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An Everlasting Antiquity: Aspects of Peter Brown's *The World of Late Antiquity*

By Cody Franchetti

Introduction- Peter Brown's influential book The World of Late Antiquity has had a formidable impact on ancient historiography. Before it, historians who studied the period leading to the deposition of Romolus Agustulus—the last Roman emperor—in 476 AD considered themselves 'classicists' or 'ancient historians', while those who studied the subsequent period called themselves medievalists; therefore before Brown's book the collapse of the Roman Empire remained the watershed date that brought upon the Middle Ages. It is not the task of this essay to trace the history of this conception, but to examine the assertions, merits, and faults of Peter Brown's book. Brown magnified, or more precisely, outright invented a new epoch: "[a number of elements] converged to produce that very distinctive period in European civilization—the Late Antique world".

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An Everlasting Antiquity: Aspects of Peter Brown's *The World of Late Antiquity*

Cody Franchetti

I. Introduction

Peter Brown's influential book The World of Late Antiquity has had a formidable impact on ancient historiography. Before it, historians who studied the period leading to the deposition of Romolus Agustulus—the last Roman emperor—in 476 AD considered themselves 'classicists' or 'ancient historians', while those who studied the subsequent period called themselves medievalists; therefore before Brown's book the collapse of the Roman Empire remained the watershed date that brought upon the Middle Ages. It is not the task of this essay to trace the history of this conception, but to examine the assertions, merits, and faults of Peter Brown's book. Brown magnified, or more precisely, outright invented a new epoch: "[a number of elements] converged to produce that very distinctive period in European civilization—the Late Antique world"[1]. Naturally, both the term nor the concept are not his: Late Antiquity had been commonly used to denote the last two centuries of the Roman empire, and the conspicuous socio-economic changes that it faced—from the debasement of the currency in the late 2nd century to the increasingly "mercenarization" of the Roman army and its progressive admittance of barbarian soldiers. Another prominent aspect of the Late Antique period—a complex aspect I shall examine—was the profound transformation of the arts around Diocletian's time: from the ever-famous porphyry statue of the Tetrarchs, art displayed a new sensibility and indeed new preoccupations. 'Late Antiquity' was thus by no means a new concept. But what was new was Brown's notion of a protracted Late Antique epoch, which though well-founded, he unduly stretched from 150 to 750 AD—dates I believe to be overextended in both directions—and which this paper shall examine.

Brown's book is essentially revisionist: it was likely written in reaction to the cataclysmic vision of a barbarian wave sweeping the empire away in the 5th century and leaving behind the 'Dark Ages'. Edward Gibbon was partially responsible for this long-standing view, although he mainly saw in Christianity the true, degenerative force behind the empire's demise. But later historians such as Henri Pirenne had changed this conceit showing that German invasions were not as destructive as previously supposed, for their intent was far less ruinous: the first, and more obvious, was to gain access to the Mediterranean; the second, conferred a new, almost appealing character to these incursions, since the invading Germanic tribes were actually seeking to Romanize themselves. That in their alacrity for doing so they irretrievably upset the empire is another matter, but Pirenne's work dispelled the myth of a simple brutality of the barbarian[2]. Pirenne wrote in the early twentieth century and all but effaced the Romantic vision[3] that the fall of Rome was brought upon by a coarse horde of savage invaders, who ended civilized society for the better part of a millennium. Probably the figure that best fit this view was Theoderic the Great, who despite his Ostrogothic heritage learned and assimilated Roman rule thus developing a zeal to uphold Roman tradition so that when in 488 he founded the Kingdom of Italy with its capital in Ravenna he sought to reinstate the glory of Ancient Rome.

But a radical book that reattached itself to the Gibbonian image of a catastrophic and utter collapse appeared in the 1940's by André Piganiol called *L'Empire Chrétien* Piganiol treated the Christianized Roman Empire of the 4th century as a whole unto itself, from Constantine's injunction for the council of Nicaea of 325 to the death of Theodosius I in 395, the last emperor to effectively rule both the eastern and western halves of the Empire. Piganiol described this period with admirable vigor and lucidity; he believed quite correctly that under the Christian aegis the western portion of the empire experienced a revival—Brown himself treats this revival in a short chapter—and was in the process of a complex transformation, "une conception nouvelle de la vérité et de la beauté; […] une conception du travail collectif et solidaire, au service de l'intérêt social" [4]. But just as this propitious reshaping was taking place, the

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[1] Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity: AD 150-750*. (New York: Norton, 1989), p.9

[2] See Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*. (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1937)

[3] See the classic 8-volume work, *Italy and her Invaders* by Thomas Hodgkin, which appeared throughout the mid 19th century, and whose prose, redolent of impending doom, indeed is to be ascribed to the Romantic sensibility. But the work contains such detailed accounts of the different barbarian tribes and their customs, still valuable today, that it has not yet been superseded in many respects.

[4] André Piganiol, *L'Empire Chrétien*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1947), p.466 [a new conception of truth and beauty—a conception of collective effort and solidarity leaning toward social welfare.]

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Goths descended upon the Italian peninsula and sacked Rome: *L'Empire Chrétien* thus ends with a notorious passage—one which must have certainly rustled Brown: "La civilization romaine n'est pas morte de sa belle mort. Ella a été assassinée." [5]

Let us now look at Brown's account of the period before and after the fall of Rome and view it against the previous historiography. I shall look at two fundamental aspects in examining the virtues and faults of Brown's book: culture and art. After 476, Brown presents us the picture of an epoch full of "the resilience of the old world" [6] where indeed Germans and Romans clashed, but in which they also learned to coexist and assimilate into each other, thus opposing Piganiol's bleak perception. And certainly, Brown is right in many regards: tribes such as the Ostrogoths—the very same ones who deposed Romolus Augustulus ending 'de facto' the Roman empire—were particularly admiring of Roman culture, "Theoderic […] was in the habit of saying: 'An able Goth wants to be like a Roman; only a poor Roman would want to be like a Goth'". [7] As late as 526, Roman equestrian and gladiatorial games were reinstated by Theoderic in his new capital, Ravenna; he constructed for himself a mausoleum in the Roman fashion, with a gigantic monolithic dome, which, in its engineering dare, was a clear indication of his veneration for imperial Rome, as was his employment of porphyry, the Roman imperial stone *par excellence* from Roman quarries in Mount Porphyrus in Egypt, for the last time in the West[8].

Naturally, Brown's focus is on the eastern empire, for no historian could fail to heed the rapid decline of the Western Empire. He rightfully observes classical culture surviving in the East to the point that "men lived in their classical Greek past so naturally that medieval Byzantium never experienced a Renaissance"[9]. But I should like the reader to consider the idea that the Byzantine empire never really experienced the Middle Ages either; and that during that period, which in reality refers to the West, the East, as Brown himself says, "constantly re-created itself"[10]. Brown's references to the Byzantines are potent and convincing: after all, his classical Greek training is second to none and allows him a privileged view of the Hellenizing eastern empire. Therefore, as far as the Eastern Empire is concerned, I concur with Brown's idea of a protracted antiquity, and would even extend Brown's conception and venture to say that the Byzantine Empire was a 'World of Late Antiquity' that lasted a millennium.

But Brown is less convincing when he overextends the survival of classical culture in the West excessively. He states that, "the *milieux* that had supported the classical tradition throughout the sixth century disappeared rapidly in the seventh." [11] Brown's assertion runs at least two hundred years late. The same can be said about his contention that it wasn't until the Eastern Emperor Heraclius (610-641) that "we can sense the definitive emergence of a medieval world […since] the medieval idea of a 'Christian society' began in this period." [12] The question begs to be asked: in what does Brown see the divide between an ancient, Christian society and a medieval one? The crucial answer is not furnished by Brown. In fact, many scholars who study the Western Empire have posited the roots of the medieval world the moment Christianity took hold of the empire.

In his classic and all-too-forgotten masterwork, *The Ancient City*, Fustel de Coulanges explains that, "The victory of Christianity [by 400] marks the end of ancient society: by the single fact that the family no longer had its domestic religion, its constitution and its laws were transformed; so, too, from the single fact that the state no longer had its official religion, the rules for the government of men were forever changed. Our study must end at this limit, which separates ancient from modern polities." [13]

Coulanges of course was still working under the preconception of a clear rupture between antiquity and the medieval world—even 'modern', in his view. His analysis of the change of mentality that Christianity brought into *the ancient city* is still of key importance in in helping understand the essence of Ancient culture and underscores a major shift, which Brown disregards. With paganism, Coulanges argues, religion, law, and government were aspects of the same thing: while previously "every man had made a god for himself", with the advent of Christianity "the divine Being was placed outside and above physical nature". [14] This created a scission of immense cultural consequence: "it is the first time that God and the state are so clearly distinguished."[15] This aspect had important ramifications, which Brown might have kept in mind when referring to any period after the inception of Christianity 'Antique', because according to Coulanges the pagan unity between adoration and domesticity was eminently classical: when Christ tells us that his

[5] Ibid, p.466 [Roman civilization did not expire of its own accord. It was assassinated.]
[6] Brown, p.44
[7] Brown, p.123
[8] The very last time the quarries of Mons Porphyrus were used was for the construction of Justinian's Hagia Sophia (560) in Constantinople.
[9] Brown, p.177
[10] Ibid, p.177
[11] Ibid, p.176
[12] Ibid, p.173-174
[13] Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City.* (Boston: Lee and Sheppard, 1874), p.528
[14] Ibid, p.521
[15] Ibid, p.525

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kingdom is not of this world, 'this' world is no longer the ancient world.

A persuasive argument for the cultural and literary demise of Antiquity around the year 400 is offered in Henri-Irénée Marrou's *St. Augustin et la Fin de la Culture Antique*. In this deeply fascinating and rich book, Marrou claims that 400 AD is the most favorable moment to capture the evolution that bears the birth of a medieval Christian culture. Marrou finds the figure of St. Augustine the paradigm of this evolution. According to Marrou, Augustine is a sort of hinge-figure, the inheritor of Ancient culture and the progenitor of the medieval heritage. Marrou claims that in probing the evolution of ancient culture, one must not just look at the 'spirit of the age', but rather one must look to the intellectual life that such a spirit produces primarily through its technique. [16] Therefore he concentrates a great deal of his book analyzing Augustine's technical equipment; he finds that Augustine's intellectual preparation is symptomatic of his originality; and *techne*, according to Marrou, is of cardinal importance in revealing the cultural shift that Augustine embodies. Augustine undoubtedly inherited the cardinal disciplines of Classical Latin (grammar, rhetoric, eloquence) but not a deep understanding of Greek. Unlike St. Jerome, St. Augustine possessed a knowledge of ancient Greek that was, at best, perfunctory[17], since Augustine's intellectual formation was entirely Latin. This fact alone placed Augustine in a culture of 'décadence', because according to Marrou, "l'oublie du grec en Occident, et la rupture de l'unité méditerranéenne entre Orient grec et Occident latin—fait fondamental qui va a dominer l'histoire de l'Europe médiévale—s'est accompli ou preparée à la fin de l'antiquité." [18] According to Marrou this linguistic transformation is a cardinal sign of the end of the ancient world. Though in Augustine other disciplines which constituted classical training (music and geometry) were lacking, Augustine was a superior grammarian and rhetorician; in his writings, we hear the echo of the procedures that were cemented by the tradition of ancient rhetoric and which had everlasting value—invention, disposition, elocution, memory. [19] But with these procedures of rhetoric there was a marked loss of all that was not essential to Christian doctrine; the loss of classical knowledge is so conspicuous as to be profoundly significant. St. Augustine's lacunae have a medieval tinge and are thus of great historical interest: "il en vint à concevoir, et dans une large mesure á posséder, une culture d'un type tout à fait different, entièrement subordonnée aux exigences de la foi religieuse, une culture chrétienne, antique par ses matériaux, toute médiévale déjà d'inspiration." [20]

So against the old, unshakable truths that classical culture in its entirety possessed, Augustine pits *faith* as the source of truth: "Saint Augustin en effet n'a cessé de définir son ideal par ce même terme de *sapientia;* et la sagesse pour lui est toujour restée une contemplation de la verité, une connessaince de Dieu […] connaissance qui est sans doute vision, contact, amour, participation, mais avant tout certitude. C'est ça toute la doctrine augustinienne de la sagesse: nécessité de la foi; effort pour s'élever á l'intelligence de ses vérités; contemplation; triple aspect de la vie contemplative: prière, étude, morale…"[21] A world whose source of truth is faith is no longer the classical world, since in Antiquity, as Coulanges brilliantly observed, people lived in a world that was populated by many Gods and as such it was the source of their truth, and truth derived from faith as a practice for truth was inconceivable. In his *De Trinitate*, Augustine says that man must *believe* in order to obtain eternal beatitude. This precept, the marrow of future Christian doctrine, was to animate medieval culture for a millennium.

It is in such terms that Marrou posits his argument for Augustine as the figure that closes the Classical world: the decay of ancient culture in which he sees "l'incubation, qui ouvre la voie, de façon paradoxale, à la future médiévale" [22], and, the new beacon of faith as the only provider for truth and salvation. It is for these reasons that Marrou's title for his book, 'St. Augustine and the End of Antique Culture' is tenaciously encapsulating.

The last commentator of the end of Antiquity, who focuses on a wide cultural stratum, and whom I should like to mention, is Santo Mazzarino. Mazzarino was a historian of vast literary resources and wrote extensively on the late Roman Empire. His most succinct yet complete book on the subject of the end of the classical world opens with a broad description,

[16] Henri-Irénée Marrou, St. Augustin et la Fin de la Culture Antique. (Paris: Éditions Boccard, 1958), p.viii

[17] "Il sait le grec, c'est entendu, assez pour s'en servir dans le travail scientifique pour une brève verification du texte, mais il n'a pas accès, aux trésors de l'hellenisme.", Marrou, p.37 [He knew Greek, obviously, enough for his own use in his scientific work or for a brief check on textual issues, but he never had real access to the Hellenic treasures.]

[18] Marrou, p.38 [the disappearance of the Greek language in the West and the rupture of the Mediterranean unity in a Greek East and a Latin West—a fundamental aspect, which dominated medieval European history—was accomplished or prepared at the end of Antiquity.]

[19] Marrou, p.56

[20] Marrou, p.275 [he came to conceive, and in large measure to obtain, a knowledge that was quite different, entirely subordinated to the needs of religious faith—a Christian knowledge, which was ancient in its components but already wholly medieval in inspiration.]

[21] Marrou, p.364 [St. Augustine has not in effect ceased to define his ideal by the same term of *sapientia*; and wisdom for him rests still on the contemplation of truth—the knowledge of God […] a knowledge that is doubtlessly vision, contact, love, and participation; but above all certitude. It is this is the whole doctrine of Augustinian knowledge: the necessity of faith, an effort to reach an understanding of its truths, contemplation, the triple aspect of the contemplative life—prayer, study, morals…]

[22] Marrou, p.663 [the incubation, which opens the path, in a paradoxical way, to the medieval future]

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which echoes Marrou's conclusions, though on a broader scale."Troubles and convulsions begin to emerge from the collapsing framework of the great empire: the appearance of new peoples on the great stage of the classical world; the transition from a centralized and bureaucratic administration with a corresponding monetary economy to an economy which foreshadows feudalism in the West and seeks in the East to reconcile military service with peasant labour; the long decay of an agricultural system which attempted to strike a balance between the labour of slaves and of *coloni* bound to the soil. It is connected with the triumph of the Christian city of God, as conceived in the ideology of St. Augustine. This is in short the death of the ancient world […]"[23]

It is fascinating to follow Mazzarino's chronicle of the 'idea' of decadence in ancient Rome. As early as Polybius's *Histories,* the great historian prophesizes Rome's decay and offers 'internal'—unsolvable class struggles—and 'external'—barbarization of the Greco-Bactrian state by the Iranian nomads—explanations for the inevitable demise of Rome[24]. Even Cicero, whose preoccupations for the Roman republic hounded him throughout his life, thought he was living in a period of decadence, "Cicero saw the idea of decadence of Rome in two forms: the decay of manners and the lack of really great men (virorum penuria)." [25] Really great men? Caesar, Octavian/Agustus? These are symptomatic manifestations of an eminently Western nostalgia for the past as an ever better age than the present[26]. Even the Iliad, which as far as the West is concerned can be considered its very first utterance, has a scene in Book 1 with the older Achaean men, sitting around a fire at night and complaining that their leaders were not real warriors as the men of *their* generation: *those* were real warriors—not, Achilles, Agamemnon, Ajax, etc.!

Mazzarino detects the first historically significant evidence that the old world was stiffening in 250, in a letter of Cyprian to Demetrianus in which he tried to show the latter that the source of the decline was not the emerging Christian faith: "You ought to know that this world has already grown old. It no longer has the powers which once supported it; the vigour and strength by which it was once sustained." [27] The timing of this crisis corresponds perfectly with Brown's account of the serious problems the Roman Empire faced in the mid 3rd century (the shattering, humiliating defeats inflicted to Rome by the Sassanid Empire in 252, 257, and 260). To appreciate the attachment that people had to that 'old world', which Brown implicitly discounts in his book, we ought to keep in mind that Cyprian, a Christian, should not have had particular sympathy for the still violently pagan Roman world. Nevertheless, Mazzarino, too, like Marrou, posits the emergence of the cultural bases for the end of antiquity around Alaric's sack of Rome: "Orientius, a man of the world who had turned religious under the weight of the tragedy, wrote his *Commonitorium* about this time [410]: 'All Gaul', he said, 'has become one funeral pyre.'

This was not just decadence: it was the collapse of the empire. Orentius's *Commonitorium* took the origins of evil to be simply the first grievous sins: lust, envy, avarice, anger, lying. At the end of the Commonitorium come the four final experiences: death, hell, heaven, the last judgment. One might say that with this little poem, stretching out to the life beyond, the Middle Ages begin—nine centuries later the same motif of sin and the four last things will supply the medieval synthesis which is also the greatest poetical work of Christianity, the Divine Comedy." [28]

And so, for exegetes such as Marrou and Mazzarino, profound scholars of the ancient world, intimately connected with all its primary sources, a long and protracted 'Late Antique World' after the fall of Rome in the West, such as Brown envisages, was non-existent.

Let us now look at the characteristic changes in art of Late Antiquity. As I stated earlier art plays an important part in defining this period, and Brown focuses on it to a great extent; in fact, despite the book's brevity (203 pages), it is filled with illustrations because Brown sees art as a determining factor of an epoch. Many of Brown's images are in support of the long survival of the old, naturalistic style, which is associated with the Classical world. The art of the period we are treating is so complex a subject that it cannot be treated exhaustively here, or anywhere entirely for that matter. However, I should like to point out a few details that should demonstrate that Brown is stretching the Ancient world beyond its chronological—and in this case its stylistic—limits. Art historian Asher Ovadiah has meticulously examined the period's naturalistically-styled reliefs in scroll motifs and has concluded that, "The spatial and temporal distributions of the "peopled" scrolls indicates that the decorative tradition of this ornament, originating in the architectural decoration of the Hellenistic period, was to persist in various artistic media (mosaics, reliefs, textiles, etc.) of later periods, in both the East and the West. The depictions in these scrolls are of genre-realistic character rather than symbolic-allegorical conception. It would thus appear that Classical taste in ornamentation continued to remain in vogue even long after the decline and

[23] Santo Mazzarino, *The End of the Ancient World.* (New York: Alfed Knopf, 1966), p.19
[24] Mazzarino, p.25
[25] Mazzarino, p.26
[26] See Robert Broxton Onians, *The Origins of European Thought About the Body, the Mind, the Soul.* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1951)
[27] Mazzarino, p.41
[28] Mazzarino, p.56

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disappearance of paganism." [29] In other words, the naturalistic style continued after Antiquity more by virtue of habit than anything else, divested in fact of its "symbolic-allegorical conception". Thus the survival of an artistic style is not necessarily the sign of the survival of a cultural age.

On the other hand, we must contend with a true, late-antique style found at Rome, of which the Tetrarch's sculpture, which I mentioned earlier, is a paradigmatic example. This is truly a style in its own right—a style that exhibits a tangible decline in execution, and which much has been written about. Of another equally famous example, the reliefs of the Arch of Constantine, Bernard Berenson wrote how he was startled by, "the strange fact that the capital of the world, the seat of wealth and culture, the greatest patroness of the arts if not the most refined, which to the end of the 3rd century had been producing, apart from public monuments, hundreds of 'pagan' sarcophagi endowed with a certain, wistful, crepuscular charm, should find, when celebrating the victorious soldier, the restorer of 'law and order', the mighty Emperor Constantine, no abler artists than the executants of these reliefs. None are less marginal, less peripheral, less ultra-provincial, and many far more ordinary, more disintegrated, more shapeless than any on the stone and marble coffins done at the same time for Christians who could not, or dared not afford better workmanship.

There would seem but one explanation. It is that in the troubled state of the world, and of Rome in particular […]"[30]

For a number of art historians (Wickoff, Riegl, etc.) this style prefigured the Middle Ages; Brown himself agrees that the new style anticipated future developments, when, in reproducing the Tetrarchs' sculpture in his book, he describes it as "medieval in tone" [31] thus weakening his argument for a Late Antique period which according to Brown is neither classical nor medieval. On the other hand, Berenson rejects the notion that the Tetrarchs displays the signs of proto-medievalism: "It is more likely that the artisans who worked on the Tetrarchs had as little conscious and planned ideas of preparing the way for Romanesque and Gothic sculpture as they had while talking their plebian Latin of creating a new language for Dante and Petrarch to use". [32]

The last aspect I shall treat of Brown's argument about Late Antique art is what he calls "the splendid new art of the age" [33] which he says "is the work of craftsmen and patrons who felt themselves shaken free from the restraints of previous generations." [34] He is referring to a fresh and new style, which indeed appeared around the 5th century AD and of which Brown provides a wealth of examples. If we look closely at the provenance of the specimens he furnishes, though, they all originate from Syria, Tunisia, and Asia Minor. The noted art historian Jean Hubert remarked, in fact, that, "one point, however, is worth emphasizing: after the period of the great invasions the finest, most vigorous offshoots developed in those parts of the former Roman Empire which were never occupied by barbarians or which they only passed through. Syria, Armenia, and part of Asia Minor shared this privilege with Byzantium."[35] But isn't the 'Late Antique World' that Brown seeks to convince us of the product of the confluence of Roman *and* barbarian elements? Brown, it is true, tries to delineate a period that is more complex and more rich than anything that could be reduced to a definition like the one above; but the argument for a Late Antique style is most convincing when he refers to that odd admixture of influences, which produced the Tetrarchs, the Arch of Constantine's original frieze, the statue of Valentinian I, etc.

To go back to the Arch of Constantine for a moment—a most emblematic monument—we ought to remember that it is an assemblage made up of parts from earlier times (in particular, those of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius) and the only original parts are the scroll encircling the Arch depicting Constantine's victorious entry into Rome and two winged victories supporting an ambiguous inscription. These are all from 312, the year of Constantine's Triumph and the arch's erection, following his victory over Maxentius. The notorious ambiguity in the inscription rests in an apparent grammatical 'slip', which states that Constantine 'with the help of the God, has restored law and order', etc. Whether the singular was deliberate has been the source of much speculation. It is very likely that it was carefully calculated so that one 'God' rather than the usual 'the Gods' could appear as a solecism and the suggestion that the former had assisted Constantine could remain without discomfiture for 'the Senate and People of Rome': after all, the S.P.Q.R. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, who were the dedicators of the arch, had not yet subscribed to that monotheistic religion—which Brown in a stroke of genius labeled "Cockney" [36] —called Christianity.

Here, again, the Devil is in the details. Peter Brown, in mentioning the conversion to Christianity, states that, "after the conversion of Constantine in 312, the ease with which Christianity gained control of the

[29] Asher Ovadiah, "The 'Peopled' Scroll Motif in the Land of Israel in Late Antiquity." *The Metamorphosis of Marginal Images: from Antiquity to Present Time*. (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2001), p.8
[30] Bernard Berenson, *The Arch of Constantine*. (London: Chapman & Hall, 1954), p.30-31
[31] Brown, p.22
[32] Berenson, p.21
[33] Brown, p.38
[34] Ibid, p.38
[35] Jean Hubert, Jean Porcher, W.F. Volbach, *Europe of the Invasions*. (New York: George Braziller, Inc.), p.1
[36] Brown, p.93

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upper classes of the Roman Empire […] was due to the men, who found it comparatively easy to abandon conservative beliefs in favour of the new faith of their masters." [37] This is quite incorrect. Augusto Fraschetti, who has written a definitive study on the conversion from Paganism to Christianity, [38] has pointed out a number of details, which directly contradict Brown's summary statement. Firstly, Constantine favored Byzantium—soon to become Constantinople—because he felt Rome's pagan atmosphere disagreeable and the myriad pagan temples stifling, for Constantine wanted to start his own Christian capital 'ex-novo'. Therefore, Constantine visited Rome only three times during his long reign (for his Triumph in 312, following the battle of the Milvian Bridge; for the decennial celebrations of his reign in 315; and for the twentieth anniversary of the same in 325); and his longest sojourn lasted just shy of six months: "Roma e il suo senato ancora largamente pagano non potevano essere ignorati. Ció nonostante, Roma poteva essere evitata per quanto possible."[39] From the proscription of paganism by emperor Theodosius I in 384 to the restoration of the Temple of Vesta in 436 to St. Augustine's complaint about the bacchanals that were taking place as late as 400 in the church of St. Peter itself to the co-existence of a double calendar (pagan and Christian)—under which Rome operated until the 5th century—Fraschetti shows unequivocally that the transition from paganism to Christianity in Rome was much longer and complex than Brown relays: because Brown's idea of the period is extensive, it is naturally prey to contradictions or inexactitudes if scrutinized in detail. But that would be missing the point, for we must not overlook Brown's achievement of having compelled historians to question the old ancient/medieval periodization: he has shown how rich and diverse the period after Rome's demise was—fecund for the arts and culturally significant in its own right and possessing its very own heterogeneous identity. And these merits surely stand in the face of criticism.

