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On the Characteristic of Temple Complexes in the Near East in the 4th – 3rd Millennia BC

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Abstract

Investigation of metal is important for understanding relationship between production and ideology in ancient Near East. Metal production in the Eneolithic and Early Bronze Age stimulated transformation of egalitarian society into stratified one. The author traces relation of objects of social and religious significance (interior decorations, anthropo- and zoomorphic sculpture, symbolic weapons and implements) with certain types of sites. From the Neolithic onward metal was used in mortuary practice. In the Early Bronze Age metal production shows relationship with the process of urbanization and formation of early polities. The Middle Bronze Age sees dramatic rise of metal production; valuable and symbolically important finds originate from royal tombs, temples, and treasures. When considering metal finds' context, the author concludes that in the Near East in the late prehistory, urban civilization, and early states metal actively functioned in sacral sphere. Moreover, ideology to a great extent determined development of metal production.

Keywords: Near East, archaeology, metal production, urbanization, early polities, temple economy, exchange

1. Introduction

The Early Metal Age implies archaeological epochs of the Eneolithic and Bronze Age. In the vast region of Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia, North Syria, and Mesopotamia the period in question was marked by development of social-economic models of protourban and early state civilizations of Near Eastern type. Their constituent parts were sanctuaries and temples that functioned both as specifically religious centres and important subjects of administrative and economic activity. Therefore, when discussing the Mesopotamian materials the term "temple economy" is often applied. For the first time it was used by A. Deimel (Deimel, 1931). Later on investigations of corresponding written sources let I.M. Dyakonov and I. Gelb state that in the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC a significant part of surplus product was produced on the temple lands and redistributed by exchange operations organized by temples, palace estates, and some families (Dyakonov, 1949,19; 1959, 145; Gelb, 1969). In the documents dating back to the Jamdat Nasr period (3100-2900 BC) temple estates are clearly represented as significant holdings allocated by the community (Dyakonov, 1983, 111). Temple administration employed numerous workers: written sources mention herdsmen, smiths, carpenters, builders and trade agents, all organized in groups headed by headmen (Dyakonov, 1983, 121, 126).

In the preceding Uruk period, mostly on its late stage (34th to 32nd centuries BC) exchange was practiced mostly by temple estates, since only temples had got real possibilities for accumulation, securing, consumption, and redistribution of products by implementing long-distance exchange (Makkay, 1983). In that period are well documented archaeologically not only temples proper, but whole religious and administrative complexes including both sanctuaries and related workshops and storehouses. Thus in the Early Bronze Age Near Eastern temples functioned also as organizing centres of economy, and their developed spatial structure corresponded to the variety of purposes they served.

How did the temple organizations become important subjects of economic processes and principal landowners? Opinions as to the point are different. No doubt, of great significance was the breakup of tribal structure, population growth and developing exchange (Gibson, 1973). I.M. Dyakonov paid much attention to

non-economic factors, such as the necessity of saving foodstuffs for sacrifices in communal sanctuaries, and also primitive coercion (Dyakonov, 1983, 46 ff.). J. Makkay in a special article discussed formation of temple estates in Mesopotamia in the light of archaeological evidence. He pointed out that as early as the Neolithic there existed specialized communal storehouses for accumulation not only necessary foodstuffs, but also surplus saved for exchange. To assure safety of goods religious ceremonies were enacted, and the communal storehouses were located close to sanctuaries within special spots of the settlement (Makkay, 1983, 3). J. Makkay considers ideological factors secondary, when compared to the economic ones. At the same time he admits that since sanctuaries (and then temples) functioned starting from the Early Neolithic, they had got at least a chronological priority in the field of economic activity, while state-like administrative structures came into existence much later (Makkay, 1983, 2).

2. Material Evidence

Already at the Early Neolithic settlement of Umm Dabaghiyah there was located a special area where storage constructions concentrated; these were used not by single families, but the whole community (Kirkbride, 1974). At Çatal Hüyük the relationship between storage pits and ritual activity is well documented by the anthropomorphic figurines often discovered in grain pits (Mellaart, 1965). The phenomenon of accounting products is well documented since the Neolithic by so-called calculi, or small chips of various shape used for marking different sorts of commodities. They are rather numerous at the settlements of Mesopotamia proper and culturally related regions (Antonova, 1998, 193-197).

Important materials come from the sites investigated by the Russian archaeological expedition in Northern Iraq. At the settlements of Yarym Tepe II and III in the Halaf period circular constructions (*tholoi*) are regularly combined with rectangular multichamber structures; the excavators consider the former as dwellings and the latter as household facilities. In some circular constructions the remains of ritual ceremonies were documented. Thus, in tholos 67 at Yarym Tepe II among the foundation offerings painted vessels and obsidian tools were discovered together with a unique copper pendant seal decorated with incised lines (Munchaev & Merpert, 1981, 178, Figure 51, 3). As T. Kornienko stresses, functionally such sacred areas in many aspects should be regarded as the earliest prototypes of monumental temple complexes that served not only for religious practices, but functioned as centres of organized economic activity and administration of the first city-states in Mesopotamia (Kornienko, 2006, 131).

We must seriously take into account the environmental characteristics of the region to understand the origins of the temple economy. In the arid zone repeated draughts caused strict control over organized labour and accumulation, storage, and distribution of foodstuffs and other commodities. As early as the Late Ubaid period we meet with the evidences of such control exercised by the social elite, which is confirmed by monumental constructions of social importance and sanctuaries. In North Mesopotamia at Tepe Gawra in the Ubaid layers XVI and XV communal grain storage constructions concentrated within a single area at the northern part of the settlement (Speiser, 1935, 31).

A detailed review of the constructions dating from the Jamdat Nasr and Early Dynastic (henceforward ED) periods was published by Sh. Amirov. The materials originate mostly from Jesira and are interpreted as private and communal grain storage facilities (Amirov, 2010, 150-170). Thus, well-preserved construction 110 at the sacral area (*temenos*) of the settlement Tell Hazna 1 in North-eastern Syria represented a communal grain storehouse capable to preserve over 30 tons of grain, which is sufficient for survival of a community numbering around 100 people during one year (Amirov, 2010, 153). In Palestine at the settlement of Khirbet el-Kerak (ED period) an impressive religious-economic complex was investigated. It included nine domed constructions accurately set around the central court. The buildings are considered grain storehouses, and according to the assessments suggested by the excavators, they might have contained from 500 to 700 tons of grain totally (Maisler, Stekelis & Avi-Yonah, 1952).

Grain storage constructions were endowed with sacral meaning, which may be seen from the archaeological evidences of ritual procedures, and also from the fact that communal granaries were often shown on cylinder seals. Among them there are scenes of loading down commodities into the set of high domed constructions, people using ladders to reach the openings on the top (Figure 3: 5). Seals were personal symbols of administrative power, therefore the scenes and objects shown on pieces of Mesopotamian glyptic do not simply mirror realities of everyday life, but had profound religious contents related to the fundamental ideas of the time.

Thus among the archaeological data that shed light on the important features of temple economy we may single out specific constructions for storing products, workshops, and administrative centres. Besides, a series of archaeological finds may be interpreted as offerings and temple furnishings, as it is shown below.

The Ubaid culture shows significant achievements of the South Mesopotamian communities decisively based on development of irrigation and farming progress. Big Ubaid centres characterized by monumental architecture and specialized crafts were predecessors of Sumerian cities: the latter, as a rule, arose in the places once occupied by Ubaid settlements. In the Ubaid period stable cultural standards had been worked out, including types of pottery, figurines, and temple architecture. Most probably, a wide-scale system of trade relationships functioned, otherwise in South Mesopotamia barren of metal ores, timber and stone essential cultural progress was practically impossible.

2.1 Mesopotamian Temple Architecture

Mesopotamian architecture in general was based on mudbrick technique. Though simple, it let constructing both utilitarian buildings and monumental constructions, true pieces of grand style of the epoch. Lofty temples erected on high platforms dominated in the appearance of significant Ubaid centres, and probably already at that time fulfilled general economic and administrative co-ordination. In the South Mesopotamian centre of Eridu there was investigated a temenos with an impressive column of successive constructions of religious purpose (Figure 1: 1), starting from a small shrine of Ubaid 1period in layer XVI till the imposing ziggurat of the 3rd dynasty of Ur (Kornienko, 2006, 134-147). The buildings' corners were always oriented to the cardinal points. The late Ubaid temples of layers VII-VI show a developed plan with central hall, a stepped altar and an offering table placed in opposite ends of the cella and flanked by profiled pilasters. Massive walls were also decorated with stepped pilasters from inside and outside, the central entrance was arranged in the long south-eastern wall (Figure 1: 3). The constructions were rather impressive – up to 23.5 to 12.5 m in size, while the platform the religious centre rose above reached 26.5 to 16 m in size. Mass accumulations of fish remains were discovered in the temples, the offering tables showed traces of burnt matters. In T. Kornienko's opinion (Kornienko, 2006, 147), these data are related to the cult of Enki, the god of sweet waters and patron of the city. The Eridu sequence of religious constructions clearly indicates that typical constructions of the Sumerian religious architecture in the shape of stepped ziggurat originate from the Ubaid temples built on massive platforms.

As to the Ubaid sites in North Mesopotamia, the urban settlement Tepe Gawra on the Tigris is best investigated. Starting from the earliest Ubaid layers constructions of different types are known, such as large rectangular houses and temple associations that for a long period functioned at the so-called Acropolis. In layer XIII there existed a large religious complex (Figure 1: 2) composed of three temples very similar to those known in Eridu. The buildings of rather large size were arranged along three sides of a central court, they measured from 12 to 14 m in length. Judging from the best preserved Northern temple, the entrance was situated in the centre of the façade, leading not to the central hall directly, but through an auxiliary room. In the central hall of this temple there was discovered a well 13 m deep which contained many spectacular finds, pottery and seals among them (Kornienko, 2006, 155).

2.2 The Uruk Epoch

Formation of Mesopotamian social elite took specific forms, which was closely related to intensive regional development in different fields of economy: agriculture and stock-breeding, exchange system and craft. Military campaigns, plundering and seizure of territories and loot in the Uruk period did not play any significant role. Of much greater importance was construction, and first of all building temples. In ancient Mesopotamia this occupation was considered the principal prestigious activity befitting a deified ruler (in literature often termed king-priest). It is indicative that social leader of the predynastic period (Late Uruk and Jamdat Nasr) is often shown in the situation of supervision of productive activity, including construction and farming. The discussed subjects are represented in art of the dynastic epoch as well (Figures 2: 5; 3: 4).

The most significant achievement of the Uruk period was creation of a united irrigation system, the cannels network which let regular watering fields. Advanced irrigation farming with incredible crops had brought about an enormous population growth: only in the close neighbourhood of Uruk over 120 settlements of various size are known archaeologically. Most numerous are small rural settlements, but among them significant urban centres are singled out covering an area over 10 ha each. The city of Uruk in the discussed period was a true megapolis over 45 ha large.

The Uruk period in North and South Mesopotamia was marked by intense temple construction. Many monumental constructions of religious purpose were built within specially designed area and functioned for a long period of time with subsequent reconstructions and enlargements. In the South temple associations in Uruk are best investigated (Figure 2: 7), and in the North those at Tepe Gawra, where in the Late Uruk layers IX and VIII functioned temples of developed shapes with related storage constructions – small rooms without entrances (Speiser, 1935, 31-32).
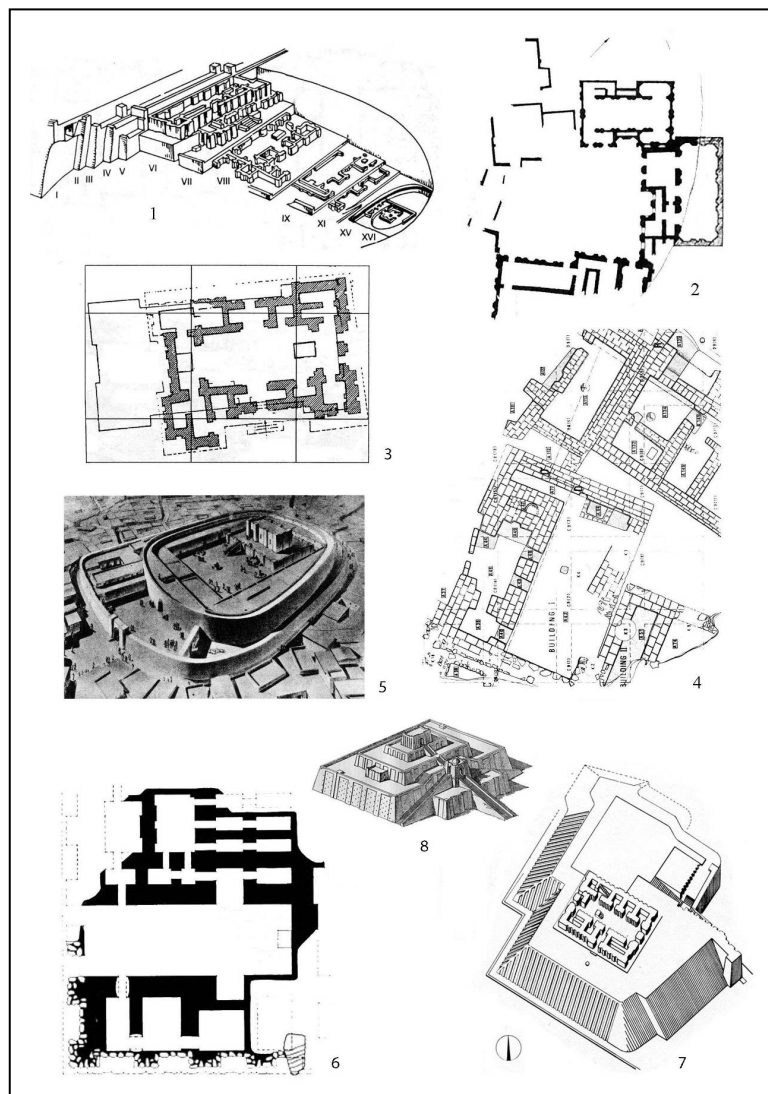
Figure 1. Temple complexes of Mesopotamia, Syria and Eastern Anatolia

1 – Eridu, stratigraphic sequence at the temple area; 2 – Tepe Gawra, temple complex in layer XIII; 3 – Eridu, temple in layer VIII; 4 – Arslantepe VIA, part of religious-administrative complex; 5 – Sin temple in Khafajeh; 6 – Tell Brak, Eye temple; 7 – Uruk, White temple (reconstruction); 8 – Uruk, Urnammu ziggurat (reconstruction).

In Uruk the archaeological investigations were focused at the Eanna religious centre. It comprised several synchronously functioning monumental complexes, mostly of religious character. Generally, temples were built of mudbrick on a specially prepared ritually clean foundation: prior to construction the cultural deposit was extracted from the foundation trench as ritually unclean, the trench then was filled with sand. Over it a high platform was erected surmounted by an imposing temple, so that it controlled the city's everyday life practically and symbolically. In the course of subsequent reconstructions ruins of the earlier buildings were levelled and filled with earth, platform raised. The Uruk temple architecture inherited such essential features of the Ubaid construction traditions as structures' three-partite T-shape plan, elongated central hall where a statue of a local deity was installed. Of the Ubaid origin was also the technique of wall decoration with alternate niches and pilasters. The Uruk architects invented a characteristic decorative manner based on using clay painted cones that enabled to create complicated geometric ornaments of carpet or matting type. Temples were of large size; thus, the temple of the fertility goddess Inanna measured 75 to 25 m, the complex of famous White temple is even more impressive, 83 to 53 m. The temple itself measured 17 to 22 m and rested upon the platform around 13 m high (Figure 1: 7). Its socle was covered with limestone conveyed from the Zagros foothills, from a distance of some tens of kilometres. The whole complex was surrounded by a defensive wall.

In Eastern Anatolia at Arslantepe VIA a well-preserved religious-administrative complex was investigated in details. It consisted of three buildings (Nos. I, III, IV), their walls decorated with niches and pilasters. In full correspondence with the Uruk construction tradition, the temple interior included podiums, offering tables, platforms, and a basin (Figure 1: 4). Some rooms contained numerous storage vessels and sealings (Figure 2: 3), which clearly points to the processes of values redistribution taking place in the sanctuary (Palmieri, 1973, 315-325).
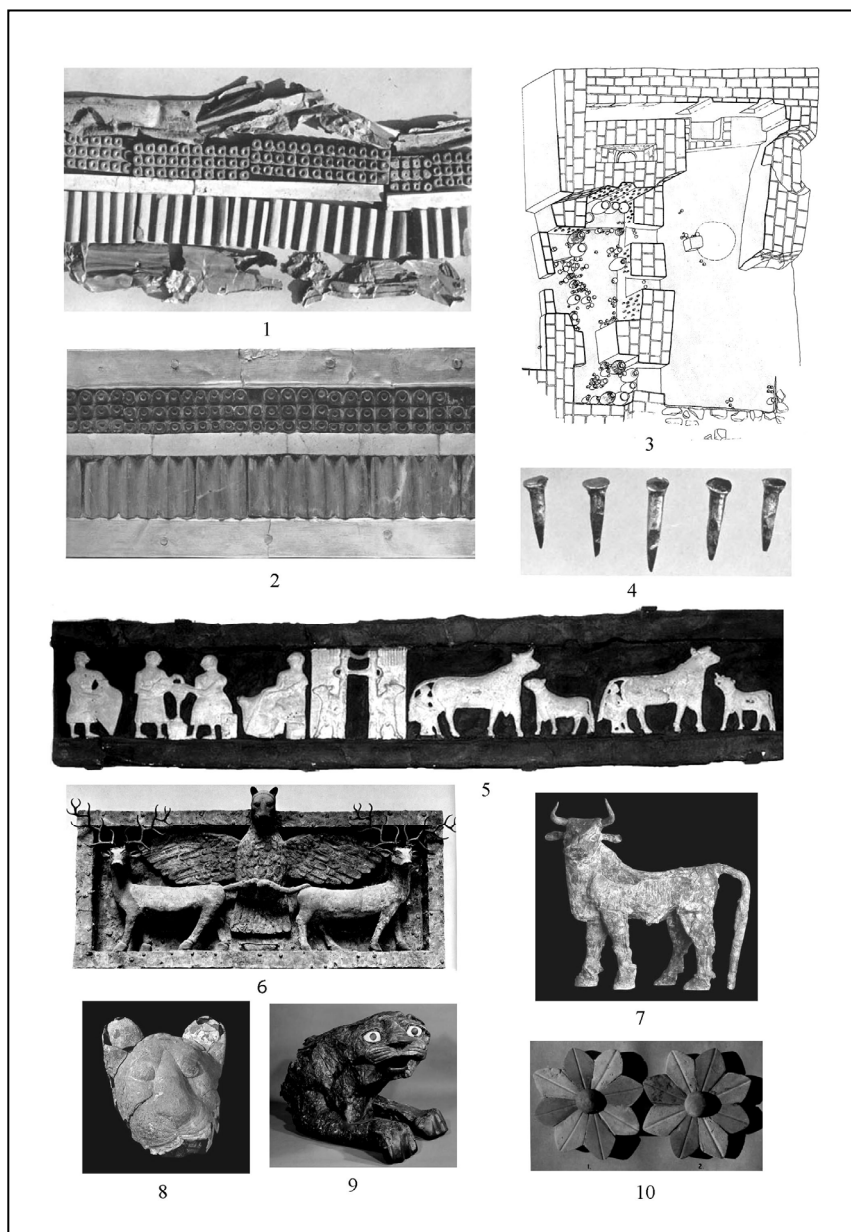
Figure 2. Decorative elements from temple complexes of Mesopotamia, Syria and Eastern Anatolia

1, 2 – Tell Brak, frieze from Eye temple (state in situ and reconstruction); 3 – Arslantepe VIA, interior of the religious-administrative complex (reconstruction); 4 – Tell Brak, gold-headed silver nails from the frieze in Eye temple; 5-8 – Al Ubaid, pieces of monumental decorative sculpture from Ninhursag temple; 9 – Mari, lion figure from the temple building; 10 – Tell Brak, decorative stone rosettes from Eye temple.

The Late Uruk and ED periods see a series of changes in the temple architecture. While the general architectural concept remains the same, lofty platforms are not used any longer. Basic layout provides protection of the

religious centre by walls, which means its isolation from the habitation areas. Thus, Sin temple in Khafajeh did not control the city, but was encircled by a double oval wall strengthened with buttresses (Figure 1: 5). A double oval of monumental constructions surrounded a sacral area at the settlement Tell Hazna 1 of the Late Uruk – ED periods in North-eastern Syria (Munchaev, Merpert, & Amirov, 2004). Probably, this new planning system was to a great extent related with the tangible militarization of the early state formations in Greater Mesopotamia.

Both temples on platforms and lofty stepped ziggurats of the later epoch were associated with a mountain – god's residence (Figure 1: 8). Sacral buildings are often shown on Mesopotamian cylinder seals of the Uruk period. They look as high buildings with richly decorated façades, often supplied with pairs of horns symbolizing a male deity. Near the temple sometimes there are placed bent poles decorated with "ribbons" (Figure 3: 1-3). When shown isolated, the "ribbon poles" served as an ideogram of a temple.

