians and ipso facto manufactured in them a signification system that is pertinent to the cultural policy embedded in their religious universes. Moreover, it is realized that the image of the Muslim woman is more positive than that of the man. The veiling for instance is bequeathed to the veiling of the Catholic nurses and that of the born again Pentecostal Christians in some churches. While the woman is perceived as the meek, persevering, aesthetic and entrepreneur character; the man is viewed as being passionate, lustful, fetishist and dirty in nature. The results are displayed in the following table:

Table 4. Perception of elements of Islamic cultural practices

Elements of culture	Perception	Number of respondents	% of respondents
Knitting and embroidery	Agree	26	65
	Disagree	0	0
	strongly agree	13	32,5
	strongly disagree	1	2,5
Marriage institution	Agree	0	0
	Disagree	13	32,5
	strongly agree	2	5
	strongly disagree	25	62,5
Veiling (*Jilbab*)	Agree	17	42,5
	Disagree	7	17,5
	strongly agree	11	27,5

	strongly disagree	5	12,5
men attire (long beard)	Agree	9	22,5
	Disagree	18	45
	strongly agree	3	7,5
funeral rites	strongly disagree	10	25
	Agree	10	25
	Disagree	12	30
	strongly agree	2	5
Worship rituals	strongly disagree	16	40
	Agree	20	50
	Disagree	8	20
	strongly agree	5	12,5
	strongly disagree	7	17,5

Finally, questions were asked about what the respondents think of Islam and use of it as pillar to government affairs and administration in Burundi. The first question asked whether Islamic cultural heritage should be protected by the Burundi government. The second question was whether Islamic values and world view were democratic and should ipso facto be promoted in Burundi. The distribution of frequency reveals that only 45% agree for the protection of Islamic cultural heritage in Burundi. The low rate proves the negative perception of the *Shariah* and *Sunnah* upon which all genuine Islamic practice and virtues are based (Al-Attas 94). There was fear among the informants that the protection of the Islamic cultural heritage by the government would bring about the establishment of Islamic State in Burundi. Since in the understanding of many Burundi Christians, Islamic state is connected with terrorism and violence like that of the *Boko Haram* in Nigeria, *El-Shabaab* in Somalia, and *Al-Qaïda* in Afghanistan, and the *Hezbollah* in Lebanon; many people (25%) strongly disagree and more others disagreed (27.5%) on it. For the issue of promoting Islamic values, 57.5% of respondents agreed. Their views are influenced by the new cultural policy to develop a creative economy that valorize the cultural products and arts produced in Burundi. This shows that even though some habits of Muslim men such as growing a long beard and marrying more than one wife are mostly despised by the Burundi Christians, the practices of Moslem ladies such as knitting, culinary arts, and fashion are accredited. This explains why some cultural entrepreneurship models commonly developed among Muslim communities such as knitting, embroidery, culinary arts, and food ways have been adopted by non-Muslims. In the capital of Bujumbura, there many shops, houses, and restaurants wherein Non-Muslim women use Moslem models of knitting, handicraft, and culinary aesthetics in their creative industry. On the country as witnessed by the informants, some men who cannot control their sexual drives convert to Islam so that they marry many women. Others, to avoid complying with the civil policy demanding Burundi men to marry and get registered with one wife, they run to Islam so that they can keep the additional wives. This evidences why some of the respondents associated Muslim men with dark and fraudulent ways. The perceptions of the respondents are demonstrated through the following table:

Table 5. Establishment and promotion of Islamic values in Burundi

Policy	Perception	Number of respondents	% of respondents
Islamic cultural heritage Protection	Agree	13	32,5
	Disagree	11	27,5
	strongly agree	5	12,5
	strongly disagree	10	25
Promotion of Islamic Values	Agree	23	57,5
	Disagree	15	37,5
	strongly agree	0	0
	strongly disagree	2	5

The respondents were asked to justify their rejection of the establishment of *Shariah* and *Sunnah* in Burundi public policy and administration. 6 respondents, that is 15%, did not give any reasons. They maintained that they strongly disagree on the Islamic cultural policy. This ensures a kind of radicalism that they avoided to disclose on the questionnaire sheet. This is because many of the respondents who abstained had confessed to belong to Christian youth movements such as scout and Schoenstatt and biblical fellowships. The informants (34 or 85%) who explained why they did not support the islamisation of Burundi or simply the enactment of the Islamic cultural policy give 7 reasons, namely false doctrine which does not promote the Holy Bible and Jesus Christ (61.7%); polygamy and poor family care (38.2%); strange worship that consume time, disturb neighborhood and that is Satan-oriented (17.6%); radicalism and eschatology that support homicide (61.7%); practices which marginalize women (11.7%); the use of Arabic language in worship rituals and ipso facto sounds strange to neighborhood (14%); and lack of patriotism for men (41%) who act against local cultural values (grounded in Christianism) by growing beard, wearing robes, marrying many women, *Janazah* or funeral rites especially washing the body of a dead Muslim whereby Muslims seclude themselves by keeping the corpse away from other people. The distribution of the frequency rates, shows that the first reason behind the rejection of Islamic cultural policy by Christians in Burundi is their religious beliefs that are not in accord with the Bible and the mediator to Salvation Jesus Christ. This perception is coupled with the view of Islam that goes with radicalism and criminal acts towards Non-Muslims or *Kafir*. The other significant reason behind the negative perception is the cultural values held among Muslims that are uncommon among Christians among others growing long beard and secluded bath of the bodies of Muslim people.