Nevertheless, I still find the chronology of Brown's 'Late Antique World' too dilated, in both directions. 150 AD much too early for it is still in the middle of the Antonine dynasty (Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, and Commodus); the names alone of Trajan and Hadrian coincide with the apogee of the Pax Romana, and, with the latter at its peak, I cannot accept to term such a period as 'Late Antiquity' yet. On the other hand, 750 AD is much too late, since, by then Charlemagne was three years old; the Carolingian dynasty had been in place for 70 years; the Muslim advance, which threatened Christianity on two fronts (the Pyrenees and Cappadocia) as a sinister set of pliers, for 40. By then, of Antiquity there was no trace left in the West. But the East, too, was in a period of decay that was not reversed until the 10th century. Accepting Marrou's arguments and positing the end of Antiquity in the West around 400 AD, seems to me too conservative, because though undoubtedly Marrou's considerations pertain to a very important aspect of culture, the ideology that was being forged by St. Augustine and St. Ambrose was one concerned with theological struggles and confined to clerical circles; and as such, they were not yet on a scale that could define an age culturally. As a master such as Erich Auerbach has stated: "it was a very long time before the potentialities in Christian thought reinforced by the sensuality of the new peoples, could manifest their vigor". [40]

Brown's book speaks for a very long intermittent period, made up of ancient as well as medieval elements, which Brown argues as having an overreaching uniformity and cogency. But as I have tried to show, at some point—much sooner than Brown's contention—the ancient ingredient was no longer. So where are we to situate the dates of Late Antiquity? As we saw above, the brief splendor of Ravenna in the 6th century brought upon by a barbarian tribe such as the Ostrogoths and shortly thereafter by perhaps the greatest Eastern emperor, Justinian[41], had still, undoubtedly, the accents of Antiquity. But the Longobardic invasion of 569 changed the face of the Italian peninsula. The new invader was mostly pagan, had no interest in either Christianity or Romanizing itself and it clung to its own, highly developed customs and art. By then Ars Barbarica effaced any Classical vestige that remained. In fact, the Longobards were the first Germanic tribe to contribute an autochthonous stylistic feature, which remained with us until today—cloisonné decoration. In addition their 'weave' motifs, also purely Longobardic, heavily influenced the Romanesque decoration, especially columns' capitals[42]. Considering all these factors, I would give 'Late Antiquity' the following rough dates: 250-550 AD, or from the period just before Diocletian's accession (as was evident in Cyprian's letter to Demetrianus) to the death of Justinian.

[37] Brown, p.27-28

[38] Augusto Fraschetti, *La Conversione: da Roma Pagana a Roma Cristiana*. (Bari: Laterza Editori. 1999)

[39] Fraschetti, p.63 [Rome and its senate, still mostly pagan, could not be ignored. Nevertheless, Rome should be avoided as much as possible.]

[40] Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: the Representation of Reality in Western Literature*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953)

[41] Justinian's great church, Hagia Sophia (560 AD), is the last great monument of Antiquity and doubtlessly belongs to that period in several aspects—ranging from architectural contrivances (the invention of pendentives to carry the weight of the circular dome to the square base) to the use of the materials employed in its construction.

[42] See: Meyer Schapiro, *Romanesque Art*. (New York: George Braziller, Inc.)

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Finally, the merits and faults of Peter Brown's 'the World of Late Antiquity', which I have tried to analyze were reiterated succinctly and compellingly in an interview between the Director of Studies of the École Française de Rome, Yann Rivière, and the eminent art historian, Paul Veyne, who was a student of Brown's:

Rivière: By using the words 'collapse' and 'decline', it is a far cry from the image historiography (I am thinking in particular of the work by the great historian of Late Antiquity, Peter Brown) painted twenty or thirty years ago of the end of Antiquity and the creation of Barbarian kingdoms in the West. It was perhaps a reaction to an earlier vision of a 'murdered Empire' (A. Piganiol), or of a sick Empire. Has this revision itself not gone too far the other way?

Veyne: Yes, but all this is in the past. Peter Brown has a historical imagination that we can all envy: he is veraciously (and I stress this adverb) able to put himself in the position of men in the past. Like anyone, he can make mistakes. Such was the case at this time, but it happened a long time ago, and he has since more than made amends by his silence on the matter. But he is still criticized for this old error, because people are jealous of the deserved fame of this great historian who is considered a guru, and envied for being so for his many readers." [43]

Are historians, who master history, Clio's first prey?

In any event, 'World of Late Antiquity' remains a highly important book that can be disputed but cannot not be discounted.

[43] Jean-Jacques Aillagon, ed. *Rome and the Barbarians: the Birth of a New World*. (Milano: Skira, 2008), p.603-604

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Reflections on the Legitimacy of Mau Mau Rebellion 50 Years after Independence in Kenya

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Abstract- Almost a half century after it broke out, Mau Mau uprising continues to be a subject of controversy. Major questions are: What is the legacy of Mau Mau in Kenya? What is its legitimacy? Was Mau Mau a nationalist or tribal movement? Is Kenya's independence a product of Mau Mau? As the amount of literature on the subject of rebellion continues to grow, it is becoming clear that the historical meaning and interpretation of a movement such as Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya is to be determined to a large extent by the perspective of the historian who is making the study. Mau Mau has been described as a peasant revolt, an atavistic socio-religious movement, a visible manifestation of the psychological breakdown of a primitive tribe in a modern age, a critical stage in the development of a legitimate nationalist movement, and innumerable other things.

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Reflections on the Legitimacy of Mau Mau Rebellion 50 Years after Independence in Kenya

Dr. John Koskey Chang'ach

Abstract- Almost a half century after it broke out, Mau Mau uprising continues to be a subject of controversy. Major questions are: What is the legacy of Mau Mau in Kenya? What is its legitimacy? Was Mau Mau a nationalist or tribal movement? Is Kenya's independence a product of Mau Mau? As the amount of literature on the subject of rebellion continues to grow, it is becoming clear that the historical meaning and interpretation of a movement such as Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya is to be determined to a large extent by the perspective of the historian who is making the study. Mau Mau has been described as a peasant revolt, an atavistic socio-religious movement, a visible manifestation of the psychological breakdown of a primitive tribe in a modern age, a critical stage in the development of a legitimate nationalist movement, and innumerable other things.

The only element which appears to remain consistent throughout all these various views is that the context of the historian and his/her method of analysis affect his/her interpretation as much if not more than the context of the rebellion itself. However, any significant historical event is marked by its attachment to the people, events and institutions to either side of its occurrence. This nexus, or series of linkages, is the determinate, if unstated, context of the event which gives it nearly all its importance. If a movement, person or event came out of nowhere and went nowhere, people, and especially historians, would very soon forget it.

The Mau Mau rebellion continues to attract the attention of many people for the simple reason that it still has a great effect on people of Kenya and the rest of the world. Obviously it has in some fashion advanced into the present day, fifty years after independence. This linkage was established not because Mau Mau was successful, nor because it failed; it exists fifty years after independence because people, especially historians, have been unable to define the legacy which Mau Mau has left for the world. During the Emergency, the British Government was successful in its suppression of the Mau Mau fighters in the Aberdares forest. However, only a few years later, Kenya gained its independence and the right to self-government. Did Mau Mau gain Kenya its independence, or at least set the foundation for it? Many people think so, and many others do not. The point here is that in such a confused state, people tend to make of the Mau Mau rebellion what they want it to be. By any account, the problem of interpreting the significance of the Mau Mau rebellion is an important one in Kenya today. If Mau Mau is the generative source of Kenyan independence, then it is vital to Kenya's sense of history to acknowledge and cement Mau Mau connection with the present generation. To a certain extent, Kenya will remain rootless and unsure of its identity until it can settle this issue. This paper will examine some of the linkages which apparently bind Mau Mau to Kenya's past and present, and explore the works of several historians on the subject in an attempt to find out why Mau Mau is so much a part of the Kenyan consciousness, yet detached from it. Where is the continuity in Kenyan history which must include this movement?

I. Introduction

David Potter examines the modern historian's concept of nationalism and its effect on historical interpretation. Potter states that the historian initially seeks to use nationalism as a measurement of group unity. This aspect of nationalism leads to several major implications for the treatment of history. First, it establishes intra-group relationships rather than ethical standards as the criteria for justification of the group's actions. Secondly, it causes the historian to view nationalism as an exclusive allegiance in ignorance of the fact that nationalism builds upon its association with other group loyalties, and is in fact the sum of these loyalties, gaining strength through their strength. Third, it leads the historian to explain nationalism solely in terms of cultural factors, ignoring a necessary second psychological factor: common interests. In short, the historian opts for a formalistic, institutional, and determinate concept of nationalism that is entirely inconsistent with his initial definition. Potter believes that historians should utilize nationalism as it was originally conceived – as a descriptive term and historical tool, not as a moral sanction.

Corfield was commissioned by the British Government in 1952 to compile a report on the factors which led up to the declaration of the Emergency on October 20, 1952. He states in his preface, he has reached some fairly solid conclusions regarding the nature of Mau Mau:

The origins of this unlawful association, which eventually dominated all but a small portion of the Kikuyu people both in the reserves and in the settled areas, lie deeply in the past, and in an endeavour to give the fullest consideration to any terms of reference I have found it necessary to examine almost every aspect of the social, economic, and Governmental problems which arise when a new civilizing influence impinges with suddenness on a primitive people who had stagnated for centuries. The failure of the Kikuyu to adjust themselves fully to the needs of the sudden change, together with the planned exploitation of the

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attendant stresses and strains, were the primary causes and origin of Mau Mau.

Corfield here would never consider Mau Mau to be a nationalist movement – his moral scruples will not allow it. Corfield is appalled at the lawlessness of the Kikuyu.

He does not understand why the Kikuyu reacted to a situation that affected all other tribes in Kenya, but drew a response from them alone. The reason must lie in a psychological failing on their part. Corfield labels Mau Mau as an illegitimate movement on the part of a schizophrenic people, led by manipulative self-seeking revolutionaries. Corfield advises that there should be no compromise with this wholly evil movement. Corfield saw fit to state twice in his report that:

In the words of Father Trevor Huddleston, written as early as December, 1952: - 'Mau Mau is a movement which in its origins and in its development is wholly evil. It is the worst enemy of African Progress in Kenya. It has about it all the horror of the powers of darkness: of spiritual wickedness in high places. There can be no compromise, no common ground, between Mau Mau and the rest of the civilized world. It must be utterly destroyed if the peoples of Kenya are to live together and build up their country.' This is the supreme lesson to be learnt.

Carl Rosberg and John Nottingham give a complete political history of Kenya in the twentieth century, analyzing the various social and political movements which they believe feed into Mau Mau. They believe that there is a history of grievances and resistance to British authority which blossoms in the Mau Mau rebellion. Mau Mau is a legitimate rebellion which reflects one stage in a true nationalist movement:

It is our contention that the history of Kikuyu protects against aspects of the colonial state may be more fully understood as the history of a developing nationalist movement. In our view, the outbreak of open violence in Kenya in 1952 occurred primarily because of a European failure rather than an African one; it was not so much a failure of the Kikuyu people to adapt to a modern institutional setting as it was a failure of the European policy-makers to recognize the need for significant social and political reform. In suggesting that the European conception of "Mau Mau" constituted a myth, we maintain that "Mau Mau" was indeed an integral part of an ongoing, rationally conceived nationalist movement.

Rosberg and Nottingham thereby stamp their seal of approval on the Mau Mau uprising. They approve of Mau Mau, so they label it nationalistic. They also recognize, however, that Mau Mau does not fit into the traditional form of nationalism – it has some distinctively tribal elements to it. Rosberg and Nottingham state that nationalism is a European term which describes a process of political and social mobilization towards self-government in the form of the nation-state. Therefore, the primary objective of the group must be to seize the political authority and power which will allow it to integrate its territorial and tribal elements.

There is a watershed, which is defined by the Emergency. The socio-economic uniformity which Rosberg and Nottingham claims gives the movement its potential for united action is broken down in the hierarchical structure of the Mau Mau organization. A de-centralized vertical structure totally lacking in discipline replaces the organized protest structures extant before 1952. The forest life displaced the Kikuyu from the land they treasure and initiated the breakdown of traditional Kikuyu community structures by changing the role of the individual and women. The group which enters the forest is nearly all male and of a single generation, indeed, it more than likely draws the bulk of its members from only one or two age-groupings. There is a split between the literate and illiterate elements within the forest. The group which supposedly inherited the tradition of the KISA closes down and terrorizes many schools through its opposition to the Beecher report. The movement becomes anti-Christian. In short, the group which enters the forest is almost totally lacking in the ideological clarity which Rosberg and Nottingham describe. In fact, one could say that even if Mau Mau came out of the incipient nationalist movements of the pre-emergency era, the nationalist movement itself committed suicide the second it entered the forest. This breakdown of nationalist elements must be explained if the nationalism thesis is to hold. That the Kikuyu were the only people forced into the terrible conditions of the forest means nothing if the forest fighters chose to abandon important nationalist values simply because they were there. That Kenyatta and the rest of the Kapenguria defendants were arrested and all political and trade union activity halted means nothing if Mau Mau was not itself an expression of the true nationalism is a group loyalty that transcends and sums up other loyalties and values. The loss of its political leaders cannot explain why the values and loyalties of Mau Mau are entirely different from the nationalist movements which preceded it. If Mau Mau is to inherit the tradition of Kenyan nationalism, it must also inherit the consciousness of that movement.

These discussions are overly harsh on the subject of Kenyan nationalism. That Kenyan nationalistic development was basically a process of reaction instead of initiative does not mean that there was no such thing as a very real sense of nationalism running through the Kenyan consciousness. Karigo Muchai points out that nationalism can be something other than an aggressive sentiment:

Nationalism is essentially a negative philosophy based on strong popular feelings, demanding freedom from foreign political domination.

At first glance this statement appears to be nothing more than a reiteration of Rosberg and

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Nottingham's assertion that nationalism in Africa requires the seizure of political power from the colonial government before it can bring about the integration of national and territorial elements. However, Muchai points out something else in his statement which goes beyond even David Potter's all-inclusive concept: nationalism can be a negative philosophy. Perhaps the Kikuyu could not conceive of a social unity in terms other than personal relationships; they were simply too localistic and particularistic to envision a unified Kenya; they had no sense of the community beyond the physical community level. Perhaps there was no feeling of oneness among the Kikuyu, but this does not rule out the possibility of nationalistic action. Could it be that Kenyan unity involved no psychological belief in community among Kenyans other than the complete rejection of all social confederation beyond the local level – but this a belief common to all peoples of Kenya, thereby giving them a "negative unity" that can only be seen as real opposite the Colonial Government? There was a real nationalistic movement in Kenya before the declaration of the Emergency, but the Emergency marked its collapse, not its strength at zenish. However, there must be an explanation different from the "reactive settler theory", because the Mau Mau rebellion was essentially a civil war among the Kikuyu; it was not directed against the European Administration. There was a different nationalism during the Emergency that had no connection in real terms with the developing nationalism of the pre-Emergency era. It was a nationalism of withdrawal and negative confederation which used the unified settler community as a negative reference point for the formation of a decentralized nationalism. Isak Dinesen suggests how the Kikuyu had a localistic view that could lend itself to a nationalistic confederation:

I told them that I had myself been told when I made inquiries in the matter that they must go into the Kikuyu Reserve and find land there. On that they asked me if they should find enough unoccupied land in the Reserve to bring all their cattle with them? And, they went on, would they be sure all to find land in the same place, so that the people from the farm should remain together, for they did not want to be separated.

These people considered themselves to be the people of Baroness Blixen's farm first, Kikuyu second, and Kenyans third. As Potter states in his essay, nationalism is a transcendent loyalty that sums up and must be coordinated with other groups loyalties. The nationalistic ideology of Mau Mau ws the common denominator for the forest fighters, but the sum of loyalties which made up this nationalism was something very different from one man to another. The other loyalties were so localistic as to be exclusive, yet similar enough in form that they could be brought together for a vague concept of nationalism.

This explanation shows how the Kikuyu could be on the defensive, involved in the Mau Mau movement, devoid of ideology, yet apparently stronger than they had ever been before in their conviction in independence for Kenya. Oathing has long been before in their conviction in independence for Kenya. Oathing has long been sighted as manifestation of Mau Mau solidarity in the formative stages during the late 1940's, yet even it can be cited as a sign of the fragmentation of the developing nationalism and the ascendancy of a new form:

The earliest use of an oath in a modern political context appears to have occurred shortly after 1925, when the leaders of the Kikuyu Central Association decided to introduce an oath of loyalty to the Association: the transtribal character of the East African Association had probably militated against the use of oaths in that organization.

The nationalistic content of the movement was gone, and an external form of nationalism moved in to replace it.

This shallow form of nationalism cannot, however, describe the very real and rationally constructed nationalistic ideal of Kenya's political leaders. In fact, one must explain several things. In his book, Mau Mau From Within, Karari Njama describes how he made plans to travel to Ethiopia to negotiate for independence as an agent for all of Kenya, not only the forest fighters. The generals in the Aberdares forest refused to submit unless all of Kenya was declared independent. There was never any mention of secession or an attempt to gain international recognition for an independent section or part of Kenya. The unit for independence in this supposedly all-Kikuyu affair was not the Kikuyu tribe, but Kenya. This nationalistic ideal was matched by the leaders of others tribes. Achieng Oneko was a member of the Kapenguria defence who was convicted but shortly thereafter acquitted because it was found that he could not speak Kikuyu, and, therefore, could not have participated in the oathing ceremonies. The significant point here is that Oneko never gave his non-Kikuyu status as a defence; he was willing to abide by the conviction the same as the others because he saw the issue to be one of Kenyan political freedom. Whether or not Mau Mau had been purged of its nationalist content, its leaders were very much a part of the tradition of nationalism that had been developing in Kenya for fifty years. Kenya was the political unit for Mau Mau leaders and nationalists alike.

Perhaps the failure of Mau Mau was not its suppression by the Colonial Government, but its failure to gain international recognition. It pursued a defensive war that was limited to a local theatre. No appeal was made to international organizations who could use Potter's distorted concept of nationalism to sanction Kenya's right to self-rule. And perhaps the success of

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Mau Mau came at Hola in 1959, when the deaths of eleven detainees brought forth an international reaction of horror – within six weeks there were major debates in the House of Commons which brought the atrocity to the world's attention.

These tentative suggestions leave Mau Mau at the point where this paper began. All there appears to be arising out of these various interpretation is confusion. Is Kenyan independence a product of Mau Mau? Was Hola the first step toward independence? Who can be credited with the success?

By refusing to lead, Mugo had become a legendary hero.

Jomo Kenyatta has been a figure whose continuous presence has marked Kenyan politics for fifty years. He has consistently avoided the factional struggles of Kenyan politics to emerge as the acknowledged leader of Kenya. He has always been a staunch nationalist as well as a transtribal, national, essentially non-partisan figure. He was even acknowledged by both the forest fighters and the Colonial Government to be the head of Mau Mau. If there is any single person who could coordinate all the nationalistic loyalties that disintegrated during the Emergency, it is Jomo Kenyatta. However, Kenyatta himself was not one to admit his affiliation with Mau Mau:

He who calls us the Mau Mau is not truthful. We do not know this thing Mau Mau…(Note, this means, in the idiom, that we do not 'want' or 'recognize' or 'approve' Mau Mau). Speech to KAU at Nyeri, 26/7/1952.

And

We are being harmed by a thing which some people seem to call Mau Mau…Mau Mau has spoiled the country. Let Mau Mau perish forever. All people should search for Mau Mau and kill it. Speech, 24/8/1952 at Kiambu.

At Kapenguria, Kenyatta denied any connection with Mau Mau. At the time, no one was willing to believe him. The forest fighters believed that his few denunciations were for "political" reasons. The Government believed that he was not being specific about Mau Mau because he wanted to protect other fighters. Upon his release from Lodwar eight years after Kapenguria, Kenyatta was still stating his opposition to Mau Mau, and now people began to listed to him. Many were surprised; many more felt betrayed:

We are determined to have independence in peace, and we shall not allow hooligans to rule Kenya. We must have no hatred towards one another. Mau Mau was a disease which had been eradicated, and must never be remembered again.

Kenyatta was determined to unite the country under his leadership. This meant that he could not offend either of the extreme groups, neither the Europeans nor the forest fighters. He tried to make people forget Mau Mau with speeches of unity:

The most essential need which I have constantly sought to proclaim and to fulfill in Kenya has been that of national unity; nationhood and familyhood must and can be continued out of our many tribes and cultures. Nationalism rooted in loyalty to Kenya must come first.

Perhaps Kenyatta simply realized that the situation was a very delicate one which required great care. His country had essentially been through a civil war, and both sides involved had to live together in Kenya. Kenyatta tried to leave the road open for individual achievement without government interference. On the subject of land, Kenyatta laid out a policy that respected everybody's rights to land in a system of private ownership. Kenya would not alienate any European land to reward the forest fighters. All land that was being used for the benefit and betterment of Kenya would be protected. Foreign investment was encouraged as long as it was good for Kenya and not meant to bring enrichment of individuals. Kenyatta called his blueprint of unity and self-betterment for Kenya "African Socialism". Rejecting two-party politics, Kenyatta called for the cooperation of the government and the people. Kenyatta's plans all went through, as the government offered no rewards for service to the Mau Mau fighters and the only opposition party (KADU) dissolved voluntarily.

Unfortunately, Kenyatta's dreams of national unity failed to materialize completely. As Potter states, nationalism must be able to coordinate with other groups loyalties. Kenyan nationalism has had problems coordinating the sub-group loyalties of Mau Mau fighters, loyalists and Europeans. Some can accept neo-colonial rule by Africans, others cannot. It has become obvious that Kenyatta does not want to upset the existing structures or values. The leadership has changed, but the ruling values have not. Kenya is still a capitalist country which emphasizes private ownership of property and individual achievement. Independence brought African independence and self-government, but it did not bring a revolution. One real problem with this situation is that whereas the Mau Mau rebellion marked but a single stage out of many in the political career of Jomo Kenyatta, it marked the only period of political participation in the lives of most Kikuyu. These people now feel that they have a vested interest in Kenyan politics, a right to see their sacrifices playing a part in political policy-making. These people all feel a sense of anticipation that political clichés, calls to unity, and policies of accommodation cannot satisfy. Some observers might argue that the present regime has made the same mistake the British made before the Emergency, except in reverse: the suppression of opposition parties such as KADU and KPU has plugged the outlets for non-antagonistic ventilation of grievances

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by the groups on the extremes of the political spectrum. Toleration and accommodation in this situation can only lead to disappointment and frustration.

In his book, Mau Mau Twenty Years After, Robert Buijtenhuis gives a painfully frank and accurate explanation of the dilemma which faces Kenya today. Mau Mau has created polar political groups which expect consideration of their views, and the Kenya national government is caught in the impossible task of trying to please both. Buijtenhuis points out that a county which has been through a civil war must have a selective memory. Myths are necessary for nation-building, and in this case, the right myths for the nation are the wrong ones for Mau Mau:

It is quite clear that the memory of Mau Mau, which, if it was not a tribal revolt, certainly was the revolt of one tribe, may eventually become a negative factor in the process of nation-building.

Tribalism and political factionalism are too important in Kenya today for Mau Mau to be the focus of Kenyan nationalism. After the assassination of Tom Mboya, the dissolution of KPU and the return of Bildad Kaggia to KANU signaled the end of Kikuyu-Luo tentions, but at the cost of reaffirming tribalism as the basis of Kenyan political parties – class interests were secondary. The Kikuyu dominate the economic, social and political life of Kenya. Kiamba dominates Kikuyu political activity. The call for unity is a reaction to an apparent tendency in Kenya politics to move towards an increasingly narrow political group to the exclusion of their own participation. Mau Mau is a part of this tradition of narrowing the political base. The Europeans were not as scared of African government as they were of Mau Mau government. The greatest stumbling block to the recognition of the contribution Mau Mau made towards independence is that it denies non-Kikuyu a role in the independence struggle:

Unhappily, however, although Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga were responsible for many very laudable actions in the Kenya Independence struggle, the only thing they cannot claim is that they took part in the forst fight.

Mau Mau cannot become the central tradition of Kenyan independence because it is too exclusive. Unfortunately, it appears that Kenya is faced with two legitimate claimants to the nationalist tradition: the revived leaders of the pre-Emergency movement, and the Mau Mau forest fighters. Mau Mau, however, has negative elements to it:

For the non-fighting population, the memory of Mau Mau certainly revives the sufferings of the Emergency which they blame on the stubbornness of the forest fighters. At the same time they might be ashamed at their betrayal and forsaking of the Mau Mau at a time when the freedom fighters needed help most.

For several years Kenya tried to pass over the difficult problem of acknowledging Mau Mau. This approach led to only greater problems. Today Mau Mau is recognized, but not at the national level – there has been a localization of the myth:

there might be some 'method in the madness', in the sense that the Kenya Government seems to distinguish sharply between the national level, where it has to steer a middle course between conflicting interests and myths, and the local level where people are more or less left free to follow their inclinations in honouring the freedom fighters.

However, Buijtenhuis points out that there is another reason for the localization of the myth of Mau Mau:

I do not have much information about this, but I did get the impression in Kenya that, at least among the villages in Kikuyu land, the myth of Mau Mau is often a 'split up' myth, that while people are very well acquainted with the facts of their local history during the Emergency, they know only a few rather loosely connected facts about the Mau Mau revolt in general.

This statement points right back towards the localistic, particularistic view that was explained earlier as a part of the "negative unity" model of nationalism. Mau Mau cannot be the central myth of the Kenyan nation, for it does not represent a unified myth at the national level. Buijtenhuis claims that Mau Mau was a case of "tribalism serving the nation". This tribalism, however, was not hostile to other ethnic groups. Although exclusive and somewhat de-centralized, Mau Mau was a nationalist movement:

The Mau Mau movement, although largely a Kikuyu movement by recruitment and in terms of its symbols and ceremonies, thus wanted to serve a group of political leaders – some Kikuyu, others not – about whose national outlook there can be no doubt. I think this proves sufficiently that in the end the Mau Mau fighters thought more in national terms than in tribal ones, and for this reason I am convinced that the question of whether Mau Mau was a tribal or a national movement is a faulty one. Mau Mau was both.

Localization of the myth of Mau Mau has been pursued in an attempt to make sure that the people of Kenya recognize the difference between these two elements in Mau Mau. It is probably the only solution, although it is not a satisfying one. Buijtenhuis suggests that localization of the myth be accompanied by local, but official government assistance in recognition of the national elements in the myth.

The position of Mau Mau in the continuum of Kenyan political history is a difficult, but not impossible one to define. Kenya had a growing legitimate nationalist movement before the Emergency whose forms arose in response to similar institutional forms on the side of the Colonial Government. As the settler position became less stable within the Empire, the settlers were forced to consolidate their political authority and power by denying the natural progression

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of this movement. The settlers' subsequent de-capitation of the trade-union movement and the major political parties cut away any hope for moderate political action and forced the ascendancy of militant Kikuyu elements. The Emergency marked the conflict between the Colonial Government and this radical wing. The movement to the forests marked the withdrawal, the fragmentation, and the complete breakdown of any of the elements of the nationalist movement which might have remained a part of Mau Mau ideology. The Mau Mau went into the forests without an ideology, a group completely separated from the established nationalist structures. Mau Mau was a response to a political blunder on the part of the British.