Monumental temple complexes functioned in all major Sumerian cities, stressing and visualizing the key social and economic position the temple organization and temple estates held. I.M. Dyakonov suggested the following characteristic of the Mesopotamian temple construction. Both in North and South Mesopotamia certain type of construction of religious purpose was worked out and became a stable tradition clearly traced in the architecture of later period. It was based on definite principles. Sanctuaries and temples were always built in the same place so that all subsequent reconstructions included the earlier buildings, the whole functioning as a single complex. The central temple stood over a high artificial platform provided with two symmetrical staircases. In the course of time the tradition of constructing each new temple at the same place had resulted in appearance of three, five, and, finally, seven platforms erected one above the other and crowned by temple proper, the whole known as ziggurat. The aspiration for constructing lofty temples proclaimed immemorial antiquity and local origins of the given community, and relation of the earthly sanctuary with the celestial abode of its god-patron. Temples had three-partite plans with central court surrounded by side annexes (in the North court might have had a roof). Temple walls and platform were decorated with alternate niches and pilasters (Dyakonov, 2002, 69-70).

As the foci of religious, social, economic, administrative and intellectual life in urban centres temples played the principal role in the process of formation of cities and early polities in ancient Mesopotamia. The Sumerians fully appreciated this: the early Sumerian historical tradition states that constructing temples preceded formation of their cities (Dyakonov, 1983, 110-111). Temples exercised registration and control over the agricultural and craft production, accumulation and redistribution of values for exchange. They served as centres of education, literacy, astronomic observations, their archives preserved knowledge in various fields, generally speaking, temples must be regarded as the foci of protoscience. Judging from the texts of the 3rd millennium BC temples organised long-distance exchange, and were also principal consumers of valuable materials supplied from distant lands. Especially in South Mesopotamia practically barren of mineral resources construction stone, decorative materials, timber and metals were delivered in exchange for agricultural products. Advanced architecture of the Mesopotamian temples required emergence and perfection of many kinds of craft and professional activity. The process of construction stipulated for skilled work of numerous professionals, such as architects, builders, stone carvers, carpenters, specialists in metalwork, jewellers, and the like. Temple workshops employed craftsmen, ordered certain kinds of production and provided them with raw materials. In their turn, the workers got natural payment – strictly established quantity of foodstuffs, which is evidenced by numerous written documents and vessels of standard size, their volume corresponding to the daily consumption rate for one worker. I mean so-called bevelled-rim bowls and flowerpots (Millard, 1988, 51). Centralized control over production and consuming allowed accumulation of great amount of goods for exchange (Özdogan, 2002).

Thus it is quite logical that in the epoch of formation of the early polities material values were preserved in the temple treasuries. Many outstanding objects of high value and artistry of the Uruk and ED periods were discovered within the temples territory. It seems to be of interest to present a short review of most spectacular archaeological finds (mainly metal ones) with clearly expressed symbolic meaning associated with the temple complexes of the discussed periods. The material may be divided into several groups according to their function.

Figure 3. Images of temples and archaeological finds from temple complexes

1, 2 – temple images on cylinder seals of Uruk period; 3 – "ribbon pole" symbolizing temple on a cylinder seal of Uruk period; 4 – temple estate, scene on a cylinder seal of Early Dynastic period; 5 – loading grain in storehouses, scene on a cylinder seal of Early Dynastic period; 6 – Uruk, foundation peg from Inanna temple with inscription of King Urnammu; 7, 8 – Tell Mozan, foundation pegs from Nergal temple; 9 – Tell Brak, stone head from Eye temple; 10, 11 – Tell Judeideh, figurines from the treasure; 12 – Tell Asmar, alabaster statuette of a worshipper from Square temple; 13 – Nippur, limestone statuette of a worshipper from Inanna temple; 14-17 – Tell Hazna 1, bronze carpenter tools from the treasure; 18 – Susa, statuette of "god with gold hand" from Inshushinak temple; 19 – Susa, golden statue from the treasure found near Inshushinak temple; 20 – Arslantepe VIA, building III, treasure of weapons from the religious-administrative complex.

3. Metal Objects

3.1 Interior Decoration of Sumerian Temples

One of the earliest and best preserved complexes is the religious centre at Tell Brak on the Upper Khabur (Syria). In the second part of the 4th millennium BC Brak was a significant urban centre, its area covering almost 50 ha. Similar to other Uruk-time settlements a religious-administrative complex with numerous related workshops functioned there. The complex included Eye temple of three-partite plan (Figure. 1: 6) 30 to 25 m in size (Mallowan, 1947, 93-94, tables 3; 4; 48.4). Side rooms of standard size with very thick walls clearly served as storerooms. In accordance with the Uruk decorative tradition the outer walls were adorned with painted clay cones and rosettes; the inner walls covered with plaster, numerous alabaster idols with characteristically big eyes

being sunk into it. Evidently, these might have symbolized all-seeing eye of a deity. The interior included an altar decorated with composite slate and limestone frieze mounted on a wooden panel. Rectangular stone strips were put together with a copper wire threaded through them. The top and bottom edges of the frieze were framed with massive sheet gold 2 mm thick, 2 cm wide and up to 2 cm sunk into the wall. The golden frame was attached to the panel with 42 gold-headed silver nails (Figure. 2: 1, 2, 4, 10).

Judging from fragmented finds from Uruk (Heinrich, 1936, 47, table 34b, f, h; 35a) and archaic ziggurat in Ur (Woolley, 1956, 181), similar altars were built in South Mesopotamia as well.

3.2 Statuary

To the group of temple offerings metal foundation cones may be attributed, often bearing the inscriptions with the name of the ruler who founded the temple, and the name of god. The cones had the shape of anthropo- or zoomorphic statuettes (Figure 3: 6-8). There exists historical information concerning inscribed foundation tablets made of gold: Nabonides, the king of Babylon (the 6 th c. BC) mentioned a golden tablet inscribed by the king Naramsuen (the 23 rd c. BC) and discovered during the restoration of Sin ziggurat in Harran. The statement is confirmed by the real golden tablet with the name of Naramsuen found in Bismayah (Moorey, 1994, 224).

The group of statues and statuettes includes the images of sacred animals related to some deities. Some of them were produced with application of noble metals, mostly gold. Characteristic of the Uruk-time metalwork were composite zoomorphic statuettes with details cast of gold. Thus, from the city of Uruk association called Sammelfund is known containing temple furnishing, namely, a sheet of golden foil for plating some object, golden spout of a vessel, a silver jar, and details of zoomorphic statuettes, among them horns made of sheet gold once mounted on some non-preserved material (Heinrich, 1936, 40, table 30d, 35d, 29). The treasure included also two copper/bronze pins surmounted with recumbent calf images, a figure of a lion (Heinrich, 1936, table 17a, b; 13a), two cylinder seals of lapis-lazuli. Within the Eanna temple area, layer III, the details of composite statuettes were discovered shaped of copper/bronze, silver and gold (legs, ears), together with the figurine of a goat made of bitumen plaited with golden foil (Moorey, 1982, 21).

A series of spectacular objects come from Ninhursag temple of the ED III period in the city of Al Ubaid. Characteristically, among them there are also horns of sheet gold, initially mounted on some base (Moorey, 1994, 224). Both natural animal horns and their copies produced of valuable materials served as symbolic adornments of Sumerian temples and sanctuaries, as we can see from the colourful narration in The Epic of Gilgamesh:

Gilgamesh summoned all the artisans and craftsmen.

(All) the artisans admired the thickness of its horns,

each fashioned from 30 minas of lapis lazuli!

Two fingers thick is their casing (?).

Six vats of oil the contents of the two

he gave as ointment to his (personal) god Lugalbanda.

He brought the horns in and hung them in the bedroom of the family head (Lugalbanda?).

(The Epic of Gilgamesh, Tablet VI).

The collection from Ninhursag temple includes also monumental bronze statues and panels (Moorey, 1994). Excavations of the temple consecrated to the city's goddess patron have revealed two panels, once mounted on the façade (now in The British museum). The first one (almost 70 cm long) shows the scenes in the temple estate: milking cows and making butter (Figure 2: 5). The composite panel had a wooden base on which metal sheets were attached with copper nails; the background is made of black slate, and figures of shell mosaic work. The second panel (Figure 2: 6) is impressively large – 2.59 m long. Its wooden base was first covered with bitumen, over it figures shaped of sheet bronze were nailed. The images are rendered in high relief. The symmetric heraldic composition consists of two confronted deer figures with three-dimensional heads and horns, and the central image of a lion-headed eagle with extended wings known as Imdugud, symbol of the god Ningirsu. The same technique of fixing bronze images on wooden base with the help of bitumen was used, when shaping four statues of bulls. The best preserved one is almost 61 cm high (Figure 2: 7). Numerous images of bulls and cows in the temple are evidently related to the fact that the goddess Ninhursag protected flocks, and her name means "lady of the steppe". The entrance to the temple was probably guarded by statues of lions: a lion's head 20 cm high made of sheet copper/bronze was found in the debris (Figure 2: 8). Lion figures guarding temple are known also from the later period: to the 3rd dynasty of Ur date two symmetrical images of lion's front parts from the temple in Mari (Figure 2: 9).

Anthropomorphic images are mostly represented by minor statuettes. Some of them evidently depict deities, other ones show worshippers. The figurines played an important role in the Sumerian religious ceremonies, as we may judge from the ancient texts:

Just as day began to dawn Gilgamesh opened ...

and brought out a big table of sissoo wood.

A carnelian bowl he filled with honey,

a lapis lazuli bowl he filled with butter.

He provided ... and displayed it before Shamash

(The Epic of Gilgamesh, Tablet VIII).

The first line of this fragment in I.M. Dyakonov's translation into Russian reads: "Gilgamesh made a figurine of clay" (Epos o Gilgameshe, 2006, 56), so that the mentioned statuette may be associated with an image of a worshipper. The same epic contains a unique description of a memorial portrait statue of the hero Enkidu, with a list of used materials and professions mentioned, moreover, it entirely corresponds to the technological principle of shaping archaeologically known composite images:

Just as day began to dawn, Gilgamesh...

and issued a call to the land:

"You, blacksmith! You, lapidary! You, coppersmith!

You, goldsmith! You, jeweler!

Create 'My Friend,' fashion a statue of him.

... he fashioned a statue of his friend.

His features ..., your chest will be of lapis lazuli, your skin will be of gold."

(The Epic of Gilgamesh, Tablet VIII).

In the context of the theme of composite anthropomorphic images and their literary descriptions of interest are Biblical verses that mention pagan (non-Judaic) idols made with application of different materials: "…the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone." (Dan. 5, 4; Isa. 30, 22; Ps. 135, 15). The Bible contains also a detailed parallel to the Sumerian description of a monumental composite statue in the dream of Nebuchadnezzar: "This great image, whose brightness was excellent, stood before thee; and the form thereof was terrible. This image's head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass, his legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay." (Dan. 2, 31-33).

The above literary descriptions have their parallels among the discussed archaeological finds. As early as the Late Uruk period, monumental anthropomorphic images were placed in religious centres, which is well documented by stone head of a statue from the Tell Brak temple. The head is 17.8 cm high. The statue was a composite one, since on back of the head there is a groove for fixing it on some base (Figure 3: 9).

Worshippers' images are rather numerous, let me point to the alabaster male figurine from Tell Asmar (ED II) almost 30 cm high (Figure 3: 12) and female limestone statuette from Nippur (ED III), 25 cm high (Figure 3: 13). The figurines represent an impressive example of the Sumerian style in sculpture. Some images of worshippers are of big size, up to 70 cm in height and more; for instance, the headless diorite statue of the king Urnammu shown as an architect with a plan of the temple he built in Ur on his lap is 90 cm high. As to the size and stylistic manner, the statue represents a true piece of monumental sculpture.

Metal was also used for manufacturing anthropomorphic religious sculpture. From the Early Dynastic epoch dates the treasure of six bronze statuettes (three male and three female) from Tell Judeideh (North Syria, Amuq G period) with characteristic details: helmets, belts and weapons on male figurines, and ornaments and hairstyle details on female ones – Figure 3: 10, 11). Application of golden foil, when shaping composite figurines clearly is inherited from the Uruk craftsmanship tradition. Thus, the face of the gypsum statuette of the ED III from Nippur is plaited with sheet gold; the same manner was known in later periods (Amiet, 1977, table 3b, 433, 434). Famous statuette from Susa known as "god with the golden hand" 17.5 cm high (the beginning of the 2 nd millennium BC) depicts a standing deity in a typical horned tiara and long garment (Figure 3: 18). Initially the whole figurine was covered with golden foil, at present it is preserved only on its left hand (Tallon, 1987, No. 1337), hence the name. From the Middle Elamite period (ca. the 14th c. BC) dates a magnificent statue from the Acropolis of Susa excavated by de Morgan (Figure 3: 19). The golden statue 75 cm high (!) was discovered in

the treasure of precious objects near the ziggurat of god Inshushinac – the city's patron. It represents a male figure dressed in a diadem and a long ornamented garment with a fringed hem, and with a goat in its hands. Most probably, the statue portrays a local ruler presenting an offering (Moorey, 1994, 225). Despite its late chronological position, the statue in question gives a clear idea as for the luxury that once reigned in the interior of Near Eastern temples. In relation with the said I should like to point once more to the Biblical descriptions of the tabernacle outfit made by Moses (Ex. 27), and also the work that King Solomon made for the house of the Lord, including two pillars and a gigantic sea of brass, altar, table, candlesticks and vessels of gold (I Kings 7), 200 targets and 300 minor shields made of beaten gold (I Kings 10, 16, 17). The information concerns the Late Bronze and even the Early Iron Ages, yet it helps to shape an idea on the mass and variety of highly valuable outfits preserved in the Near Eastern religious complexes.

3.3 Weapons and Tools

Some temple complexes of the discussed region contain metal weapons and tools. Among the most outstanding finds the treasure from the religious-administrative complex of the Late Uruk time at Arslantepe VIA should be mentioned (Palmieri, 1981, 104, 109, Figure 3: 1-4) (see Figure 3: 20). The treasure was discovered in building III, room A113 and consisted of two bunches of bronze objects: 12 tanged leaf-shape spearheads from 42 to 53.7 cm long; 9 swords (46 to 62 cm long) with solid-cast handles, three of them decorated with silver inlay; and a quadruple spiral plate. The swords and spearheads are the earliest ones known in the Near East now. It is of interest that the swords' cutting edges were well sharpened, while their flat handles make them inconvenient as real weapons, yet perfectly correspond to the ceremonial use. To the Early Bronze Age dates also an association from the sanctuary at Beycesultan XVII (Central Anatolia); it comprised 5 bronze knives (Lloyd, Mellaart, 1963, Figure 9, 1-4, 6). Two knives are respectively 15.7 and 12.9 cm long, the rest are of miniature size (from 4.3 to 7.6 cm). The finds are of significance despite their modest appearance, because metal finds were still rare in that epoch, and their relationship with the religious construction is even more so eloquent.

Taking into account context of the associations containing ceremonial weapons and symbols of power, including those made with application of noble metals, it may be concluded that such objects were used by a community's deified ruler, or a king-priest, as P. Amiet termed it, which is well confirmed by the fact of their presence in temple associations.

There existed also implements specially designed to be used in the religious ceremonies. Ancient written sources and figurative materials suggest that from the ED period onward in Mesopotamia and culturally closely related Anatolia construction was conceived as the most important activity local ruler performed aimed at maintenance of life of given community, and the whole universe (Avilova, 2008, 170-178). Carpenter tools served as gods' attributes: the Sun god Shamash was depicted carrying a saw. In the 3rd millennium BC in royal burials of Mesopotamia and Anatolia unusable replicas of tools made of noble metals were deposited – carpenter tools in men graves, and spindles and musical instruments in women ones. Rich materials on this point are known from Ur, Troy II, Alaca Höyük, Horoztepe, Karataş-Semayuk (Avilova, 2011, 199-213).

Ordinary bronze carpenter tools also could have been related to religious complexes. Of importance in this aspect is the association containing a set of bronze carpenter tools discovered at the temple area of the ED urban settlement Tell Hazna 1 (Figure 3: 14-17). It included two flat axes of different types, a grooved chisel, a chisel-like tool, and a tanged saw (the latter was identified by the excavator as a notch-edged knife – see: Munchaev, 2005, 15, Figures 1: 4; 4: 1-5).

Even the above brief review of finds from the temple complexes suggests that in the Early metal period (the term implies the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age) in the Near East basic features of "prestige economy" are clearly expressed. Its key characteristic was that under the conditions of natural economy, limited resources and productive forces in all-sufficient communities some objects were exceedingly highly valued as symbols of high social status and spiritual leadership, the more so that these aspects of power were closely related (Avilova, 2010). The objects in question were made of exotic, valuable, fine, and consequently practically in all cases imported materials obtained by intertribal groups.

4. Exchange in Temple Economy

The lack of mineral resources in Southern Mesopotamia stimulated intensification of long-distance exchange and, thereby, extensive mining and smelting metals and search of valuable materials, including timber, copper, copper-base alloys and precious metals, stone for construction and semi-precious stones in the regions having such resources at their disposal. Wide-scale economic and political relationships with the territories rich in natural resources were organized by the social elite related to the temple estates – true centres of social and economic development (Antonova, 1998, 131).

By impressively intense exchange is marked the turning point in the history of ancient Near East – the Uruk period. Of special significance in this aspect was the phenomenon of "temple economy". The farming civilization of the alluvium in this period formed a complicated system with the populations of the Iranian and Anatolian plateaus that practiced the complex economy of which metal production was an important component. The early polities pursued wide-scale temple construction, consequently, they strongly felt the necessity of imported materials, the social elite being the organizer of the exchange system. The Sumerian society developed permanent intensive contacts with the centres of metal production and metalworking located in the adjacent territories of Iran, Eastern Anatolia and the Gulf. The role temples played in the extensive network of trade relations in the Uruk period can hardly be overestimated. Noteworthy, the Sumerians themselves conceived exchange of the raw materials (including metals) as performed with the purpose to construct and decorate temples, i.e. as an important gods-pleasing activity. A colourful narration on this subject can be found in the epic "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta" (Kramer, 1965).

Archaeologists and cultural anthropologists should pay special attention to the qualitative leap forward in metal production which took place in the Early Bronze Age (Avilova, 2008, 147-149; 2009) and its relation to the processes of urbanisation and formation of early polities.

5. Conclusions

Metal necessity in the agricultural societies and need of certain goods in stock-breeding communities were powerful catalysts in economic progress and development of social complexity. Special role in the interaction of farming communities with the mountaineers engaged in animal-breeding and metal production played agricultural goods (cereals, melted butter and oils) and craft products (textiles). In the depths of farming societies there were worked out many intellectual attainments, such as writing, sets of figurative motifs, finally, fashions, including costume and hair-styles important as the indications of social status.

This pattern of relations with the neighbours was developed by Egypt and Mesopotamia – the Old World greatest producers of foodstuffs. In their lands high crop capacity of the fields allowed accumulating strategic stocks used in particular for exchange and accompanied by wide-scale spreading various cultural standards. It should be pointed out that high crops in alluvium were not secure at all: repeated draughts were a permanent threat, while irregular floods often destroyed crops. These factors combined with rapid population growth were of key significance for formation of basic characteristic features of the Mesopotamian civilization: urban centres – residence of elite and bureaucracy, centralised control of production in general and agricultural works in particular, control of irrigation system, rationing daily consuming with the objective to save food supplies for lean years and organised trade. The foodstuffs preserved in temple granaries could have been used also to maintain the power of ruling clan and to form numerous armed detachments. Numerous finds of valuable objects in the temple complexes prove that public wealth was concentrated there, and ministers of religion disposed of that and used the objects in question, when performing religious rites and managing the community's economy.

Bad harvests and famine caused many ethno-political and social processes. Such important source of historical information as the Bible repeatedly mentions famine as the reason for the Hebrews' migrations from Canaan to Egypt in the epoch of patriarchs, and later events in the history of the Egyptian and Hebrew peoples (Gen. 12, 10; 26, 1; 42, 2). "And the seven years of dearth began to come, according as Joseph had said: and the dearth was in all lands; but in all land of Egypt there was bread. And when all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread…" (Gen. 41, 54-55). Failure of crops accelerated concentration of croplands under the control of elite and, consequently, strengthened its economic and political power and centralized state structures: "Let Pharaoh do this, and let him appoint officers over the land, and take up the fifth part of the land of Egypt in the seven plenteous years. And let them gather all the food of those good years that come, and lay up corn under the hand of Pharaoh, and let them keep food in the cities. And that food shall be for store to the land against the seven years of famine, which shall be in the land of Egypt; that the land perish not through the famine" (Gen. 41, 34-36).

Non-guaranteed success of farming paved the way for rivalry and militarization of policy implemented by the South Mesopotamian city-states; the series of metal weapons known from the Ur and Kish cemeteries of ED period are eloquent evidences of the terminal phase of this process. It seems highly probable that growth of urban population and risk of local bad harvests were among the reasons that forced the Uruk communities to organise long-distance trade expeditions and to set up colonies far beyond the borders of the alluvial plain. In G. Alagaze's opinion, the colonies were set up centrally by state with active participation of emigrants from Lower Mesopotamia (Algaze, 1989, 590). I should stress that the process encompassed Eastern Anatolia, the Upper Euphrates, and the Iranian plateau – regions very rich in copper and silver sources. In the Early and Middle

Bronze Ages (the 4 th and 3 rd millennia BC) Mesopotamian society was clearly marked by centralization and expansionism. We may conclude that formation of the "temple economy" was a unique reply to the challenge of specific geographic conditions and model of historical and cultural development.