Conclusion

Based on their background that is rooted in a secular cultural policy linked with Christianism, Burundi Christians perceive Islamic cultural policy as form of radicalism and terrorism that is coupled with a rejection of the Bible and the Character of Jesus-Christ. The Islamic cultural policy is not democratic and denies the principles of good governance because it supports the killing of Non-Muslims through youth leagues and radical organizations. Moreover, due to habits observed among Muslims such as growing long beard, secretly washing dead bodies, using foreign language for communication, Burundi Christians view Islam

as a counter discourse to the national cultural heritage. Furthermore, the practice of polygamy that is not condemned by Islamic ethics marginalizes women and children by refusing them equal care. This is contrary to any democratic governance, for it does not recognize the inalienable rights of women and children.

In the furtherance of research on Islamic cultural policy in Burundi, scholars should add to these findings by conducting a study on the minority Muslim group that live in Burundi. This would provide new findings from the perspectives of Muslims. In addition, religious cultural policy should be integrated in the broader area of cultural policy by involving arts and cultural contents in the context of Islam in Burundi.

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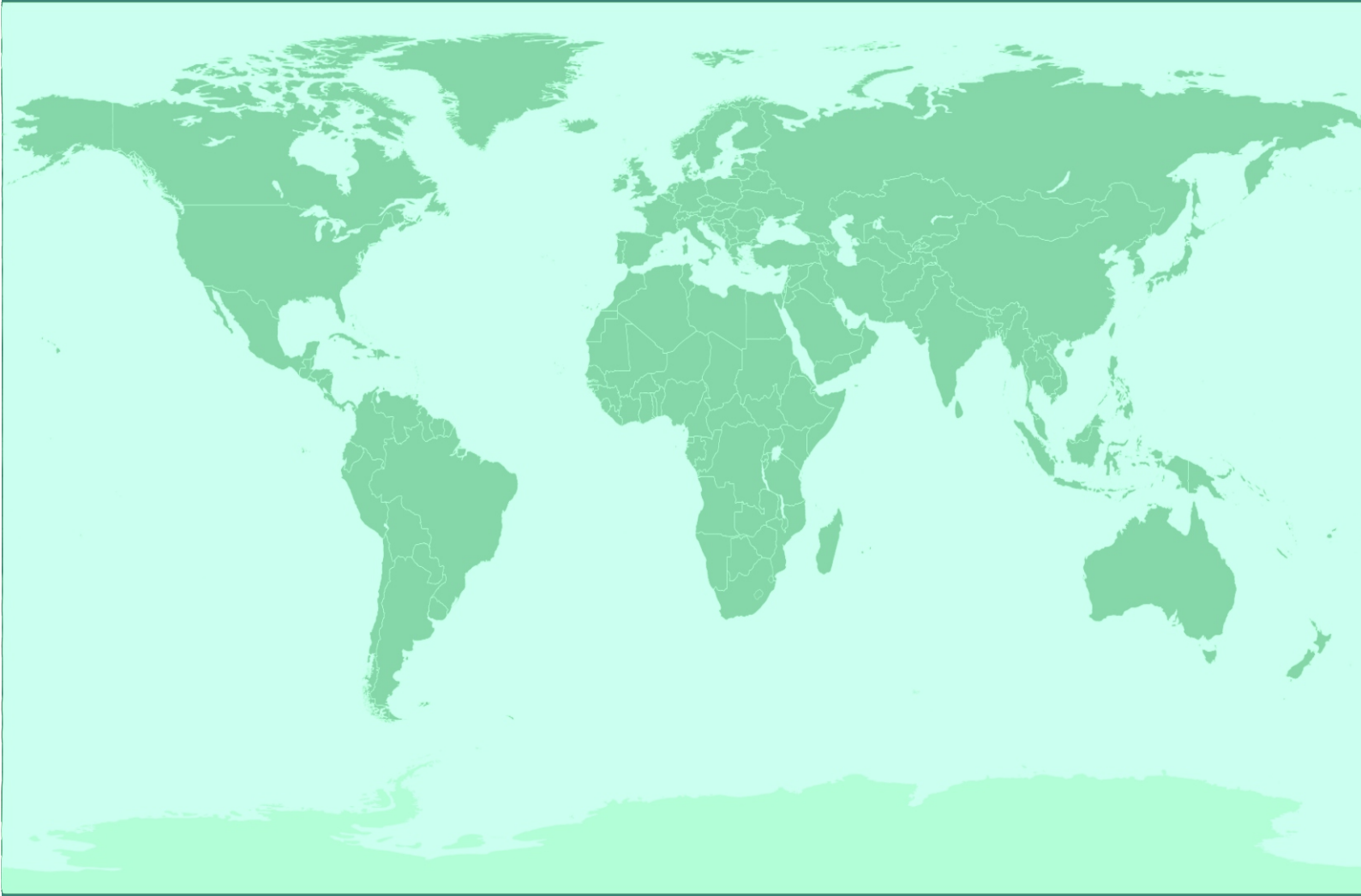
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