Today, however, Mau Mau is a true nationalist movement, after the fact. As they went into the forest, the Mau Mau fighters could not have had a clear conception of themselves as a nation. However, the stigma of defeat, the utter isolation from forms of legitimate political expression, the detachment from the British and other Kenyan tribes, the memory of a unity of common experience, and the great sense of real political consciousness of nationalism among the former forest fighters and many Kikuyu which rivals, but has very little to do with, the pre-Emergency nationalist movement. The Emergency bestowed upon the forest fighters a legitimacy which did not even exist before. The problem today is that form of the traditional nationalism whose development in a sense caused the Emergency, and a vigorous revolutionary form of nationalism which was created by the Emergency. As David Potter suggests, it is actually impossible to determine which of these groups has a legitimate claim. What is becoming obvious is that it might not be possible to coordinate these two nationalisms. Mau Mau is linked to the Kenya of today in a very real sense. But Mau Mau is a negative philosophy: it was created as a localistic, "negative unity", and it continues to be a movement in opposition to the national level norms, policies, and values of the present government.

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Drugs, Motivation and Prevention Campaigns in Spain (1994-2007) Story of a Misunderstanding

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Abstract- The aim of this article is to analyze and frame the level of efficacy and adequacy of publicity campaigns for the prevention of drug use in Spain. To this end, the contents of the messages used by the FAD (Antidrug Foundation) in television campaigns broadcast between 1994 and 2007 have been reviewed. The content of these campaigns has also been linked to the progress and motivation of drug users, using the biannual surveys of the Ministry for Equality and Social Welfare. The results show that the discourse followed in these campaigns has no relation whatsoever with the said motivations linked with drug abuse. Consequently, a strategy is required which will have an impact on discouraging and dissuading drug users.

Keywords: framing, motivation, prevention.

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Drugs, Motivation and Prevention Campaigns in Spain (1994-2007). Story of a Misunderstanding

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Abstract- The aim of this article is to analyze and frame the level of efficacy and adequacy of publicity campaigns for the prevention of drug use in Spain. To this end, the contents of the messages used by the FAD (Antidrug Foundation) in television campaigns broadcast between 1994 and 2007 have been reviewed. The content of these campaigns has also been linked to the progress and motivation of drug users, using the biannual surveys of the Ministry for Equality and Social Welfare. The results show that the discourse followed in these campaigns has no relation whatsoever with the said motivations linked with drug abuse. Consequently, a strategy is required which will have an impact on discouraging and dissuading drug users.

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I. Introduction

The Agenda Setting theory indicates that the perception of social issues is conditioned to a great extent by their contribution (Dearing & Rogers, 1996; Scheufele, 2000). The framing process is linked to two basic actions: selecting and emphasizing expressions and images to convey a point of view, a perspective or a certain angle with regard to information. Studies developed from this theoretical viewpoint show that when greater media emphasis is placed on a specific social matter or issue public concern on this matter tends to rise.

The Agenda Setting theory has been considered in this study because of its direct involvement in the planning and updating of drug policies (Beckett, 1994; Lancaster et al., 2011; Sharp, 1992; Stanojlovic, 2011). Prevention strategies led by the media try to reduce drug abuse. However, drug users consider that media information is hardly influential, as the greatest influence comes from peer groups. This would in turn explain the questionable effectiveness of prevention campaigns (Costa & Pérez, 1989). In other words, the power of the media over drug use is doubtful, for what often happens is that opinions in favour of drug use are reinforced, as opposed to achieving the aim of producing a real and substantial change in attitude.

There is no lack of research which states that the majority of drug prevention programmes are not effective (European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction and European Communities, 2006; White & Pitts, 1998). Some have even observed that they have produced the opposite effects to those intended, due, above all, to lack of knowledge of the appropriate characteristics required to produce successful prevention programmes (Pim, 2002).

Therefore, the framing process imposes the established criteria on prevention campaigns, materialized in a discourse focused on the problems caused by drugs, on public alarm or on the effects of drugs on the social environment, but it is evident that, in the opinion of users, the reasons that lead to drug abuse are often ignored.

In short, through this study we would like to stress the need to add a new prevention model to the media which will correlate two highly relevant indicators: the evolution of the incentives to use substances and the prevention campaigns shown on television and designed by the Antidrug Foundation (FAD); since a clarification of the psychological and social effects of drug abuse would provide a new social perception of illegal substances, whilst counteracting the incentives that feed them. Therefore, it is vital to know which discourse and strategy fuel the design of campaigns to prevent and reduce drug consumption.

II. Data and Sources

To achieve the aims of this paper, we have used secondary sources, that is to say: in order to learn about the incentives of drug users, we have extracted data from the biannual reports The Andalusian Population and Drugs[1], which were carried out from 1994 to 2007[2]. The main objective of these surveys is to find out the predominance of the use of different psychoactive substances among the Andalusian population, as well as the main sociodemographic characteristics of the users. In any case, from this source we can verify the evolution of the type of drugs used, as well as the incentives that have driven users in Andalusia to their consumption through the last 13 years.

This survey collects both epidemiologic and social data. It has a probabilistic and representative nature, with a stratified, multi-stage sampling, according to gender and size of their habitat. Its universe is the population of Andalusia, between the ages of 12 and 64.

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[1] Until 2005 the report was called The Andalusian people and drugs.
[2] Although this report continued to be Publisher in 2009, references to motivation for the use of drugs were omitted.

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A total of 23.764 individuals have participated in the sampling through these 13 years.

The questions about incentives were aimed at people who had consumed alcohol at some time, who smoke daily or had used some illegal substance in the last six months. A specific question was in what surroundings or under what circumstances had they started using, and why. Thus, they were asked to point out the two main reasons[3] for drug use.

With regard to prevention, we have analyzed the campaigns designed by the FAD, and broadcast through television during the period 1994-2007. To establish to9 what extent this objective was achieved, we have analysed TV campaigns from 1998 to 2007, with regard to their slogans, images and contents.

III. Results

The data from subsequent surveys reflect that the main incentives for drug use can be classified in five large groups: "passiveness and escape-avoidance", "adaptation and integration", "freedom and transgression", "symptomatologic incentive", "experimental incentive". Generally, through the years, the percentage of people who state that their main incentive for starting to use drugs was "symptomatologic" has decreased drastically, while the number of people naming the "experimental and pleasure seeking incentive" as their main motivation has gone up. Even from the year 2003, an increase has been detected in the "freedom and transgression" incentive.

Incentives and publicity from 1994 to 2000: the devastation caused by cocaine

On the whole, during this period was an increase in the use of cannabis, designer drugs, hallucinogenics and amphetamines, especially among habitual or frequent users. Within the problematic rise in drug use, cannabis needs to be highlighted, as well as amphetamines, designer drugs and cocaine, simultaneously with alcohol and tobacco, with the end result of extensive multi-consumption which lasted through the whole above period (Edis, 1994; 1996; 1998; 2000).

From the year 1994 until the year 2000, we find that the "escape and passiveness" motivation and "adaptation and integration" correspond, consecutively to the use of alcohol in both "moderate and excessive" and "slight and moderate" levels[4]. The "freedom and transgression" incentives refer to the use of cocaine, ecstasy, heroin and amphetamines: whereas, "symptomatologic" motivation was the cause for taking tranquilizers, hypnotics and common and morphic analgesics (especially among women). Last of all, the search for pleasure and experiences is the reason for using alcohol (in high, excessive and high risk levels), cannabis, cocaine, hallucinogenics and synthetic drugs.

The incentives for the use of these drugs classified as a group were mainly attitudes of "passiveness and escape-avoidance" and "adaptation and integration". Experimental reasons remained important, while those based on symptomatology decreased, especially among elderly women and housewives (Edis, 1994; 1996; 1998; 2000).

[3] However, we need to bear in a mind that it is possible for one person to have consumed several psychoactive substances, whereas their reasons for starting to consume are asked in general for any substance used; that is, when the interviewee indicates their reasons for starting using drugs, the information given refers to any of the substances used in the last 6 months and it not specifically to any one of them. Therefore, the data obtained are only useful as an approximation to the most common incentives for starting to use each type of drug.

[4] After turning each drink into their alcohol equivalent, and with the user data of each individual interviewed, a drinkers typology can be established according to the amount of alcohol ingested daily on average, which is as follows: low, moderate, high, excessive and high risk. Over 75 ml. a day is considered is considered alcohol abuse for males, and 50 ml. for females, following international criteria. These data can also be measured in alcohol grams and in basic standard drink units (UBE) (SDU).

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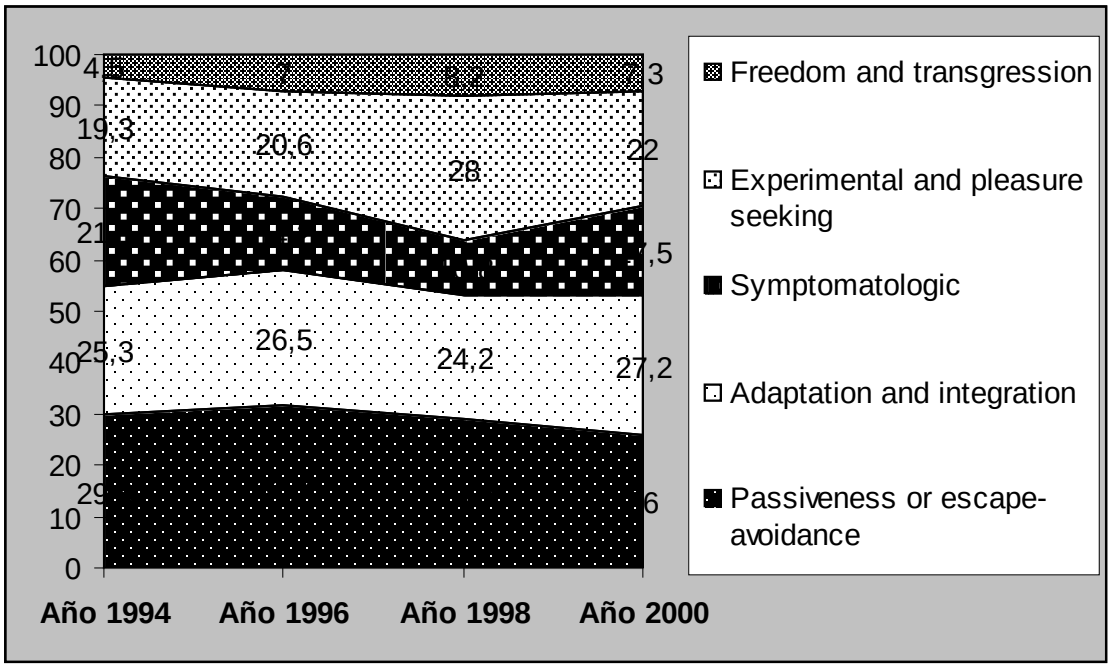

Figure 1 : Evolution of motivations from 1994 to 2000

Source: "Los Andaluces ante las drogas", (1994-2000). Author's own work.

As regards the publicity campaigns launched as a means of prevention by the FAD, there are with the motto "Chicken, dare. SAY NO" (1993/94) and "There are lots of reasons to say NO" (1995) from the agency "Lintas" addressed young people, urging them to reject emphatically, both the purchase and the use of drugs. Later on they would even list all the wonderful "things" in life (these things are Bart Simpson, my friend, the countryside, my dog, my neighbour, Winona Ryder, Michelle Pfeifer, pizzas…) which supposedly can stop people from taking drugs. The message is therefore say NO to drugs, as opposed to saying YES to other "things". With "Talk with your son" (1995), the agency "Tiempo/BEDDO" tried to put forward the need for communication between parents and children. It reminded parents of their responsibility to help their children to grow up. From the same agency came the campaign "Control" (1996) which was aimed at young people with the intention of demystifying the idea that it is possible to control drugs. With a language taken from young people's jargon, control is compared to sport activities that require self-control and balance (risk sports such as climbing or water skiing). The perception of "new drugs" as "more controllable" argued that the content of this campaign would reinforce the danger of drugs, trying to demystify the statement "I'm in control". In "Preventing is living" I and II (1997/98), the agency "Vitrubio/Leo Burnett" attempted to call the attention of fathers, mothers and teenagers through a new perspective, to prevention above all. In "Drugs are not a game" I and II (1998), the same agency encouraged young people to reflect on the recreational aspect of drugs, and remarked the seriousness of drug abuse. With the motto "And you, what do you think?" and "Drugs, you are better off without them" I and II (2000/01) the agency SCPF showed young people the consequences of taking drugs in different everyday circumstances; and in the campaign "Free" (2000) people were invited to reflect on the extent to which we are free to make a choice about the use of drugs.

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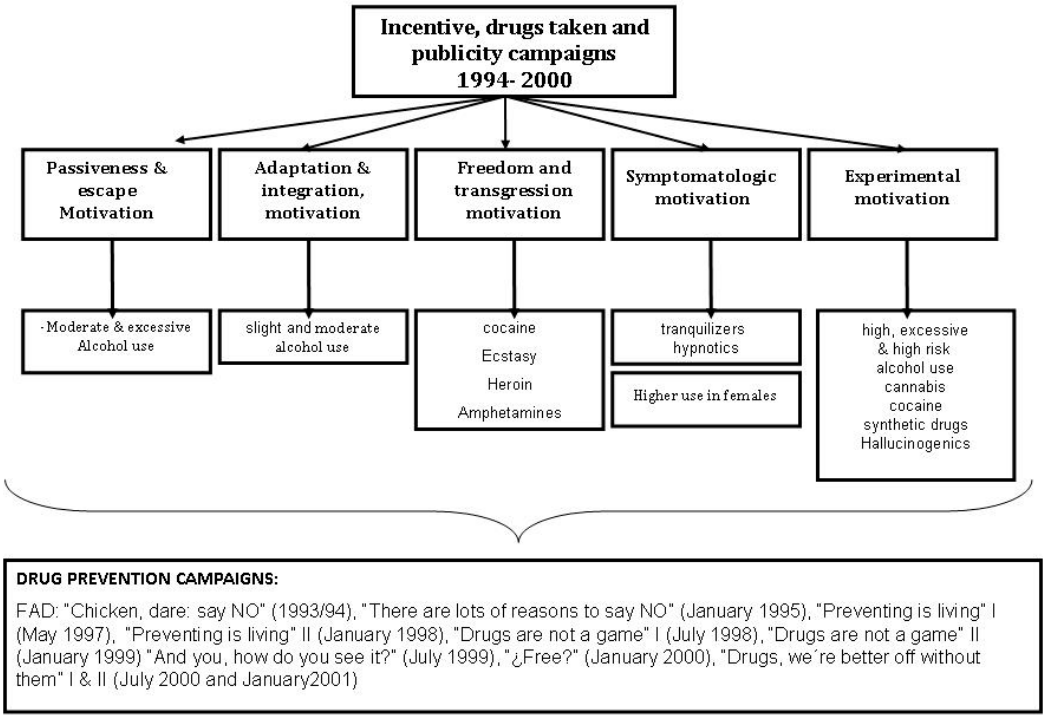

Figure 2 : Motivation, drugs taken and publicity campaigns 1994-2000

Source: "Andaluces ante las drogas" (1994-1996-1990 and 2000). Own creation.

Motivation and publicity from 2003 to 2007: Don't let the party stop

From 2003 to 2005, comparatively widely used drugs use were, after tobacco and alcohol, cannabis, tranquilizers, hypnotics and cocaine. The use of the remaining substances was lower, fluctuating between ecstasy and even crack. Males´ abuse of tobacco and alcohol was higher, likewise of inhalable substances, cannabis, cocaine, hallucinogenics and crack. Females, on the other hand, tended to use amphetamines, tranquilizers, hypnotics and opiate analgesics (Edis, 2003).

However, in 2007, the consumption of tobacco and alcohol continued to be high, but the illegal substances most widely used by the Andalusian population were cannabis and cocaine. Ecstasy and hallucinogenics were relatively predominant. Occasional use of cocaine, ecstasy and hallucinogenics increased in relation to 2005; the most recent levels of the use of these substances (last month) remain more stable (Edis, 2007). During the last year we have witnessed the birth of a new pattern of multi-consumption, characterized mainly by their recreational purpose and their use in festive events and circumstances (raves).

Incentives changed drastically from 2003. The most dramatic change occurred in two types of incentives: "experimental and pleasure seeking", which became the main reason for drug use, and "symptomatologic", which went down to the last place (let us recall that in 1978 it was the main motivation for drug use). These reasons were followed by "adaptation and integration", which also decreased; and "freedom and transgression" which increased; whilst "passiveness and escape" remained the most stable at the time. Therefore, drug use motivated by "passiveness and escape" was a response to problematic or frustrating situations; and the incentives "experimentation-pleasure" and "freedom-transgression", were due to a hedonistic attitude, to such an extent that these three reasons appear in the majority of answers.

With regard to substances, we can observe how alcohol consumption dominated "adaptation-integration" and "passiveness and escape" incentives (light and moderate levels) and "experimenting pleasure" (abuse). Where other substances are concerned, "experimental-pleasure seeking" incentives were paramount, as in the case of inhalable substances, cannabis, cocaine, ecstasy and hallucinogenics. The main motivation for the use of heroin was escaping; and tranquilizers, hypnotics and other opiates were linked with symptomatologic motivation.

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Likewise, males show the highest levels of "passiveness-escape-avoidance", "experimental-pleasure seeking" and "freedom-transgressing" incentives, whereas for females it is "adaptation-integration" and "symptomatologic".

From 2005 to 2007, "experimental", "adaptation and integration" and "passiveness and escape" incentives were confirmed as the most predominat, scoring 79.7% of the total of answers. "Symptomatologic" and "freedom and transgression" incentives (6.7% and 13.6%) account for the remaining 20.3% (cf. Figure 6).

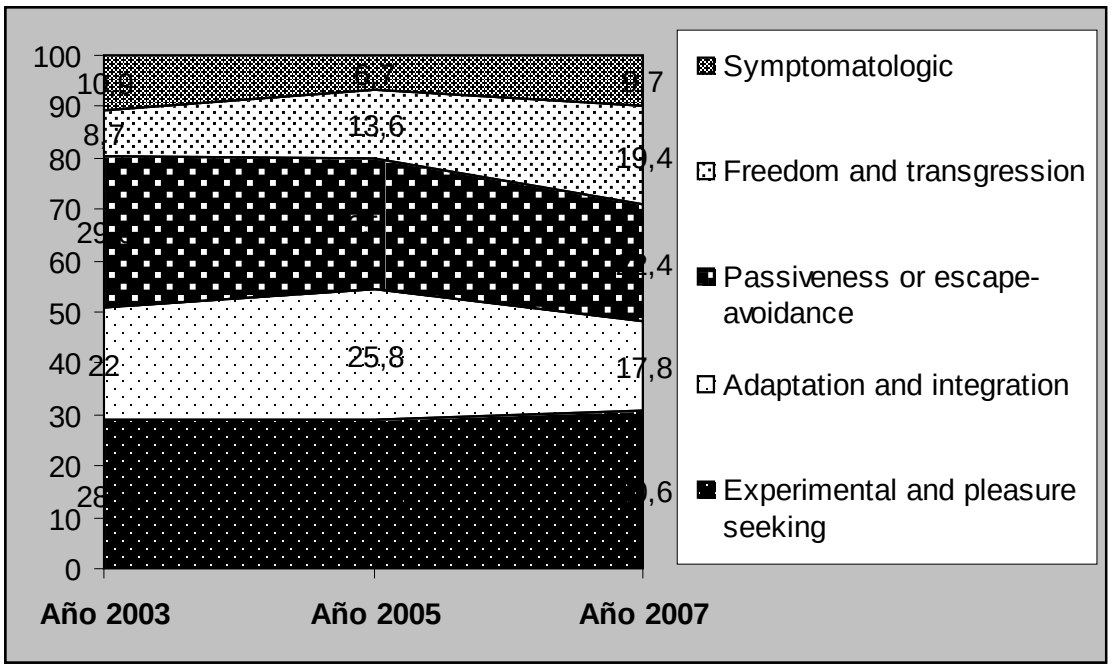

Figure 3 : The evolution of motivation in 2003-2007

Source: "Los Andaluces ante las drogas" (2003-05-07). Author´s own work.

In those years, FAD campaigns like "Do something" (2001) from the agency "Contrapunto" were shown on television, with the objective of disseminating the warning that drug use affects both users and their families, and announcing the existence of a telephone helpline for those needing information. From the same agency, the campaign "Education is everything" (2002) and "In nappies when facing drugs" (2002) were based on the belief that drug use and other more general conflicts are clearly and closely related. For this reason, the FAD stated that preventive education is absolutely necessary to give full training to be able to prepare the personality of a child against any risk of antisocial behaviour. With "We are all responsible" (2003) the same information was disseminated to publicity companies, parents, teachers, the media, musicians and sports people. Later on, the same agency designed the campaign "You don't know what you are taking" (2003), aimed at preventing an increase in the use of synthetic drugs and cocaine during the summer, and at giving warning about the fun use of these substances, appealing to the responsibility of users, especially young people between 14 and 25.

The publicity agency "La Banda de Arnold" once more insisted on the education that parents and teachers should provide in "Teach them how to live" (2004). With "Have a brain, pass on coke" (2004), the agency "Saatchi and Saatchi" designed a campaign to prevent drug use among young people, especially during the summer holidays. In the campaign "Empower your children in the face of drugs" (2004), the agency "Arnold Spain" addressed parents stressing the importance of teaching values to children and encouraging a critical attitude in them as a protection and prevention factor against the risks of drug use. Likewise, in "Every time counts. Think" I and II (2005), "Will this be the one? Think" (2006), "Drugs decide when your life is going to change" (2006) "Change your perception. Think" (2007), the agency "Delvico Red Cell" warned of the dangers of drug use, focusing on the false feeling of being in control that many young users experience with regard to drug taking, stressing the problems generated by drug use for society in general. Finally, the campaign "Everything has a price" from the agency "Sra. Rushmore" showed a perspective of the cultural aspect of drugs as another consumer product, trivializing their meaning and their risks. The creative concept of the new campaign is supported by the statement "The most dangerous thing about drugs is to forget what they really are".

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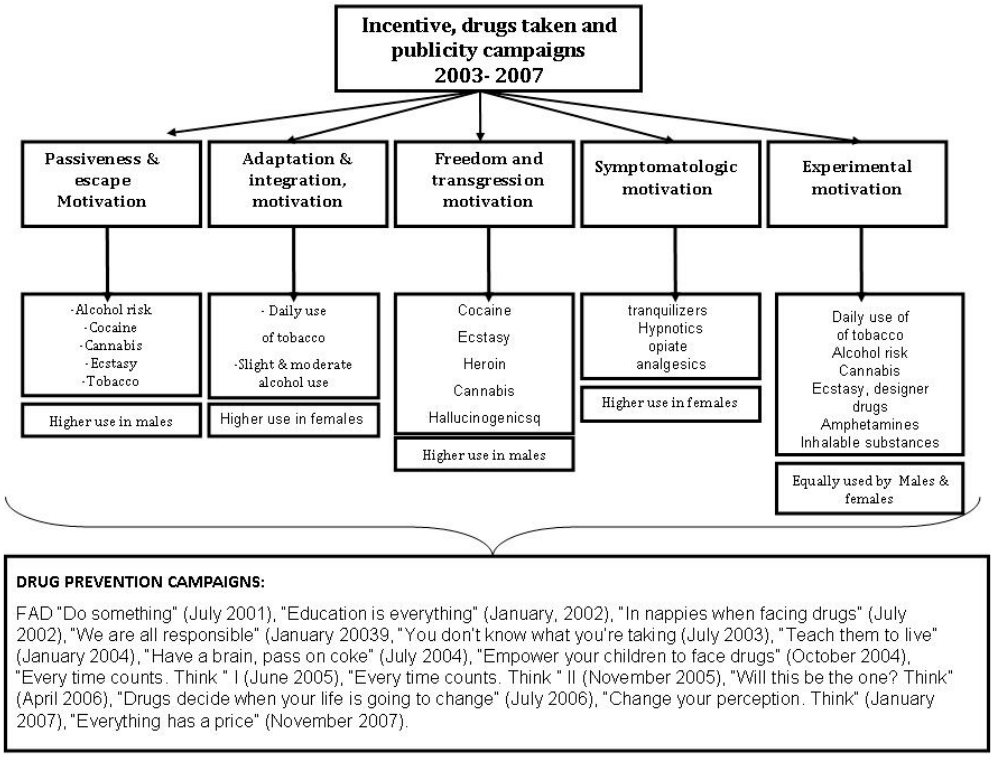

Figure 4 : Motivation, drugs consumed and publicity campaigns 2003-2007

Source: "Los Andaluces ante las drogas" (2003-05-07). Own creation.

IV. Discussion

Prevention campaigns from 1993/4 followed the same trend as in the previous period, as they pointed out that the responsibility and capability to make decisions about drug use, lay exclusively with individuals themselves, in an attempt to defend a worthy and brave attitude through the motto "say NO". The campaigns that followed tried in vain to convince people of the reasons why they should reject drugs. In "There are a lot of reasons to say NO" (1995), the audience were encouraged to appreciate and value a series of personalities, situations and "things". However, from these campaigns we can draw several conclusions: firstly, that drugs in the early stages of use have a well defined area of power, with which other situations and circumstances do not interfere (one can talk on the phone and watch football and still take drugs) and, secondly, that people do not take drugs to stop having a dog, or to stop liking famous actors, therefore, we must insist, drug use is caused by a number of complementary aspirations to those referred to in say NO. Therefore, if drugs were taken because of boredom or dissatisfaction, the most appropriate thing to do would be to explain how drug use can become tedious and tiring, meaningless and extremely frustrating. Drugs contribute nothing to a satisfactory way out of such circumstances, but they are often a waste of money, they ruin the health and safety of the individual, as shown in the picture of a lost and ridiculous young man.

Subsequent prevention campaigns showed the dialogue that is necessary between parents and children to prevent them from using drugs. These campaigns tried to establish a shared responsibility in the prevention of drug use through family intervention However, in most cases, drug prevention comes from group peers and even from the media, as it is a no-go area for parents in their children's life to which they have no access.