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Pluralism, Vitality, and Transformability: A Case Study of Jining Religions in the Late Imperial and Republican Periods

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Abstract

This article depicts the dynamic demonstrations of religions in late imperial and republican Jining. It argues with evidences that the open, tolerant and advanced urban circumstances and atmosphere nurtured the diversity and prosperity of formal religions in Jining in much of the Ming and Qing periods. It also argues that the same air and ethos enabled Jining to less difficultly adapt to the West-led modern epoch, with a notable result of welcoming Christianity, quite exceptional in hinterland China.

Keywords: Jining, religions, urban, Grand Canal, hinterland, Christianity

I. Introduction: A Special Case beyond Conventional Scholarly Images

It seems a commonplace that intellectual and religious beliefs and practices in imperial Chinese inlands were conservative, which encouraged orthodoxy ideology or otherwise turned to heretic sectarianism. It is also commonplace that in the post-Opium War modern era, hinterland China, while being sluggishly appropriated into Westernized modernization, persistently resisted the penetration of Western values and institutes including Christianity. In particular in western Shandong, an eastern province in north China, a number of severe missionary conflict cases in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the subsequent Boxer Rebellion in 1900 marked it as a hectic hotbed of xenophobia or anti-foreignism. (Note 1)

Situated in southwestern Shandong, however, Jining city appeared pretty unique in nourishing multiple religions and cults yet snubbing heathenism in the late imperial period (Note 2), and then favoring Western civilizations including Christianity from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. What and how did this uniqueness manifest, what elements were accounted for this? In this article, I will first survey this distinctive religious existence prior to the mid-nineteen century when China began to be amalgamated into the stream of modern world history dominated by Western material and cultural powers. With an understanding of its post, I will then examine how Christianity spread in the greater Jining area, and why Jining was so special.

2. Religious Diversity and Prosperity in a Tolerant Grand Canal Port in the Late Imperial Period

Western Shandong was by and large a traditional agricultural area with lower commercialization and urbanization prior to the mid-Ming in the imperial period. However, during much of the Ming and Qing periods till the mid-nineteenth century, Jining remained as a metropolis along the Grand Canal, the lifeblood for the empires. Just seating in the middle-point of the Canal, there were enormous and intensive convergence and exchange of goods, institutes and human resources, which remodeled the economic orientation and identity of the locality. (Note 3) In the wake of the booming market economy channeled by the Grand Canal in the mid-Ming, a distinctive cultural flowering began to occur.

Geographically adjacent to Qufu, Confucius's hometown, and Zouxian, Mencius's hometown, Jining had a lasting leading tradition of Confucian studies. This tradition was mirrored by the large number of students who

were successful in passing the imperial civil service examination. (Note 4) As a result, Jining had a large and powerful local gentry-society. (Note 5) During the city's efflorescence, both elite culture and popular culture flourished. Nonetheless, different from most northern elites, Jining gentry's inclination to exert influence on mass culture by invoking Jining as "the sages' land" was largely ineffective in blunting the impact of commerce and communication on urban customs and urbanites' ways of thinking. This local cultural ethos robustly furthered vibrant popular culture and lifestyle in the everyday life in Jining city and its vicinities. (Note 6) In this liberal air, Many Buddhist, Daoist and Islamic cults and popular deities were widely worshiped by the populace, and the elite as well. This flourishing situation was quite extraordinary in the North.

In late imperial China, Buddhism was often juxtaposed with Confucianism by gentry elites. Jining's wealth provided financial resources for Buddhist undertakings, and a highly tolerant spirit in the local intellectual circles cherished its influence. In Jining there were several well-known Buddhist monasteries, which attracted pilgrimages both from neighboring countryside and afar. In addition, a variety of beliefs in Jining corresponded to diverse cultural, territorial and ethnic backgrounds. For example, Islam rapidly spread along the canal. To serve the large Muslim community, several ornate Islamic mosques were scattered throughout both the city and the suburbs. (Note 7) This colorful cultural montage conformed to the complex mixture of mobile population along the Canal.

In sum, the existence of the pantheon of deities and supernatural worship in urban Jining had to do with its open and fluid social environment, though Chinese local society used to be a polytheistic world. At the same time, despite its religious multiplicity, heterodox sects such as the White Lotus, Red Spear, Boxers - which were all widely active in western Shandong hinterland especially along the border between Shandong and Henan - were weak or nearly none in urban Jining and its immediate suburbs. (Note 8) Heretical teachings and doctrines only elicited interest in Jining's neighboring rural peripheries. Overall, Jining stayed away from seditious religious activities in western Shandong. It seems that a higher-degree and stable urban society and culture on one hand accommodated plural voices and lifestyles, yet on the other hand efficiently restrained the budding growth of any insurgent teachings and practice in the daily life of Jining urbanites, thus minimizing potential menace.

3. The Influx of Gospels in a Unique Hinterland City

Jining's emergence from obscurity was because of the rise of Grand Canal transportation in the early Ming. It was the Grand Canal that brought about vigor and mobility to Jining, as well as many other inland places along its route, and sustained its economic and cultural prosperity and dynamics in the late imperial period. However, from the mid-nineteenth century onward unprecedented natural and social domestic and international occurrences sharply eroded the foundation of Jining's success, along with the whole greater northern canal region. With the state no longer counting on the Grand Canal as the national artery, Jining and other northern canal cities were threatened with the ruin of their entire human and environmental equilibriums. The state otherwise shifted its strategic gravity to new enterprises in the coastal areas. (Note 9) Consequently, while the eastern coasts became new economic and cultural centers in light of the permeation of Western civilizations including capitalism or imperialism, the once-glorious northern canal areas were downgraded to hinterlands and even backwaters.

However, the undertakings by Jining's powerful and open-minded elites tried to hold back their locality's decline in the last quarter of the Qing. Knowing the significance of transportation from past experience, Jining elites promoted the construction of railways and modern road systems, which helped its initial modern economic transformation after the Western pattern of industrialization. (Note 10)Next, in the Republic epoch prior to the overall Japanese occupation in late 1937, regardless of endless political and social chaos, the changing elites and growing new urbanities engaged in building modern urban identity in their locality in devastated, impoverished rural western Shandong. (Note 11) As such, the continuity and rejuvenation of Jining's liberal and open environments and ethos enabled it adaptable to new values and fashions, as well as human, financial and institution resources from without. The significance of foreigners increased from the late nineteenth century and steadily influenced the everyday life of Jining people. Among them, Western missionaries and their churches, hospitals, schools, libraries and communities took the lead.

Based on privileges stemming from unequal treaties and powerful financial resources, Christianity became widespread in Shandong, though often caught in the fragile tensions which developed within antagonistic gentry, officials and masses, leading to numerous radical clashes in Shandong in the late Qing and early Republican periods. While western Shandong was constantly mired in endless legal and violent conflicts, in Jining there were no severe clashes with missionaries. (Note 12) Most of violence was related to unofficial local armed societies or secrete societies that could organize effective actions. The famous Juye missionary tragedy occurred

in 1897 near Jining. (Note 13)

The Catholic Divine Word Society was the first to arrive in Jining. In 1882, the Austrian priest Joseph Freinademetz (1852-1908) and the German priest Johann Baptist von Anzer (1851-1903) came to Jining to open the southern Shandong diocese (for Yanzhou, Yizhou, Caozhou and Jining prefectures) for the Society of Divine Word. (Note 14) Their arrival first introduced a Western religion into the local community. They wore Chinese clothing, spoke the dialect, and performed Chinese rites and local customs. Joseph Freinademetz even braided a Manchu queue. Initially, their missionary achievements were mainly in rural areas in Yanzhou, Jining and Caozhou territories. Until 1891, they had only established a chapel in Jining city with a dozen converts. But, with the increase of the German presence in Shandong, they gradually expanded their influence. In 1894, a magnificent church was constructed in the southeastern ward of the town by Joseph Freinademetz. This Greek architectural-style building was 720 square meters large, and its peak was 165 meters high, and it could house a congregation of 1,200 persons. In 1898 the resolution of the 1897 Juye incident was the legitimization of Germany's priority of presence in Shandong. The Chinese indemnities provided Joseph Freinademetz and Johann Baptist von Anzer plenty of funds to repair and construct churches. After the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, Germany steadily expanded its hegemony in Shandong, which also ushered in an era of unprecedented growth in evangelization. (Note 15)

The German Divine Word Society took Jining as the center of its mission in southwestern Shandong. In Daizhuang village, 4 kilometers north of Jining, they occupied the acclaimed Jin Yuan historical garden in 1887, and established an enormous church compound with comprehensive facilities on land of 200 *mu*. It owned around 3,000 *mu* farmland in rural Jining County in the 1910s. During the Japanese occupation, people often sought refuge from the enemy in Daizhuang village which once shielded about 200,000. (Note 16) According to a statistical investigation in the early 1950s, Catholic churches established one middle school, two elementary schools, one girls' school, one normal school, and four hospitals in Jining. (Note 17)

Protestant missions arrived in tandem with Catholic missions. In 1887, an American Presbyterian pastor Gilbert Reid (1857-1927) reached Jining. (Note 18) Gradually Jining was developed into a major headquarters for the Presbyterian mission, which quickly expanded its influence, mostly in the urban and suburban areas. The famous American missionary Calvin Wilson Mateer (1836-1908) once worked in Jining. Presbyterian missionaries in Jining concentrated on establishing hospitals and schools. The mission had subsidiary schools from kindergarten to college, and several hospitals. These establishments emphasized training Chinese personnel.

Besides religious and institutional works, the Presbyterians showed their enthusiasm in reshaping social customs by proposing or organizing the following broad social curriculums in both their schools and in public, and all these programs and activities promoted interest in new life styles and colored the cityscape. They were: 1) Sport matches. Periodic sports meetings were held seasonally. 2) Modern drama performances. 3) Women's liberation such as abolishing foot-binding, stylish haircuts, and equal right to go to school. 4) Free marriage, gender equality. 5) Anti-illiteracy campaigns. 6) Quiz games. 7) Introduction of Western music and instruments. (Note 19)American Baptist missionaries arrived in Jining a little later. Their first missionary was a Chinese named Li Shouting who formally formed the first Baptist society in Jining in 1918. With such as foothold, the Chinese and American Baptist ministers worked effectively together so that since the mid-1930s Jining had become a Baptist mission center for the surrounding area. (Note 20)

Both Catholic and Protestant missionaries combined missionary and social welfare jobs and therefore expanded their influence. At the beginning, they provided free medical treatment and free immunization. They grew fast in the early Republican period. In all of Shandong in 1914, there were about 454 Protestant priests and 35 missionary doctors. (Note 21) According to a Japanese statistics in 1938, there were 107 Catholic and Protestant ministers in Jining County who mostly lived in the city. (Note 22) A report from the Communist police dated on August 11, 1948 shows there were then three Catholic churches with 918 converts, and five Protestant churches with 633 converts. Among the 3,641 adherents who were attached to a dozen religious institutions and superstitious practice throughout the whole county, the number of Christian believers in total surpassed the number of formal converts of any single domestic religion. (Note 23) In contrast, Buddhism and Daoism began to decline. The 1927 county gazetteer compilers admit the fading of Buddhism, most of whose temples had fallen down. (Note 24)

There were scattered records about other Western professionals' activities in commerce, industry and other arenas, but no extant statistics have been found. (Note 25) In short, foreign missionaries or professionals may have favored Jining because of its regional importance and its relatively tolerant and stable urban condition. The escalating foreign presence in Jining meant the city was drawn within the influence of globalization. Through

this process Western religions made serious inroads into life in this interior city. These changes in the urban space of Jining provided people with more choices in careers and values.

4. Conclusion: Cultural and Religious Dynamic in a Liberal Interior

Located in an intermediate position of the north-south nationwide transportation and communication via the Grand Canal, multiple socio-cultural characters took root in late imperial Jining in spite of the mainstream of Confucianism. This was why formal religions, especially Buddhism, prospered, and at the same time due to its advanced urbanity, vulgar, secret, or insubordinate sectarianism and superstitions did not gain toehold in Jining.

From the late nineteenth century, Jining faced challenges beyond yet a dynastic cycle: not only the decline of canal transportation but also unprecedented changes in the national economic network and mode of production brought about by the alien forces of modernity, capitalism, and Christianity. New changes dramatically occurred in religious and cultural realms in Jining owing to the growing foreign presence. Among them, Western missionaries' evangelical undertakings including their hospitals, churches, schools, libraries and communities took the lead. Foreign missionaries and professionals may have favored Jining because of its relatively tolerant and stable urban condition, uncommon in the interior. As early as 1880, a German Catholic missionary working in Jining observed: "there is a much better opening for work in outside preaching here than at Tsi Nan (Jinan)." (Note 26)

From the changes of the religious situations in Jining, we can see certain general features in modern Chinese society. The advent of Western guns, goods, industry, modernity, capitalism and civilizations fundamentally reshaped the structure and trajectory of China. Eastern coasts, exemplified in the great trade ports such as Shanghai, Tianjin, Canton and Qingdao, took the lead in the modernization scheme of "learning from the West," while Jining, unlike most hinterlands that fell into backwardness or bankruptcy, also effectively followed this grand trend.

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Notes

Note 1. See case analyses in chapters 5-9 in Joseph Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*.

Note 2. In Western scholarship, the term "late imperial period" has been designated as a relatively distinct yet integral "longue durée" encompassing the Ming and Qing dynasties.

Note 3. See references in the second chapter "Canal-Oriented Economy and Urbanization" of my dissertation: Jinghao Sun, "City, State, and the Grand Canal: Jining's Identity and Transformation, 1289-1937." (Dissertation, the University of Toronto, 2007). In this chapter, I have examined how the Grand Canal route produced a commercially developed corridor on the North China Plain which subsequently induced urbanization. This specific path of urbanization implied that from the very beginning the fortunes of the new urban centers in this canal zone principally relied on the government-run canal transportation and trade.

Note 4. Joseph Esherick assumes that Jining was one of places in Shandong with the highest rate of ju-ren holders in the Qing. *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, 13.

Note 5. See references under the section titled "Gentry Society and Local Power Structure" in my dissertation "City, State, and the Grand Canal," 131-144.

Note 6. About Jining gentry's enterprise to remake the local cultural identity, see Jinghao Sun, "A Southern Identity in North China: the Making of Jining Urban Culture in the Late Imperial Period." *Late Imperial China*, Vo. 32, no. 2 (December 2011), 34-73.

Note 7. Xiao Hesheng and Tang Chengtao, "Jining de huizu he yisilan jiao," *Wenshi ziliao* (Shizhong qu), no. 4 (1988): 189-212.

Note 8. Joseph Esherick's scrutiny of the Boxer Rebellion indicates that backward western Shandong provided cultural soils for subversive thoughts. *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, 15-17.

Note 9. Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Making of A Hinterland: State, Society, and Economy in Inland North China, 1853-1937*, 155-159.

Note 10. See detailed data in Jinghao Sun, "Resisting Marginalization in Late Qing China: Local Dynamics in Jining's Initial Modern Transformation, 1881-1911." *East Asia: An International Quarterly*, Vol. 26, issue 3 (September 2009): 191-212.

Note 11. See references in Jinghao Sun, "Building Urban Modernity in Hinterland China: Jining's Transition during the Early Republic (1912-1937)." *Journal of Asian History*, 44-1 (August 2010): 1-36.

Note 12. Joseph Freinademetz and Johann Baptist von Anzer were once attacked and tortured by villagers in Caozhou in the 1880s. Lu Yao et al., eds., *Shandong yihetuan diaocha ziliao xuanbian*, 4.

Note 13. On November 1, 1897, two German Catholic priests Francis Xavier Nies and Richard Henle left their headquarters in Jining and were killed by swordsmen in Juye County. Lu Yao et al., eds., *Shandong yihetuan diaocha ziliao xuanbian*, 39-43. Joseph W. Esherick, *The Origin of the Boxer Uprising*, 123.

Note 14. Pope Leo XIII divided Shandong into northern, southern and eastern dioceses in 1885. References from Zhang Yufa, *Zhongguo xiandaihua de quyu yanjiu: Shandong sheng*, 161.

Note 15. Liu Huabing's manuscript on Johann Baptist von Anzer.

Note 16. Primary source were a few interviews collected in Lu Yao and others, eds., *Shandong yihetuan diaocha ziliao xuanbian*, 43-44. Other data from various manuscripts in the mid-1980s: Yuan Jingbo on the history of the Jin Garden—"Jining Jinyuan shihua"; Han Xuhe on history of Daizhuang village - "Daizhuang jinxi"; Zhao Chengdong on the history of Cathedral at Doujichang of Jining, "Jining Doujichang tianzhujiao zongtang jishi." In addition, see Zhao Chengdong's general survey "Mantan Jining de tianzhu jiaohui," *Wenshi ziliao* (Shizhong qu), no. 4 (1988): 213-246.

Note 17. From an anonymous author's chart of former subsidiary Catholic institutions in the urban and suburban districts of Jining entitled "Jining shizhong qu tianzhu jiao yuan fushu jigou qingkuang biao."

Note 18. "Jining de jige diyi."

Note 19. An anonymous manuscript on Presbyterians in Jining: "Jidu jiao zhanglao hui zai Jining"; another anonymous manuscript on Paifang street: "Jining Paifang jie jiaohui jian jie."

Note 20. Dai Yutian's manuscript on the history of "Christian Church" in Huangjia street of Jining: "Jining Huangjia jie yesu jiaotang kaishi chuangban."

Note 21. Zhang Yufa, *Zhongguo xiandaihua de quyu yanjiu: Shandong sheng*, 162.

Note 22. Data from a Japanese Mantetsu secret report of Jining: "Rikou zai Jining xian de yifen mimi baogao," *Wenshi ziliao* (Rencheng qu), no. 9 (1995): 16.

Note 23. Statistics from Jining Police office, August 11, 1948, in the archive in Shizhong qu: "Huidao men mixin tuanti tongji biao."

Note 24. *Jining xianzhi* (1927), 2.75a.

Note 25. With the increasing advance of Japan in inland China, Japanese merchants quickly grew in Jining. Just before the Japanese incursion in 1938, there were about 300 Japanese who ran grocery stores, restaurants, hotels, workshops, and transportation companies, or acted as merchant agents. The Chinese version of the Mantetsu secret report "Rikou zai Jining xian de yifen mimi baogao," *Wenshi ziliao* (Rencheng qu), no. 9 (1995): 15-16.

Note 26. Jaspers S. McIlvanie's letter of July 5, 1880. Shandong Provincial Archive, J 109-01-12.

Glossary

Caozhou 曹州

Daizhuang 戴庄

Jin Yuan 荩园

Jining 济宁

ju-ren 举人

Juye 巨野

Qufu 曲阜

Yanzhou 兖州

Yizhou 沂州

Zouxian 邹县

A Social Theoretical Interpretation of Dai Zhen's Critique of Neo-Confucianism

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Abstract

This study analyzes and evaluates the social thought of Dai Zhen. It interprets Dai's thought in terms of a critique of ideology that problematizes *Song* dynasty Neo-Confucian moral vocabulary. Dai thinks that social critique is the ultimate goal of scholarship and he was explicit about this belief. This study will show that he analyzes the negative social consequences of *Song* Neo-Confucian moral discourse in sociologically sophisticated ways, and that he has developed this understanding through a series of works that began with *Yuanshan* (*The Origin of Goodness*) and ended with *Mengzi Ziyi Suzheng* (*Commentaries on the Meaning of Terms in* Mencius). Contemporary social theorist and cultural critics should find Dai's work relevant because his deconstruction of the reified moral vocabulary of his times is postmodern in spirit and he elucidated how discourses can concretely impact on society.

Keywords: Dai Zhen, Neo-confucianism, social theory, Qing China

1. Introduction

Dai Zhen (1724-1777) has been a favorite topic of intellectual historical analysis in the early Twentieth Century and the last few decades (Li, 2005; Tiwald, 2008). His philosophical project, published mainly in *Yuanshan* (*The Origin of Goodness*) (thereafter represented by YS) and *Mengzi Ziyi Suzheng* (*Commentaries on the Meaning of Terms in* Mencius) (thereafter represented by SZ), has attracted many contested interpretations (Note 1). Scholars have approached Dai's thought from a broad range of perspectives including philology, ontology, ethics, social theory, human nature and psychology, culture, and epistemology. Among them, it is the perspective of social theory that is least well articulated. Part of the reason is that many Chinese scholars were previously pressured to interpret Dai's social thought in orthodox Marxist terms and international scholars tend to interpret it as crude utilitarianism (eg. Hu, 1986; Shao, 1985). More importantly, the majority of discussions of Dai's thought have been carried out exclusively on the basis of his contention with Neo-Confucian philosophy in the *Song* dynasty and interpretations of it, or *Songxue* (*Song* Learning).

However, as I will show in this study, Dai takes the social consequences of *Song* Neo-Confucian thoughts, rather than the contents of *Song* Neo-Confucian thoughts as such, to be the ultimate object of his critique. Hence exploring Dai's analysis of social problems resulted from *Song* Learning and his solutions to those problems are central to understanding of Dai's thought. This study will adopt this seldom explored perspective and interpret Dai's two theoretical treatises as a social theoretical critique of the ideological consequences of *Song* Neo-Confucian moral vocabulary.

2. Characterizing Dai Zhen's Social Thought: An Ideological Critique of *Song* Neo-Confucianism

Although the social relevance of Dai's thought has been recognized by numerous interpreters including Chinese Marxist ones, they have earned him not much more than the title of a 'materialist' philosopher and the reputation of being 'progressive.' Such interpretations are not invalid, but Dai can be appreciated more fully if scholars examine how exactly he directed and developed his social critique. I treat Dai's discussion of *Song* Neo-Confucianism as a critique of the undesirable social consequences which follows from the invention and subsequent cultural pervasiveness of a set of *Song* Neo-Confucian moral concepts (Note 2). In contemporary terminology, we may see such a project as deconstruction or a social theoretical critique of ideology. The concept 'critique of ideology' particular is useful for highlighting: i) how Dai understands the close relationship between society and thought, and ii) how that understanding motivated the development of his positions and arguments on social thought through time. Before illustrating these two aspects of Dai's thought, I will first

define clearly what a 'critique of ideology' is.

This study borrows from the classical theory of ideology formulated by Karl Mannheim (Note 3). According to him, any cultural products can potentially function as ideology or contain ideology. Ideology can originate from a broad range of items, not only knowledge in the narrow sense but literature, thoughts, moral value, and other elements of 'superstructure.' Such a broad definition of ideology subsumes a range of different understandings of the generation and the mechanisms of ideology. At an extreme is the often criticized simplistic view: ideology as a piece of cultural artifact intentionally fabricated by an actor — who is often at the same time its benefactor — for the sake of legitimating an otherwise illegitimate oppression on other action. Mannheim calls this understanding a 'partial' conception of ideology. Then there is the 'total' conception of ideology, referring to symbols produced by intellectuals that are utilized to legitimize the actions of certain actors, who may or may not be connected to the intellectuals who produce the ideology. In both these conceptions, the implication is that ideology reflects the material condition of society and that it is systematically sustained. But there is a significant difference between the first and second conceptions: the second does not at all suppose ideology is created in an intended and purposeful way by a dominant group for a particular purpose or for a particular occasion.

The third conception of ideology, the 'non-evaluative' one, also perceives ideology as legitimating devices for a dominant group's control over others. However, there is no determinate or law-like relationship between the producers and the benefactors of ideology, between social-economic circumstances and ideology, or between the original intentions of producers of ideology and the social consequences of those products. To understand such relationships for any particular ideology, one has to investigate the contents of that particular piece of ideology and the specific social circumstance in which the ideology pervades. The third conception of ideology is the most sophisticated and appropriate one for analyzing the cultural complexities of contemporary societies. I will show that Dai criticized the ideological mechanisms of *Song* Neo-Confucian moral vocabulary in a few different ways along these three understandings of ideology. I will first examine his earlier formulations in the YS, which are close to the 'partial' conception of ideology. More sophisticated formulations that resemble the second and third conceptions of ideology are reached in the SZ.

3. Dai's Concern for the Negative Social Consequences of *Song* Neo-Confucian Moral Vocabulary

The last six entries of Chapter 3 in YS deal explicitly with politics. These entries are markedly different from the other sections of the book, which mainly engage in philological discussion of philosophical vocabulary (Note 4). Entries 13 and 14 focus on the critique of the *xiaoren* (ie. inferior and evil people, the opposite of *junzi* (gentlemen). Among the deeds of the *xiaoren*, he emphasizes how their 'obsequiousness' and 'wickedness' can deceive the ruler and bring ruin to the people. However, such a critique seems slightly hackneyed and formalistic because Dai does not specify concretely how the *xiaoren* functions in socio-political ways. This may be the reason that relatively few have investigated into Dai's social thought and that those who did never make anything out of these two passages. But there are a few observations to be made here. Firstly, Dai demonstrates, though only vaguely, an emphasis of deception as a main cause to problems in governance. Secondly, if one takes into account Entry 12 in which Dai has explicitly denounced factionalism in the government, one may see that Dai was expressing dissatisfaction at his contemporary political arrangements through the dichotomy between the *xiaoren* and the gentlemen. Finally, in terms of the critique of ideology, Dai's adheres here to the 'partial' conception classified by Mannheim. He finds that the *xiaoren* is motivated to illegitimately grab political authority and *xiaoren*'s efforts to mask that illegitimacy greatly help them to gain power.

If the social critique made in Entries 13 and 14 of YS seems a bit vague and irrelevant, the frequently cited passage in Entry 15 represent a more concrete formulation.

> Those in position are usually indifferent to virtue and good at deception [...] a result is that the people also deceive and become unruly in return [...] [Social disorder] is not due to the people's nature, but the greed and cruelty [of those in high positions]. The origin of social disorder is seldom not derived from problems at the top. But then disorder often flows to the bottom and burden the masses below. [*Song* Neo-Confucians] does not understand this, so that they say "the deeds of the people are not virtuous." To blame the masses on this ground is a serious misunderstanding (Hu, 1986: 166).

When Dai refers to 'those in high positions,' he can be criticizing both the *xiaoren* and the monarch. He accuses those in position to be either guilty of being 'greedy' or 'cruel,' but he seems to be exculpating them from what the *xiaoren* is guilty of, namely, the premeditated intention to deceive. Dai suggests that *si* (selfishness) and *bi* (becloudedness) are the two major vices. "Those in position steal from the people" but they do not sense that they utilize the moral vocabulary of *shan* (virtue) inappropriately. Hence they truly "seriously misunderstand" and their problem is becloudedness. The *xiaoren*, in contrast, insidiously deceives and their problem is selfishness.

What is emphatic in this entry is Dai's demonstration of how the seemingly innocuous moral term, *shan*, can become a tool of self-assurance for those in political position. It is a device for displacing objection to the actual misdeeds done to the ruled. The positioning of this entry at the ending of the whole work is not accidental or insignificant. The philosophical engagement in Chapters 1 and 2 composes the theoretical basis of invalidating and undermining the conceptual integrity of the *Song* Neo-Confucian notion of *shan*. The bulk of Chapters 1 and 2 of YS is composed of a philosophical repudiation of the dichotomy between *xingershang* (the metaphysical) and *xinge xia* (the physical), the offering of alternative moral basis such as *ziran* (the natural) and *bieran* (the necessary), the intellectualization of *ren* (benevolence), *li* (ritual) and *yi* (righteousness), the argument that human desire as basically good, and the demonstration of desire's direct connection to nature, principle, and righteousness. These points are well explicated by contemporary philosophical exegesis of Dai's thought; I need not elaborate on them in this article.

All these threads of arguments would neatly weave together into his social critique when they are interpreted as the theoretical basis upon which he de-legitimizes the moral authority of the concept of *shan*. Against the conventional concept of *shan*, Dai proposes alternative basis of morality: desires which include "food, drink and sexual activities" and "the love of life and fear for death" (Hu, 1986: 164). His arguments against prioritizing the metaphysical over the physical, desires, and human nature do not only amount to a critique of the contents of *Song* Learning, but is also directed toward the destruction of moral and socio-political authority that the concept of *shan* offered to 'those in high positions.'

Dai's social critique of *Song* Neo-Confucian vocabulary as the main objective of his philosophical project may not have been lucidly and systematically enunciated in the YS, but it came to be explicitly expressed by the time he finished SZ in 1777. In the preface to SZ, Dai elaborates his purpose of engaging *Song* Neo-Confucianism through commenting on Mencius' self-justification of being contentious.

The reason [of Dai's being contentious] is that erroneous words do not just end with words. They change and influence the minds of people. A mind which is beclouded will do injury to the conducting of affairs and to government [...] Their [ie. the *Song* Neo-Confucians'] words have deeply influenced people's minds. Thus they are causing harm without the people ever being conscious of them (Hu, 1986: 164).

Dai concludes SZ with the same message. In the epilogue, he asks why he needs to attack the *Song* Neo-Confucians and he answers,

Alas! If the doctrines of these men did not do injury to practices and policies and result in great harm to the people, I would have honored them. Why do I dislike them? Because I worry about [their contamination of] people's minds (Hu, 1986: 238).

Dai repeatedly stated that his ultimate concern in attacking *Song* Neo-Confucianism is social critique. This is a point that contemporary interpreters have not taken sufficiently seriously. When we turn to Dai's last letters, one to an anonymous person and another to Duan Yucai, Dai showed a very similar attitude. He first admits that contentiousness is not a valuable thing because scholars "of his time should not do research for the mere purpose of developing alternative philosophies like the *Song* Neo-Confucians." But then he immediately quotes his favorite Mencius passage in full form in order to explain why he has to be contentious and to 'develop an alternative philosophy' himself.

Mencius says, "What is generated in the mind can do injury to governance, what is carried out according to governance policies can hurt in practice." They [the *Song* Neo-Confucians] think that they have grasped the heavenly principles, but there are many people in the world who practically suffer from their mis-thinking (Hu, 1986: 256).

In one of the last pieces of Dai's written work, he recapitulated the orientation of his whole philological and philosophical project.

Song Neo-Confucians slighted evidential and philological scholarship, language, and words. [...] I have worked on these fields for more than 30 years, and clearly understand that *the causes of order and disorder reside there* [ie. words] (Hu, 1986: 257) (my italics).

It is remarkable that Dai did not revert to his often used framework of the relationship among the three elements of scholarship (philology, literature, and moral principles). He could have attributed the ultimate goal of scholarship to moral principles, but instead he specifically attributes it to social and political order in the previous citation (Note 5).

Dai's philological arguments in the SZ against the *Song* Neo-Confucian repertoire of moral vocabulary— most notably those made against *li* (principles), *qi* (the physical), *yu* (desires), *xing* (human nature), *ren* (benevolence), *yi* (righteousness), *li* (ritual), *qing* (emotions), and *dao* (the way) — form a theoretical basis that undermines of

the moral persuasion of these concepts. These exercises are similar and parallel to Dai's intricate deconstruction of *shan* and other moral concepts in the YS. What Dai sought to achieve in his philological critique of *Song* Neo-Confucian vocabulary in SZ include: the reconciliation of *li* (principles) and *qi* (the physical), reconciliation between *li* (ritual) and *yu* (desires), the rescue of *cai* (utility), *zhi* (materiality) ,and *xing* (human nature) from being conceptualized as inherently evil, establishment of *si* (selfishness) and *bi* (decloudedness) as the major vices, opposition against the intellectualization of ancient Confucian terms such as *qing* (emotions), and the revival of classical Confucian concepts including *chuan* (weighing). On the philosophical and theoretical level of examination, there is a shift of critique from *shan* in YS to *li* (principles) in SZ. On the level of social critique, the most important shift from YS to SZ was that Dai supplied in SZ a detailed, concrete analysis of the intellectual production, social operation, and specific benefactors of *Song* Neo-Confucian moral concepts, which is what I will examine in the following section.

4. Dai's Analysis of the Social Implications of *Song* Neo-Confucian Moral Vocabulary

I will start with Dai's examination of the production of ideology. There are two accounts of the production of ideology in the YS. There is first the *xiaoren* who deceives those in ruling positions and who robs the people. In this case, ideology is simply the lies told by *xiaoren* for their own benefit. This is hence a 'partial' conception of ideology. Then there are 'those in high positions' who make insidious use of currently available, authoritative moral vocabulary such as *shan*. Dai did not discuss the exact origin of that vocabulary in YS, although it is presumably initiated by ancient Confucians. But in the SZ, Dai explicitly points his fingers at the *Song* Neo-Confucianists (especially Zhu Xi) accusing them as promoters of this ideology. Dai's shift from sympathizing with the *Song* Neo-Confucians in his early works towards vehement attacks of them in his later works has been well-documented. (Qian, 1980; Yu, 1977). It needs no elaboration. But it is important to notice that Dai changed his understanding of producers of ideology in this shift. His attack of *Song* Neo-Confucians was actually coordinated with an abandonment of his previous critique of the *xiaoren* and his 'partial' conception of ideology. Dai explains in SZ why he came to think that a critique focusing on the *xiaoren* is inadequate.

The harm which [...] *xiaoren* can do to future generations is quite obvious to everybody. The harm to future generations caused by those generally regarded as superior men of wisdom is not so obvious because people consider them correct and hasten to follow them. Their words deeply influence people's minds, thus causing seriously injury without anyone knowing it (Hu, 1986: 169-170).

Although Dai sees the *Song* Neo-Confucians as a culprit, he is not being sarcastic in reminding us that they are "gentlemanly philosophers." Dai claims that they have distorted classical Confucian concepts and produced ideology but does not impute to them the insidious power-hungry intentions of the *xiaoren*. Dai sees the producers of ideology as dissociated from the benefactors of it. *Song* Neo-Confucians did not illegitimately gain political power from the moral vocabulary they invented. Dai admits that the *Song* Neo-Confucians genuinely "carry out in their daily conduct what they profess" (Hu, 1986: 238).

Another observation of Dai's analysis of the production of ideology is that despite the seeming abruptness of his shift towards critiquing *Song* Neo-Confucians, there is logical continuity of it with earlier critiques in YS. The critique of moral vocabulary being used as the legitimating tool by dominant groups is already present in YS, as I have shown. Because *Song* Neo-Confucians produced the supportive moral vocabulary, they are inevitably responsible for the problems that the vocabulary causes. This logic alone may not be enough to prompt him to turn from an earlier reconciliatory stance regarding *Han* learning and *Song* learning to an all-out repudiation of *Song* learning, but it was a factor additional to intellectual pressures from Dai's fellow *Han* Learning scholars.

The second part of Dai's ideological critique deals with how ideology operates. Dai provides a more sophisticated explanation of how ideology operates in SZ than in YS. Dai points out that *Song* Neo-Confucians' philosophical and philological reinterpretations of classical Confucianism have become the orthodoxy beginning from the *Ming* dynasty. This moral vocabulary pervaded even at the lowest strata of society.

Presently, even the stupidest of men - though boorish and crude - will often appeal to *li* (principles) whenever he makes a decision or starts a dispute with someone (Hu, 1986: 175).

Being widely available, *Song* Neo-Confucian moral vocabulary could be utilized by any socially dominant group and not just those in high office.

Thus those who rely on their imposing manners, who take advantage of their position of authority, and who are clever in speech are able to promote their [versions of] *li* (principles). Those who are weak, irresolute, and incapable of arguing convincingly are forced to yield to the other people's [versions of] *li* (Hu, 1986: 175).

To illustrate the operation of *Song* Neo-Confucian ideology, Dai further draws attention to the ease with which *Song* Neo-Confucian moral concepts can be used for legitimation. Dai thinks that there is an inherent tendency of the *Song* concept of *li* to allow one to enforce one's personal, interested opinions as absolute and universal moral principles.

Since the *Song*, people learn [about *Song* Neo-Confucian moral vocabulary] from one other. It has become customary for people to think of *li* as if it were a thing acquired from heaven and endowed in one's heart-and mind. As a result, personal opinions are taken to be *li* (Hu, 1986: 175).

The third part of Dai's critique of ideology investigates those who benefit from ideology. He does not think the *Song* Neo-Confucians were the major benefactors of Song Neo-Confucian moral vocabulary. The X*iaoren* and the politically powerful (who included local social elites, members of the literati-officials class, and the imperial house) are benefactors but they are not the only ones. Dai emphasizes that in everyday practice, people from a wide range of social strata mobilize *li* to their advantage and/or to hurt others. Regardless of the absolute social positions of the agents involved, social interactions of many kinds are plagued by *Song* Neo-Confucian ideology.

The exalted reprove their inferior on the basis of *li*; elders reprove their juniors on the basis of *li*; the noble and rich also reprove ordinary folks on the basis of *li* (Hu, 1986: 182).

Dai finds that in addition to the fully conscious benefactors and the semi-conscious one who purposefully utilized *Song* thought as ideology, there is also a morally different group of benefactors. This group genuinely intended to be moral and was otherwise upright, but they are misled by *Song* Neo-Confucian moral vocabulary to conduct and judge affairs in socially oppressive ways. This type of 'benefactors,' as Dai sees it, are actually as much a prey to ideology as those they unintentionally hurt.

Such a person may be honest and unselfish, but when it comes to making a decision or a judgment on another person, he relies on his own opinions and regards what he thinks is right to be right and what he thinks wrong to be wrong. Although he believes he is upright and serious and he treats evil as an enemy, he fails to realize that the circumstances of affairs are difficult to ascertain, and that it is easy to be partial and lose [an objective sense of] right and wrong. Consequently, others can frequently suffer injustice because of this person — without this person ever realizing his mistakes. Or perhaps after the [unjust] event he becomes awakened, but by then remorse would be of no help (Hu, 1986: 175; Chin and Freeman, 1990: 74).

He attaches great importance to this newly discovered group of unintended ideologues— it is illustrated in his prioritizing of the fight against *bi* (becloudedness) over that against *si* (selfishness). He claims that "in both ancient and contemporary times, there is no scarcity of stern and upright men who hold firmly to whatever everyone considers to be important and unimportant" (Hu, 1986: 231; Chin and Freeman, 1990: 166). He thinks that the specific problem with this group is not about corruption and selfishness, but the pursuit of virtue led astray by becloudedness. Hence he thinks dispelling becloudedness is practically and logically prior to countering selfishness.

The words of the sages have always encouraged men to search for what is the most correct, to see it and act upon it. In seeking for what is most correct, it is necessary first to know [what is most correct]. Any [teachings] that urge us to get rid of our selfishness instead of dispelling our becloudedness or that emphasize practice before knowledge is not the teaching of the sages (Hu, 1986: 235).

Dai's evolution from a critique of the *xiaoren* to that of morally upright actors misled by the *Song* Neo-Confucian moral concepts did not only intensify his denouncement of *Song* Learning's as heterodoxy. It represented a deepening of the understanding of how ideology affects society. In Chinese intellectual history, poignant appeals to root out certain thoughts by branding them as heterodox was common and claims that heterodox thoughts corrupt society and politics are also not rare. But to analyze the negative social mechanisms of heterodox thought is a step that many fervent defenders of Confucian orthodox have not taken.

After interpreting the contents of Dai's critique of ideology, it is time to evaluate whether the critique is tenable and justified. I have shown that Dai respects the personal moral uprightness of the *Song* Neo-Confucians. Whether he over-emphasizes the social consequences of *Song* Neo-Confucian moral vocabulary is an empirical historical question worth exploring. But if one grants that Dai's portrayal of *Song* Neo-Confucian moral concepts' problematic functioning in mid-Qing society is accurate, one can understand why he sees supplanting the moral vocabulary as a solution to social problems of his times. Solutions to these particular social problems required no military, political and economic battles, because no such actions can undermine *Song* Neo-Confucian moral vocabulary's pervasive influence. The confrontation is an intellectual one— that between the popular reputation of *Song* Learning and reaction of *Han* Learning scholars such as Dai Zhen. His sense of responsibility (or self-importance) can be glimpsed through his numerous exclamations when he refers to the

social consequences of *Song* thought. He strived to undermine the formidable academic authority and the firmly established cultural popularity of *Song* Neo-Confucian moral vocabulary. And he saw it as the first step in moving Qing dynasty's social culture away from *Song* Neo-Confucianism and towards (a *Han* Learning reformulation of) classical Confucian moral discourse.

Dai's sense of urgency and his emphasis on social critique have caused him to abandon some of the proper procedures of philosophical argumentation. Most notably, he has been criticized for not fully engaging the fine points of Neo-Confucian thought, Buddhism, and Taoism. In this sense, Chan Wing-tsit's (1963) critique that Dai has misread the Neo-Confucians and Zhang Taiyan's (1978: 123) charge that Dai should have paid more serious attention to Legalism and Taoism are basically sound. Nevertheless, there are many instances of which an imperfect understanding of *Song* Neo-Confucianism is not fatal to Dai's social thought. For example, even if Dai was misled when he thought that "*Song* Neo-Confucians perceived principle as a reified thing" (Chan, 1963: 722), many of the arguments in Dai's social theoretical critique of Neo-Confucian ideology remain unaffected. For example, Dai's contention that the dichotomy of principle and desire created a powerful legitimating device for those in power to justify social injustice would still be intact.

5. Conclusion

The previous analyses have re-interpreted Dai Zhen's critique of Neo-Confucianism through the lens of social theory. I showed that Dai's thought can be understood as a critique of ideology that focuses on Song Neo-Confucian moral vocabulary. Evidences in Dai's texts have been presented to demonstrate that he was very concerned about social critique — more so than most of his interpreters have acknowledged. Dai has been primarily known as a philologist and only secondarily appraised as a social thinker by contemporary scholars. But I have shown that he regarded social critique as the ultimate goal of scholarship and he was explicit about this belief. It was uncommon for Late Imperial Chinese thinkers to dedicate so explicitly and deeply to social critique. This makes Dai one of the most intellectually distinctive and socially important thinkers in the Qing period, and this is recognized by his contemporaries and by current scholars.

The previous analysis also illustrated that Dai understanding of the negative social consequences of *Song* Neo-Confucian moral discourse is theoretically complex. He has developed these understanding through a series of works that began with YS and ended with SZ. Contemporary social and cultural critics should find Dai's work interesting and relevant. His deconstruction of the reified moral vocabulary of the time was quite postmodern in spirit and it elucidated how moral discourse subtly yet powerfully impact on society. Beyond this deconstructionist effort, however, Dai has also made serious efforts to reconstruct. In passages unexplored in this study, he attempted to build a socially desirable moral vocabulary based on his reinterpretations of classical Confucianism. He wished that these could substitute the *Song* Neo-Confucian vocabulary. How exactly Dai constructed this moral vocabulary and what its contents are will be meaningful topics for further research.