In 1996, the well-known phrase "I'm in control" was demystified through the campaign "Control" (1996); although none of the reasons given in relation to drug use at the time had this supporting motto "I take drugs because I am capable of controlling them". Let us just recall that the incentive of that period was a passive attitude of inertia, the exact opposite of being excessively self-assured, and so being able to "control drugs".

The television campaigns that followed "Drugs, we're better off without them" I and II (2000, 2001) focused on explaining the worst effects of the different substances on different young people in everyday situations, which showed a change of direction in the perspective of drug use, because cocaine, alcohol, cannabis and designer drugs involved a series of effects, which in most cases, produce undesirable and

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unpleasant results. For the first time, the real effects of drugs were talked about, leaving aside social implications or rejecting drugs from a biased and reductionist viewpoint.

In the campaigns that took place in the following years, education and information were put forward as the main defence criterion when faced with drug use, in "Do something" (2001) in which adults (parents) appeared who were obviously drug users, spreading messages of the type: "Nobody is born a cocaine addict" or "Education is everything" (2002); and they even compared drug users to "babies" who lack the ability or the skill to defend themselves against drugs: "Facing drugs in nappies" (2002). Evidently, these messages were in no way linked with the search for sensations of users, nor with the pleasure that some drugs are supposed to produce, nor with the satisfaction of breaking conventional rules. Maybe, greater attention from adults could be a possibility for reducing drug use, without ignoring the fact that we would be in a vigilant and controlling state, which is far from being a real impediment and could immediately turn into an incentive to be overcome by young users.

The campaign "Everyone is responsible" (2003) broadened its horizon with regard to the drug phenomenon, to include different social agents, since prevention responsibility should lie with the media, parents and teachers. With categorical sentences like "If you have the power to make them believe that they can go through walls with certain jeans, imagine how powerful you are", they explained that selling dreams through advertising should not participate in a dangerous and unrealistic concept of drugs. In the years that followed, the view of prevention based on education continued to be milked in the campaigns "Teach them how to live" I and II (2004, 2009), "Have a brain, pass on coke" (2004) and "Empower your children against drugs" (2004), but in any case, they do not promote discouraging drug users.

Another prevention strategy developed in the same year stated "You don't know what you're taking" (2003). Thus, the lack of control over the composition of psychoactive substances and their reliability are brought to the foreground, in an attempt to show the danger of drug adulteration. Therefore, the effects of some substances when in a pure state are unknown, in comparison with the reality of those bought in the black market. When the population allude to pleasure as a reason to use drugs, it is necessary to clarify that this could be the case when taking pristine substances, but not when they have been adulterated at every link of the drug dealing chain.

On the other hand, FAD campaigns, such as "Every time counts. Think" I (2005), "Drugs decide when your life is going to change" (2006), "Change your perception. Think" (2007) were about understanding the drug problem in terms of the dangerous consequences of taking substances. They gave a series of messages which exposed the naivety and falseness of the arguments about drug use, in which it can seem harmless and without risks, simply motivated by fun. However, if the risk of drugs is evident, it would also be so to explain that drugs are often not only no fun, but can also generate and cause many states of pain, anxiety and even of tedium; in such a way that the cost-benefit ratio of this search for fun, is often the opposite of the expectations it raised. Furthermore, the emotional, physical, social and economic costs of drug use is an outrage with regard to the benefit obtained, when the reaction desired often becomes a fruitless and regrettable trip. Thus, none of these campaigns exposes or highlights that drug use does not always lead to the pleasure or fun that is sought. The lack of pleasure that some drugs produce is as real and true as the pleasure that can be experienced on some occasions. The idea is, therefore, to make it clear that both sensations are part of the same action, in an attempt to cause disappointment, to demystify and discourage drug use, especially among the younger sector of the population.

Thus, users take drugs with the incentive and desire to improve their experience of life and because they underestimate the negative consequences and risks involved (Aitken et al., 2000). For this reason, prevention campaigns could be enormously beneficial if they were more explicit about the fact that the desired effects are not always obtained, and about the likelihood of suffering from the risks involved.

Some authors like Bobes and Sainz (2003) maintain that people who do not take drugs believe that users take them because they have no interest in themselves, because it is typical of meaningless lives and so they worsen the situation of the global community. Conversely, drug users argue that drugs are not taken by people through ignorance of their effects and "because of fear of their negative effects". Thus, the population who do not take drugs refer to users through stereotypes in very typical profiles of "meaningless lives, being manipulated, having a negative effect on society", which is an image that the media have contributed to develop, especially through their prevention campaigns. On the other hand, users refer to non-users as "misinformed and frightened", hence their abstention from drugs. In other words, they believe what prevention campaigns say. This leads to two reflections: firstly, that neither attitude is realistic, but both respond to media stereotypes, and secondly, that drug prevention does not involve drug users, as they do not actually speak about what taking drugs means, or of the motivation that sustains these habits. Thus, non-users are forewarned and users remain unchanged.

However, and despite this clear evidence, the FAD maintains the efficacy of its campaigns through a series of data, such as stating that over half the population of Spain between 15 and 65 indicate that

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they know or have heard about the FAD or that 90,5% of the total of interviewees recall one or more pictures from the FAD campaigns. It insists that a vast section of the Spanish population between 15 and 65 years of age (91, 7%) believe that campaigns are important or very important. It also states that the proportion of those who believe that the continuity of these campaigns is relevant is very high (89, 5%). This means that people's awareness of prevention campaigns is enough to make these campaigns a success. We are not saying that prevention campaigns may or may not have reduced the prevalence of drug use and the number of users, but that we are not satisfied with the simple matter that television is actually watched, (and hence the FAD advertisements are seen).

V. Conclusions

The incentives to take drugs in some population sectors respond to a series of expectations about the effects of these substances. Moreover, these "gains" coexist with some shared beliefs in the existence or non-existence of risks associated with drug use and with various agreed attitudes both in peer groups and in close social settings, in favour of drug use.

The analysis of contents of drug prevention campaigns, disseminated by the media, especially television, on behalf of the FAD, has allowed us to verify that these campaigns hardly counteract drug use, as they lack coherence with regard to the incentives referred to by users, in any of the periods studied here. To the extent that, if drugs maintain a position of power in the social imaginary, campaigns feed on a series of ideas supported by fear, alarmism and lack of realistic criteria, which separate them from their prevention objectives (the launch of these campaigns is especially relevant). Therefore, the ideas issued by institutions do not respond to or counteract the incentives that lead people to the use and abuse of the different drugs.

The lack of success of publicity campaigns against drug use, leads us to think that a new theoretical attitude to drugs is required, which ought to partly forget prohibition and social victimisation messages, in order to focus on the other side of drug use; that is, if drugs produce pleasure, they also generate high doses of displeasure, if the use of drugs causes new and pleasant experiences, the unpleasant ones are greater; if they produce euphoria, they also bring about sadness; despite offering social success, they can generate great social isolation, etc. Thus, reversing the image of drug use, in direct relation to the incentives that encourage it, becomes an option and a possibility to bear in mind.

To sum up, with this study we have intended to show the need to design a new prevention and educational option which will emphasize another explicit and harsh message on the basis of scientific truths derived from the use and abuse of drugs; acting more on prevention than on prohibition criteria. To this end, the incentives listed earlier by users should never be ignored. This message should be added to the Agenda Setting for the prevention and reduction of drug use.

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Mental Health as a Public Social Problem

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Abstract- We define the concept of mental health on the basis of the realization that mental health is not just a health phenomenon anymore, but also a social and psychological one. By defining mental health separately from mental illnesses, it is placed into the concept of public health, which exceeds the medical definition of the determination of a "mental illness".

The anthropology of health defines the medical treatment as a social practice, which takes into consideration a person's social context, the differences between genders, the connection of personal and social. It accents the characteristics of social systems, values and manifestations of social crises through basic concepts and discourses, like gender and culture. Besides the consideration of health and disease, it enables also the consideration of a person in a highly industrialized society and of a culture as a totality. The phenomenon of destructive ways of manifesting psychic crises requires the recognizing of mental health as a social problem.

Keywords: mental health, social perspective, anthropology of health, late modern society, choice theory.

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I. Introductory Starting-Points and Research Problem

The research question of the article is derived from the presumption that the phenomena as riskiness, insecurity, anxiety, unhappiness and lack of connection are immanent to the risk societies and that contemporary social structure forms individuals with an undefined and instable identity, which manifest itself in the form of numerous mental distresses and because of which the contemporary personal distresses are a sociological, aggregate phenomenon.

Bauman (2002: 202) states that insecurity, instability and vulnerability are the most diffused and painful characteristics of the modern world. "The phenomenon that all these concepts try to embrace and to articulate is an experience composed of *insecurity* (of situation, rights and survival), *uncertainty* (regarding their duration and future stability) and *danger* (of the human body, self and their excrescences: property, proximity, community)." (ibid: 203) The passage into the late modern society (Giddens) means the individual's exclusion from traditional ties, religious systems and social relations, the pluralization of life styles and the competition of values have contributed to the downfall of relationships that gave meaning to an individual's life (Beck, Beck - Gernsheim, 2006). The risk, mentioned by Beck, appears e specially on an individual's level and it also brings a risk into personal, intimate relationships that seemed natural and untouchable until that moment.

Contemporary anxiety is connected to the feeling of uncertainty regarding the social situation and social roles and the incessant pressure to adapt and change identity, which lead to feelings of stagnation and emptiness, inexistence and insignificance that go along (Stein, Vidich and Manning White, 1962: 134). Fromm-Reichmann believes that the numerous emotional and mental states, indicated by psychiatrics as anxieties, are in fact states of loneliness or fear of loneliness in the individual's psychological isolation and alienation from oneself and other people. Personal sources of anxiety are confusion, psychological disorientation and uncertainty regarding norms, values, ideologies and the general sense of things (ibid: 131–132).

The totality of a person's extensions includes the individuals' relation towards themselves, others, their position in society and it reflects itself by their entire activity.

The paradigm of anthropology of health supposes that health and illness are cultural constructs and that their manifestations are part of the cultural patterns of a specific society, which establish the concepts of normality and abnormality, the concepts of illness and health of a specific culture. Different suppositions of an illness demand to take into consideration the social extension of a person's life and an expanded health model, i.e. the bio-psychological model, based on the biologic, psychological and social determinism of health (Kaplan, Sallis and Patterson, 1993).

With a defined research question, *how can a person actualize himself and preserve or return his mental health, taking into account his biologic endowment, the concepts and perceptions of modernity and consequent psychic crises,* we want to redirect the research attention from the question 'what is a person' to the neglected question 'who is a person' and its living and social extensions.

The main stress of this article is the definition of a person as a social, free and responsible being, who is intrinsically motivated and whose behavior is purposive and proactive. This kind of thinking is in opposition to more enforced conventional approaches, which treat a 'mental illness' exclusively as a physiological biochemical dysfunction within a person, wherein the modern neuropharmacology and an increasing consumption of medicaments have an important role in

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eliminating unwanted feelings and behavior. By this type of understanding we avoid the discussion of the basic factors of the augmentation of mental distress and we overlook the role of the most important agent in the social events – the individual, whose behavior is reflected in the face of modern society.

II. The Conceptualization of Mental Health

In contrast to the modern era, the late-modern era is more inclined towards humanism and the ethic attitude, which influences the differently conceptualized occurrence of the phenomenon of mental health.

The concept of mental health was transformed and it also became a social and psychological phenomenon. The integration of a psychological view of a personality in medicine indicates the defining of mental health by dividing the personality in the individuals' relation towards themselves, the realization of potentials, the independence from social influences, self-respect, feeling, the perceiving of the world and the control of one's own life. Researching a behavior and performing social roles, meeting social expectations linked to defined roles, the quality of interpersonal relations, the relation towards the social environment and defining normal and abnormal or deviant behavior from the standard of specific roles, all that define mental health as a social phenomenon (Freeman and Giovannoni, 1969). The factors of mental health are determined by the factors of a psychological, biological, social, economic or cultural source, which originate from a family structure or from the quality of interpersonal relationships (ibid: 678).

The World Health Organization still considers the diagnosis as the key presumption of an illness, while Levi Strauss stated the definition that "the health of an individual spirit includes taking part in a social life, like the rejecting of the social life (but this rejection is possible only in the modalities imposed by the social life itself) corresponds to the occurring od mental disturbances. The forms of mental illnesses are characteristic for any society and percentage of individuals affected by these disturbances, they are constitutive for a special type of balance, specific for every independent society. So, for example, in societies that know shamanism, the shamanistic behavior is accepted as normal." (Levi Strauss and Mauss, 1996: 237–238).

In the second half of the 20th century the followers of antipsychiatry, Foucault (Madness and Civilization, 1961), Szasz (The Myth of Mental Illness, 1960) and Goffman (Asylums, 1961) defined mental problems socially functionally. Szasz (1982) understands the meaning of the mental illness phenomenom as a hidden fact that most of the people's lives are an incessant struggle, not for the biologic existence but for the peace of mind or any other value or signification. He claims that the mental illness is a myth: "the concept of mental illness is used especially to hide the fact that for most of the people their lives are a struggle for life, not in the sense of biologic survival as much as in the sense of assuring one's 'place under the sun' " (Szasz, 1960: 118). Szasz points out the powerlessness of hospitalized people also by not taking into account and by devaluating their judgment.

White (1988: 20) believes that "insanity is a political-biologic rebellion against the repressive normality, the fear and the concordance wherein people are afraid to think and behave differently." Rovatti offers a similar definition: "we can define insanity as difference and fear of difference. An insane person is a certain prototype of a different person: as in the past when people shut an insane person in a special institution in order to confirm their own normality, as today the separation and ousting of different people continue, so a group can consolidate their own certain identity." (Rovatti, 2004: 9)

Properly speaking, "a mental illness is for now only an assumption in the cognitive-theoretic sense. We can neither prove it nor disprove it. The supposition of an illness harms the people marked in this way. It leads to a life stigmatization, which works as a self-realizing prophecy" (Lamovec and Flaker, 1993: 88), the Pygmalion effect (Rosenthal) when an individual behaves in accordance with the ideas and expectations of another person, without at first really having the problems attributed to him by others. The concept of stigma is established, defined by Goffman as a discrediting identity, where an 'abnormal' difference conceals all the other characteristics and marks them to the point of setting the owner of such attribute in an inferior position in the society. It is about a relation, dependent on the normative expectations of the environment (Goffman, 1981).

The predominating biological model of modern psychiatry is openly criticized by the Irish psychiatrist Linch, who believes that "the medical approach to mental distress is based on unproven suppositions, especially on the theory that the basic cause of a mental distress is biological that it is an issue of biochemical imbalance or genetic irregularity or both. Psychiatry convinced itself and the public in general that this is not a supposition, but it is a proven fact […] After several decades the intensive psychiatric research still cannot determine the biological cause for any psychiatric condition. The insufficiency of biological proofs confirms the uncommon fact that not one psychiatric diagnosis can be confirmed with a biochemical, radiological or any other laboratory test. I am not familiar with any other medical profession that would cure people based on a supposed biochemical irregularity." (Lynch v Glasser, 2003: 6)

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In accordance with Lynch's critics Glasser (2003) comprehends mental health separately from 'mental illness' which he does not acknowledge, because he comprehends all 'psychopathological' behavior as creativity of the brain through which a person wants to reduce frustration and satisfy the basic needs. By understanding the holistic behavior of the choice theory he exchanges cause and consequence – the chemical balance in the brain is the consequence of chosen behaviors (to satisfy the needs) and of created beliefs (on the basis of the perceptional system).

The theorists from the field of positive conceptualization of mental health defend the need for the separation of mental health continuums and mental illnesses. Downie (in Tudor, 1996: 24–25) explains the idea of separation of both concepts as a division that enables an individual to have a diagnosed mental illness and at the same time to reach a high level of mental health and well-being. Seeing as the concepts of mental health and mental illness would belong to the same continuum, there would be only two options – an individual could be mentally healthy or mentally ill. The distinction between mental health and mental illness and the acknowledgement of mental health as a positive concept which is not defined by the absence of mental illnesses, are also being defended by Tudor (1996), Adams, Amos and Munro (2002). Tudor stresses that the line of separation between the two concepts is often erased. Mental health is still connected to the sphere of mental illness, what classifies both in the same continuum (Tudor, 1996: 24). Glasser (2003) defines the mental health problem as an independent entity and not just as the absence of illness. The socio-emotional components of life, like a satisfying family life, friendly relationships, position in a community, physical and mental health estimation, and their insufficiency express themselves through social deprivation (Andrews and Withey, 1976; Bradburn and Caplovitz, 1965; Inkeles,1998).

Glasser's definition of mental health is radically constructed and it demolishes the concepts of normality and abnormality established in the society. The understanding of mental health is positioned in the context of good and satisfying relationships with close people, which enables a person to satisfy their psychical needs. The definition is conceived in such a manner that an individual is introduced to the reflection of their own feeling and behavior and it directs them to a subjective experiencing and active functioning. At the same time it warns us of the fact that mental health should be a part of public health.

III. The Manifestation of Mental Crises in Modern Society

The psychologisation of mental health is becoming a socially more acceptable form of manifesting emotional dissatisfaction in the modern, highly developed society. The expression of distress with mental pain runs parallel with the processes of individualization, which triggers disintegrative processes on the level of social relationships, culture and an individual's identity.

It is estimated that 50 million people (11 per cent of the European population) suffer because of mental crises, which are diagnosed as mental disorders within the medical model. Depression is the most diffused medical problem in the EU, which according to the data from the member countries still remains socially and culturally more acceptable for the women. In the EU, 17 per cent of adult women and 9 per cent of adult men suffer from depression (EUROPE, 2008).

According to the World Health Organization data, mental health problems are still increasing, and the medical experts predict that in 2020 depression will be the most frequently diagnosed illness in the developed world (EUROPE, 2008).

Alcoholism is considered to be the most frequent form of addiction in the western world (Glasser, 2000: 209), culturally and socially the most acceptable and tolerated form of destructive behavior. The researches show that the (ab)use of alcoholic drinks represents one of the key problems of public health. Numerous negative short-term and long-term medical and social results appear in peoples' medical conditions, their disease and mortality rate. An excessive use of alcohol also has economic effects, due to a lower productivity, diseases, premature deceases and expenses in medical care, traffic and judicature (traffic accidents caused by drunk participants, temporary absence from work because of diseases, injuries and poisoning, which are a direct consequence of alcohol consume, etc.) (ibid).

In the last forty-five years the frequency of suicides in the world also augmented – approximately 60 per cent. Suicide is the leading cause of premature death in Europe – 58.000 cases per year, there are ten times as many suicide attempts (EUROPE, 2008).

The usage of illegal drugs is augmenting, wherein the age limit of the users is lowering.

In the period from 1999 to 2005 in EU the percentage of people receiving medical treatment for the first time because of cocaine problems augmented from 11 to 24 per cent of all new people who are receiving a treatment. More than 12 million Europeans used cocaine once in their lives, its usage is most diffused among young adults. The drug is still in the domain of men (at a ratio of five men to one woman), but drug abuse is also becoming socially acceptable for girls (Institute for health protection of the Republic of Slovenia, 2010).

The usage of substances shows the purpose of choosing a destructive and ineffective behavior, maybe even more than other painful behaviors – getting

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depressed, suffering from a phobia, etc. Alcohol or any other drug imitates or activates the chemical activity of the brain that induces a feeling of comfort. That gives a person a feeling that one or more of their needs are being satisfied and that they have control over their life (Glasser, 2003).

Getting drugged is a dysfunctional form of solving problems. A drug can rapidly and without any effort relieve one's distress, solve the conflicts and improve a bad condition, but the satisfaction lasts only as long as the effect of the drug. In order to regain a good feeling, one has to get drugged again, which leads to addiction. Besides getting drugged with a substance, drugging with detrimental behaviors, the so-called nonchemical form of addiction - it is about the process of drugging by behavior, which has the characteristics of a psychoactive substance, a changing neurochemical activity of the brain (Carnes, 2006), can also be classified as modern drugs (feeding, consumption, computer games, internet contents, gambling games, etc.), which represents a modern way of manifesting dissatisfaction and a destructive attempt to gain control over one's own life that could be extremely risky and also potentially fatal for a person.

IV. The Definition of the Research Plan and of the Research Methods

In the empirical research field of the article we orientate from pathogenesis towards salutogenesis, towards regaining mental health. There were five examples of destructive forms of manifesting dissatisfaction included into the research – mental health problems, psychosomatic problems, obsessive thoughts and compulsive behavior, sexual addiction and difficulties in growing up. The elaborated case studies are supervised and appropriate from a psychotherapeutic point of view, congruent with the chosen psychotherapeutic concepts. The examples were analyzed and interpreted by the choice theory, which was chosen as an interpretative tool for the explanation of the origin of psychical crises and which has also led us to the answer to the question, how should a person act and behave in order to preserve or regain his mental health in spite of the biological endowment and the embedment in a specific socio-cultural environment.

The case study represents the client's story and their interpretation of the problems, the therapist's understanding of the client's problems through the concepts of the choice theory, a summary of parts of the conversation that are important for the reestablishment of the relationship, for discovering the client's world of qualities, for understanding the client's endeavors, for the client's shifting from the convictions of psychology of external control to the convictions of the choice therapy. The case study also includes the record of the therapist's internal dialogue and his professional inclusion (the therapist mediates the knowledge of the choice theory to the client). It is also an explicit presentation of the establishing and developing of the therapist-client relationship in the sense of therapeutic means for attaining an end. Ultimately the practical work is a review of the amelioration of mental health through the study of the choice theory and that has an important contribution to an individual's autonomy, a necessary independence from the therapist. Qualitative case studies with a deep insight into the socio-psychological reality of a chosen group of people represent at the same time the the process itself- the case study includes at least six séances with the client, which means that they are watched for at least three months, in most cases for a year.

The analysis of the material was realized in accordance with the basic procedures in the grounded theory, also named inductive theory (Mesec, 1998: 33). The distinction of this theory is the theoretical sampling – it is an intentional assortment of units that would contribute to further development of the theory on the basis of previous knowledge and in the current of analyses of acquired data. With an accurate definition of the characteristic of the content of defined phenomena we determined the notions that represented the conditions in which activities and interactions appear, where these phenomena express themselves and the consequences that they cause. By coding the data we opened the data for an analytic proceeding, defined the concepts, their characteristics and dimensions and we installed them into the context. In the continuation we linked them together and combined them in concepts of a higher level and category. Through the method of constant comparison, we searched for similarities and differences and for particularities of individual phenomena, developed generative questions and formed ad hoc hypotheses. We examined simultaneously the hypothesis in the data, annotated analytic notes (*memos*) that are used for supporting the process of data analyzing, and later we used them as a description of theoretical cognitions. We followed the basic task of the grounding theory, i.e. the research of connections. We turned towards searching common points of different problems and 'diagnoses' in the area of mental health, we studied the factors that have an influence on the manifestation of psychic crises, the characteristics of an individual's consideration and activity, and the larger socio-cultural context of psychic crises manifestation and treatment.

We concluded the analysis with the formulation of a theory, a contextually bounded theory, which represents a reflection of observations, considerations, inferences, regularities, legalities, typologies, etc. of an individual's forms of behavior, acts, convictions, whereat we took into consideration the psychotherapeutic, psychosocial and socio-anthropological aspect.

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We started a method of analysis of qualitative data, case studies exacting and of a long duration by the analysis of the text and by defining terms for notions that seemed the most appropriate, and we also used notions from the theory we chose for the interpreting of the material, i.e. the choice theory. For the coding we used the procedure of direct naming. In this way we named a single description directly with a determined denomination or code, without comparison with other descriptions or search for synonyms, contraries, associations. We continued the open coding with the procedure of categorizing and classifying data. Then we united cognate notions by categorizing them into units. We modeled the notions by abstracting the common characteristics of several different descriptions. The analysis of the notions and categories characteristics followed, in accordance with the choice theory, and the selection and definition of categories (we left the notions determined only operationally) regarding the research problem. We performed the so-called axial coding. In this phase we eliminated also the irrelevant notions – too distant and non-connected with other notions and with the research problem. We compared the obtained and defined units among them, we searched for and constructed relations among them and we organized them into supposed relations, we performed the so-called selective coding (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbinova, 1990). There was a theoretical frame formed in the concluding phase, which followed the formulation of forms and gave theoretical interpretations and explanations. Based on the coding of the text we formed forms that we identified in the analysis as distinctive behavior, 'figures', 'structures' – we present them later in the article.

The analysis of case studies was performed by means of the program for processing qualitative data, ATLAS.ti. The program was used as an expedient for the technical facilitation of the coding proceedings, the development of concepts and their connection into larger units and for establishing correlations among the units. We added the newly formed proper relations to the network of relations that are automatically formed by the program, and in this way we embraced all the recognized relations in the analyzed text.

V. Concluding Conceptualization

The discussed material was full of implicit theories (*'theories in use'* by Schon), those are hidden comprehensions of the clients, comprehensions that the clients do not know or say, but are evident from the viewpoint of the legitimacy of chosen theories. The material is working, implicit, which we say or explain through the client's reflection, realizations. This is taken into consideration also by the case study, completed by the therapist's internal dialogue (the interpretation of the perceived), which simultaneously explains and makes people aware of the client's behavior.

In the point of saturation when the data became repeatitive and redundant for further work, it was possible to grasp from the analysis of the material determined behavioral patterns of the clients, which speak in favor of the chosen theory.

Form one: the clients persistently recognize themselves in the roles of victims of other people's actions, they themselves have no power or influence, because they understand their actions and consideration as causal-consecutive.

Form two: they consider others guilty for their problems – external factors –close people or past events, which they have no influence on.

Form three: the clients put a lot of energy in attempts to exercise control over others or in withdrawals of control for other part. For that they use controlling or other destructive behavior.

Form four: all the treated clients in their last important relationships experienced constraining and controlling behavior. In some cases those actions were 'hidden' behind care, love, good-intentions, etc. especially from the mother's side.

Form five: the clients received an authoritative form of education from the parents as a rule. Some of them show that distinctively in the therapeutic process also in connection to low self-esteem and low self-confidence.

Form six: the destructive effects of actions of the psychology of external control on personal relationships and on an individual's mental health are evident.

Form seven: the client's intensive concern with symptomatology is present.

Form eight: without exception, in the 'background' of the client's problem there is a momentary unsatisfying and to him an important relationship. 13

Form nine: the clients try to appease their psychic needs in ways that are unsatisfying for them or even frustrating and destructive, which they express with somatization and mental suffering.

Form ten: a psychical bad feeling id connected to the client's dysfunctional conviction.