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Notes

Note 1. Qian Mu thinks that Dai does not recognize the central meaning of classical Confucian thoughts. But Hu Shih thinks that Dai is too much constrained by the classical Confucianism. While many acknowledge Dai's anti-*Song* stance, Feng Youlan argues that Dai's thought resembled Wang Yangming's and Yu Yingshi shows that Dai was very much indebted to Zhu Xi. Although intellectual historians of Chinese political thought such as Hsiao Kung-ch'uen do not take Dai as a political thinker at all, China's Marxist interpreters of Dai, Hu Shi and Liang Qichao claim Dai had revolutionary social-political relevance. On the one hand, Zhang Taiyan deplores

Dai's adherence to the Confucian tradition of neglecting Legalism. On the other, Fang Dongshu objects to Dai's deviation from the Confucianist emphasis on morality.

Note 2. The term 'Song Neo-Confucian thought' tends to conflate numerous Neo-Confucian thinkers together and as such it is not an accurate term for classifying philosophical thoughts. However, given that Dai Zhen often used the term 'Song Confucians' (songru) to collectively refer to Song dynasty Confucian scholars and scholarship. Dai takes the term to mean a range of Neo-Confucian moral vocabulary popularized in the Ming and mid-Qing periods. I do not adopt Dai's exact terminology in this paper. Instead I use the term 'Song Neo-Confucianists' to mean what Dai mean by songru.

Note 3. The fullest account of Mannheim's definition of different conceptions of culture is found is his (1936) Ideology and Utopia. Among his contemporary interpreters, the clearest and most systematic account is Brian Longhurst (1989).

Note 4. I base my translation of paragraphs of YS and SZ on Hu Shi (1986), Cheng Zhongying (1969), Ch'in Ann-ping and Mansfield Freeman (1990). Hence I provide citations of Dai's works in Hu Shi's version or the English versions.

Note 5. One could argue that when Dai talks about yili, he is implicitly referring to political and social arrangements in addition to moral ones, since personal and social ethics are not considered isolated from each other in Confucianism. But my point here is to highlight Dai's explicitness in attending to the social realm.

Charcoal Dispersal from Alpine *Stállo* Hearths in Sub-Arctic Sweden: Patterns Observed from Soil Analysis and Experimental Burning

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Abstract

To evaluate dispersal patterns and concentrations of macroscopic charcoal particles around *Stállo* settlements in sub-arctic Scandinavia, their distributions following experimental burning and soil concentrations around an alpine *Stállo* settlement dating between AD 700 and 1150 were recorded. After the burning 98% of recorded particles were 0.1-0.5 mm long, 90% were dispersed within 40 m of the fire, their mean concentration 40 m from the fire was 0.14 ± 0.08 particles/cm^2 and the concentration decreased with increasing distance. At the settlement, 95% of recorded charcoal particles were 0.1-0.5 mm long, 94% were within 40 m of the hearths, the mean concentration declined with increasing distance, and concentrations were much lower than expected from the experimental burning (e.g. 17.6 ± 2.4 particles/cm^2, 40 m away). In conclusion: biological archives used for charcoal analysis in archaeological and vegetation history studies should be located ≤40 m from settlements, and data obtained from charcoal analyses should be interpreted cautiously.

Keywords: archaeology, macroscopic charcoal, multidisciplinary, Scandinavia, sub-alpine settlement

1. Introduction

1.1 Charcoal in Archaeological and Fire Ecology Studies

Charcoal found associated with archaeological sites is generally interpreted as originating from anthropogenic fires, such as large-scale burnings of vegetation to: increase the growth of grasses and herbs, and thus attract wild game (Mellars, 1976, Hörnberg et al., 1999); provide grazing for domestic animals (Emanuelsson & Segerström, 1998); or clear areas around settlements for construction and cultivation, e.g. in slash and burn cultivation (Wallin & Segerström, 1994, Larsson, 1995, Emanuelsson, 2001). In addition, small fires, utilized to keep huts warm and prepare food, also produced charcoal (Bennett et al., 1990, Hörnberg et al., 2006, Sergant et al., 2006, Liedgren et al., 2007). However, in many environments, such as the boreal forest, natural fire is an important and recurrent factor (Zackrisson, 1977, Heinselman, 1981). Consequently, it can be difficult to determine if the charcoal recorded at archaeological sites derives from anthropogenic or natural fires (Théry-Parisot et al., 2010). This has also made it difficult to date ancient boreal settlements using charcoal because old particles may have combusted and new ones may have been produced by numerous natural fires that have affected the settlement area before and after their use (Liedgren et al., 2007).

In long-term fire ecology studies, peaks in microscopic (<0.1 mm) and macroscopic charcoal (>0.1 mm) particles from biological archives, such as lake sediments and peat mires, have been interpreted as indicating fire events (Patterson et al., 1987, Whitlock & Millspaugh, 1996, Tinner & Hu, 2003), especially if the peaks co-occur with changes in vegetation detected by pollen analysis (Segerström et al., 2008, Hörnberg et al., 2012). Numerous studies have examined the amounts of charcoal produced by forest fires (Clark et al., 1998, Lynch et al., 2004, Froyd, 2006, Carcaillet et al., 2007, Ohlson et al., 2009) and evaluated the methods used (Preston & Schmidt, 2006, Ali et al., 2009, Schalachter & Horn, 2010, Mooney & Tinner, 2011). Several theoretical models have also been developed to assess regional forest fire patterns, natural fire frequencies and to separate regional

and local fire events (Clark, 1988, Higuera et al., 2007, Peters & Higuera, 2007). However, despite all the new approaches and techniques applied in both fire ecology and archaeology, the interpretation of charcoal occurrences is still problematic because it is difficult to distinguish charcoal produced by local fires from the background influx created by regional fires. In addition, it is challenging to establish whether recorded charcoal derives from man-made or natural fires (Clark, 1988, Lynch et al., 2004, Théry-Parisot et al., 2010).

However, archaeological analyses in areas where there have been few natural fires provide opportunities to identify the impact of man on local burning, especially if charcoal co-occurs with sites of human activity. The sub-alpine and alpine areas of the Scandinavian Mountain range are located at high altitudes where the climate is humid. Precipitation exceeds evaporation due to low temperatures and the region has a short period of vegetation growth (Sjörs, 1999). There are very few natural fires due to lightning strikes in these regions (Granström, 1993). Thus, any particles of charcoal found in association with archaeological settlements in these zones are very likely to have originated from local anthropogenic burnings.

1.2 Stállo Settlements in the Scandinavian Mountains

Stállo settlement remains are found throughout the sub-alpine and alpine zone in the northern part of the Scandinavian Mountain range, often at altitudes below the average current forest line for the region. These remains consist of foundations characterized by a flat sunken floor surrounded by a low soil embankment with a stone-built hearth in the middle, often occurring in groups with three to five foundations in a row (Kjellström, 1983, Mulk, 1994, Bergman et al., 2007). On each foundation a small hut-like *Stállo* building is thought to have stood, probably constructed of birch stems and birch bark with a smoke hole in the roof (Liedgren & Bergman, 2009). In accordance with this construction hypothesis, analyses of charcoal collected from *Stállo* hearths by Hellberg (2004) showed that it predominantly (94%) originated from mountain birch (*Betula pubescens* ssp. *czerepanovii*), based on identification criteria described by Hellberg and Carcaillet (2003), indicating that the settlers used this wood for firewood. Pollen analyses have also shown that mountain birch forests around *Stállo* settlements in four different areas were cut (Karlsson et al., 2007; 2009, Staland et al., 2011). However, no remains of these buildings exist today, apart from the foundations. In a multidisciplinary study of such *Stállo* settlements in northern Sweden, extensive dating of the charcoal found in the hearths indicated that these settlements were mainly used between AD 700 and 1150 (2σ) (Liedgren et al., 2007). The settlements were eventually completely abandoned, probably due to a shortage of firewood, and the lack of trees combined with a colder climate during the Little Ice Age subsequently prevented reforestation (Karlsson et al., 2007; 2009, Staland et al., 2011). Hence, the vegetation changed from mountain birch forest with herbs to open alpine heath dominated by dwarf-shrubs due to human exploitation, nutrient-depleted soils and the harsh climate (Staland et al., 2011). The presence of solitary tent hearths also indicates that most of these areas were visited sporadically after the *Stállo* period by nomadic visitors who probably used the last remnants of trees, shrubs and dwarf-shrubs as fuel (Hellberg 2004). Still today many *Stállo* settlements are located in the alpine zone at an altitude below the average forest line for the region.

The peat cores from the *Stállo* settlements analyzed for pollen by Karlsson et al. (2007; 2009) and Staland et al. (2011) were sampled from small mires located between 50 and 150 m from the nearest settlement. The cited authors expected to detect relatively large amounts of charcoal together with the pollen in samples dating from the *Stállo* period. However, they found very few microscopic charcoal particles, and they did not always co-occur with that period. The results also indicated that the overall frequency of natural fires had been very low. The findings raised several questions regarding why there were so few charcoal particles, the origins of the recorded particles, and the dispersal distances and distributions of charcoal from hearths in *Stállo* huts. Fire ecology studies have shown that total numbers of charcoal, including large particles, decrease with increasing distance from the edge of a burnt forest area (Ohlson & Tryterud, 2000). Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that the amount of charcoal dispersed from a *Stállo* hearth would be high close to the settlement and decrease with increasing distance, and that large particles would occur most frequently close to the hearths. If, in contrast, fire was used to clear the vegetation around the settlements, the amount of charcoal would be similar over a large area and particles of all sizes should appear in the soil at all distances from the settlement within that area. Additionally, if charcoal mainly originated from regional fires, small particles should pre-dominate, and they should be deposited fairly evenly over the area.

1.3 Objectives

The objectives of the study presented here were, consequently, to evaluate dispersal patterns of macroscopic charcoal from a *Stállo* hearth, and to record both the abundance and distribution of charcoal in the soil around an ancient alpine *Stállo* settlement with a known history. We addressed the following questions. Firstly, will

sufficient charcoal be dispersed from a hearth inside a hut for it to be detectable in the vicinity of a settlement? Secondly, how far can charcoal produced in hearths disperse, and what is the resulting distribution pattern like? Thirdly, can fossil charcoal produced at the time of a *Stállo* settlement still be found in the soil around an alpine settlement today? Finally, based on the charcoal distribution pattern, is it possible to ascertain whether the particles derived from a hearth fire, from burning vegetation or from regional fires? To address these questions, an experimental burning was conducted and soil samples were collected from the surroundings of an ancient *Stállo* settlement with a known history.

2. Material and Methods

2.1 Experimental Burning

2.1.1 Study Site, Precipitation, Temperature and Wind

The field experiment took place over four consecutive days in February 2010 on a frozen lake in northern Sweden, Lake Hornavan (66°04'37''N; 17°55'62''E), with 15 to 20 cm of snow cover. The study site is located c. 3 km from the small town of Arjeplog at 423 m above sea level (m a. s. l.).The chosen site was far from the shoreline to provide optimal conditions for undisturbed charcoal dispersion. On the first day, a stick was placed on the ice and eight transects were established, extending 200 m in the cardinal (N, S, E and W) and ordinal (NE, NW, SE and SW) directions (Figure 1). Along each transect, samples of snow were collected at 5, 10, 20, 40, 60, 80, 100, 150 and 200 m distances from the center stick to determine the amount of charcoal in the snow before the experimental burning started. These "reference" samples were collected 50 cm to the left of each transect when facing away from the stick. Each sample was collected using a plastic container (20x20 cm in area, 5 cm deep) that was pressed down into the snow. Along one edge of the container the snow was removed vertically by a flat clean shovel. The shovel was then carefully pressed horizontally against the container from the side to cover its open end, and thus collect the top 5 cm layer of snow. The collected snow was transferred into zip-lock bags that were tagged, placed in larger bags and kept in a cold storage room until analysis. In total, 72 reference samples were collected. A portable tent hut (Moskoselkåtan® Jakt 7) was erected with its center over the center stick (cf. Liedgren & Östlund, 2011), and with a circular smoke hole (c. 40 cm in diameter) at a height of 2 m to simulate a *Stállo* hut building (cf. Liedgren & Bergman, 2009).
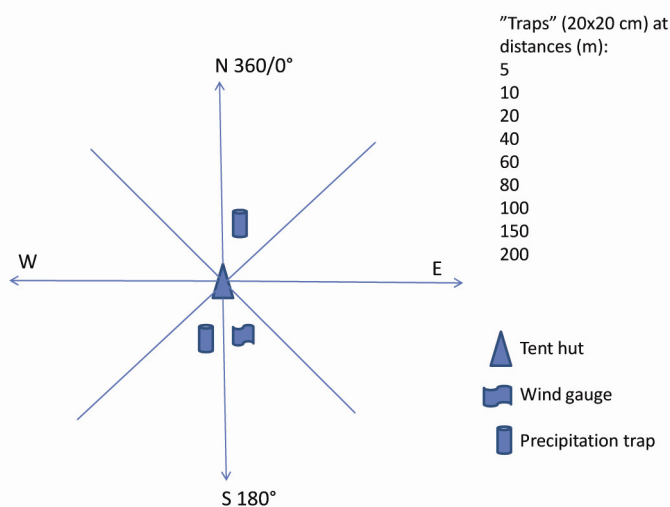
Figure 1. The design of the experimental burning with the hut in the centre, eight 200 m long transects, two precipitation traps and one wind gauge

On the morning of day two, two cylindrical containers with a 5.5 cm radius were placed 10 m away from the hut in two directions (Figure 1) to measure the precipitation during the two days of experimental burning. The containers were collected at the end of day three, and the mean precipitation collected was 4.6 cm of fallen snow. The snowfall was modest but steady during the entire time of burning. A wind gauge (Kestrel 2000™) mounted on a 1.3 m tall tripod was placed 10 m to the SSE of the hut (Figure 1). The air temperature (°C), wind speed (m/s) and wind direction (360° compass) was measured every 30 minutes between 8 am and 6 pm during days two and three whilst the experimental burning was conducted. For each day, the mean temperature ± standard error (SE) was -12.8±0.2°C (min. = -14.3°C, max. = -11.0°C) and -18.3±0.2°C (min. = -20.9°C, max. = -17.3°C),

the mean wind speed was 2.3±0.4 m/s (min. = 1.8 m/s, max. = 3.2 m/s,) and 1.8±0.1 m/s (min. = 1.4 m/s, max. = 2.5 m/s), and the wind direction (360° compass) varied between 115° E and 70° E, with mean values of 97.9±1.9° E and 91.1±3.0° E, respectively. Data from the Swedish Meteorological and Hydrological Institute's station in Arjeplog (http://www.smhi.se) gave similar values for wind speed (1.8 and 1.3 m/s) and wind direction (114° E and 71° E). However, the wind changed direction during the night after the burning, but before the charcoal samples were collected, from ca. 71° E to 16° N.

2.1.2 Experimental Burning, Wood Moisture Content and Wood Consumption

The experimental burning was conducted for ten hours per day for two days. At 8 am on days two and three, a fire was lit in a metal container (51x3x17 cm) placed in the center of the hut. The container rested on four wooden stumps c. 20 cm above the ice so it did not melt through it. The fire was kept going between 8 am and 6 pm, and air was allowed to enter the hut at three places along the hut floor. The fuel consisted of chopped, dried birch wood with a mean moisture content of 10.9±0.1%. The wood was consumed during the two burning periods (20 hours in total) at a rate of 3.7 kg/hour, very similar to the birch wood consumption rate (c. 3.6 kg/hour) measured in a previous experimental burning in a *Stállo* hut during winter (Liedgren & Östlund, 2011).

On the morning of day four, samples of snow were collected along the eight transects. Since it seems unlikely that charcoal travels far down into snow and the average amount of fallen snow was less than 5 cm, the snow samples were expected to contain charred particles from the burning. The snow samples were collected in the same way as the reference samples, but they were taken 50 cm to the right of each transect when facing outwards from the center stick. This procedure minimised the risk of air turbulence around the "reference" pits interfering with the deposition of charcoal at the post-burning sampling sites. A total of 144 samples were collected, 72 reference samples and 72 potentially containing charcoal from the experimental burning.

2.1.3 Charcoal Analysis

In the laboratory, the collected snow samples were allowed to melt in their bags. The resulting water was poured into a cylindrical glass then a subsample was transferred to a petri dish and examined under a microscope at 16 and 40 times magnification to measure and count charcoal. Charcoal was identified as all black fragments that were brittle and fractured into splinters in the same way as reference birch wood charcoal. The particles were classified into three size classes: 0.1 to 0.5 mm, >0.5 to 1.0 mm, and >1.0 mm (longest axis). The procedure was repeated until the whole sample had been analyzed. The total numbers of charcoal particles detected were recorded, and the mean numbers ± standard error (SE) of particles per cm^2 detected at each sampled distance and direction from the hut were calculated. Charcoal concentrations at different distances and directions were then compared using the nonparametric Kolmogorov-Smirnov (KS) two sample test (Lynch et al., 2004).

2.2 Adamvalldá Stállo *Site*

2.2.1 Field Sampling

Adamvalldá covers ca. 7 km^2 and is located in the alpine zone between 640 and 760 m above sea level, the same altitude as the forest limits in the region (Figure 2). There are remains of 12 *Stállo* settlements in the area, each with one to five foundations dating from AD 700 to AD 1150 (2σ), along with solitary tent hearths dating predominantly from AD 1500 to the present day (Liedgren et al., 2007, Hellberg, 2004). Microscopic charcoal has been identified in pollen analyses of peat samples from a local small mire (Karlsson et al., 2007) located 150 m N, 230 m WNW and 300 m NNE from three such alpine *Stállo* settlements (designated SMA 65, 103 and 51, respectively). These sites are situated on three adjacent plateaus, where there were also 22 solitary tent hearths (Figure 2). Microscopic charcoal recorded by Karlsson et al. (2007) originated predominantly from two time periods: ca. 1050 BC, and the post-*Stállo* period (c. AD 1350 and later); only two particles were recorded that originated from the *Stállo* period (AD 700 and AD 1150). The more recent ones clearly originated after AD 1350, indicating that they did not derive from burning during the *Stállo* settlement period (Karlsson et al., 2007).

The *Stállo* settlement designated SMA 51 (67°01'20''N, 16°36'43''E; Figure 2), was selected for the field survey because it is situated on a flat plateau. Its settlement and vegetation history have been thoroughly investigated, and its present biotic and abiotic conditions have been described (Liedgren, 2004, Liedgren et al., 2007, Karlsson et al., 2007). This *Stállo* settlement is located in the alpine zone at c. 680 m above sea level on a glaciofluvial sediment terrace with podsolized soil including a distinct light grey E horizon. The *Stállo* settlement consists of three foundations in a row with a hearth in each. They are orientated in a NNE/SSW direction, and the distance between the northernmost and southernmost foundation is 38 m. Four transects were established at each cardinal point (N, E, S and W) in mid July 2011 (Figure 2). A center stick was placed in the central area of the three foundations, 2.5 m SE of the outer wall of the middle foundation, from which three 80 m long transects were established (N, E and W). Pairs of soil plugs were collected using a soil auger (Ø = 2 cm)

along those transects at distances of 5, 10, 20, 40 and 80 m from the centre point, one at each side of the transects within 20 cm of the transect line. For the south transect, plugs were only collected at distances of 5, 10, 20 and 40 m as there was a ravine to the south that made sampling at 80 m impossible (Figure 2). In addition, four plugs were collected at the centre point (0 m), two immediately to the north and two immediately to the south. Thus, in total, 42 samples were collected. All the plugs contained fresh vegetation, humus and the top centimeter of the mineral soil. The total depth of the organic material (fresh vegetation and humus) above the mineral soil was measured by a ruler, which indicated that its mean depth ± SE was 29.3±1.9 mm (min. = 10 mm, max. = 65 mm). The plugs were put in tagged zip-lock bags and stored in a freezer at the laboratory. Before analysis, the plugs were dried for 24 hours at +70°C to make them easier to cut.
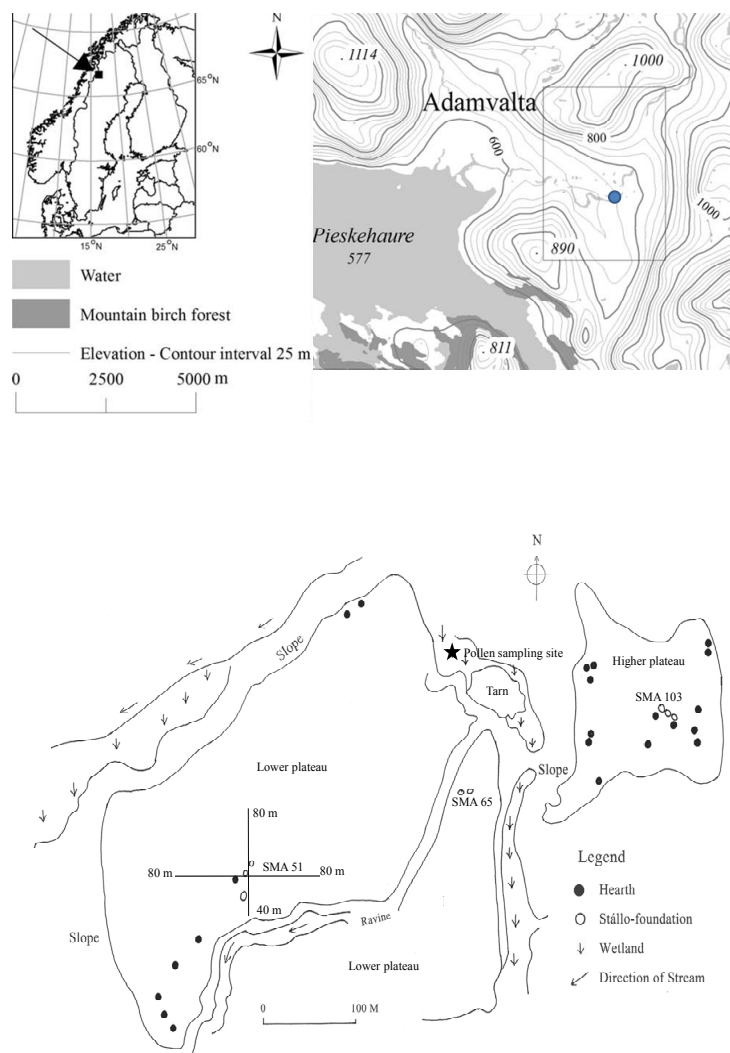
Figure 2. Top: Map of Sweden showing the study region (arrowed), a regional map of the Adamvállda (written as Adamvalta on the map) area indicated by a rectangle and the study site marked with a circle. Below: Sketch of the plateaus with three *Stállo* settlements and 22 solitary tent hearths. The three *Stállo* foundations at settlement SMA 51 are marked by open rings (O) and the four transects along which parallel soil plugs were collected at 0, 5, 10, 20, 40 and 80 m distances are marked by lines. The pollen sampling site used by Karlsson et al. (2007) is marked by a star

2.2.2 Charcoal Analysis

In the sub-arctic alpine zone, charcoal is concentrated in the topmost soil because bioturbation by soil fauna is low and restricted to the litter layer (Payette & Filion, 1993, Carcaillet, 2001). The intact light grey E horizon

also indicated that freeze-thaw processes caused no major turbulence in the soil, although its color indicated a downward movement of water and hence probably of microscopic charcoal particles. Decay of mountain birch tree-stumps from trees cut during the *Stállo* period, in what would become the alpine zone, may have caused some soil reworking. However, no evidence of such hiatus was observed in the soil samples collected from the *Stállo* settlement terrace. It seemed likely that macroscopic charcoal produced during the *Stállo* settlement period that had not fragmented into microscopic particles would be found predominantly in the transition zone between humus and mineral soil. Therefore, one slice of each plug was cut out using a scalpel comprising 2 mm of the light grey mineral soil and 8 mm of the mixed mineral-humus and humus layer (volume of each sample, 3.14 cm^3). Consequently, macroscopic charcoal particles that may have been buried deeper in the soil were overlooked (Carcaillet, 2001). To minimize the risk of charcoal fragmentation through physical handling procedures, such as sieving or bleaching and degradation by strong chemical treatments (Schlater& Horn, 2010), each sample was placed in a glass container with 20 ml of KOH (5%) for 24 hours to loosen the humus. The material was carefully separated by hand using needles and tweezers (cf. Mooney & Tinner, 2011). A subsample was transferred to a petri dish and water was added to dilute the dark solution. The charcoal particles were examined, measured and counted under a microscope at 16 and 40 times magnification in the same manner as the charcoal produced in the experimental burning, as described above. The procedure was repeated until the entire sample had been analyzed. Charcoal concentrations were then calculated, as the number of particles per cm^2, at each sampled direction and distance. Charcoal concentrations at different distances were compared using the nonparametric KS two sample test (Lynch et al., 2004), and the mean values were compared using Student's t-test (Zar, 2010).

3. Results

3.1 Experimental Burning

3.1.1 Charcoal Accumulation and Dispersal

In total, the 72 reference samples collected prior to burning (each obtained from a 400 cm^2 area) contained 219 particles, all between 0.1 and 0.5 mm long (min. = 0, max. = 10, mean = 3.0±0.2), and c. 48% of all particles were found within 40 m of the settlement's center (Table 1).The total number of particles recorded after two days of burning was 2065 (min. = 0, max. = 967, mean = 28.6±14.2), of which 2021 (98%) were 0.1-0.5 mm long, 40 (1.9%) were 0.5-1 mm long, and four (0.1%) were larger than 1 mm. Over 90% of all charcoal particles were found within a radius of 40 m (Table 1), all particles between 0.5 mm and 1 mm were found within a radius of 20 m and all but one > 1 mm particle were recorded within 10 m of the hut.

Table 1. Percentages (concentrations, in numbers per cm^2, in brackets) of charcoal particles (all sizes) at indicated distances from the centre stick, mean total deposition values (based on all data), and mean deposition values based on data obtained from samples collected at 5, 10, 20and 40 m distances in the Reference (Ref), Experimental burning (ExpB) and *Stállo* site (*Stállo*) analyses. Zero indicates the number of samples from the indicated distances in which no charcoal was detected (n tot=72 for Ref and ExpB, and n tot=42 for *Stállo*).

Distance (m)	Ref (%)	ZeroRef (n)	ExpB (%)	ZeroExpB (n)	*Stállo* (%)	Zero*Stállo* (n)
0	-	-	-	-	19.3	0
5	11.9	1	55.6	0	20.2 (39.5)	0
10	9.1 (21.0)	2	21.4 (77.0)	0	22.5 (62.0)	0
20	11.0 (32.0)	0	6.6 (83.6)	0	20.0 (82.0)	0
40	15.5 (47.5)	0	6.5 (90.1)	0	12.2 (94.2)	0
60	10.5 (58.0)	0	2.4 (92.5)	2	-	-
80	12.3 (70.3)	0	2.6 (95.1)	2	5.8 (100)	0
100	7.3 (77.6)	1	1.8 (96.9)	1	-	-
150	11.0 (88.6)	1	2.0 (98.9)	0	-	-
200	11.4 (100)	0	1.1 (100)	1	-	-
Total mean±SE (n/cm^2)	0.0076±0.0006		0.072±0.036		17.9±2.3	
5-40 mean±SE (n/cm^2)	0.0027±0.0005		0.14±0.08		17.6±2.4	

The total concentration of charcoal in the snow prior to the experimental burning, according to analyses of the reference samples, varied between 0 and 0.025 particles/cm^2 with a mean of 0.0076±0.0006 particles/cm^2 (Table 1). The charcoal was evenly distributed in terms of both distance (Figure 3a, Table 1) and direction from the

center stick (Figure 3b). The total concentration of charcoal after two days of burning varied between 0 and 2.42 particles/cm^2 with a mean value of 0.072±0.036 particles/cm^2 (Table 1). The concentrations were highest close to the hut, decreased with increasing distance (Figure 3a), and were highest along the west and south transects (Figure 3b). The mean concentrations at 150 and 200 m were 0.0128±0.0041 and 0.0072±0.0029 particles/cm^2, respectively. The particles were uniformly distributed in relation to distance from the hut in the reference samples, but they were not evenly distributed after the experimental burning (KS test, D_{Ref}=0.303196 and D_{ExpB}=0.73624, $D_{0.001(2),9}$ =0.60846). Data based solely on samples from 5, 10, 20 and 40 m distances pre- and post-burning gave mean charcoal concentrations of 0.0027±0.0005 and 0.14±0.08 particles/cm^2, respectively (Table 1).The particles were uniformly distributed before, but not after, the experimental burning (KS test, D_{Ref40}=0.573077 and D_{ExpB40}=0.827918, $D_{0.002(2),4}$ =0.82217).
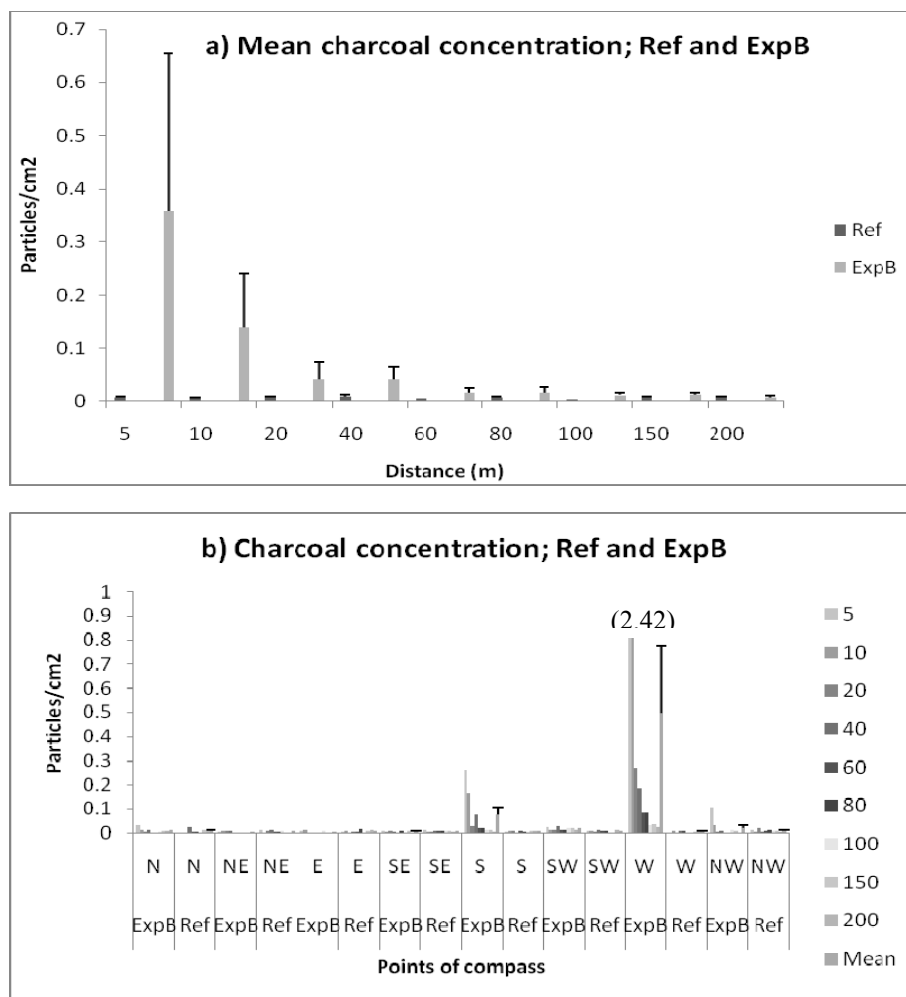
Figure 3. Concentrations of charcoal particles/cm^2 (all size classes) in the reference samples (Ref) and after two days of experimental burning (ExpB), a) Mean values at indicated distances from the hut (5 to 200 m), showing that the particles were uniformly distributed before, but not after, the experimental burning (Kolmogorov-Smirnov test; D_{Ref}=0.303196 and D_{ExpB}=0.73624, $D_{0.001(2),9}$=0.60846), b) Total values for indicated directions and distances. Vertical lines indicate standard errors (+SE) for mean values. The number in brackets indicates the maximum concentration (2.42) for column ExpB W at 5 m.

3.2 Adamvalldá Stállo Site

3.2.1 Charcoal Accumulation and Dispersal Pattern

In total, 2361 macroscopic charcoal particles were found in the 42 samples of soil (each covering a 3.14 cm^2 area) collected around the three *Stállo* foundations. Of these, 2244 (95%) were 0.1- 0.5 mm long (min. = 5, max. = 176, mean = 25.7±4.0) and 111 (4.7%) were 0.5-1.0 mm long. Only six particles (0.3%) were >1.0 mm long, five of which were found within a distance of 5 m from the center stick and one at 20 m.

The charcoal concentrations in the soil samples from the *Stállo* settlement varied between 1.9 and 62.7 particles/cm^2, with a mean value of 17.9±2.3 based on data from all sampling plots (Table 1). Over 94% of all charcoal was found within a radius of 40 m and 82% within 20 m from the center (Table 1). The mean concentration at 0 m was 36.2±10.7 particles/cm^2, and there were more than 18 particles/cm^2 at all sampling positions ≤20 m from the center (Figure 4a), although there were more particles at 10 m than at 5 m. At 80 m (data from three transects), the mean accumulation was 7.3±2.1 particles/cm^2. The charred particles were most abundant along the west transect (43% of the total, 20.5±4.6 particles/cm^2) and least abundant along the east transect (19% of the total, 14.83±1.7 particles/cm^2; Figure 4b). The particles were not uniformly distributed in relation to distance from the center (KS test, D_{St}=0.736002, $D_{0.001(2),9}$ =0.60846).
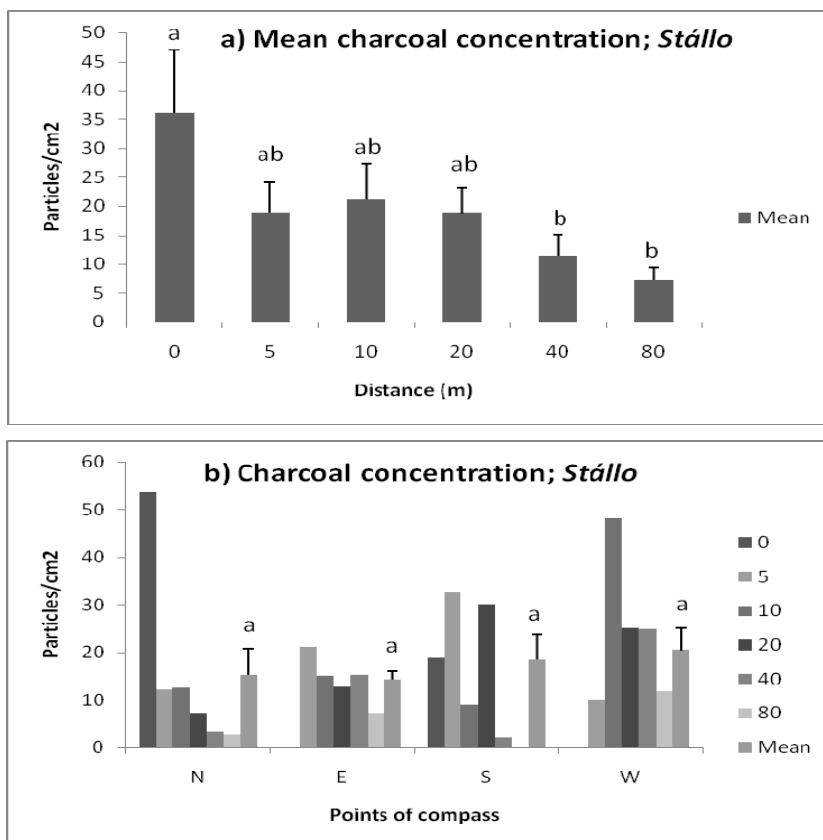
Figure 4. Concentrations of charcoal particles/cm^2 (all size classes) at the *Stállo* site: a) mean concentrations at indicated distances from the central point (mean values at 0 to 80 m) and b) total concentrations at indicated directions and distances. Vertical lines indicate standard errors (+SE) for mean values. Letters indicate that the means are not significantly different ($t_{0.05}$)

Based solely on data for sampling distances common to all four transects (i.e. 5, 10, 20 and 40 m; n=32), which included 75% of all charcoal recorded, the mean concentration was 17.6±2.4 (Table 1) and varied between 8.9±1.8 (min.) and 27.1±5.4 (max.) particles/cm^2 for the north and west transects, respectively. Calculations showed that the particles were not uniformly distributed at these distances (KS test, D_{St40}=0.975, $D_{0.001(2),4}$ =0.85047). There were significant differences in mean values between the 0 and 40 m and 0 and 80 m distances (t-test for paired data with unequal variance, p=0.05), but no differences in the mean values between the directions (Figure 4a and b).

4. Discussion

4.1 Experimental Burning

The amount of macroscopic charcoal found in the reference samples prior to the burning was low, considering that ice and snow had covered the lake for two months (Figure 3a and b). This charcoal probably derived from fires inside local houses, camp fires, snow mobiles, cars and some long distance sources. All of these particles belonged to the smallest class size and are not considered to have affected the results derived from the experimental burning.

The amount of charcoal after the experimental burning was high and most particles were found close to the hut, although charcoal was also recorded at a distance of 200 m. During the burning, the prevailing wind blew steadily from the east, resulting in an abundance of charcoal particles along the western transect at all distances, but with a clear decrease in numbers with increasing distance from the hut (Figure 3a and b). There were also, however, charcoal particles along the southern transect, probably because the wind changed direction from east to north during the night between days three and four (after the burning finished, but before the charred particle samples were collected). Although no burning was conducted during that time, it seems reasonable to believe that the charcoal recorded along the southern transect was released from the fabric of the hut and dispersed by the northern wind during the following night and morning. In addition, some particles may have derived from the clothes of the person responsible for monitoring the wind and temperature, because that person was inside the hut between the observations, and continuously exposed to charred particles from the fire during the burning. Charcoal may then have been released and dispersed along the south transect after completion of the monitoring as the wind gauge was located 10 m to the SSE (Figure 1).

Despite the time constraints, the experimental burning showed that even charcoal from hearths in huts can be widely dispersed and that the deposition pattern is highly dependent on the distance from the hearth and the wind conditions. Most of the charcoal was recorded within 40 m of the hut, although a few particles were found downwind at a distance of 200 m. The statistical tests showed that the particles were unevenly distributed and there was a clear decrease in the number of particles with increasing distance from the hut, a pattern mirroring reductions in the amount of charcoal with increasing distance from the edges of burnt areas in field experiments with forest fires (Lynch et al., 2004). However, the experimental burning was performed on a frozen lake with no trees or other obstacles that could have affected the wind flow and thus the dispersal pattern. Thus, whilst it is possible to discuss the deposition pattern and use the particle concentrations observed following the experimental burning to calculate approximate amounts of charcoal that may have been deposited around a real *Stállo* settlement, one should be aware that many factors in mountainous terrain (such as trees and the local topography) could cause local patterns of charcoal dispersal and deposition to differ from those observed on flat ice.

4.2 Charcoal Concentrations and Deposition at the Stállo Settlement

The number of macroscopic charcoal particles recorded around the *Stállo* foundations in Adamvalldá at distances up to 80 m was surprisingly high. This suggests that charcoal produced during the settlement phase was still present in the topmost soil, and that charcoal is fairly resistant to oxidation, fragmentation and microbial activity in the area. Most of the detected charcoal particles, including the larger ones, were found within 20 m of the centre stick and their concentration decreased with increasing distance from the centre. Consequently, the dispersal pattern and distribution of charcoal particles at the *Stállo* site was very similar to the patterns found following the experimental burning, suggesting most of the charcoal recorded in the soil at the SMA 51 *Stállo* site was derived from hearth fires and not from burning vegetation around the settlements or from solitary tent hearths.

The microscopic charcoal recorded in the pollen analysis by Karlsson et al. (2007), which dated to the post-*Stállo* period, most likely derived from more recent fires in solitary tent hearths located near the small mire (Figure 2). This interpretation is also supported by the fact that the microscopic charcoal recorded in the pollen slides did not co-occur with major changes in vegetation that took place during the end of the *Stállo* period, ca. AD 1150 (Karlsson et al., 2007). Hence, the small mire was located too far away to register charcoal from the *Stállo* hearths at SMA 65, 103 and 51when they were in use, especially when the area was still forested because the trees would have restricted the dispersal of charcoal. In contrast, when the area became an open heath, charcoal from subsequent fires in solitary tent hearths located 100 m away, could have been carried further by the wind and deposited in the mire. However, secondary translocation of charcoal from the *Stállo* settlements to the mire at a later date cannot be totally ruled out (see below). It is also possible that some charcoal particles from the mire were lost during the chemical treatment of the pollen samples through acetolysis (Tinner & Hu, 2003). Our results demonstrate that analysis of charcoal within 40 m of a hearth can provide strong evidence of burning at a settlement. However, there is a risk that a biological archive, like a mire, located close to a settlement may have been disturbed by people and/or animals at a later date.

4.3 Charcoal Concentrations and Dispersal: Theory vs. Evidence

From the restricted experimental burning, it can be concluded that the number of charcoal particles produced by a fire in a hut is rather large, since 0.07 particles/cm^2 were deposited per day (mean value, with 10 hours of burning) within 40 m of the hut. If we assume that people burnt wood in each *Stállo* hearth to cook food and

provide heating for 10 hours every day, that they were present at the *Stállo* settlement for approximately 100 days per year and that all three huts were used simultaneously, the average amount of charcoal particles accumulated would have been approximately be $0.07 \times 100 \times 3 = 21/cm^2$ per year. The mean concentration of charcoal found in the soil within 40 m of the Adamvalldá settlement was 17.9 particles/cm^2. Hence, if the *Stállo* hearths in Adamvalldá were used in the same way as our experimental hearth, this indicates that the settlement was used for just ca. 85 days in total. This is, of course, not likely considering the evidence from extensive dating of charcoal from the hearths (Liedgren et al., 2007), and clear indications from detailed palaeoecological analyses of vast vegetation changes and deforestation at this site 1000 years ago (Karlsson et al., 2007). It is difficult to estimate how long the *Stállo* settlement was used before the lack of firewood forced the settlers to move, but if it was used for 30 or 50 years that would give values of over 600 or 1000 particles/cm^2, respectively. So why is the amount of charcoal so low at this *Stállo* site today?