Form eleven: the formation of individual dysfunctional convictions is connected to the social construction of sexes, which is a result of an androcentric culture, a patriarchal tradition and sexism.

Form twelve: psychic crises are directly connected to painful experiences, traumatic events, like violence, poverty, disease, personal loss, separation, etc.

Form thirteen: the client's chosen, especially destructive behavior are connected to sex and social acceptance.

Form fourteen: the clients have problems with establishing and developing satisfying relationships.

Form fifteen: the change in the perception and understanding of our own actions and actions of others makes it possible for the client to appease his basic

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psychical needs more effectively and to regain control over his own life.

Form sixteen: the regaining of control over one's life or the amelioration of mental health is directly connected to an effective appeasing of psychical needs in relationships with others.

As a generalization, originated from the basis of the analysis of the material and of the elaborated paradigmatic model, we present the elaborated strategy of the client's 'behavior' with an 'illness' and the strategy of the client's renewed control over his life.

Strategy A: 'The loss of control over one's own life.

a) *The assuming and/or performing of controlling behavior*

The clients try failingly to appease their psychical needs with them, which manifests itself in numerous painful ways.

b) *Causative-consecutive deliberation ration and action*

The internalized deliberation that people are beings of reaction, who just react to others' behavior and do not have any possibility of choice. The clients avoid the cognition that they alone, directly or indirectly, chose the very thing they complain about.

c) *The position of the 'nutshell'*

Until a person persist in the role of a victim and they blame others for their unhappiness and dissatisfaction, their life quality cannot improve, and by that neither their well-being. The client's key realization must be that they can control and also change only their own behavior and not others.

d) *Persisting in bad, unsatisfying relations*

People remain for years in unhappy, unconnected relations, where they try to appease their basic needs in painful ways. They often express their dissatisfaction with complaints, disapproval, but they do not link the unhappy relations to the mental health problems.

e) *Orientation towards a physiological and emotive component of holistic behavior*

Emotional (sadness, fear, anger, anxiety, etc.) and physical (unrest, pain, general bad state of health, etc.) feelings are the most frustrating and painful for an individual. This is why they orient themselves towards them and by that they remain in the magic circle of unhappiness and suffering. The active component of the holistic behavior remains practically inactive until the entry into the therapeutic process.

Strategy B: 'The assuming of control over one's own life.'

a) *The orientation towards the client's world of qualities*

A person's internal, personal, unique world is represented by a group of people, things, events, convictions, values, etc. and it is taking shape since birth, all our life, and it represents the best ways we want to appease our needs. The recognition and taking into consideration a person's world of qualities are necessary for the search of more effective ways of appeasing needs, which represents the creation of a life of quality and the improvement of health. 15

b) *The orientation towards choosing more effective behaviors and deliberations*

When a client learns how to remove the external control from his life, he starts to change his actual unsatisfying relations. The change in the perception and understanding of his own actions and the actions of others enables him a more effective appeasing of the basic psychical needs and the reassuming of control over his own life. The client's key cognition is that he can control and also change only his own actions not the actions of others.

c) *Care for an (equilibrated) appeasing of psychical needs*

Orientation towards appeasing psychical needs by taking into consideration the client's personal world of values, convictions, figures, ideas, etc. a regard for reality and search for solutions, better choices within the given possibilities (environment).

d) *Taking care of relations and/or establishing new ones*

A person cannot appease all of their psychical needs without a basic consciousness that they are a free being who can choose – a series of behaviors and self-perception and the perception of others –, and that they are a social being who can successfully appease their needs only in a satisfying relation with other people.

e) *The meaning of the relation therapist-client.*

The relation therapist-client represents the basis of the whole psychotherapeutic process. We derive from the conviction that the meaning of the relation between the therapist and the client is the one that surpasses the level of single theoretic models and is the key for a 'successful' therapy, despite the essential conceptual separation of different therapeutic modalities. In the relation with the client, the therapist follows the value of human dignity, they accept and respect a person in all of their uniqueness and entity and they do not announce nor control their behavior.

VI. Final Statements And Interpretation

The analysis of the material confirms *the concept of sexually conditional and socio-culturally acceptable behaviors of manifesting psychical crises.* Men and women adjust psychical distress to a specific socio-cultural environment and to sexually acceptable behavioral patterns. 16

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The mental health problems of women are closely linked to her social role, they are a network of past educational patterns and consolidate external expectations. Mental pain is manifested by forms that are attributed to women and are the consequence of socialization and later life experiences connected to it. Women express personal dissatisfaction within the accorded sexual roles and a determined cultural context. The form of mental pain manifestation are the result of the 'woman's' socialization. Women express personal dissatisfaction with a silent, inconspicuous 'woman's' behavior (Podgornik, 2012: 6).

The anthropologist Darja Zaviršek (1993: 104,105) establishes that depression as a behavioral cultural pattern is a typical manifestation of mental pain, which "is attributed to the female sex, creates different sexual ideologies and leads to many women with a sexually acceptable behavioral pattern, identifying themselves with it and they adapt the expression of their psychical distress to it". Resorting to a disease is also frequent, addiction to tablets, addiction to alcohol and addiction to food (refusing food, excessive eating, overeating and then throwing up and combinations of those), coffee, cigarettes are socially more acceptable for women.

The concept of factors that that are conditional to the formation of psychical crises is also connected to the socio-cultural environment. The intertwinement of negative factors like class appurtenance, patriarchal sexual pattern, national appurtenance, physical violence, wrong care work, long period of living in a threatening and stressful relationship, unemployment, people's socio-economic problems are the basis for the manifestation of mental health problems.

From the presented socio-biographies the perception and performing of male and female roles in connection to the sex as a socially constructed category (gender), but not their sensibility for a social construction of both sexes is evident. In other words they understand their actions as a biologic determination of their sexual identity.

Their social roles do not deviate essentially from the ones defined based on a biologic function. Women realize the role of a family and home guardian and educator while men preserve the role of a family provider and representative in the public sphere and in comparison to women they benefit of a superior position. The convictions and actions of the clients reflect a traditional course of socialization, favoring of social roles regarding the 17 biologic gender. Their sexual identity is the result of commonly adopted norms and values of the culture that they belong to. They act appropriately in socially acceptable roles in view of the gender. The qualities in the domain of womens' social gender are tenderness, sensibility, excessive sentimentality, passivity, willingness to subordinate, while in the domain of the male social gender are rationality, aggressiveness, emotional stability and activity. This represents itself as an additional burdening in the manifestation of psychical crises. If the behavior does not suit the qualities connected to the gender, they experience a bigger stigmatization – the case of a depressed man and an alcoholized woman.

Demographic factors, gender, age, marrital status, ethnical appurtenance and socio-economic status in interaction with personal qualities influence the formation of mental health problems and also their development and solving. Researchers (Pez et al., 2006) establish that the social network and relationships work as factors of chances or protective factors for the formation and development of mental problems.

From the present material, among the causes for the formation of mental crises, the use of actions of constraint and control as an universal characteristic of a specific behavior on the level of interpersonal relations stands out. *The construct of external control* is typical of the parents-children relations and for a relationship between two partners. These are relationships that represent an important figure in a person's world of qualities and to which great expectations are tied. The clients tried to attain these expectations with an external control, in the context of universal, i.e. behavioral psychology, all to the realization that internal control is the only one possible, because people are internally (intrinsically) motivated beings, so no external motivational factor, stimulus is effective in a long term. Furthermore, the ethnographic material used in this article also proves that forced and controlling actions are inevitably destructive for a person and his relationships.

The reason why we perceive a great part of reality (life situations) differently than others is situated in the personal world, in *the construct of the world of qualities*, which is proper to each person, and in *the construct of individual differences*. The showed therapeutic processes take into consideration the individual choices of behavior, chosen by individuals with different biological endowments in different environments, that have the key influence on a different development of a personality, besides the biologic differences and different 18 environments in which individuals live. By that, the individuals develop specific world of qualities that again influences the diversity of individuals (Lojk, 1999: 19).

The choice theory defines *the construct of holistic behavior* as a simultaneous activity of four components: activity, thinking, feeling and physiology (ibid: 80). Although by choosing the holistic behavior all four components still function, a person has a direct control over his activities and his thinking, while feeling and physiology depend on the two of them (ibid: 81–82). That is why the holistic behavior (mentally and physically), even if it is that unusual and pathological, of a disease (except when it is caused by a proved organic

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pathology) in the organismic sense is always intentional (Lojk and Lojk, 2011: 313).

It is possible to summarize two more concepts from the analysis of the material, connected to the help model that the clients received. *The concept of the medical help model* is based on the discovering and on the interpretation of symptoms and it defines their treatment. The main instrument is a pharmacological treatment, where a psychological approach does not have any special meaning. The medical model defends the conviction that mental disturbances are a product of biochemical changes, that can be treated with a pharmacological therapy. *The concept of the psychosocial help model*, which does not use medical diagnoses, but contextual descriptions of problems and disturbances, originated as a critique of the medical model. We should accentuate the systematic-ecological (holistic) concept that developed in the seventies and is based on the systematic theory – on the understanding of effective connections and interactions among people and their relation towards the environment in which they live. While solving the problem, the client (user) is an active participant, capable of solving his own distress and taking control over his life with professional help. In the eighties, the socio- constructivist model, connected to the humanistic and existential theory, starts to develop with the social constructivism. With this model the basic disciplines used are sociology, cognitive psychology, linguistics, anthropology, etc. and the client (user) is an expert in recognizing his own life situation. *The reality therapy*, substantiated by the choice theory that we established as the contextual and interpretative theory of the present article, belongs among the psychotherapeutic approaches with a constructivist and systematic background.

We conclude the attempt to form theoretic concepts with *the relationship therapist-client*, which represents the expedient and purpose in the reality therapy. The client (and the therapist) senses in the most genuine relationships, how the subject-object relationship 19 changes into the subject-subject relationship. In the therapist-client relationship we are not concerned with the question of 'transfer' and 'contra transfer' as a process that in psychoanalysis enables the client to comprehend, and as a process that a psychoanalytic should be conscious of in order to avoid eventual problems in the relationship between him and the client. The reality therapy believes that a responsible personal connection between the therapist and the client is the best, the fastest and frequently also the only way for the client to learn how to develop his relationships with the people he needs (Lojk, 1999: 9).

VII. Conclusion

The paradigmatic move was performed in dealing with problems with mental health based on a dialogue between anthropology, sociology and psychotherapy, which enables us to see a person and to consider them as a holistic being, with all their physical, psychical, social and mental extensions and their position in a socio-cultural environment.

We cannot understand a person's mental health problems without taking into consideration the social and cultural frames of their experiencing and expressing. From this point of viewwe try to define mental health as a part of good interpersonal relations, social networks, quality of life, satisfactory self-image and satisfying strategies for mastering the distresses in contrast to the negative concepts of mental health. Along that, we take into consideration the individuals personal history and biography, included in the research work, the socio-demographic and socioeconomic factors of the influence on mental health, outside of the medical treatment of mental health as the absence of mental illness.

The conviction of the indivisibility of mental and physical dictates a holistic and proactive understanding of a person's activity, that is why an approach oriented towards an individual is necessary. With the finished research work, I want to contribute to recognizing needs for a holistic approach in treating psychical crises, by placing a person's inter-subjective social world into a larger socio-cultural context.

We recognize the present research as a research of interpersonal relations, of a modern society person's holistic behavior, their response to the pain connected to the risks that it brings to the modern society. The material we studied is rich and it offers the recognizing of numerous social threads – socialization patterns, patriarchy, matriarchy, differences between the 20 genders, other factors, that determined the origin of psychical distresses, a person's creative system, reorganized behaviors as a response to personal crises and a person's other attempts to regain control over their life.

We analyzed a person's behavior and thinking in relation to the environment and persons that the client co-creates their life with. We researched two fields: the happenings in a person and in a (domestic) environment. Separately – individually became the social cultural perspective.

In the democratization of individualization it is about searching for a person's chance to successfully form and realize their life story by being conscious of the free choice, liberated from the restraints that determined their life style in the past. A person is the one that creates the nucleus of every human action with their own experiencing, and a man is the active subject that we cannot put in the place of an object, if we want them to preserve their human values.

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Gorkha Identity and Separate Statehood Movement

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Introduction- The present Darjeeling District was formed in 1866 where Kalimpong was transformed to the Darjeeling District. It is to be noted that during Bhutanese regime Kalimpong was within the Western Duars. After the Anglo-Bhutanese war 1866 Kalimpong was transferred to Darjeeling District and the western Duars was transferred to Jalpaiguri District of the undivided Bengal. Hence the Darjeeling District was formed with the ceded territories of Sikkim and Bhutan. From the very beginning both Darjeeling and Western Duars were treated excluded area. The population of the Darjeeling was Composed of Lepchas, Nepalis, and Bhotias etc. Mech-Rajvamsis are found in the Terai plain. Presently, Nepalese are the majority group of population. With the introduction of the plantation economy and developed agricultural system, the British administration encouraged Nepalese to Settle in Darjeeling District. It appears from the census Report of 1901 that 61% population of Darjeeling belonged to Nepali community.

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Gorkha Identity and Separate Statehood Movement

Dr. Anil Kumar Sarkar

I. Introduction

The present Darjeeling District was formed in 1866 where Kalimpong was transformed to the Darjeeling District. It is to be noted that during Bhutanese regime Kalimpong was within the Western Duars. After the Anglo-Bhutanese war 1866 Kalimpong was transferred to Darjeeling District and the western Duars was transferred to Jalpaiguri District of the undivided Bengal. Hence the Darjeeling District was formed with the ceded territories of Sikkim and Bhutan. From the very beginning both Darjeeling and Western Duars were treated excluded area. The population of the Darjeeling was Composed of Lepchas, Nepalis, and Bhotias etc. Mech-Rajvamsis are found in the Terai plain. Presently, Nepalese are the majority group of population. With the introduction of the plantation economy and developed agricultural system, the British administration encouraged Nepalese to Settle in Darjeeling District. It appears from the census Report of 1901 that 61% population of Darjeeling belonged to Nepali community.[1] The Nepali language used in Darjeeling in the admixture of various Kura or dialects used by different castes and tribes who have their own distinct dialect like Sherpakura, Limukura, Rajkura etc. Due to social intercourse in the Tea gardens and market places among the different caste and tribes in the hills, this khaskura or Gorkha language developed. In due Course KhasKura or Gorkhali language became the lingua-franca in the hill [2]. The emergence of this syncretism language had helped Gorkha ethnicity. Since mid 1930 a new middle class began to emerge among the Gorkhas. With the emergence of this new middle class feeling of Nepalese sub-regionalism began to grow. The formation of Nepali Sahitya Sammelan helped to grow a sense of love for the Gorkha language and culture [3]. In order to establish fraternity among Lepcha, Bhutias and Nepalese Hill people social union was established in 1934. It's another motto was to look after the upliftment of the Hill people.[4]

The word Gorkha is perhaps derived from the Sanskrit word go-raksha, its English meaning is protection of the cow or the word emanates from the temple of Goraknath, established by the famous Indian Siddha. Actually it is the name of a place situated about one hundred kilometers to the west of Kathmandu of Nepal. The inhabitants of the place are called Gorkhas.[5] C.J. Morris, writes, "The term Gorkha should rightly be applied only to the inhabitants of the place of that name and their descendants."[6] The Gorkha identities are a colonial phenomenon. The Gorkha dynastic histories are interlinked with the Malla dynasty which with its three branches, ruled Nepal Valley "up to the conquest of the country by the Gorkhas, virile group of Brahmanised and mixed Mongoloids."[7] Another group of Malla Kings of Dullu and Jumla ruled in West Nepal from 13th to 17the centuries. "They were not Kirata Origin-they were Aryan speaking Khasas of the Himalayas, strengthened by kshatriya (Rajput) emigrants from India."[8] The descendants of these Mallas submerged among the Khas-Kura or Gorkhali speaking people of Nepal. But majority of people of Nepal spoke language where Gorkhali speaking people formed a small section. According to Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, "after Yaksa-Malla's time C. 1474 A.D. Nepal kingdom disintegrated into four principalities i.e. Bhatgaon, Banapa, Kathmandu and Patan and finally succumbed to Gorkha in 1768.[9] But according to Tanka Bahadur Subba long before 1768 Drabya Shah established the Gorkha dynasty in 1559, after killing the king belonging to 'Chetri tribe'.[10] It seems that taking chances of the weak positions of Malla kings the Gurkha races managed to curve out a niche within the Nepal Kingdom under the Mallas. But the Gurkha dynasty under Drabya Shah did not experience any remarkable achievement until Prithivinarayan Shah who became king in 1742. Little is known about the actual origin of the Gurkhas who are said to be of Rajput origin. It is pertinent to comment that the Gorakhnath sect which had a sizeable number of followers all over Northern India during the 14th and 15th centuries had a strong connection with the Gorkha Community which settled in Nepal.

During the reign of Prithivinarayan Shah apart from Mewari, Gurkha races the "Magars, Khas and Bagale Thapa clans", Pandes clans were also in existence. In "Dibyaupadesh" Prithivinarayan referred about of four castes in his army: Bahun, Khas, Magar and Thkuri.[11]

Darjeeling district in the pre-colonial era was under both Sikkim and Bhutan. After the aggression of the Gurkha king a non aggression pact was concluded between king of Nepal and king of Sikkim sometime before 1775. But Nepal violated the pact in order to

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maximize the earnings from "the custom duty by controlling the Indo-Tibetan trade routes to Chumbi Valley lying through Sikkim".[12]

At this juncture the Gurkha incursion took place up to the Teesta River. When the Gurkha army marched towards the headquarters of Panchem Lama at Tashilhumpo monastery, the Chinese Government decided to intervene. The Gurkha army was routed and the king of Nepal asked for peace. But Sikkim and Bhutan had to wait till the signing of Teaty of Segauli of 1815 (signed between king of Nepal and English East India Company) to regain their territories which were previously lost to Gurkha king. According to the Treaty then, Darjeeling hills and plain areas were again attached to Sikkim and the Kalimpong area was restored to Bhutan king. Later on in 1817 when East India Company's insist king of Sikkim was forced to part away with plains area East of Mechi River and west of Teesta, conforming of the present Siliguri subdivision it caused much furor at the Sikkim's court. Soon the colonial Government contemplated of transforming the Darjeeling hill station into health resort and further the prospect of inauguration tea plantations in Darjeeling hill areas also seems to be a lucrative venture.

So these two factors propelled the colonialists to take over the whole of Darjeeling district. It has been aptly remarked that " To grant and Lloyd, Darjeeling indebted for the discovery of the possibility of this bracing climate to reinvigorate the wearied workers of the plains; to Llyod for the censor of the hill territory, …and to Campbell for the introduction of the tea plant…"[13]

Finally on 1.2.1835 the king of Sikkim parted away the Darjeeling hill areas to East India Company and by the treaty of Sinchula signed between Bhutan and East India Company, Kalimpong subdivision was annexed to British India. Thus the present Darjeeling district was formed in 1866.[14] After the formation of the district the British declared the whole of Darjeeling District as a non-regulated area i.e. the Colonial laws, regulations applicable in other permanently areas of Bengal presidency will not be applicable in the Darjeeling District.

Soon the Nepali exodus from the adjoin country i.e. Nepal started to vindicate the Colonial objectives i.e. to form the Gurkha military regiment and secondly to populate the Nepali workers in the tea garden areas of the District. The Potentiality of Gurkhas to be military race was first realized by the British. In 1902, in Gorakpur (Bihar) and in Ghoom (Darjeeling) headquarters of military recruitment centres were established with the explicit objective of enlisting Gurkha youths to the army. Although Gurkhas were enlisted as soldiers but Mangars, Gurungs, Rais, Limbus were also counted as the valued soldiers of British Indian Army. It is here interesting to note that Tanka Bahadur Subha categorically states that Mangars and Gurungs were original residents of Central Nepal and Rais and Limbus were of Eastern Nepal.[15] At the outset as neither the Gurungs or Rais, Limbus can claim to be Gurkha origin. Nepal was unwilling to also its people to be recruited by the British, the Colonial Government used to lure away the Nepali youths from Nepal and settle them in Shillong, Darjeeling and Dehradun. After establishment Rana regime in 1846 and after the clearance made through Nepalli Royal notification of 1885 and 1888 there was no hurdle in respect of recruiting Gurkha soldiers.

So, the Colonial policy of Gurkha recruitment and the establishment of Tea Plantation area in the Darjeeling District hill areas begun to displace the Lepcha People; the original inhabitant of Darjeeling. In 1928 Capt Lloyd and J.W. Grant while visiting the old Gurkha station in Darjeeling found few instances of Lepcha houses but not any Nepali house. Further over whiling names in the Darjeeling hill areas indicate their Lepcha origins. The name Darjeeling is clearly a corruption of Dorje-Ling, which means the land of 'Dorje', 'the mystic thunderbolt of the Indo-Tibetan Buddhism'.[16] Col. Wadel writes "the oldest names are found to be of Lepcha origin……"[17] Lepchs who speak language of Tibto-Burman origin are of Eastern Nepal and the district of Darjeeling and some small territories if Bhutan are claimed to be the original homeland of the Lepchas."[18]

That the use of Lepcha language and script was in vogue in Darjeeling hills is being vindicated by the fact that on 12.10.1838 Llyod as agent of the Company in Darjeeling circulated an order of the king of Sikkim pertaining o rent collection for the local people and that order was circulated through Bengali, Hindi, Persian and Lepcha languages. Incidentally both Lepcha language and scripts were used in this respect.

In 1840 Campbell estimated the lepcha population in Sikkim about 3,000. In 1872 the Lepcha population of the Darjeeling district 4% of the total population i.e. 4,952 out of the total population of 94,712. Although in 1941 the Lepcha population rose to 12,470 but it proved to be a paltry figure in comparison to immigrant Nepali population in the Darjeeling District.

The Nepali immigrant settlement accompanied by Nepali language in Darjeeling created separate cultural space in the district. It is to be noted that apart from the Nepali; Rais, Limbus, Tamang, etc. had separate language of its own. Due to smaller presence of Bengali people in the hill areas virtually there was no remarkable influence of plains people culture on hill areas. Further the influx of Chetri and Brahmin migration from Nepal made the presence of Hindu places of worship a common feature. Further the settlement of military personnel in the Darjeeling District helped to solidify the ethnic unity. During the Colonial period the Gurkha identities got currency due to efforts made by ex-military officials i.e. Major Kalu Newar, Subedar Major

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Harikrishna Gurung, Subedar Dilli Bahadur Gurung, Colonel Pratap Tamang and Chaptain Bam Bahadur Gautam.

Equally it is not clear the actual number of Gorkha community in India. Even about the nationality of Gorkhas either Tanka Bahadur Subba or Prem Poddar are sure about it. While Tanka Bahadur Subba stated "Gorkha" or "Gorkhali" may very much mean the inhabitants of Nepal, India or any other country. There is no reason whatsoever to believe that this term indicated Indian nationality."[19] Prem Poddar a well known literary figure stated " I use the word Gorkha (or the neologism 'Gorkhaness' coined here) as a self-descriptive term that has gained currency as a marker of difference for Nepalese living in India as opposed to their breather and sister in Nepal. Gorkhaness then becomes synonymous with India Nepaleseness but inverts only degrees of differential commonalities with Nepali enplanes and Diasporas Nepaliness."[20]

In 1909 on the eve of the Indian Council Act, the leaders of the Hill people pressed to the Colonial Government to maintain the statuesque in the hill areas i.e. the "Scheduled district" status should not be altered. With the establishment of the Hillmans' Union in 1907 under the president ship of S.W. Ladenla, the politics of exclusive ethnic identity got a new lease of life. The Hillmans' Union which proved to be loyal to the Colonial Government; never tried to associate themselves with the nationalist movement. It demanded for the creation of a separate administrative unit comprising the Darjeeling District and part of Jalpaiguri District which was taken away from Bhutan in 1865. The Hillmans' Union even expressed the desire for the formation of North East Frontier Province by joining Assam Duars and hill territories adjoining to the east of Bhutan. The main nationality behind these demands clearly had linguistic, racial and climatic ("the plains are entirely unsuited to the hill people, who are unwilling to go to the plains" factors.[21]

The Hillmans' people's organization which had clearly an elitist background represented conservative mentality for its express willingness to remain in a backward state i.e. remaining within the non-regulated periphery. So such an attitude was opposed by Kalimpong Samity under Sardar Bahadur Bhindal Dewan and People's Association led by P.M. Pradhan. Prem Sing, N.P. Kumain, Lachman Singh, Activists of Hillmans' Union (1917) who disfavoured this separatist demand, disclosed that "they were forced to sign on the memorandum at the instigation of Dr. Graham, a noted European educationist settler of Kalimpong region and A. Tshering, a Government agent.[22]

The tea planters had vested interest in the non-regulated status of the district so the Darjeeling Planter's Association, European Association and Hillmans' Association combined team, March 1920 to give full support to the Hillmans' Association's memorandum which asked for separate administrative unit. Along with this demand the contributions made by the Gurkha soldiers for Pox Britannica was repeatedly emphasized to gain the Imperial British sympathy. Thud Hillmans' Union which comprised of Nepali, Lepcha, Bhutia origin always proved to be catalyst in fulfilling the British designs. The British on the other hand used this organization to thwart the spate of nationalist movement in the hill areas of Darjeeling District.

Although the actual year of establishment of All India Gorkha League (AIGL) is 1923, but its real beginning was from 15the May 1943. On this date a formal meeting was held at Rink Hall, Darjeeling and D.S. Gurung was made its president. On February 1, 1944 D.S. Gurung sent a memorandum to Viceroy Wavell where the expressed the concern about the uncertain future of the Gurkhas "….who have not been recognized a community in India".23 AIGL' agitational politics which made Hillmans' Association quite irrelevant rallied around two agendas- (1) the recognition of the Nepali language and the conferment of citizenship on the Indian Gorkhas. Along with its proposal for pertaining away from Bengal it was noted that either- (1) Darjeeling Duars and Assam should form a single province or (2) the districts of Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Sikkim and Cooch Behar State should form a separate province.

In 1952 the AIGL highlighted three alternatives-

i) Darjeeling district should be treated as a single administrative unit directly under centre supervision.
ii) Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar and Sikkim should from a separate province.
iii) Merger of Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri with Assam.[24]

The above mentioned alternatives unanimously favoured separation from Bengal.

AIGL was successful in 1961 in getting the Nepali language recognized at the official language in the Darjeeling hills. In 1967 AIGL supported and joined the United front Ministry and at their insistence the West Bengal state Assembly although passed a resolution endorsing for regional autonomy but remained silent on the nature and extent of the autonomy.

In later phase while the emergence of Sikkim as 22nd state of Indian Union rekindled the hope, on the other hand the Anti-foreigner movement in Assam made AIGL apprehensive of their citizenship in India. Further the death D.P. Rai in 1983 the party became more or less defunct. Another organization which made the presence strongly in respect of demand for Gorkhaland was Pranta Parishad which was established in April 1980. But due to heterogeneous elements in its leadership and supporters this organization failed to make substantial impact. For this reason its tenure was short lived.

At this phase with the erosion of power of AIGL and Pranta Parishad the grant for creation of smaller

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province particularly in North East India during the premiership of Rajib Gandhi and further concessions given to militant ethnic movements in Mizoram and Assam helped resurgence of ethnic militant spirit among the Nepali people who under the Leadership of Subhash Ghising rekindled the issue of Gorkhaland on national platform. Further the expulsion of the Nepali people from Meghalaya in the early months of 1986 created anxiety among the Nepali people in Darjeeling who saw Ghising as the only messiah who could bearing their dream project Gorkhaland.

The militant organization the Gorkha National Liberation Front under Subhash Ghising had some characteristics. Subhash Ghising appealed to king of Nepal and other countries for support.[25] Further the GNLF movement resorted to violent armed confrontation with the state Government and in this clash the main targets were the CPI (M) activists.

"It is noteworthy that Ghising did not put much emphasis on the traditional demand for inclusion of Nepali language in the Eighth Schedule."[26] Ghising was vehemently opposed to Indo-Nepal friendship treaty of 1950 which made Nepalese according to him refugees on Indian soil. He proposed Gorkhaland for all the hills and Terai areas of the Darjeeling District which were ceded by Sikkim and Bhutan to the British between 1835 and 1865. The provocative speeches of Ghising, the use of the Nepali ethnic symbols e.g. Khukri, the procession, meeting helped to enlist the support of Nepali youths and created a distance between the hill people and the people living the plains.

The immediate the cause of the extremist movement in Darjeeling was the expulsion of a few hundred Nepali citizens from Meghalaya where they were working in Jowai hills coalmine, on the ground that they did not possess necessary entry permits. The All Assam Students Union and All Meghalaya Khasi Students Union launched a movement for the deportation of the foreigners from Meghalaya. The results of this movement, the evicted Nepalese were pushed to the border of Assam. Nepal and Sikkim refused to accommodate them. Only the Nepalese in Darjeeling took up their cause and raised strong voice against unlawful eviction and deportation of the Nepalese of Indian origin. To highlight the issue the hill areas of Darjeeling district observed a one day total band on 20 March, 1986. On 13 April, 1986 several processions converged on Mal where Ghising's inflammatory speech roused the passion of the Nepali youths and hinted an adoption of violent means to achieve their end.[27] The processionists came with kukri in one hand and a flaming torch in the other. On 4 May, 1986 a large number of GNLF volunteers drew blood from their thumbs with kukris to write posters in blood on Gorkhaland. This hard line of the GNLF soon captured the minds of the students, youths and a section of the intellectuals. It proceeded with a definite plan and programmed.

The attitude of the State Government towards the GNLF led movement was revealed in the unanimous resolution adopted at an all party meeting held on 18 August, 1986. Almost all the political parties except Gorkha League and Jharkhand Mukti Morcha attended the meeting. As many as 14 parties and 7 ministers including the Chief Minister, Jyoti Bose, attended the meeting. The meeting, "unanimously holds that the Gorkhaland movement led by GNLF is divisive, anti-people, anti-national and anti-state. This movement has done immense harm to the interest of the Nepali-speaking people during the last few months. As a result, the economy of the district of Darjeeling has been very adversely affected. This meeting condemns this agitation in strong term."[28]

The GNLF insisted on the formation of a separate state. On July, 1988 all the delegates of GNLF unanimously resolved to abandon the "do or die" struggle, threatening bloodshed and mayhem in Darjeeling. To paralyze the administration the GNLF gave a 40-day bandh call. To combat lawlessness the state Govt. stepped up its repressive measures and invoked the Anti-Terrorist Act. About 2000 people were arrested under this act. Violence and counter violence continued in the hill areas and the common people were disgusted with bandhs and violence.

This bandh in the hills suffered terribly due to the shortage of food, drinking, fuel etc. Moreover, the agitation cost over 300 lives and it caused the loss of about Rs.150 crore worth of property. In this situation everyone wanted the end of this type of movement.[29] Under this socio-economic compulsion the GNLF insisted on a settlement on the basis of its demand for a separate state of Gorkhaland within the framework of the constitution.

After two years (1986-1988) of violent separatist movement with the formation of Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC). This Council was the outcome of the signing a tripartite agreement on 22nd August, 1988 between the Central Government of India represented by C.G. Somiah, the Uninon Home Secretary, state Government representative R.N. Sengupta, the state Chief Secretary and Subhash Ghising on behalf of GNLF. The Union Home Minister, Buta Singh and West Bengal Chief Minister Joyti Bose also put their signature on the agreement. By this accord Ghising agreed to "drop the demand for a separate state of Gohkhaland."[30]

Nevertheless the experiment of creation autonomous District council although praise worth could not function satisfactorily even at the chairmanship of Ghishin "Practically all developmental functions have been statutorily transferred to the autonomous Hill Council. Any further intervention by the State Government in the "transferred subjects" would be

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misconstrued as interference."[31] The failure to launch effective developmental measures in the hill areas, the useless expenditures to cater the needs of Ghising and his close associates helped to simmer the discontent of the hill people. Ghising understood at this point realized the necessity of delivering something substantial which would calm the aggrieved hill people.

In the Indian Constitution in articles 244 (2) and 275 (1) there are provisions for Sixth Schedule. By this part or whole of the state could come under Sixth Schedule Status "(2) If there are different Scheduled Tribes in an autonomous district, the Governor may, by public notification, divide the area or areas inhabited by them into autonomous regions." Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram where there are tribal belts, Sixth Schedule Status was given there. But when Subhash Ghising clamoured for Sixth Schedule Status in the hill areas of Darjeeling District it had neither support from demographic pattern of the hill areas or the hill people. Nevertheless after a tripartite accord between West Bengal Chief Minister Buddhadev Bhattacharjee, Union Home Minister Shivraj Patil and Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Chairman Subhash Ghising there was a centre announcement about granting of Sixth Schedule Status to the Darjeeling Hill Council which would ensure greater autonomy to the governing body in the Darjeeling hill districts. Incidentally through the above mentioned accord the Darjeeling district councils were entrusted with more powers then the autonomous district councils of Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura.[32]

Thus the misgoverned and ineffective part played by D.G.H.C., the public displeasure caused by granting of Sixth Schedule Status already paved the ground for the emergence of Second force in the hill areas. The winning of Prasant Tamang is a T.V. Reality Show and the active role played by Bimal Gurung an andante follower of Subhash Ghising led to the emergence of the former as the mouth piece of hill people.

Bimal Gurung's Gorkha Janamukti Morcha (GJM) barring direct military confrontation with state Government followed the path of this mentor's tactics i.e. Subash Ghising in calling sudden bandhs in the hill areas, holding successful huge rallies thus parlaying the economic stability not only of the Darjeeling hill areas but also of Sikkim. A stretch of the national Highway (NH) 31 A that leads to Sikkim falls in the Darjeeling Hills and naturally when indefinite bandhs (strike) are called this lifeline of Sikkim is also blocked and thus "The developments in the hills of West Bengal left the Government of Sikkim with no alternative but to advise tourists to leave Sikkim-otherwise, they were in danger of being indefinitely held up in the state."[33]

Although in the previous Association activitics i.e. Hillman's Association, All India Gorkha League (AIGL), Pranta Parishad and particularly in GNLF's programmed had implicit ethnic feelings but they were not allowed particularly under Ghising's leadership to degenerate into an ethnic conflict. Bimal Gurung, Rashan Giri's provocative speeches, their demand to include Siliguri town (which is mainly composed of Bengali community) and the whole of Duars in the proposed Gorkhaland helped to fuel the ethnic conflict between the plain and the hill people.

Encouraged but its successful rally at the outskirt of Siliguri on May 7, 2008, the GJM's' demanded to hold rally in Naxalbari and when denied they on June 8, GJM supporters blocked the National Highway 31. Members of non-political outfits-the Amra Bangali, Jana Jagaran Manch and Jana Chetana Manch protested and thus there were violent street fights in various parts of Terai i.e., Bagdogra, Naxalbari and Panighata. The ethnic strife got a momentum with the announcement of 48 hour bandh in Siliguri and Doars called by the Amra Bangali in response to GJM's announcement of "…60 hour relaxations of the shutdown in the hills to facilitate stocking up on essential commoditics."[34] After this there was a direct confrontation between Bengali and Nepali people in the Siliguri town. Such ethnic conflict even spiraled to neighbouring Duars region where along with Bengali people, Adivasi people too taught with the Nepali people in Oodlabari, Malbazar towns.

It is here pertinent to comment that the demand include the whole of Doars in the proposed Gorkhaland created further rupture in the erstwhile amicable relation between the tribal and the Nepali people in the Duars and has led to the emergence of Adivasi Bikash Parishad under the leadership of Rajesh Lakra.

Although at the outset state Government's repeated to appeal to GJM to hold bilateral talks have gone ashtray who insisted on tripartite talks between the Centre, state and the leadership of GJMM, but finally on June 27, 2008, there was a meeting between GJM Centre Committee member Amar Lama, Assistant General Secretary, Raju Pradhan and the Chief Minister of West Bengal Buddhadev Bhattacharya. Amar Lama after the meeting announced "Our demand is Gorkhaland and nothing short of that is acceptable to us and we will continue our democratic agitation until we get Gorkhaland."[35] At the same time the Chief Minister of West Bengal announced that the state Government had no problem if tripartite talk is held involving the centre. After this two tripartite talks were held in New Delhi involving the Centre, state and GJMM, but nothing tangible Breakthrough was visible.

But certain recent developments caused pressure in the agitation movements of Gurung i.e. the flip flop attitude in respect of sudden announcement and suspension of bandhs causing immense hardship to common people as well the tourism industries, but brutal killing of Madan Taman, Supremo of All India Gorkha League, suppression of alternative voices in the hill areas have caused frustration in the hill areas.

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On the otherhand, Adivasi Bikash parisad is in favour of inclusion of the Indian constitution. But Akhil Bharatiya Adivasi Bikash parishad opposition to the inclusion of Terai-Duars in proposed Gorkhaland, a large section of Adivasi population has formed a new organization named progressive peoples party which is favour of including Terai-Duars with in Gorkhaland with some reservation. P.P.S. President Mr. Kalindi said "with a view to develop our areas and betterment of the people belonging to our communality still we go with the G.J.M.M. keeping in mind if the interim setup conserve the purpose. But we do not support their demand for separate Gorkhaland and we do not allow them to claim our land as Gorkhaland."[36] He was successful to win the Kalchini Assembly seat in the last Bidhan Sabha election.

The G.T.A. (Gorkhaland Territoria Administration) was the outcome of the signing a tripartite agreement on 18th July, 2011 at Darjeeling in the presence of Shri P. Chidambaram, Hon'ble Union Home Minister, Miss Mamata Banerjee, Hon'ble Chief Minister and Bimal Gurung, President, G.J.M.M. It is a temporary settlement, after signing the treaty Bimal Gurung said our main objective will be achieved Gorkhaland.

Future will tell whether G.J.M.M. will successful in achieving a separate state. G.J.M.M.'s main achievement is that it has been successful to bring the Terai-Duars in the context of the Gorkhaland movement and at the same time G.J.M.M. has shown its ability to unify the indigenous Indo-Mongoloid people and a section of the tribal workers of tea gardens in favour of Gorkhaland movement.

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Strengthening Indonesian National Identity through History Semarang as a Maritime City: A Medium of Unity in Diversity

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Keywords: *semarang, national identity, unity in diversity.*

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Strengthening Indonesian National Identity through History Semarang as a Maritime City: A Medium of Unity in Diversity

Dr. Dewi Yuliati

Abstract- This article talks about the dynamic of the formation of Semarang cultural identity especially Semarang arts and Semarang ritual tradition. Semarang is a city which has an unique growth and character. Based on traditional historical resources, Semarang had been already existed since the period of the expansion of Hindu culture. Its early development as a city ran parallel with the islamization in this region. Semarang was formed administratively on May 2 - 1547, when Ki Pandanarang II was chosen as the regent of this city by the Sultan of Pajang kingdom, Hadiwijaya. The administrative development of Semarang could not be separated from its good economic and geographical position. Because of its strategic position, the Dutch came to occupy this region and also spread its political, economic, social, and cultural influences in this region. To face these influences of foreign cultures, the people of Semarang took the way of peace and hybrid, so it could be argued that Semarang become a good medium of hybrid culture. This could also be concluded that Semarang is a maritime city which can be viewed as a good medium for strengthening Indonesian national identity: unity in diversity.

Keywords: semarang, national identity, unity in diversity.

I. Introduction

National identity is distinctive feature of one nation. Various studies have shown that a national identity is a direct result of the presence of elements which come from people's daily lives, namely: sense of belonging to one nation, national symbols, language, the nation's history, national consciousness, blood ties, culture, music, cuisine, radio, television, etc.

The national identity of most citizens of one state or one nation tends to strengthen when the country or the nation is threatened by outsiders or foreigners. The sense of belonging to one nation becomes stronger when an external threat threatens the citizens, so they feel that they have to unite with their fellow countrymen to protect themselves and fight against the common threat. National identity is a part of nation character which consists of 4 primary elements, namely: (1) national culture, (2) nationalism, (3) national ethics, and (4) national identity (Kartodirdjo, 1993). National identity can only be traced on nations' collective experiences or nations' history, because it is exactly what has been cristallized through certain periods and places (through history).

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II. Research Problems

In the process of strengthening the Indonesian national identity, modernization and globalization has brought some new cultural values such as materialism, consumerism, hedonism, etc. and these values can cause the deterioration of national identity. If the nation could not preserve and strengthen its identity, the following impact of modernization and globalization was that the nation would lose its national character, and have no strong power to protect its national cultures from total destruction.

National identity has to be strengthened because this is closely related to the developing and recharging nationalism which can be defined as an ideology to determine vision of the future, and the basic pattern of living and being. Antony D. Smith argues that all men will be nationalists in the day when they will recognize their identity, and nationalism is a brotherhood born among those who have grown and suffered together, and can pool their memories under a succession of common historical experiences (Smith, 1983: 22).

Based on the above mentioned problems, this study presents some primary research questions as follows: 1) Why does Semarang become a good medium of hybrid cultures?; 2) What kind of hybrid cultures does Semarang have?; 3) How do these hybrid cultures function as a medium of unity in diversity?

III. Discussion

a) The Formation of Semarang as a Maritime City

i. *Early Development of Semarang*

Maritime city is a city that is formed by all evidences that happened through the relationship between the land and the sea. Louis Wirth argued that a city is a huge and dense populated area, with heteregenous populations. Grunfeld says that a city should have non-agrarian economic sectors and many buildings that stand closely (S. Menno & Mustamin Alwi, 1994: 23-24). It is difficult to say when the formation of Semarang took place, because the written historical resources are very limited.

Amen Budiman used traditional historical resources, Serat Kandhaning Ringgit Purwa, Script KBG

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No.7 which shows that Semarang was founded by Ki Pandan Arang, the son of Pangeran Sabrang Lor, the second sultan of Demak. Acording to this sript, in 1398 çaka or 1476 AD, Ki Pandan Arang came to a firtile cape "Pulo Tirang" in which he spread islam among some ajars (ajar = Hindu-Budha preacher). This script shows also that there were 10 regions which had been conducted by ajars in Pulo Tirang, namely: Derana, Wotgalih, Brintik, Gajahmungkur, Pragota, Lebuapia, Tinjomoyo, Sejanila, Guwasela dan Jurangsuru. Ki Pandan Arang could change the beliefs of these ajars and the people of this land from Hindu-Budha to Islam.

Cerita Rakyat sekitar Wali Sanga explains that Ki Pandan Arang left the sultanate of Demak, together with his son, Pangeran Kasepuhan. From Demak they went to south-western of Demak, and finally they came to fertile land, namely Pulo Tirang. In this region Ki Pandan Arang built pesantren (Islamic school), in which so many people studied Islam, and because of the existence of this pesantren "Pulo Tirang" was then densely populated. In this fertile region, there were many tamarin (Javanese language: asem) trees, which grew very rarely (Javenese language: arang). Based on this story, from the words asem and arang, the name of Semarang was formulated.

These above stories told us that the formation of Semarang city ran parallel with the islamization and the political expansion of Demak sultanate. Before the arrival of Ki Pandan Arang, Pulo Tirang was certainly a fertile land, and it was already inhabited by those who had followed Hindu-Budha. Based on the point of view of this good assets of Semarang, it is undisputable that the sultanate of Demak would do political expansion to colonize this region.

Although Ki Pandan Arang had been successful in developing Semarang, the administrative power was performed by his son, Pangeran Kesepuhan, who took title Ki Pandan Arang II. This administrative power was given to Pangeran Kasepuhan after Ki Pandan Arang I died. His official innaguration as the first regent of Semarang happened in 12 Rabiulawal 954 H or May 2, 1547 AD. Pandan Arang II, the Semarang regional ruler, was also a merchant and syahbandar (civil servant who manages of port affairs). His profession could be learned from Babad Demak, edition of R.L. Melema (Budiman: hlm. 104-105). According to this Babad Demak, Ki Pandan Arang was a rich syahbandar, and because of his richness there were many merchants or traders who could borrow money from him. Based on this story, it could be supposed that at the middle of the 16th century Semarang had developed as a maritime city which had maritime trade and society.

Catatan Tahunan Melayu Semarang dan Cirebon (Graaf, et all, 1997: hlm 17 & 30) had given information that at the half of the 16th century, there was shipping yard in Semarang with chinese human resources. During 1541-1546, this shipping yard had finished 1000 ships ordered by Sunan Prawoto (Sunan Mukmin), the son of Sultan Trenggono, the third Sultan of Demak.

Based on these above historical resources, it could be concluded that at the middle of the 16th century Semarang had already developed as an administrative and maritime city which based economically on trade. These 2 characteristics were an important access of Semarang to become a good medium of the development of hybrid cultures.

ii. *Early Inhabitans and occupation*

The formation of Semarang as an administrative city (region) at the half of the 16th century indicates us that this region had a good geographic and economic assets for the heteregenous people who seek better living. The occupations of the inhabitans of Semarang at the beginning of the 16th century could be studied through the witness of Tome Pires, the Portugese sailor who came to Semarang at that time. According to Tome Pires, there were many traders and fishermen in Semarang (Brommer at all., 1995). More illustration about the occupations of Semarang people in the 16th century could be also known from Serat Kandhaning Ringgit Purwa script KBG Nr. 7, which expresses that a part of the inhabitants of Pulo Tirang at the time of Ki Pandan Arang I were fishermen (Budiman, 1976: 67 & 75).. Speelman, a gouverneur general of VOC in Semarang, said also that there were many fishermen who lived in kampung Kaligawe (Liem Thian Joe, 1931:pg. 14).

Based on Catatan Tahunan Melayu Semarang dan Cirebon (Graaf, et. all, 1998: 3) in the 15th century there was been a close relationship between Semarang and Chinese traders. Furthermore this historical resource told us that in the 15th century there had already existed muslims Chinese settlement in Semarang. In 1413 Chinese marine fleets from Ming Dynasty, led by Haj Sam Po Bo, repaired their ships in the shipyard in Semarang. This written historical resource could be taken as an evidence that in the 15th century shipping trade activities in Semarang was already excessive.

Besides traders and fishermen, another part of the inhabitants of the old Semarang city were craftsmen. This occupation could be traced from the toponymy, which told about the names of places that had been identified with the occupations of their inhabitants. Some places (kampongs) in the old Semarang city center had the names related to their occupations, namely: Sayangan (place of copper craftsmen), Pandean (place of iron craftsmen), Kampung Batik (place of batik craftsmen), Kulitan (place of leather craftsmen), Jagalan (place of slaughterer), Gendingan (place of Javanese music instruments craftsmen), Pederesan (place of sugar palm tappers), Gandekan (place of gold craftsmen), Pedamaran (place of the trading of dammar

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/substance for colouring batik) and Petudungan (place of huts craftsmen) The names of these places (kampongs) in the centre of the old Semarang city indicates that in the 16th century, various handicrafts and craftsmen were already in existence.

b) Further Development

i. *Inhabitants and Occupation in the VOC Era*

Trade relationship between indigenous inhabitants and the Chinese can be known through the witness of Valentijn who came to Semarang at the beginning of the 18th century. He said that at this time there were 20.000 families in Semarang. They were fishermen, rice farmers, carpenters, and they sold their products to the Chinese who had lived in Semarang along time before Valentijn arrived. (Keijzer (ed.), 1862: 277).

By the end of the 17th century Semarang had been one of the prominent destinations of Chinese immigrants, besides Batavia and Surabaya. The arrival of the Chinese in Semarang at the end of the 17th century had been motivated by trading relationship between China and South-east Asia regions. These immigrants came from southern coast of China, namely: Amoy, Canton, and Maccao. Ong Tae Hae, a Chinese came from Fu Kien, who ever been lived in Batavia (1783-1791), said that in Batavia there was a lodging "Loji Semarang", for the Chinese who would stay overnight until they met ships to go to Semarang Based on this witness, at 1783 there had been busy trade activities in Semarang (Onghokham, 1991: 86).

Before the arrival of VOC, the Chinese in Semarang obtained trust from the regent of Semarang to get the position of Syahbandar, who functioned to collect the taxes of imported and exported goods. The Chinese also got the monopoly of salt and rice trade. But, when the Dutch occupied Semarang region, the position of Syahbandar was taken over by VOC (Liem Thian Joe, 1931: 16-17). After VOC occupied Semarang, the Chinese took role in trade. According to the report of Speelman, the VOC gouverneur in Batavia, the Chinese in Semarang had a role in import and export trades, and were active in trading of salt, rattan, opium, and other goods (Brommer, 1988: 9).

ii. *Inhabitants and Occupation in the Dutch Colonial Era*

In the colonial era, the Chinese got a trust of the colonial government to handle the economic affairs. One of the evidences was that many Chinese people were recruited to work in economic fields such as cashiers in private or state companies (Semarangsche Kassiers Vereeniging Buku Peringatan 1912-1952: 21 & 35).

Based on this resources, it could be concluded that the Chinese became a part of the economic human resources in Semarang. Because of the huge amount of the Chinese population, Semarang took a notation as "the city of Chinese".

The arrival of the European increased the variety of the inhabitants of Semarang. The Dutch colonized Semarang at the end of the 17th century, after Amangkurat II, the King of Mataram Kingdom, made agreements with VOC in October 1677, and 1678. These treaties had contented especially that that VOC got the domination in managing the incomes of Semarang ports, monopoly in trading of sugar, rice, textile, opium, and free taxes. These monopolies were the compensation from Mataram to VOC, because it could defeat Trunajaya, the regent of Madura, who opposed to Mataram (Ricklefs, 1981: 72-73).

Based on the note of François Valentijn, the commanders of VOC in Semarang were traders, namely: Willem Drost (1708-1709), Pieter Metzu (1709-1714), Kornelis Jongbloed (1714-1715), George Frederick van Beilwits (1715-1715), Gaspar de Hartog (1715-1717), Johan Frederik gobius (1717-1721), Pier Wijbers (1717-1719), Jacob Willem Dubbeldekop (1722-1723) (Keijzer (ed.), : 277).

The inhabitants of Semarang became more varied when the Malay, Arabic, and India trders arrived. There were also French, German, English, and African. The majority of Africans became the soldiers of Koninklijke Nederlandsch-Indische Leger (KNIL) (Brommer, loc. cit.).

The other foreigners were the Japanese. They came to Indonesia especially after World War I, especially for 2 important goals, namely economy and the expansion of Japanese military power. In the 3rd decade of the 20th century, the people of Semarang had already awareness of the expansion of Japanese imperialism. They knew that the Japanese had made and spread attractive but false slogan "Asia is for Asia", and they were aware that this slogan was for attracting the Javanese people to give total loyalty to the Japanese to win the war against western imperialists ("Indonesia Ditengah Revolusi Azia" dalam Api, 5 Agustus 1924 No. 2).

Based on the above information, it can be seen that in the Dutch colonial era, Semarang had been inhabited by many etnic groups. The Dutch colonial government deliberately made social stratifications of the inhabitants legalized in government regulations (regeering reglement) 1854 (Onghokham dalam Yoshihara Kunio (editor): 87). This stratification scheme had implication on the jobs' status of the people which can be explained as follows.

The lowest social level was the indigeneous people who worked as labours on manufactures, transportation, civil service. Helpers, craftsmen, pity traders, etc. The second level was the Chinese, divided in 2 groups, namely: (1) land holders, traders, other business men; (2). Skill workers. The highest social level was European inhabitant. The majority of them had

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important position in economic sectors such as: industries, trades, ambtenaars (high position of civil servants, teachers, and zending /protestant missionary (Kwantes, tweedestuk medio 1923-1928: 201. See also: Djoko Suryo, 1989: 155).

The table presented below can clarify the variety of the inhabitants in Semarang in 1850-1941.

Table 1 : The amount of Semarang inhabitans 1850-1941

Nation	1850		1890		1920		1930		1941	
	People	%	People	%	People	%	People	%	People	%
Native	20.000	72,99	53.974	75,83	126.628	80,12	175.457	80,56	221.000	78,93
Chinese	4.000	14,60	12.104	17,00	19.720	12,18	27.423	12,60	40.000	14,28
Other Eastern Foreigners	1.850	6,75	1.543	2,17	1.530	1,47	2.329	1,06	2.500	0,90
European	1.550	5,66	3.565	5,00	10.151	6,43	12.587	5,78	16.500	5,89
Total	27.400	100,00	71.186	100,00	158.029	100,00	217.796	100,00	280.000	100,00

Resource: Brommer, et.all., Semarang Beeld van een Stad (Purmerend, Nederland: Asia Maior, 1995), pg. 23.

iii. *Semarang Port*

Geologically the port of Semarang was less benefial for shipping trade, as the continued process of sedimentation had caused the river which linked the city and the sea could not be sailed. To solve this problem, in 1868 some trading companies in Semarang carried out the dredging of Semarang river and during 1872-1874 they made also a new canal "Nieuwe Havenkanaal" (Kali Baru). Tis canal could be sailed by boats from Java sea to the center of Semarang city for unloading and uploading goods.