In the experimental burning, all the macroscopic charcoal particles were preserved intact in the snow and they were collected soon after their dispersal. At the study site, the *Stállo* charcoal has been present in an aerated environment for around 1000 years so the low amount may be explained by long-term degradation, secondary transport through erosion and/or relocation to a greater depth in the soil. Long-term chemical degradation of macroscopic charcoal has probably occurred, with consequent changes in its characteristics over time (Czimczik et al., 2003, Hockaday et al., 2006, Ascough et al., 2011). Some charcoal may also have been degraded by soil microorganisms, like saprophytic fungi (Hockaday et al., 2006). Physical factors, such as frost, together with trampling by reindeer and humans could have caused substantial fragmentation of charcoal, and/or its secondary transport, especially of smaller fragments, by wind and water during and after the *Stállo* settlement period. The reduction in charcoal levels has probably been most severe in heavily used areas with substantial erosion around the huts where human activity was intense. This may explain why the amount of recorded macroscopic charcoal concentration was slightly lower at a distance of 5 m than at distances of 0 and 10 m from the central reference point (Figure 4a). After the *Stállo* period, the alpine heath was used by nomads for reindeer grazing so the *Stállo* charcoal would have been trampled for an extended period of time. New charcoal has also been produced by burning in solitary tent hearths. As the Adamvalldà area has been transformed from a birch forest into an open alpine heath, this has caused wind erosion and hence translocation of charcoal particles. In the springtime, fragmented microscopic particles could also have been transported by running water, both horizontally and vertically. It is thus likely that fragmented microscopic charcoal particles are present at greater depths in the soil (Carcaillet, 2001) and could have been detected by other methods than the one used here (see Kurth et al., 2006). Hence, from our calculations it seems that the amount of macroscopic charcoal particles produced during the *Stállo* period in sub-alpine and alpine areas has dramatically declined over time, probably due to various chemical and physical factors, but more research is needed to evaluate the magnitude and causes of this loss.

4.4 Implications

Consequently, the amount of macroscopic charcoal found at the *Stállo* site today is much lower than the theoretical amount calculated from the experimental burning results. Still, this small study shows that the amount of charcoal particles produced by burning in hearths is substantial and that the particles are fairly well preserved in the soil even after long periods of time. As most charcoal, >90%, was found within 40 m of the hearth in the experimental burning, it is important to ensure that any biological archive used to determine the origin of charcoal particles that may be associated with an ancient settlement in archaeological and vegetation history studies is located as close to the site of the settlement as possible. The dispersal pattern around a hearth seems to be characteristic, so it would be possible to use the observed pattern to determine the origin of soil charcoal in areas where natural fires have been rare. Many solitary tent hearths are located in association with alpine mires so it would be possible to verify their use through AMS dating of both charcoal found in hearths and peat. However, in boreal areas where fires have occurred frequently, this method is not feasible as old charcoal will have been combusted repeatedly and new charcoal will have been produced (Liedgren et al., 2007).

Even if the dispersal of macroscopic charcoal produced by hearths in huts is rather limited, the experimental burning also indicates that some charcoal may be widely dispersed in open terrain. The results obtained indicate that a settlement with three huts used for 100 days per year for 30 years would, on average, generate cumulative totals of approximately 58 and 32 particles/cm^2 in biological archives located 150 and 200 m from the settlement, respectively. These amounts of charcoal are low in comparison to the amounts released from natural fires and would not create any peak in charcoal accumulation rates calculated in fire ecology studies. However, they would contribute to the background influx of lake sediments and peat mires because this charcoal would probably not be degraded due to the anaerobic conditions in these archives, especially if the archives are located in the prevailing wind direction. Consequently, the interpretation of charcoal from biological archives must

always be cautious. Anthropogenic charcoal from hearth fires in settlements used for just a few decades may contribute to the background charcoal influx in biological archives located up to 200 m from a settlement in an open environment. On the other hand, the lack of charcoal in the pollen slides from the small mire at Adamvalldá during the *Stállo* period reported by Karlsson et al. (2007) should not be interpreted as reflecting a total lack of burning in the area as the large amount of macroscopic charcoal in the soil around the *Stállo* settlements clearly showed.

5. Conclusion

The overall results from this macroscopic charcoal study suggest that: 1) the amount of charcoal dispersed from hearths in huts is sufficient for it to be detected in the vicinity of the settlement; 2) charcoal is mainly dispersed within 40 m of the hut; 3) charcoal produced in sub-alpine *Stállo* settlements 1000 years ago can still be found in the soil today, although the amount has been substantially reduced due to degradation, fragmentation and translocation; and 4) the distribution pattern, which shows a clear decrease in charcoal with increasing distance from the settlements, indicates that the charcoal mainly derived from fires in *Stállo* hearths. It can be concluded that in regions where natural fires are very rare, such as the sub-alpine and alpine areas of northern Scandinavia, macroscopic charcoal occurrences in association with archaeological settlements are strong indicators of anthropogenic fires. The charcoal dispersal pattern around settlements can also be used to evaluate the origin of charcoal in such regions, but it is important to ensure that any biological archive used to determine the origin of charcoal particles that may be associated with an ancient settlement in archaeological and vegetation history studies is located as close (≤ 40 m) to the site of the settlement as possible. However, some charcoal is dispersed at even greater distances so the interpretation of results of analyses of charcoal occurrences in biological archives and soils must always be cautious.

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The Political Economy of the Flow of Information

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Abstract

In the global context, the economic-technological powers are also the political-cultural powers, which have the capacity to obtain the maximising benefits from the global flow of information. Meanwhile, the countries which are inferior in economics, technology, etc. feel unable to enjoy the fruits of the information society; they have to struggle for their right to communicate.

Keywords: political economy, flow of information, global powers, cultural imperialism

1. Introduction

Marx and Engels once wrote, "In any epoch the ruling ideas are those of the ruling class, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force is at the same time its ruling intellectual force" (quoted in Inglis: 78).   I strongly believe this principle not only applies nationally but also internationally. In the global context, the economic-technological powers are also the political-cultural powers, which have the capacity to obtain the maximising benefits from the global flow of information. Meanwhile, the countries which are inferior in economics, technology, etc. feel unable to enjoy the fruits of the information society; they have to struggle for their right to communicate. In this essay, I'll discuss why and how the world powers dominate the global flow of information, and how the dominance affects the world media and cultural production.

2. Powers Are Powers

Mowlana (1996:72) proposed that dimensions of power can be viewed in two categories of resources: tangible and intangible; the former include economics, technology, politics, cultural products, educational products and military hardware, while the latter are belief and value systems, ideology and religion.

This strategy, seeing power as Integrated Whole, provides a new forceful insight into the international relations and information flow. From this perspective, the control over the base value and information flow constitutes an unprecedentedly important power, a power to affect and reshape the world.

Mowlana's integrated approach was put forward in 1986, but in fact in 1985, the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu proposed that "The social position of social actors is not only determined by economic capital, but also by their cultural, social and symbolic capital" (quoted in Hamelink, 1999). To this list of capital, Hamelink should add "information capital", by which he refers to the financial, technological and intellectual capital to handle the networks and the information flow, and also the motivation and ability to actively search and apply information (ibid).

At information age, the intangible resources of power are more important, and in most measure, the symbolic forms of products outweigh their material forms. It's the case even with the financial market as money has become a commodity in its own right. Meanwhile, the limitations and impracticality of a pure military model has been observed, as it is possible to win a war militarily and at the same time lose it politically (Mowlana, 1996: 81). This symbolises that today control of the political environment is a key factor to diffuse power globally. And that is why the international powers in the economic and political arenas are emphasizing symbolic exchange by promoting their values, preferences and tastes.

It is seen that the global economic and technological powers are more likely to become the political and cultural powers, which have louder voices in setting the global agendas. A case in point is that the authors of UNESCO

report *One World, Many Voices* published in 1980 had to revise and re-revise the report under the pressure of the USA-led Western powers.

From the viewpoint of the developing countries, the control of the powers over the global flow of information has produced some negative influence, such as one-way communication, cultural imperialism, interference with domestic affairs, and so on.

3. One-way Communication

Some NWICO protagonists hold the belief that the international information system has increased, rather than decreased, the world inequality, with serious implications for the countries of the South. The pertinent ideas have been spelled out by Mustapha Masmoudi as follows:

- Owing to the socio-technological imbalance there was a one-way flow of informationfrom the "centre" to the "periphery", which created a wide gap between the "haves" and the "have nots";

- The information rich were in a position to dictate terms to the information poor, thus creating a structure of dependency with widespread economic, political and social ramification for the poor societies;

- This vertical flow (as opposed to a desirable horizontal flow of global information) was dominated by the Western-based international corporations;

- Information was treated by the transnational media as a "commodity" and subjected to the rules of the market;

- The entire information and communication order was a part of and in turn propped up international inequality that created and sustained mechanisms of neo-colonialism.

(quoted in Thussu, 2000: 44)

Mayjor negative effects of one-way communication on the developing countries can be summarised as follows:

Firstly, "The Western media gave an exploitative and distorted view of their countries to the rest of the world" (Thussu: 43). The Western media seem to be more interested in the dark side of the developing countries, and the coverage is far from sufficient and balanced. This has tremendously contributed to some misunderstanding and distorted images of the developing countries, which will in turn obstruct their development. Soon after I arrived in England, I have realised that some Europeans are holding so many misconceptions about China. And my experiences show that these misunderstandings are in most part caused by one-way communication. Undoubtedly, how to improve China's image on the international stage remains a hard nut for China to crack.

Secondly, one-way communication promotes Western values and beliefs to the developing countries, and in some cases threatens the national stability or even incites political upheavals in the developing countries, which I will expound later in this essay.

Thirdly, one-way communication adds more difficulties to the economic development of the developing countries. For many developing countries, the quantitative imbalance of information flow contributes to the unfavourable trade balance. Also, lack of information about and unfamiliarity with the outside world prevents them from further development.

Of course, some scholars, mostly from the First World, wouldn't admit the existence of one-way communication. Some even argue that the traditional division of the world into the developing countries and developed countries, into East and West, North and South, into First, Second, Third and Fourth World, into centres, peripheries and semi-peripheries no longer rings true (Tehranian, 1994; quoted in Vincent et al, 1999: 24).　But from the standpoint of the developing countries, this new ideology simply reflects that some scholars are either too optimistic about the world future or blind to the widening gap between the developing countries and the developed ones, or they are trying to curtain the unpleasant reality the whole world is confronting.

4. Cultural Imperialism

One-way communication is closely related with the cultural dominance of some elite countries over the world, which has been termed as cultural imperialism.

In the words of Schiller (1976), cultural imperialism is the sum of processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes even bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating centre of the system (quoted in Golding and Harris: 49).

On surface, cultural imperialism is only the cultural process which attempts to assure the ready acceptance and adoption of mediated cultural products which come abroad, but in reality, cultural imperialism is always intertwined with economic aggression or even political control. The interrelationship between them has been illustrated by Petras (1993: 6): "United States cultural imperialism has two major goals, one economic and the other political: to capture markets for its cultural commodities and to establish hegemony by shaping popular consciousness" (ibid: 6).

It seems undeniable that international communication acts as a reliable pioneer of cultural imperialism. The international information, originated from the international news media networks, has been geared to Western economic and political interests and projecting their version of reality through these global networks to the rest of the world.

In fact, one purpose of international communication has already been articulated by Al Gore, "Every link we create strengthens the bonds of liberty and democracy around the world" (quoted in Abramson and Ambrosi, 1998).

5. National Stability and Security

The superiority of the developed countries in "information capital" not only strengthens and maintains their status quo, but also in some senses threatens the national stability of the developing countries.

5.1 Political Upheavals

The MacBride Commission "charged that under the guise of the free flow of information, some governments and transnational media had 'on occasion tried to undermine internal stability in other countries, violating their sovereity and disturbed national development'" (quoted in Thussu: 46).   Although the charge was violently attacked by the Western world, it has been the case in the real world. As far as I can see, the international communications can implement this function in the following ways:

First, international communication and media can work as the vehicle for cultivating public dissent against some governments. Sometimes, this purpose can be achieved by opening up a small public sphere inside or outside a country. For example, outside China, some anti-CCP (Chinese Communist Party) websites have been operating successfully, where some political or religious activists publicise their dissatisfaction, theorise new ideologies, flame new schemes, and so forth.

Second, inside or outside a country, international communication can work as an intermediate stage connecting the political alliances and other resources, enlisting more international support.

Third, exiled activists no longer wait for situations to change so that they can return home, but instead can propagandise to change conditions from outside the country, a deterritorialsation of politics (Sreberny-Mohammad, 1997: 226). This is true in the case of the exiled Dalai Lama government.

Fourth, the detailed reports of and continued comments on some political events happening in a country can create pressure upon the government in question. In terms of Hong Kong Article 23, some activists and parties have been trying to manipulate the international communication system in order to influence HK government.

Fifth, international communication is a reliable channel for activists inside a country to communicate with the outside, sometimes with the help of international organisations. It's especially easy in case the activists are supported by a powerful foreign country. For instance, when a community radio audience in Guatemala and community radios are being discriminated against by auctioning of broadcasting frequencies, the oppressed immediately released the news to the international world and gained some support from some human rights organisations (Note 1). Immediate communication is especially critical when someone is arrested, because according to Amnesty International, if someone is tortured it usually occurs in the first 24 hours after arrest (Note 2). It's reported that e-mail played a role in the overthrow of former Zairean dictator Mobutu Sese Seko and the rise to power of his successor President Laurent Kabila, who used e-mail to stay in touch with journalists and supporters worldwide (Note 2). The Mexican Zapalist rebels even sidestepped traditional media by sending out communiqués via the Internet (Note 2).

5.2 National Security

As Nye (1990) has observed, "traditional concepts of national security and power are now plagued with different and increased vulnerabilities, both tangible and intangible in nature" (quoted in Mowlana, 1996: 74).

One example is information security. The advanced international communication corporation seems to be able to obtain any targeted information. To the contrary, developing countries in particular are vulnerable to lack of

access to and control over such technologies and the information resources they bear. Accordingly, in terms of both civil and military information systems, the developing countries are at greater risks than the developed countries.

6. Gendered Perspective

Due to some historical, social and cultural reasons, women are regarded by a multitude of people as secondary to men in the society, and are faced with certain difficulties to get more benefits from the information age. However, it is inspiring that as the world becomes more internationally mediated, some international organisations can exercise more influence on the policy-makers in a particular country, in many cases via international media and communication channels. For example, at an international conference Undarya (1997) depicted the problems in Mongolia from a gendered perspective, which helped raise the public consciousness:

> As Mongolia opened its doors to the rest of the world, many of the Western low-budget movies and TV entertainment programs and commercial advertisements have rushed into the country. Many pornographic newspapers have emerged that feed upon the Western equivalents, night show[s] on TV convey a lot of violence and pornography and that is not being censored in any way. Private TV channels and even the states-owned ones don't have internal policies on commodification of female body [*sic*], programs fostering gender stereotypes, promotion of pornography and the like."

In fact, this is only part of the problems the female audience is suffering from. Some research has shown that the media portrayed women as sex objects, secondary to men, emotional, weak, housebound, victims of domestic violence and sexual abuse. Furthermore, in advertisements, the youthful and beautiful images of women are frequently used to sell a product. Admittedly, the unbalanced portrayal of women is a by-product of the pursuit of maximising profits.

In June 2002 the United Nations General Assembly assessed the progress made in implementing *The Beijing Platform for Action of 1995*. It noted that poverty, limited access, computer illiteracy and language barriers prevented some women's participation online (Note 3). It seems that women are unlikely to reap the fruits of new technologies, which in turn obstructs the improvement of women.

7. The Right to Communicate

We have to admit that different countries and individuals hold different status in this information society. The cry for equal access has contributed to the creation of "the right to communicate", which is believed by some as both a basic human right and the means by which all other rights are realized (Note 4). Article 19 of *The General Assembly's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)* stipulates:

> Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers (Mueth, 2001).

In practice, it's necessary to stress that the right to communicate should include that all people can communicate via their chosen media, and that their communication is heeded by others (Note 4). But to say is always easier. To define the various dimensions of access (e.g. Who has access to what, and under what conditions?) (Note 5) is much easier than to tackle the barriers to access (economical, technological, cultural, etc.).

Personally, besides *personal* right to communicate, I am much concerned with the *national* right to communicate. It's the countries which are still struggling for food and shelter that most need to express their desires to the outside world, but the fact seems to be that only few countries which control the global flow of information have the capacity to decide what the world wants and how to satisfy them.

8. Conclusion

Make no mistake, the interrelatedness between the political economy of the flow of information and the societies as media-international audience is complex and profound, which has been articulated by the Uruguayan writer Eduardo Galeano: "television decides where, when and how soccer will be played" (quoted in Abramson and Ambrosi). The few countries which can direct the global flow of information have been reaping the fruits of information flow, and this in turn helps enhance their capacity to control the information flow. Meanwhile, most of the countries which don't have the power to control the global flow of information aren't entitled to the advantages of the information flow, and this in turn comparatively reduces their ability to affect the global flow of information. It has formed a vicious circle, adding difficulty to the realisation of the universal access to the global flow of information and the right to communicate.

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Notes

Note 1. Right to Communication is trampled and auctioned in Guatemala. http://www.wacc.org.uk/publications/action/247/Guatemala.html

Note 2. The right to Communicate - The Internet in Africa. http://fxi.org.za/Medialaw/communicate.htm

Note 3. Anon. Participation. http://consult.womenspace.ca/participation 3.html

Note 4. TASH Resolution on the Right to Communicate. http://www.tash.org/resolutions/res02communicate.htm

Note 5. Shade, L.R. Using A Gender-based Analysis in Developing A Canadian. Access Strategy: Background Report. http://commposite.uqam.ca/videaz/docs/leshen.html

Bioarchaeological Analysis Mutual Relations of Populations Armenian Highlands and Eurasia Using Craniological and Dental Nonmetric Traits

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Abstract

Undertaken here is a multidimensional craniometric analysis of more than 254 ethnic groups of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages from the territory of Eurasia. On the basis of the received information, cluster analysis was done and has shown the genetic condensations of ethnoses and vectors of relatives or, conversely, distinctions between them. Craniometric and odontologic investigation of the Bronze Age is interesting and in connection with discussion about the origin of Indo-Europeans and about the place of their ancestral home. Different aspects of the problem of the ancestral home of Indo-Europeans are far from completely resolved and generate lively debate in the pages of scientific publications. New anthropological data allowed identification of alien Mediterranean characteristics influencing various ethnic Eurasian groups and revealed evidence of a migratory stream from the Armenian highlands and the Caucasus. This research provided new evidence of patterns of ethnic contact and intermixture in Western Eurasia.

Keywords: craniometrical characteristics, dental anthropology, biocultural, Mediterranean type, Bronze Ages, Armenian highlands

1. Introduction

The origin and development of ancient cultures is clearly connected with the general laws of social and economic development and environmental influence. The physical environment has played a significant role in all stages in the development of mankind, being a factor of paramount value favoring or constraining the cultural and economic progress of a society. In conjunction with the expansion of cattle-breeding and the emergence of ancient metallurgy, the Eurasian steppe, from serving as a factor dividing ethnic groups, became a factor uniting them in a larger community. The expansion into the steppes of wheeled vehicles invented in the Near East and "kibetka-houses" on wheels allowed cattlemen-farmers to move and survive with ease on the open steppes. Their movement across Eurasia in early times was not a military invasion, but a slow expansion caused by a decline in the child mortality rate and a resultant increase in population growth (Sarianidi, 2010). The wide expanse of the Eurasian steppes, offering favorable conditions for human life and the spread of information and technology, promoted a process of wide cultural integration in the Bronze Age throughout this area. The steppe was not only a conductor of new ideas and new people, but it also absorbed them, synthesizing and adapting to them new conditions. In what does the association consist? First of all, in a way of life that favored the strengthening of contacts between different groups that led to the occurrence of identical or very similar religious and ideological representations. A similar environment promoted the leveling of culture of the various ethnoses living in the steppe. Owing to similar circumstances, assimilation processes were facilitated that resulted in the contemporary ethnic diversity of the population of this territory, reflecting s it does a great variety of anthropological types. Reference to the morphological features of the ancient population of Eurasia was made in some previous works (Khudaverdyan, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011a), which showed the participation of the indigenous population from the Near East, the Armenian highlands and Caucasus in the formation of the anthropological character of certain

tribes and their movements, and also the desire to track the roots of the local substrate. The areas surrounding the Black Sea coast at certain stages of history became a center of interrelations of various cultures. Overland lines of contact existed between the Near East through the Armenian highlands and the Caucasus and on to the Balkans, and through Caucasus and the Balkans to the north Black Sea coast and in the return direction. The ethnic history of the region developed under the interaction of various groups since the early Bronze Age, among which the Indo-European played a leading role, those tribes having created one of the most advanced cultures of the then-contemporary world. The purpose of this paper is to compare craniometric and odontologic variations among Neolithic and Bronze Age inhabitants of Armenian highlands, Caucasus, Iran, with Neolithic and Bronze Age samples from the European-Russo-Kazakh steppe, south Central Asia, and Siberia. All we can do with ancient skeletal material is determine cases of population movements, and then decide if any such movements match the relevant period of Indo-European expansions and the relevant lands penetrated by Indo-Europeans.