This new canal had provided a good access for foreign ships to come to Semarang port. The illustration of the increasing number of foreign ships which come to Semarang port can be checked in table presented below.

Table 2 : The number of foreign ships and net weight in m^3

Year	The amount of ships	Net weight in m^3
1904	804	3.379.279
1910	1023	5.923.190
1915	1078	6.938.589
1920	1181	8.076.311
1925	1661	12.552.175
1930	2070	17.215.884

Resource: J.J. Baggelaar, "De Haven van Semarang" in Gedenkboek Der Gemeente Semarang 1906-1931, Uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het Vijf en Twintig Jarig Bestaan der Gemeente, (Semarang: N.V. Dagblad de Locomotief), pg. 147.

Picture 1 : Situation in Nieuwe Haven Canal (Kali Baru/The New River) in 1925; on the right side of this canal is a storehouse owned by "Cultuur Maatschappij der Vorstenlanden".

Resource: B. Brommer dkk., Semarang Beeld van Een Stad (Plumerend: Asia Maior, 1995), pg. 112.

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At the beginning of the 20th century, Semarang already had some private transportation companies, such as: "Semarangsch Stoomboot-en Prauwenveer", "Het Nieuw Semarangsch Prauwenveer", and "Kian Gwan's Prauwenveer".

To serve the shipping trade, in Semarang were also built ships which had larger loading capacities. At the end of the 19th century the average loading capacities of the ships in Semarang port was not more than 14 koyang (1 koyang = 1500-2000 kg., see A. Teeuw, 1990: 363), and the length of the ships 10 – 20 meters. In the following years, the loading capacities of the ships reached 50-120 koyang, and the length and width of the ships: 27 meters and 5, 90 meters (J.J. Baggelaar, loc. cit.).

All of the above presented discussion gives us an explanation that since the middle of the 16th century Semarang already had heteregeneous inhabitants, and the consequence of this etnics diversity, Semarang had also hybrid cultures that will be discussed below.

c) Semarang Hybrid Cultures

i. *Performing Art: Gambang Semarang*

Gambang Semarang is a traditional performing art which was born and officially developed in Semarang since the third decade of the twentieth century. This performing art is one of the forms of cultural integration between the Javanese and Chinese culture. There are controversial opinions about the origin of Gambang Semarang, it was from Jakarta or it was the original art of Semarang. But, apart from this controversy , Gambang Semarang has been actually possessed and developed by Semarang people until now, so this performing art is very potential to become Semarang cultural identity.

Gambang Semarang can be categorized as Semarang traditional performing art, born in Semarang in 1930, by the Chinese, Lie Ho soen, the member of gemeenteraad (Semarang city council). This performing art was performed at many events such as the Chinese new year in some Chinese temples, wedding events, and carnival "dugderan" (event to welcome the Ramadhan/Fasting month), events to welcome foreign tourists, etc.

The sequence of Gambang Semarang show can be explained as follows. The show begins with instrumental music and it is followed by some Semarang folksongs such as: "Empat Penari" (four dancers), "Gado-gado Semarang" (gado-gado = salad with peanut sauce). The following performance is dance with four primary movements, namely: lambeyan, genjot, ngondek and ngeyek. Jokes are often inserted between one and another step with a theme adjusted to the actual issues of society. This performance of Gambang Semarang ends with Semarang or Javanese folksongs, for example: "Lenggang Kangkung", "Semarang Tempo Doeloe", "Jangkrik Genggong", "Gado-gado Semarang."

Gambang Semarang can be mentioned as hybrid culture between the Chinese and Javanese cultural elements. Its music intruments consist of Chinese instruments (kongahian, tehian, sukong, and flute) and Javanese instruments (bonang, gambang, kendang, and gong). Formerly the dancers and singers of Gambang Semarang were Chinese. The female dancers and singers wore "sarong batik Semarangan" and "kebaya Encim" (woman's blouse- the front of wich pinned together, and embrodered with flora or fauna motifs), and the hair style is "gelung konde" (Javanese hair style). The musicians of Gambang Semarang are also hybrid, consisting of Javanese and Chinese musicians, and the songs presented in Gambang Semarang performance tend to be Chinese nuances.

How famous Gambang Semarang in 1940s era can be seen at the birth of the song "Empat Penari". This song is also the product of hybrid culture which consists of Chinese and Javanese creators. The melody was composed by Oei Yok Siang, and the poem was the creation of Sidik Pramono. These two creators were from Magelang, Central Java. Sidik Pramono was the musician of Perindu Onchestra in Magelang, and the song "Empat Penari" was sung firstly in 1940 in broadcasting studio "Laskar Rakyat" in Magelang by female singer Nyi Ertinah.

Picture 3 : Gambang Semarang show in 1998, by Gambang Semarang Club of The Faculty of Humanities, Diponegoro University

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Picture 4 : Sarong Batik Semarangan with plaited bamboo background and peacock motifs; these motifs were also inspired by Chinese cultural elements.

ii. *Islamic ritual tradition: Dugderan and Waraq Ngendog*

The Islamic ritual tradition "Dugderan" was firstly performed in 1881 by the regent of Semarang, Raden Mas Tumenggung Aryo Purboningrat. He was the creator of this "Dugderan" event to welcome the fasting month Ramadhan.

As a sign of the beginning of Ramadhan, there was a performed ceremony which began with the voice of "bedug" dug…, dug…, dug… (17 x) and the voice of cannon der…, der…, der…(7 x). Based on the voices of "bedug" and cannon the people of Semarang mentioned this event "Dugderan". "Bedug" is a traditional Javanese instrument to summon the people to do salat (Islamic prayer) time and cannon was an explosive weapon which comes from Europe.

This tradition has developed as folks fair and has been performed in Semarang town square (alun-alun) one week before the fasting month began. This folks fair "Dugderan" is closed at the afternoon (usually at 4 o'clock), one day before the fasting month, with carnival which is accompanied with Semarang cultural symbol "Waraq Ngendog".

Warak Ngendog Tradition

Carnival "Dugderan" is accompanied by "waraq ngendog" tradition. "Warak Ngendog" is truely one of Semarang hybrid cultures. The creator of "warak ngendok" is very smart to mix cultural diversity in one symbol, namely an invented animal that looks like a goat with dragon head, gold furs, and has some eggs under his legs.

The word "warak" is from Arabic word "wara'i" that means holy. Some people suppose that the word "warak" comes from the name of arabic invented animal "borak" (= winged steed that carried Muhammad to heaven). As a whole the shape of "warak" looks like "Kilin", the Chinece invented heaven animal which has function to spread prosperity in the world, and the eggs under "warak" legs are the symbol of Javanese prosperity. The pictures presented below are the illustration of "Dugderan" carnival.

Picture 5 : "Dugderan" carnival which was performed at one day before fasting month began.

iii. *Indie Architecture*

The Europeans community in Semarang had also formed hybrid culture, among others housing style (Indische landhuis stijl), which usually expressed luxurious building with comfortable terrace and wide yard or park (Sukiman, 1996: 29). This style was the adaptation to the life style of the Javanese aristocrats and the hot climate in Semarang. The pictures presented below are the examples of Indie architecture in the second decade of the 20th century.

Picture 6 : The two floors house of European in Pindrikan street with confortable terrace, very extensive and beautiful yard, tropical trees.

Resource: H.F. Tillema, 1913, picture no. 50.

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Picture 7 : A House for rent: f. 35,-/a month in Koendjaranweg (Now: Taman Sompok)

Resource: Gedenkboek der Gemeente Semarang 1906-1931, page 166.

The house presented in the picture no. 7 also shows Indie architecture style with its characteristics, namely: terrace (for protecting the house from sunray and rain splash), enough ventilation and wide park with tropical trees.

d) Conclusion and Suggestion

i. *Conclussion*

Along with the way of history, the Indonesian people can not be seperated from the influences of foreign cultures, and now there are many people regret the disappearing of Indonesian national identy because of the pressure of foreign cultures. Together with the expansion of these foreign cultures, there arises the degradation of the loving devotion to the national cultures, and the implication is that the Indonesian nation shall lose their memory of their past experiences which are important to protect and survive the Indonesian national state and national identity.

Semarang as a maritime city can become a model to strengthen national identity among the diversity of etnics and cultures. The cultural approach is an appropriate method to strengthen the national identy, because of its peace, tranquility and unity values.

Arts are the elements of culture which has important function as national identy, because they can show unique character and quality to the global society, and can become the media to unite the global nations. Through the arts (dance, local costum, song, drama, handicraft (example: batik), architecture, etc), people can express their feeling (happiness, appreciation), their wills and creations which are based on their local communities characteristics and cultural identities and through the arts brotherhood between nations can be developed.

ii. *Suggestion*

National Identity should be strengthened continuously for some important objectives: 1) to show the national pride on nation own cultures, 2) to have national conciousness when facing the influences of other nations, 3) to protect and to survive the nation state and its nation.

The destrustion of national identity should not happened, if we always pay attention to and perform two primary principles as mentioned below:

1. Cultural identity that will be inherited by the next generation can not be allowed to live passively. The old values of the inherited cultural identity should be explored, analized, and should be developed with the new spirit of the new era, so they can be accepted and endorsed by the new generation.
2. If there is no such movement, it is sure the local or national cultural identity can not be alive or be totally destroyed.

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A Comparison Regarding the Utilization of Development Input among the Lodhas of Paschim Medinipur District, West Bengal

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Abstract- In this article compared the utilization of various types of development inputs among the Lodha community (a scheduled tribe) in three administrative blocks of Paschim (west) Medinipur district of West Bengal. The study identified landlessness and poverty as major constraints in implementing developmental programmes among the Lodhas. Distribution of patta land to landless Lodha families by the Government was not done appropriately. No proper planning for developmental inputs like housing scheme (under IAY) was done. In addition, the gadgets like solar cells distributed to the poor and landless Lodha families were not used. Many of them sold the solar cells to the wealthy neighbours. Under this above scenario we compared the utilization of development inputs in the three blocks. In this study I have found that three major development inputs like patta, house and solar cells are lies very worst scenario both in terms of patta and solar cell distribution and its utilisation by the beneficiary families in Binpur-II block.

Keywords: lodha, applied anthropology, land distribution, denotified tribe, marginalized community. development input.

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Abstract- In this article compared the utilization of various types of development inputs among the Lodha community (a scheduled tribe) in three administrative blocks of Paschim (west) Medinipur district of West Bengal. The study identified landlessness and poverty as major constraints in implementing developmental programmes among the Lodhas. Distribution of patta land to landless Lodha families by the Government was not done appropriately. No proper planning for developmental inputs like housing scheme (under IAY) was done. In addition, the gadgets like solar cells distributed to the poor and landless Lodha families were not used. Many of them sold the solar cells to the wealthy neighbours. Under this above scenario we compared the utilization of development inputs in the three blocks. In this study I have found that three major development inputs like patta, house and solar cells are lies very worst scenario both in terms of patta and solar cell distribution and its utilisation by the beneficiary families in Binpur-II block. The development assistance given in the form of high technology solar cells revealed a grim scenario both at Binpur II and Nayagram blocks while the Solar cell has not been given to the Lodha families of Narayangarh block. But the beneficiaries of Narayangarh block showed the overall best performance towards the utilisation of other development keys was found to be fairly well. The study revealed that the utilization of development inputs depended on policy and planning as well as social and political factors. Finally, some recommendations are advanced for better implantation of development inputs among this marginalized community of West Bengal.

Keywords: lodha, applied anthropology, land distribution, denotified tribe, marginalized community. development input.

I. Introduction

The paper is based on an empirical study on the utilization of various types of development inputs among the Lodha community (a scheduled tribe) in three administrative blocks of Paschim (west) Medinipur district of West Bengal. An attempt has been made in this article to record the comparative findings on the implementation of development programme under the various developmental schemes. The comparative study consists of three administrative blocks of Paschim (west) Medinipur district of West Bengal which was earmarked as a 'Backward district' by the Government of India. A specific development scheme was launched by the Planning Commission of India and it is known as the Rastriya Sama Vikas Yojna (RSVY). The RSVY scheme is a recent initiative undertaken by the Central Government. The scheme was launched during the period 2004-2005. The scheme aimed at focused development programmes for backward areas which would help reduce imbalances and speed up development. Under the RSVY scheme, the Central Government aimed to cover 100 backward districts in India. Already 50 backward districts have been covered during 2003-2004 and a sum of Rs.15000 crore per year was provided to each of the district for a period of three years, that is a total of Rs. 45.00 crore per district have been released to the State Governments on hundred percent grant basis in installment. The plan document revealed that the main objective of the RSVY scheme would be to address the problems of low agricultural productivity, unemployment in the rural areas, and to fill in the critical gaps in the physical and social infrastructures of the 'Backward region'. Government launched another programme i.e. Indira Awas Yojana (IAY) to develop the personal living condition of the poor rural people. This scheme started operation since 1985. It is a Government of India social welfare programme to provide housing for the rural poor in India. It is one of the major flagship programs of the Rural Development Ministry to construct houses for BPL population in the villages. Under the scheme, financial assistance worth Rs. 45000/- in plain areas and Rs. 48500/- in difficult areas (high land area) is provided for construction of houses. The broad purpose of the scheme is to provide financial assistance to some of the weakest sections of society for them to upgrade or construct a house of respectable quality for their personal living [7] Under this background, an attempt has been made to assess the impact of the various developmental inputs by comparing the developmental set-up among the Lodhas in the three administrative blocks of Paschim Medinipur District in West Bengal.

II. About the Lodhas

In West Bengal there are 38 scheduled tribes distributed mainly in the southwest and the northern parts of the state [1]. Among these 38 scheduled tribes the Lodhas are mainly found in the western part of the

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state in the districts of Purulia, Bankura and Paschim(West) Medinipur along with tribes like Santal, Munda, Bhimij and Oraon, who are numerically and economically in a much better condition than the Lodhas. The Lodhas generally live in and around the forest covered areas of the southwestern districts of the state and still largely depend on forest for their livelihood.

In one of the pioneering anthropological study, the Lodhas were depicted as a semi-nomadic community who used to move from one place to another in search of livelihood [2]. According to Bhowmick, the Lodhas of erstwhile Medinipur district depended mainly on food gathering and hunting and some of them were found to be engaged in agricultural as well as non-agricultural activities as hired labourers of the higher caste and wealthy families of the villages. By and large, since dependence on forest produce is not sufficient for them, the Lodhas were also found to be engaged in a variety of occupations to sustain their livelihood [2].

The Lodhas were included as one among the criminal tribes by the British administration [3]. In 1952, the Criminal Tribes Act was repealed by the Government and all the communities who were designated as criminal tribes were reclassified as denoitified communities. The Lodhas were also included under the denotified and nomadic tribes along with 19 communities of West Bengal [6] Still later, since 1971 the Lodhas were designated as one of the Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) of India [1].

In a paper written much later in the Newsletter of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, Bhowmick explained the socio-psychological processes which created a vicious circle of underdevelopment, poverty and mistrust among the Lodhas. We quotes him below

The chronic poverty and low aspiration level and lack of zeal of these people have created socio-cultural and economic constraints which, in turn, have made them lazy and lethargic. This has also made them unresponsive to any sort of change or innovation introduced for their uplift. [4].

Mahasveta Devi herself also wrote a number of articles in Bengali and English in which she depicted the ground realities regarding the problems of the implementation of development inputs and schemes among the Lodhas. In one of her articles published in the Economic and Political Weekly in 1983, Mahasveta Devi cited examples of some Lodha villages in the present Paschim Medinipur district in which government schemes have failed to reach the beneficiaries, although they were badly in need of the development programmes [5].

III. Objectives

- Listing of development inputs and their utilizations by the beneficiaries.
- To find out the overall variation toward the utilization development inputs in the three administrative blocks of Paschim Medinipur District.
- To find out reason behind the variation in the same community of different locations.
- An attempt would be made to formulate some recommendations for better implementation of development inputs in the three blocks.

IV. Materials and Methods

The primary data for the research have been collected through intensive anthropological fieldwork conducted for about two consecutive years. These data included qualitative and quantitative information collected through household census, structured and unstructured questionnaire schedule and also with the help of genealogy, case study, participatory observation, focus group discussion, and panel interviews.

Methods and Techniques Employed	1. Household Census. 2. Interview with structured and unstructured schedules 3. Observation 4. Collection of data from district administrative departments.	1. Structured and unstructured schedules 2. Focus group discussions. 3. Panel interviews. 4. Observation.	1. Group Discussions. 2. Reading of Literature. 3. Panel interviews.

V. Study Area

The primary data for the research have been collected from three hundred thirty two (332) Lodha households (the total population is 1382) in the three blocks of Paschim (west) Medinipur district, West Bengal, viz., Binpur II, Nayagram and Narayangargh. The fieldwork was conducted during 2005-06 and 2008-2011.

Table 1 : Block-wise household and population

SL.NO	BLOCK	HOUSEHOLD	TOTAL POPULATION	MEAN HOUSEHOLD SIZE
1	Binpur-II	87(26.20)	319(23.08)	3.7
2	Nayagram	182(54.82)	720(52.10)	3.9
3	Narayangarh	63(18.97)	343(24.82)	5.4
.TOTAL		332(99.99)	1382(100.00)	4.2

Figures in parentheses represent percentages

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VI. Findings of this Study

In order to understand the variation that existed among the utilisation of the various inputs, we have chosen three major types of development inputs, viz., (i) distribution of patta land, (ii) utilisation of the financial assistance in house building, (iii) distribution of solar cells in the three administrative blocks of Paschim Medinipur district.

Table 2 : Utilization of Patta land in the three blocks

Total no. of households	No. of households who received patta	No. of households utilizing the patta land	No. of households who received the patta but could not utilize the land
332	45 (13.55)	27(8.13)[60.00]	18(5.42)[40.00]

( ) Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the total number of households.
[ ] Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the total Patta holder.

This table shows that only forty five households (13.55%) received patta land out of three hundred thirty two households but 8.13 percent beneficiary families utilized the patta land out of the total number of households, whereas 5.42 percent beneficiaries could not utilise the patta land.

Table 3 : Utilization of House under IAY in the three blocks

Total no. of households	No. of households who received financial assistance for house construction	No. of households who fully utilized the financial assistance for house construction	No. of households who received financial assistance for house construction but could not use it properly.
332	175 (52.71)	102 [58.29] (30.72)	73[41.71] (21.99)

( ) Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the total number of households.
[ ] Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the total household's beneficiaries.

The financial assistance for the construction of house presents a better scenario than distribution of patta land to the Lodhas. A little more than half of the total number of beneficiary families received financial assistance for house building. From this table 58 percent beneficiaries have been fully utilized of this development input. About thirty one percent of the families of the total population have fully utilized the aforesaid financial assistance while twenty two percent of the households could not use the financial help properly.

Table 4 : Utilization of solar cell in three blocks

Total no. of households	No. of households who received Solar plate	No. of households fully utilizing Solar plate	No. of households who received the solar plate but after few days they have either sold the Solar plate or those became non-functional
332	105 (32.63)	64[60.95](19.28)	41[39.05](12.35)

( ) Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the total number of households.
[ ] Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the total household's beneficiaries

The solar cells were distributed to the Lodha beneficiaries in the study area under the RSVY scheme for using them for domestic purpose. We have found that at the time of our fieldwork out of 105 families sixty four were found to use the solar powered cells to glow lamps in their house but at the same time it was also found that about 39.05 percent of the families have either sold them at a low price to the well-to-do neighbours or those gadgets were lying non-functional.

Table 5 : Profiles of patta records among the lodha /sabar households in Binpur –II, Nayagram & Narayangarh blocks of paschim medinipur

No. of Households who received patta record				No. of Households found to be actually cultivating patta land			
Binpur -II	Nayagram	Narayan garh	Total	Binpur -II	Nayagram	Narayan garh	Total
10 [11.94] (3.01)	28 [15.38] (8.43)	17 [26.98] (5.12)	45 [13.55] (13.55)	01 [10.00] (0.30)	11 [39.28] (3.31)	15 [88.28] (4.51)	27 [60.00] (8.13)

( ) Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the total number of households.
[ ] Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the block wise Patta holder.

The above table shows the scenario of patta land distribution by the Government and its utilisation by the Lodha families in the three blocks of the study area. It is found that the condition of the Binpur-II block was

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worst both in terms of patta distribution and its utilisation by the beneficiary families. About twelve percent of the total number of surveyed households received patta land from the Government and only one family was found to use it whereas, in Narayangarh twenty seven percent of the total number of families received patta land and as high as eighty eight percent of the families were found to cultivate their land. In Nayagram the percentage of recipients was about fifteen, while the users turned out to be thirty nine percent.

Table 6 : Profile of housing scheme distribution and used among the lodha households in Binpur –II, Nayagram and Narayangarh blocks of Paschim Medinipur.

No. of Households who received financial assistance under the scheme					No. of Households who actually utilised the benefits of the scheme			
Total	Binpur -II	Nayagram	Narayan garh	Total	Binpur -II	Nayagram	Narayan garh	Total
332	36 [41.37] (10.84)	124 [68.13] (37.35)	15 [23.81] (4.52)	175 (52.71)	12 [33.33] (3.61)	75 [60.48] (22.59)	15 [100.00] (4.52)	102 [58.29] (30.72)

( ) Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the total number of households.
[ ] Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the block wise house holder.

From the above table it is found that the highest percentage of families of the Nayagram block received financial assistance from the Government to build their houses and the lowest percentage was found among the Lodhas of Narayangarh. But the financial assistance towards house building was best utilized by the Lodhas of Narayangarh indicating awareness of the beneficiaries. In Nayagram also the scenario of utilization was found to be fairly good whereas the utilization percentage at Binpur II was found to be very poor

Table 7 : profiles of solar cell distribution and utilisation among the lodha /sabar households in Binpur –II, Nayagram & Narayangarh blocks of Paschim Medinipur.

No. of Households who received Solar Plate				No. of Households found to be actually Use the Solar plate			
Binpur -II	Nayagram	Narayan garh	Total	Binpur -II	Nayagram	Narayan garh	Total
23 [26.64] (6.92)	82 [45.05] (24.69)	Nil	105 (32.63)	04 [17.39] (1.20)	60 [73.17] (18.07)	Nil	64 [60.95] (19.28)

( ) Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the total number of households.
[ ] Figures in parentheses represent percentages out of the block wise solar holder.

The distribution of solar cells by the Government was done in Binpur-II and Nayagram. The Lodha families of Narayangarh block were not covered under this scheme. Our respondents of Narayangarh reported that according to Government officials, the families of this block were considered to be in a better economic condition so they were not provided with solar cells. The percentage of families who received solar cells was much higher in Nayagram and we have also found better utilisation of this gadget in this block. In Binpur-II only four families out of twenty three were found to use solar cells. Most of the families in Binpur II were found to have sold out the solar cells at very low price to outsiders in order to meet their domestic needs.

VII. Comparative set-up of Development Inputs Among the Lodhas in the three Blocks

In this part, I have made an attempt to compare the utilisation pattern of the three major (Patta land, House and Solar cell) development inputs given to the Lodhas in the study area which contains three blocks of the Paschim Medinipur district. The rationale behind the comparison is twofold. Firstly, through this comparison we have presented the overall scenario of the utilisation vis-à-vis non-utilisation of the development keys by the study population at a glance.

Secondly, the comparison also reveals the variation among the households in the three blocks in the utilisation of the development keys.

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In Binpur-II block, 79 beneficiary families have received three major development inputs. In Nayagram Block, 236 beneficiary families have received three major development keys. But In Narayangarh block, they received two major development keys, their beneficiary families are 32.

The comparative scenario of the utilization of the three major development keys in the three blocks among the Lodhas showed a marked overall variation. Variation was also found in terms of the type of development input. Let us enumerate the variations.

1. The development inputs given to the Lodhas have been utilized by them most successfully in the Narayangarh block and interestingly, solar plates have not been distributed in this block.
2. The most horrible scenario is found in the Binpur-II block in which non-utilisation of all the development inputs predominated the scene. Nayagram lies in the middle position in terms of the utilisation of the development keys.
3. The utilization of financial assistance for house construction given as a development input showed that even the overall worst performers (Lodhas of Binpur-II) have made a substantial utilization of house construction as a development key.
4. Regarding patta land, we do not find full utilisation in any of the blocks studied but in case of house we find full utilisation in Narayangarh Block.
5. The development assistance given in the form of high technology solar cells revealed a grim scenario both at Binpur II and Nayagram blocks while the Solar cell has not been given to the Lodha families of Narayangarh block. But the beneficiaries of Narayangarh block showed the overall best performance towards the utilisation of other development keys was found to be fairly well.

The following bar graph shows the comparative scenario of utilization and non-utilization of development inputs among the three administrative Blocks of Paschim Medinipur District.

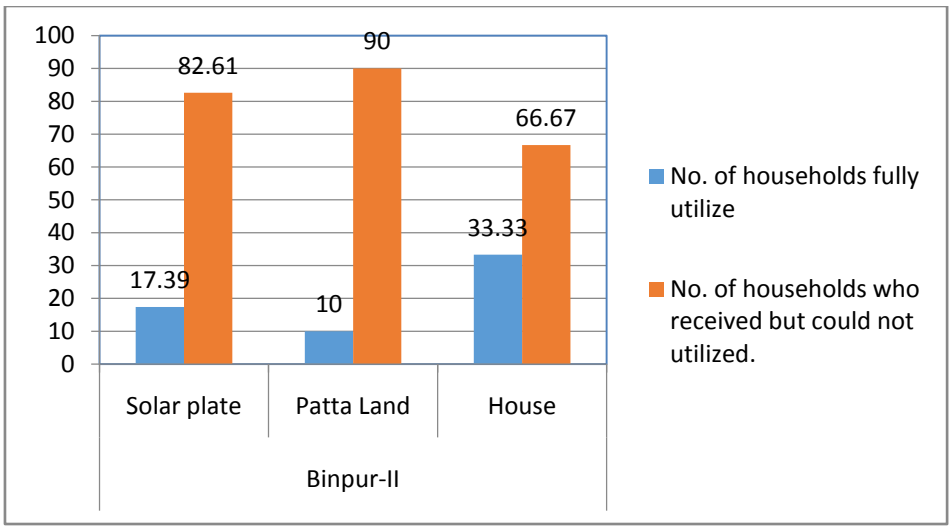

Figure 1

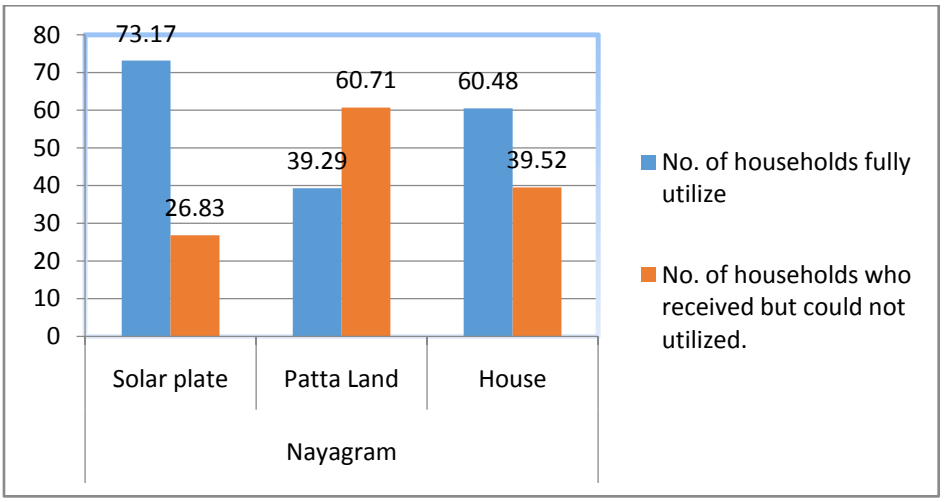

Figure 2

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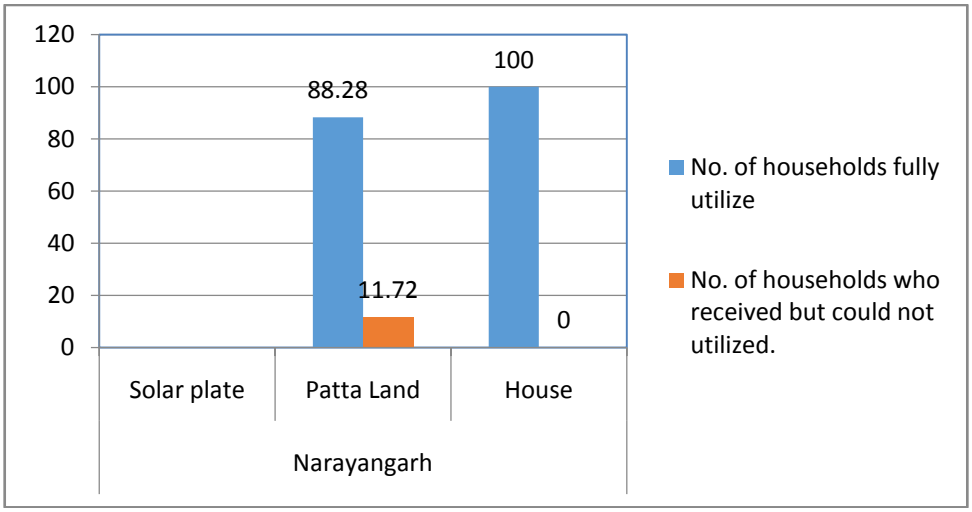

Figure 3

VIII. Conclusion

In this study I have found differences in terms of the utilisation of the developmental inputs by the Lodha families of the three administrative blocks of Paschim Medinipur district. The findings of this study exposed that the 83 percent Lodha beneficiaries have not used the solar cells in Binpur-II block, whereas about 27 percent beneficiaries have not used the gadget in Nayagram block but in Narayangarh block the solar cell has not been given. In case of Patta land 90 percent beneficiaries have not used because the Lodhas have received the patta record in paper but they have not seen the plot. About 61 percent beneficiaries of Nayagram block have not used the Patta land lack of agricultural implements and proper irrigation. But I have found in Narayangarh block they were about 90 percent beneficiaries utilized the patta land. Another development inputs house, about 67 percent unutilized conditions in Binpur II block and 40 percent unutilized in Nayagram block because the house building made by government department, The major reason behind the non-utilisation of constructed houses lay in poor and non-participatory nature of planning towards the construction of the houses by the concerned department of the Government. But in Narayangarh block they were fully utilized the inputs.

In Binpur II block, the beneficiaries suffered from terrible communication and transport system, and lack of access to the panchayat members of the area although the local panchayat leader belonged to their own community. The central and state Governments both have not yet been able to organize any skill development training programmes for the Lodhas towards implements the development schemes.

In Nayagram block, the Lodhas were found to be in better condition than they were in Binpur-II, in terms of communication and access to local panchayat leadership. Here the Government had also taken up some training programmes vis-à-vis awareness programme through an NGO. I have also found in this block the NGO played a good role towards monitoring the implementation of the development keys.

In Natrayangarh block, the Lodhas also seemed to be more aware about the development inputs than their counterparts in the other blocks studied in this study. They also owned cultivable land and got training in agriculture and other skill development training programmes organized jointly by an NGO and the state Government. In this block, there is an Anthropological Institute viz., Institute of Social Research and Applied Anthropology (ISRAA) established by eminent anthropologist Prof. Probodh Kumar Bhowmick.

Under this backdrop, I have made an effort to detail a list of recommendations which may be considered by the concerned departments of the Governments and the policymakers for the better implementation of the developmental keys according to the specific needs of the Lodha community in the study area. The Recommendations are given below,

- The Lodha families to whom patta land have been issued on paper should immediately be given the actual right of possession with full protection against all chances.
- The Lodha families who are cultivating on patta land but does not possess agricultural implements and bullocks should be given those items with proper arrangement of training by the concerned department of the Government.
- Skill development and agricultural training should be given to all the Lodhas of three administrative blocks. And here also special attention should be given to the level of awareness of the community members in each specific location.

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- Public Private Partnership (PPP) programme may be undertaken to monitor the implementation of the developmental inputs.
- The beneficiary families were given the liberty to plan and construct the houses according to their specific needs and demand.
- The High technology gadget (Solar cells) should not be given to individual Lodha families without enquiring into their socioeconomic conditions. Here also the level of education and consciousness of the community members should be studied first.

IX. Acknowledgements

I would like to express our gratitude to the members of the Lodha community in the surveyed villages and other villagers of Binpur, Nayagram and Narayangarh blocks of Paschim (west) Medinipur who helped us in all possible ways to carry out the fieldwork.

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A Cultural Approach to Gender Equality and Public Health in Ireland and Sweden

By Felicia Garcia

Abstract- This article is a discussion on the anthropological endeavour of understanding health and ill-health as they are structured through culture and social organisation. Three themes can be distinguished as; demographic specifics in health studies, ethnographic analysis and comparative studies which, I argue are some beneficial if not necessary approaches in the study of life- and health patterns among vulnerable groups in society.

Keywords: cultural diagnosis, public health, gender equality, masculinity, suicide, contrastive studies.

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I. Introduction

The following arguments are based on the fieldwork I did in Ireland between 2008 and 2012 which resulted in my PhD thesis, "Coping and Suicide Amongst 'the Lads': Expectations of masculinity in post-traditional Ireland" (Garcia 2013). This work taught me the value of ethnography and 'indigenous theorising' (to be explained hereafter) in developing a fruitful analysis when studying the lives of others. Finally, it has taught me that social organisation and cultural codes really do make themselves known once you contrast one context to another. That is, that when social organisation revealed through ethnography becomes 'cultural difference', a clear contrast, it becomes visible. In what follows I will outline the approaches that I believe are necessary to better understand the link between gender, culture and public health. I will also account for the conclusions I have made in my own fieldwork by adopting these approaches.

In March 2012, towards the end of my four-year field study amongst young Irish lads in Cork I organised a symposium where I invited Irish researchers to Maynooth to speak with me on "Ethnographic Approaches to Suicide in Ireland". Ireland still belonged to the group of countries referred to as the P.I.G. countries (Portugal, Ireland, Greece) -the countries worse affected by the economic recession. A devastating effect of the recession in Ireland was a surging trend of young male suicides sweeping the nation. A curious thing was however, that not even the economic downturn could explain the very slight increase in an already large gender ratio in Irish suicide. When I arrived in Ireland the gender ratio in suicide was at a steady 4:1, meaning that for every female suicide, four men killed themselves (NOSP 2009). By 2011 the gender ratio had risen to 5:1 (Samaritans 2013:32) and amongst 20-24 year-olds the gender ratio exceeded 7:1. National averages in suicide statistics and classic sociological models like Durkheim's 'anomie' (for full discussion see Garcia 2013) were unable to explain the culturally specific expectations of masculinity that led to ill-health and suicide among young Irish men.

I had arrived in Ireland in March of 2008 to do a field study about cultural resistance and Irish lad culture for Uppsala University, Sweden. It was not until the spring of 2009 that reports started coming in regularly from different parts of my local community in Cork about young men that had either been found hanging or drowned. Many of them had known one another and devastating communities now left one funeral after another wondering 'who was going to be next'. The most obvious or perhaps easiest explanation for this dramatic rise was the economic downturn and the fact that it was traditional 'male jobs' within the building and manufacturing sectors that were the worst affected. The fact that Irish men were already much more vulnerable to suicide than Irish women and, the reason why men were coping far less with life's stressors and difficulties than women, was still difficult to explain. Or was it?

My approach in analysing suicide was to look at life and by asking "what explanatory relations are there between forms of social life and individual acts of abandoning it?" (Taylor 1982:12) More importantly, I never set out to answer the overall and impossible question why do people kill themselves. Instead I wanted to be able to explain why some groups in a specific society or community were more prone to do so than others.

II. Demographic Specifics

In 1972 Dr. Peter Sainsbury published a study on The Social Relations of Suicide where he examined suicide trends in various Western cultures between 1901 and 1961. Sainsbury found that from the beginning of the last century suicide among the elderly was high (especially among elderly men but also on the increase in elderly women) and lower in the younger populations.

"Further studies were undertaken to test the hypothesis that in later life men and women, in their different ways, have come to lack a useful function in our society: Their occupational and domestic responsibilities are diminished and consequently their lives have lost purpose and meaning." (Sainsbury 1972:189)

By the late 1960's there had been a definite increase of suicide among young men which suggested

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that the vulnerability of specific age and gender groups also varied over time as social conditions changed. Sainsbury conducted contrastive studies in countries were culturally, the elderly were revered and social status was gained with age (in this case China and Nigerian tribal communities). He found that the trends were indeed reversed, that it was the younger age groups, rather than the elderly that showed higher numbers of suicide. (Sainsbury 1972:189-90)

I soon discovered in my own research that there were vast discrepancies between the ethnographic experience, 'ear-to-the-ground reporting' and national statistical data. National averages did not reflect the local, social realities where gender, ethnicity, class, age, and sexuality, structured suicidal tendencies within a specific population. For instance, the charity Console has stated that the "national rate of 11 deaths per 100,000 of the population masked some "alarming" regional data. When analysed by region, the suicide rate in Limerick city was 26.6 per 100,000, while it was 25.6 in Cork city". (The Irish Times 01-06-2013)

Statistics and averages are but starting points for analysing the vulnerabilities of specific groups in society. For Sainsbury it was important to know how suicide figures varied between age groups and over time. Cultural contrast and social organisation also revealed how peoples' social roles and functions diminished or advanced with age. Coping and Suicide Amongst the Lads drew attention to the downsides of being young and being male in Ireland. I discussed how youth, especially those on lower or uncertain incomes, were at a disadvantage socially and economically. I accounted for some of the most relevant changes to the traditional Irish family structure and how adolescence now extended into adulthood delaying autonomous, individuated living. Socioeconomic circumstances brought on by the Irish property bubble made independent living arrangements, which has become an important marker for adulthood, extremely difficult. The only viable options left to the young working class and often jobless men was to stay in the family home (often into their thirties), move in with a partner to half the rent (although most of the lads were single) or, move in with other lads in a similar situation. This house-sharing setting provided the lads with a limited support system and through ceremonial drinking sessions –the distraction and oblivion sought in times of boredom and distress.

Long term participant observation and in-depth analysis revealed how stereotypical dichotomies in the Irish gender order had become inverted. Public concerns now centred on exaggerated masculinities and the reactionary ethos that made young men 'weak', 'vulnerable', inherently 'immature' and too mentally frail to mind others, themselves and their general well-being. An expected lack of responsibility, accountability and undervalued contribution, and, an increasing focus on young men's "inability" were having devastating implications for the emotional and personal development of young lads as they tried to build social standing and dignity on these very markers of adulthood and an autonomous self. Discourses of male immaturity and low expectations of men's contribution to society left many young men locked in an impossible situation, isolated and undervalued with few coping mechanisms to rely on.

One of the researchers who spoke at the symposium in Maynooth in 2012 was Mary Rose Walker, a social worker who had taken it upon herself to do the first national count of suicides among the Irish Traveller community. Walker showed that suicide among Irish Travellers was on average three times higher than the national average due to marginalisation, discrimination and 'minority stress'. Also, the rules and boundaries for masculinity as it is played out in the Traveller community is an even more rigorous structure than the gender segregation within the settled population in Ireland and, not surprisingly: "the male suicide rate is 91%, over nine times as common as female suicide" (Walker 2008:xi).

Two contributors to the special edition of the Irish Journal of Anthropology dedicated to the "Ethnographic Approaches"-conference were Dr. Paula Maycock and Dr. Audrey Bryan. Their study "Supporting LGBT Lives" (2009) investigated the damaging health-effects homophobic bullying had on lesbian, gay, bisexual and transsexual lives in Ireland. They had found that over a third of those aged 25 or under had thought seriously about ending their lives and that this was linked to how they had been treated based on their sexuality. (Maycock et.al. 2009) It was also clear from the testimonies provided by the lads and their female peers in my study that it was these same structures of gender segregation, gender appropriateness and homophobic bullying in all spheres of the lads' lives –regardless of their sexuality -that resulted in stifled coping mechanisms, ill-health and suicide. These ethnographic accounts all suggest that when it comes to the contributing factors to suicide we must not, as the Irish Health Research Board so oddly suggested, "remain in the dark" (Walsh 2008).

III. Comparative Studies: Why Compare?

Limitations and opportunities for men and women's life and health patterns are structured through social and cultural context. The motto within anthropology is to make the exotic familiar and make the familiar exotic. Comparative studies reveal society's underlying structures, cultural codes, references and values. While Walker (2008), Maycock and Bryan (2009) focused on a cultural minority (ethnicity) and sexuality, the main theme in my study was gender and how cultural expectations of masculinity dictated the lad's behaviour and impacted on their health. The underlying

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question in 'Coping and Suicide Amongst the Lads' was this: Would increased gender equality lead to a convergence of health outcomes for men and women? This was a question that had already been put forward by Karolinska Institutet in Sweden (Backhans, Lundberg and Månsdotter, 2007). I asked further in my research: Would it lead to a convergence in young people's development of life skills and coping mechanisms and would it lessen young men's vulnerability to self-destructive behaviours and suicide in Ireland?

It is of enormous importance that we understand how ideas about gender equality are rooted in traditional expectations of femininity and masculinity and how this is given expression within different groups in society. The definition of gender equality I use in this text is borrowed from Swedish research which suggests that gender equality is: "more or less similarity between women and men in every sphere of human life, including the private sphere." (Backans et.al. 2007:1893) Women's advancement into spheres and social roles previously occupied by men, so called one-sided roll expansion, is not gender equality and has proven to have negative health effects on both women and men. (Månsdotter et.al. 2009:7) My main concern is the manner in which male role expansion –gender equality reached through men's and women's equitable shares of public and domestic life -affects public health-that is, the health of men, women and children! What makes the comparison between Ireland and Sweden particularly enlightening is that Sweden is world-leading in issues of welfare, gender equality and particularly male role expansion, while men and women in Ireland are segregated into separate living- and health patterns from a very early age and by strict social codes.

The gender gap in suicide in Sweden is lower than in Ireland and lands at approximately 1:2-2.5 which means that more than twice as many men than women die by suicide (Socialstyrelsen 2011). Suicide numbers in the general Swedish population have decreased since the 1970's into the last decade. The exception to this decrease is seen among the younger age groups where in more recent years a slight increase has been noted, particularly among young women who are often seen to be the biggest sufferers of post-modernity, flexible service sector work, conflicting gender roles and overburdening workloads. (Socialstyrelsen 2009:9) It should also be noted that the over-proportionate suicidality among Swedish men is represented in the older age groups. Suicides in Sweden are 40 per cent more common among men over 65 than among the younger male age brackets and three times higher than among women. "Younger and middle aged men have seen a significant decline in deaths caused by accidents and suicide, particularly during the 1990s." (Statistiska Centralbyrån 2011)

From a limited knowledge base on the everyday experience of Swedish men and their roll expansion in Swedish society evidence suggest that male role expansion does benefit both men and women. That is to say that "equality which also includes family life can benefit women by reducing stress parallel to the men who also benefit by their role expansion" (Månsdotter et.al. 2009:21 my translation). One conclusion was for example that "more equal parenting associates with reduced gender differences in hazardous drinking." (2009:22 my translation) Many useful differences in social organisation between these two very different contexts suggest that the expected roles of men and gender equality translate into different possibilities; life styles and health outcomes. For instance, in Sweden, parental leave consists of 480 days to be divided between parents as they see fit. An equal share of parental leave between the custodians is rewarded with an 'equality bonus'. Irish fathers have no days to take out under Irish law and can only take out the mother's 26 week paid maternity leave if she dies within 40 days of the birth of the child (Garcia 2013).

The conclusion made from this is that research must be dedicated to subjective experiences of everyday life. To repeat Sainsbury's argument once more, one has to look at when in people's lives they get most out of living; when needs are best met, what roles are available to people and, the personal fulfilment that makes life meaningful. By this I mean that we must identify both health-promoting and unfavourable social structures that bear important effects on people's quality of life. Suicide statistics, other mortalities and health issues measured in national and cross-national averages can, kept at arm's length, tell us something about where we need to gather more information and take a closer look. Absolute suicide rates are not the primary indicator of suicidal trends. In fact, suicides are only the point of departure from which to investigate the copings, health patterns, and suicidalities among particular demographics. Put in this way: the fact that people that find themselves in unfavourable social structures that has a damaging effect on their quality of life bare worse and have higher mortality statistics than those that do not, seems rather uncontroversial or even banal.

IV. Ethnographic Analysis

So what research methods must we use to gather information on the subjective experience of everyday life? Methodology –the possibilities and limitations to our research methods- are bound by the same cultural structures that we study. Looking back at my own experience, I had not made it easy on myself by choosing suicide as a topic to be evaluated on the basis of and amongst a group of young lads whose cultural codes did not allow them to discuss a sensitive and to them uncomfortable issue like male vulnerabilities to suicide. Before 1993 when suicide was decriminalised in

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Ireland it was more stigmatised than it is today. However, it was not too long ago when those who died from suicide could not be buried in consecrated ground. Some Irish studies have also shown that many open ended deaths, especially those that occur on the road - and especially those of men- can be read as a cover up of intent where the individual has tried to make it look like a road traffic accident to spare the family the stigma of a suicide (Connolly et.al. 1995).

The difficulty I faced talking to the lads should not be simplified as a 'male thing' although it is certainly a gender issue. By that I mean that ideas about masculinity vary culturally and are therefore not a universal or essential male characteristic. The young women who participated in 'Coping and Suicide' were interviewed either alone over a cup of tea or in groups where conversation and debate lasted over hours accompanied by wine and snacks. Compared to the relatively lengthy interviews with the girls, a different social setting was required when engaging with the lads. I had to interview all the young men individually and anonymously because of their own admitted concerns about being exposed, mainly to their own friends. In a previous masculinity-study conducted in a barrio in Caracas about Venezuelan malandros, or 'gangsters' (Garcia 2006) I was able to interview the young men in groups. The male participants were very eager to declare their views not only to me but to the other participants in the group, both male and female. For them, gang violence and the kind of apathy and depression that come out of it was very much a political issue. There were no inhibitions when it came to sharing personal narratives of stress, sadness and loss, violence and trauma. In many cases these group sessions were both intimate and emotional with men openly crying and hugging.[1]

As it were, there was only one medium so valued within Irish lad culture that enabled me, an outsider, to talk to young lads about masculinity, emotions and men's particular vulnerabilities suicide. 'The drink', which must be understood as a cultural practice, had the properties for the intimate bonding that was required. Alcohol plays a large part in 'doing masculinity' because it also allows for displays of affection, intimacy, sharing and emotionality, aspects that in this cultural setting are inappropriate and openly ridiculed among Irish men. Alcohol is so much part of the cultural fabric that it must be engaged in order to 'enter the field'. Put bluntly, the study had not been possible without the drink. The properties of 'the drink' as a social lubricant serves me as an ethnographer whose analysis is about and depends on the very same social fabric that operates in my field of study.

There is an intimacy gained from mutual and regular binging-occasions that would otherwise have taking considerable time, like growing up together, to achieve. I spent four years with 'the lads'. For two of these years we also shared a house. This enabled me to better understand how the everyday workings of gender segregation and 'gender-appropriateness' affected the lads' lives. Trust was gained in the pubs, at house parties and the parties held in our front room. My conclusions were developed through my interviews with the lads and by observing their strategic coping strategies, ceremonial drinking, social surveillance and the ridicule facing anyone who stepped out of the boundaries of appropriate male behaviour.

The most effective coping mechanisms as acknowledged by the lads themselves (addressing and sharing personal problems) were labelled 'gay', meaning feminine. This meant that even when the lads said that the most important way to deal with angst and depression was to 'talk to someone' they were afraid that if they did, they would be ridiculed and called 'gay-boy', 'homo', 'queer'. One of the lads explained it when I handed him an information pamphlet from one of Cork's suicide prevention groups. On the front page there was a picture of two male hands gripping each other with the text "Reach Out". He took one quick look at the pamphlet and said immediately: "Great! That's just what I need. So the lads can mock me to death!!" In the same way, boys also developed anti-school attitudes and unhealthy drinking habits and affirmed their masculinity by recklessness and bravado. These rules were directed towards and amongst young lads and did not apply to girls who had no male identity that would be questioned and ridiculed when adopting more responsible and healthier practices. This meant that girls and boys from the same background and many times the same families had come to develop different levels of maturity, health patterns, coping skills, and different attitudes towards education.

V. Indigenous Theorising

Unlike theoretical contributions made in other studies I did not collect life biographies or suicide narratives. None of the participants were asked if they had considered taking their own life nor were they asked to speculate on their friends', relatives' or acquaintances' specific suicides. I do recognise the many benefits of so called 'psychological autopsy studies' where retrospective information is retrieved by survived relations. Instead I adopted a cultural perspective. I see this type of interrogation into local knowledge and even local analyses as an indigenous cultural diagnosis. In my interviews the participants

[1] Without going into too much into detail another example does serve to explain these cultural variations of masculinity and *machismo*: The *malandro* (gangster) in Venezuela who would not pursue what he considered to be an unattractive woman who had shown him interest was called 'gay' by his friends (*marico*). In Ireland, if one of the lads spoke openly and affectionately about his girlfriend or showed her too much attention in front of his friends, he is (paradoxically) 'gay'.

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reflected on the rigid gender order in their local context to shed some light upon, not individual reasons behind suicides, but the causes behind the many cases of young male suicide in their own communities. The thesis addressed suicide as a sociological problem. This problem was addressed through anthropological methods, local enquiry and local knowledge. The discussion was then carefully balanced between the abstract theoretical models used within social theory and suicide research in Ireland, and the actual realities presented by my informants, - 'the lads' and 'the girls'. Some participants had of course experienced suicidal thoughts, some have also attempted suicide and all of my informants knew several friends and many times family members who had died by suicide. Although none of the participants were asked about specific cases or their personal stories, it was on the basis of these experiences that they reflected on the increasing suicide rates among young working class men in their own communities.

This type of analysis comes from the idea that structural explanations are best provided by those who actually live within those structures. My informants did not try to reconstruct the potential reasons behind their lost friends' suicides. Instead they described the eerie atmosphere in the community and how the local soccer teams had to take down their goal posts after every match after a number of young men have hung themselves by these goal posts after dark. They were adamant that there was something to do with 'masculinity' and how lads were unable to talk and unable to cope. As the lads and their female peers attempted to answer and reflect upon the link between locally held expectations of gender and suicide, the focal point –the linking key- was coping; wellbeing and quality of life. Throughout my fieldwork my most dedicated participants became not only informants, but co-analysts. Suicide had become an urgent matter even to those lads who found it most difficult to address the emotional issues of masculinity, vulnerability and suicide. It was in the end worth their while to try their best to reflect on the difficulties facing them as young lads also when it involved their own fears, angst and sorrows. Bit by bit we were able to reveal the constraints, taboos and strict behavioural rules that dictated over the lads' drinking behaviours, emotional seclusion, and ultimately suicide.

VI. More Research

Much research is still needed to explore the various links between health and ill-health and other cross-cultural demographics. Last but not least, suicide cannot be understood without the subjective analysis of health and quality of life that is structured by culture and social organisation. Karolinska Institutet and their report by saying that research on the link between gender and public health should be given more attention. It is suggested that future projects "could be studies on how people's opinions and experiences of equality within family and in the workplace affect people's health, and, studies designed to develop and evaluate strategies to facilitate equality of women and men's everyday lives, and ultimately their health and life expectancy "(Månsdotter 2009:25 my translation): "Most people today agree that all people should be allowed to live as long a life as possible with good health, and that the ability to control their own life to apply regardless of gender." (Ibid.) Future research, I suggest, should also include those parts of civic society whose goal is to disentangle the very narrow forms of masculinity that lead to ill-health not only among men but their families, female relations and children. The male feminist movement that operate in Sweden, in Ireland and elsewhere are key components in developing the type of gender equality that greatly benefits public health. Their resonance within the cultures and welfare structures that they represent deserves more attention. For instance: If Sweden is world-leading in the type of gender equality that also involves men (!) and this has proven to have a positive impact on public health – then this is a trend born out of social and cultural structures that have guided thoughts, beliefs, policies and practices into real experiences that we can draw important lessons from.

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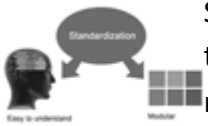

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2. Ethical Guidelines,

3. Submission of Manuscripts,

4. Manuscript's Category,

5. Structure and Format of Manuscript,

6. After Acceptance.

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The introduction will be compiled from reference matter and will reflect the design processes or outline of basis that direct you to make study. As you will carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed as like that. The result segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and will direct the reviewers next to the similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you took to carry out your study. The discussion section will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implication of the results. The use of good quality references all through the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness of prior workings.

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Mistakes to evade

- Insertion a title at the foot of a page with the subsequent text on the next page
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- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence

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Approach

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Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
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References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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