1.1 Indo-European Origins

The most popular current theory places the Indo-European homeland in steppes of Eastern Europe. The hypothesis about a West European ancestral home of Indo-European also enjoys popularity (Merpert, 1974; Klejn, 1990, 2010; Mallory 1997 et al.). This theory was most comprehensively proposed by the Russian linguist and historian D'iakonov (1985). D'iakonov makes an extensive survey of the linguistic and archaeological evidence and determines that the Proto-Indo-Europeans had a mixed economy based on farming and animal husbandry. D'iakonov demonstrates that the Balkan-Carpathian region has all the features known for Proto-Indo-European culture. D'iakonov (1999) explained that the Indo-Europeans managed to expand because of their comparative advantage over the more primitive societies that surrounded them. The reason was that the population speaking the Indo-European proto-language changed to a diet of milk and meat, and had a sufficiently developed agriculture (growing barley, wheat, grapes and vegetables). The surrounding population which lived in the Early Primitive Phase, and thus was by far not so numerous, adopted the agricultural achievements of the Indo-Europeans, and at the same time also adopted their language; thus the further movements involved not only the original Indo-Europeans but also tribes who had adopted the language and the mores, the latter including the Primitive Communal stage customs which the Indo-Europeans had evolved. Finnish scholar Wiik (2003) has also proposed Indo-European origins in Southeast Europe (<http://www.lib.helsinki.fi/bff/399/wiik.html>).

Others connect the ancestral home of these groups with the Armenian highlands, Transcaucasia and Northern Mesopotamia (Gamkrelidze & Ivanov, 1981, 1984, 1990; Renfrew, 1987; Safronov, 1989; Gray & Atkinson, 2003; Ivanov, 2010, etc.). The Armenian highlands hypothesis is also favored by Renfrew's (1987) Neolithic Discontinuity Theory; this proposes a dispersal of Proto-Indo-Europeans originating in Neolithic Armenian highlands. C. Renfrew's original hypothesis suggested that the speakers of the Proto-Indo-European language lived in Anatolian highlands during the Neolithic era, and it linked the distribution of the historical Indo-European languages to the geographical expansion of the Neolithic revolution during the VII and VI millennia BC. This view arose directly from the "farming dispersal" hypothesis, since farming came to Europe from the Anatolian highlands. C. Renfrew (1998) has somewhat modified his previous theory of an Anatolian origin of the Indo-Europeans. Now, he thinks that Proto-Indo-European unity originated on the northern edge of the Balkans (Southeast Europe), in agreement with the opinion of D'iakonov. Kuzmina (2008) has this view.

According to Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1981), the way north from the outskirts of the Iranian plateau in Central and Central East Asia was well-known by the agriculture and cattle breeding tribes. These may have included carriers and speakers of future Kelto-Italian, Illyria, German, Balto-Slavic speech. The latter, settling across Central Asia in territories to the east of the Caspian Sea (and having also entered into contact with the ancestors of the Siberian people), then turned to the west and by the III millennium BC occupied areas from the Volga steppes to the Northern Black coast; later, already from the middle of the III millennium BC, their advancement further to the west, north, and southwest began. Khlopina's opinion (1970) believes an Iranization of the northern steppes from the south of Central Asia took place in the late III to the II millennium BC. According to Khlopin, this process was accompanied by a transition in the specified steppe territories to a more productive economy, the first spreading of skills such as cattle breeding, agriculture, metallurgy, etc., Sarianidi (1998a,b, 2010) also is a supporter of the hypothesis of Gamkrelidze and Ivanov. He specifies that the migration of the founders of the Bactria and Margiani cultures were from the Near East.

The purpose of this paper is to compare craniometric and odontologic variation among Neolithic and Bronze Age inhabitants of Armenian highlands, Caucasus, Iran, with Neolithic and Bronze Age samples from the European-Russo-Kazakh steppe, south Central Asia, and Siberia, in order to test which of the hypotheses best explain the origins and subsequent interactions in the steppes of migrating Bronze Age inhabitants from the Armenian highlands.

2. Materials and Methods

In total, the analysis included 223 craniological series from the territory of Eurasia (Table 1). The paper does not allow us to provide a long list of the analyzed groups and references and the links to sources from which they have been generated. For sources of data about the majority of groups, see Schwidetzky and Rösing (1990), Khudaverdyan (2009). Ten cranial variables of those defined by Martin (1928) provide the metrical basis for the current study (numbers of variables as defined by Martin (1928): basic diameters of a cranium: length (1), breadth (8), height (17), minimal width of a forehead /9/, bizygomatic breadth /45/, upper facial height /48/, orbital breadth (51), orbital height (52), nasal breadth (54), nasal height (55)). These were analyzed using canonical variates analisis and Mahalanobis D^2 generalized distances between each pair of samples adjusted for number (Rightmire, 1969). They were analyzed in 3 steps in order to maximize the number of skeletal samples included in the study.

Table 1. Eurasian craniological samples

	Site (s)	Sample name	Date
1	Armenian highland	Landjik (Kura-Araks culture)	c. 4000-3000 BC
2	Armenian highland	Djarat	c. 4000-3000 BC
3	Armenian highland	Shengavit	c. 4000-3000 BC
4	Armenian highland	Total group (Kura-Araks culture)	c. 4000-3000 BC
5	Armenian highland	Artik	c. XV/XIV BC
6	Armenian highland	Nerkin Getashen	c. XV/XIV BC
7	Armenian highland	Total group: Artik, Nerkin Getashen	c. XV/XIV BC
8	Armenian highland	Noraduz	c. XI-IX/ VIII BC
9	Armenian highland	Saryxan	c. XI-IX/ VIII BC
10	Armenian highland	Arcvakar	c. XI-IX/ VIII BC
11	Armenian highland	Camakaberd	c. XI-IX/ VIII BC
12	Armenian highland	Orom	c. XI-IX/ VIII BC
13	Armenian highland	Total group: Noraduz, Saryxan, Arcvakar, Camakaberd	c. XI-IX/ VIII BC
14	Georgia	Total group (Kura-Araks culture)	c. 4000-3000 BC
15	Georgia	Tkviavi	c. 4000-3000 BC
16	Georgia	Kiketi	c. 4000-3000 BC
17	Georgia	Total group (Late Bronze Age – I period)	c. XI-IX/ VIII BC
18	Georgia	Total group (Late Bronze Age – II period)	c. XI-IX/ VIII BC
19	Georgia	Samtavro (Late Bronze Age – I period)	c. XI-IX/ VIII BC
20	Georgia	Samtavro (Late Bronze Age – II period)	c. XI-IX/ VIII BC
21	Georgia	Tserovani (Late Bronze Age – I period)	c. XI-IX/ VIII BC
22	Georgia	Samtavro	c. Õ-VI BC
23	Western Azerbaijan	Mingechayr	c. Õ-VIII BC
24	Western Azerbaijan	Mingechayr	c. VII – V BC
25	Anatolia	Catal Huyuk	c. 6000-5000 BC
26	Iran	El-Ubeida	4000 BC
27	Iran	Alisar Huyuk	c. 3000-1000 BC
28	Iran	Ikiztepe	c. 2600-2200BC
29	Iran	Caratash	c. 4000-3000 BC
30	Iran	Tepe Gissar II	c. 4000-3000 BC

31	Iran	Tepe Gissar III	3000 BC
32	Iran	Ras-Shamra	c. 3000-2000 BC
33	Iran	Minet-E-Beida	2000 BC
34	Iran	Tepe-Djemshidi	c. 2500-2000 BC
35	Iran	Shar-i-Sotra	c. 2900-2000 BC
36	Iran	Kish	c. 2900-2800 BC
37	Pakistan	Saraikhola	c. 2000-1000 BC
38	Pakistan	Timargarkha	c. 2000-1000 BC
39	India	R-37	c. 3000-1000 BC
40	India	Kharappa, R-37	c. 4000-3000 BC
41	Jericho	Total group	c. 3300-3100 BC
42	Egypt	Badari	c. 4000-3500 BC
43	Egypt	Naqada	c. 4000-3000 BC
44	Egypt	Acmant	c. 4000-3000 BC
45	Egypt	Sakkara I	c. 2925-2790 BC
46	Egypt	Abydos I	c. 2925-2790 BC
47	Egypt	Heluan	c. 2925-2790 BC
48	Egypt	Sakkara II	c. 2925-2790 BC
49	Egypt	El Khozan	c. 2655-2155 BC
50	Egypt	Sakkara III	c. 2750-2450 BC
51	Egypt	Nada ed-Der II	c. 2290-1785 BC
52	Egypt	El-Kubanieh Sud	c. 2450-1785 BC
53	Egypt	El-Kubanieh Nord	c. 2134-1785 BC
54	Egypt	Sedment	c. 2134-1991 BC
55	Egypt	Drah Aboul Neggah	c. 2134-1991 BC
56	Egypt	Theben I	c. 2134-1991 BC
57	Egypt	Qubbet el Hawa	c. 2290-1550 BC
58	Egypt	Elephantine	c. 2450-1650 BC
59	Egypt	Unternubien A-Gruppe	c. 2925-2635 BC
60	Turkmenia	Total group (Namazga culture)	c. 4000-3000 BC
61	Central Asia	Tumek-Kichidjic	c. 4000-3000 BC
62	Central Asia	Karatepe	c. 4000-3000 BC
63	Central Asia	Geoksur	c. 4000-3000 BC
64	Central Asia	Kapuztepe	c. 4000-3000 BC
65	Central Asia	Altyn-Depe	c. 4000-3000 BC
66	Central Asia	Parhai	3000 BC
67	Central Asia	Dzarkytan	c. 2000-1000 BC
68	Central Asia	Sapallitepe	c. 2000-1000 BC
69	Central Asia	Ranni Tylkhar	c. 2000-1000 BC
70	Central Asia	Tigrovaya Balka	c. 2000-1000 BC
71	Central Asia	Makonimor	c. 2000-1000 BC
72	Central Asia	Symbar	c. 2000-1000 BC
73	Central Asia	Kokcha 3	c. 2000-1000 BC

74	Northeast Kazakhstan	Total group (Andronovo culture)	c. 1700-1200BC
75	Western Kazakhstan	Total group (Andronovo culture)	c. 1700-1200BC
76	Northern Caucasus	Total group	c. 4600-3000 BC
77	Northern Caucasus	Total group	c. 2000-1000 BC
78	Northern Caucasus	Total group	(Kobanskaya culture)
79	Daghestan	Ginchi	c. 4000-3000 BC
80	Ossetia	Tliski	(Kobanskaya culture)
81	Kalmykia	Total group (Pit Grave-Catacomb time)	c. 3000 BC
82	Kalmykia	Evdik I	c. 4000-3000 BC
83	Kalmykia	Total group (Catacomb culture)	c. 3000-2000 BC
84	Kalmykia	Elista-Arxara (Catacomb culture)	c. 3000-2000 BC
85	Kalmykia	Chokhrai I and II (Catacomb culture)	c. 3000-2000 BC
86	Volga region	Krivaya lyka (Pit Grave culture)	c. 4000-3000 BC
87	Volga region	Krivaya lyka (Pit Grave-Catacomb time)	3000 BC
88	Volga region	Krivaya lyka (Timber Grave culture)	c. 1800-1100BC
89	Volgo-Uralja	Total group (Khvalynsk culture)	c. 4000-3000 BC
90	Volgo-Uralja	Total group (Pit Grave culture)	c. 4000-3000 BC
91	Volgo-Uralja	Total group (Poltavka culture)	3000 BC
92	Volgo-Uralja	Total group (Potapovsky culture)	3000 BC
93	Ural	Mellitamak	c. 5000-4000 BC
94	Ciscaucasia and Volga region	Total group (Lolinsky /Post Catacomb/)	c. 2500-1800 BC
95	Ciscaucasia and Volga region	Total group (Krivoluksky /Post Catacomb/)	c. 2500-1800 BC
96	Saratov region	Total group (Timber Grave culture)	c. 1800-1100BC
97	Volgo-Astrakhan region	Total group (Timber Grave culture)	c. 1800-1100BC
98	Forest-steppe the Volga region	Total group (Timber Grave culture)	c. 1800-1100BC
99	Volgo-Uralja	Spiridonovka II-Roszestveno I	c.2000-1500BC
100	Volgo-Uralja	Spiridonovka II	c.2000-1500BC
101	Volgo-Uralja	Roszestveno I	c.2000-1500BC
102	Volgo-Uralja	Xrichovka et al.	c. 1800-1100BC
103	Volgo-Uralja	Pure Jr I	c. 1800-1100BC
104	Volgo-Uralja	Studenci	c. 1800-1100BC
105	Volgo-Uralja	Novoselki	c. 1800-1100BC
106	Volgo-Uralja	Syezzhe	c. 1800-1100BC
107	Volgo-Uralja	Alekseevski	c. 1800-1100BC
108	Volgo-Uralja	N.Orlianka I	c. 1800-1100BC
109	Volgo-Uralja	Poplavskoe	c. 1800-1100BC
110	Volgo-Uralja	Xrichovka	c. 1800-1100BC
111	Volgo-Uralja	Luzanovka	c. 1800-1100BC
112	Volgo-Uralja	Uranbash	c. 1800-1100BC
113	Volga region	Total group (Abashevskaya culture)	c. 2500BC
114	Volga region	Total group (Fatianovo culture)	c. 2000-1500 BC
115	Volga region	Total group (Early Fatianovo)	c. 2000-1700BC
116	Volga region	Total group (Late Fatianovo)	c. 1700-1500 BC

117	Bashkiria	Total group (Timber Grave culture)	c. 1800-1100BC
118	Bashkiria	(Old-Jabalaklinsky /Timber Grave culture /)	c. 1800-1100BC
119	Bashkiria	Total group (Timber Grave culture)	c. 1800-1100BC
120	Altai	Total group (culture Afanasevo)	c. 4000-2000BC
121	Altai	Total group (culture Karakolskaya)	c. XVIII–XVI BC
122	Altai	Total group (culture Eluninskaya)	c. XX–XVII BC
123	Altai	Total group (culture Andronovo)	c. 1700-1200BC
124	Russian plain	Lovci	c. 4000-3000 BC
125	Russian plain	Chernaya gora	3000 BC
126	Don region	Pavlovski	2000 BC
127	Don region	Jiasirev (Timber Grave culture)	c. 1800-1100BC
128	Don region	Elizavetovski	c. VI - IIIBC
129	Don region	Beglica	c. VI - IIIBC
130	Don region	Nomads of steppe barrows I	c. IX - VIIBC
131	Don region	Nomads of steppe barrows II	c. VI - IIIBC
132	Dnieper region	Total group (Pit Grave cultures)	c. 4000-3000 BC
133	Dnieper region	Total group (Catacomb culture)	c. 3000-2000 BC
134	Dnieper region	Total group (Mnogovalikovaya culture)	c. 1800-1500 BC
135	Left bank of Dnepr	Total group (Timber Grave culture)	c. 1800-1100BC
136	Right bank of Dnepr	Total group (Timber Grave culture)	c. 1800-1100BC
137	Crimea	Total group (the Kemi Oba culture)	c. 3500-2000BC
138	Steppe Crimea	Total group (Timber Grave culture)	c. 1800-1100BC
139	Ukraine	Total group (Pit Grave cultures)	c. 4000-3000 BC
140	Ukraine	Total group (Catacomb culture)	c. 3000-2000 BC
141	Ukraine	Total group (Cucuteni- Trypillian culture)	c. 4000-3000 BC
142	Ukraine	Total group (Timber Grave culture)	c. 1800-1100BC
143	Ukraine	Total group (Timber Grave culture, flat burials)	c. 1800-1100BC
144	Ukraine	Shirochanski	c. 1800-1100BC
145	Ukraine	Chernyanka and Wide (Timber Grave culture /belozer phase/)	c. 1800-1100BC
146	Moldova	Sarkovka I (Mariupolskaya culture)	c. 4000-4500 BC
147	Moldova	Vikhvatintsi (Cucuteni- Trypillian culture)	c. 4000-3000 BC
148	Moldova	Total group (Cucuteni- Trypillian culture)	c. 4000-3000 BC
149	Moldova	Kalfa	c. XV - XIII BC
150	Moldova	Old Bedrazji (culture Hoya)	c. 1400-1200 BC
151	Dnestr region	Ostrovec (culture Hoya)	c. 1400-1200 BC
152	Latvia	Kreichi	c. 2000 BC
153	Latvia	Kiwytkalnsk (Corded Ware culture)	c. 2000 BC
154	Poland	Total group (Linear Pottery culture)	c. 5500-4000 BC
155	Germany	Total group (Linear Pottery culture)	c. 5500-4000 BC
156	Austria	Total group (Linear Pottery culture)	c. 5500-4000 BC

157	Romania	Bilche-Zlota (Cucuteni- Trypillian culture)	c. 4000-3000 BC
158	Romania	Dridu-Russe (Gumelnița culture)	c. 4000-3000 BC
159	Romania	Total group (burials with ochre)	c. 4500-3500 BC
160	East Romania	Total group (burials with ochre)	c. 4500-3500 BC
161	Romania	Balintesh (culture Monteoru)	c. VI-VIII BC
162	Romania	Trushesht (culture Hoya)	c. 1400-1200 BC
163	Romania	Oktegrebe	c. 2500-1800 BC
164	Poland	Total group (Globular Amphora Culture)	c. 3400-2800 BC
165	Poland	Total group I (Corded Ware culture)	c. 3200 - 2300 BC
166	Poland	Total group II (Corded Ware culture)	c. 2500-2000 BC
167	Poland	Total group III (Corded Ware culture)	c. 3200 - 2300 BC
168	Poland	Brjest-Kuyvski (Corded Ware culture)	c. 3200 - 2300 BC
169	Poland	Total group (culture Zlota)	c. 2400-1800 BC
170	Slovakia	Total group I (Corded Ware culture)	c. 3200 - 2300 BC
171	Western Europe	Rass	c. 3000 BC
172	Greece	Total group (Neolith)	c. 4000-3000 BC
173	Greece	Total group	c. 3000 - 1400 BC
174	Western Europe	Total group (culture Reisen)	c. 4000-3500 BC
175	Western Europe	Total group (culture Michelsberger)	c. 3500-3000 BC
176	Western Europe	Total group (culture Lengyel)	c. 3500-2500 BC
177	Western Europe	Total group (culture Vinca)	c. 3500-2500 BC
178	Western Europe	Total group (Globular Amphora Culture)	c. 3400-2800 BC
179	Czechia	Bogemia (Corded Ware culture)	c. 3200 - 2300 BC
180	Czechia	Bogemia(Globular Amphora Culture)	c. 3400-2800 BC
181	Czechia	Total group (Corded Ware culture)	c. 3200 - 2300 BC
182	Hungary	Alshonemedia (Corded Ware culture)	c. 3200 - 2300 BC
183	Sicily	Total group	c. 2000 BC
184	Germany	Total group (culture Baden)	c. 2500-2000 BC
185	Western Europe	Ponte San Pietro, Rinaldone	c. 2500-2000 BC
186	Western Europe	Arene Candide	c. 3200-2500 BC
187	Sicily	Isnello	c. 2500-1800 BC
188	Sardinia	Total group	c. 2500-2000 BC
189	Switzerland	Total group (culture Cortaillod)	c. 3000-2500 BC
190	France	SOM Grottes de la Meuse	c. 2500-2000 BC
191	Languedoc	Chalk	c. 2500-1800 BC
192	France	Grands Causses Lozere	c. 3000-2000 BC
193	France	Causses d`Aveyron	c. 2500-1800 BC
194	Germany	Steinkisten, Hessen	c. 2500-1800 BC
195	Germany	Altendorf, Steinkiste	c. 2500-1800 BC
196	Germany	Mecklenburg	c. 3000-2500 BC
197	Germany	Total group (culture Walternienb.)	c. 2600-2400 BC
198	Germany	Total group (Corded Ware culture)	c. 2500-2000 BC

199	Western Europe	Zimnicea	c. 2000-1000 BC
200	Western Europe	Lika Gospie	c. 1600-1400 BC
201	Western Europe	Lerna	c. 2000-1600 BC
202	Western Europe	Kerameikos, submyk.	c. 1200-1000 BC
203	Crete	Total group	c. 2000-1100 BC
204	Western Europe	Mokrin	c. 1800-1500 BC
205	Hungary	Tape	c. 1800-1100 BC
206	Western Europe	Total group (culture Aunjetitz I)	c. 1800-1500 BC
207	Western Europe	Mahren(culture Aunjetitz II)	c. 1800-1500 BC
208	Western Europe	Bajc (culture Hurbanovo)	c. 1800-1500 BC
209	Czechia	Total group (culture Knovizer)	c. 1800-1000 BC
210	Poland	Total group (culture Mierzanowice)	c. 2100-1700 BC
211	Silesia	Total group I	c. 1800-1500 BC
212	Silesia	Total group II	c. 1800-1500 BC
213	Western Europe	Gemeinlebarn	c. 1800-1500 BC
214	Hamburg	Total group	c. 1800-1500 BC
215	Western Europe	Großbrembach, Aunj	c. 1800-1500 BC
216	Western Europe	Nahermemmingen	c. 1800-1600 BC
217	Western Europe	Lozere BZ	c. 1800-1500 BC
218	Western Europe	Langueoc BZ	c. 1800-1500 BC
219	Western Europe	Narbonnais-Roussiilon	c. 1800-1500 BC
220	Western Europe	Total group (culture Theiss)	c. 2500-2100 BC
221	Hamburg	Total group (Tiszapolgár culture)	c. 2500-2100 BC
222	Germany	Total group (Bodrogkeresztúr culture II)	c. 2500-2100 BC
223	Austria	Franzhausen (culture Veterov)	c. 1800-1500 BC
224	Italy	Castiglione, Ragusa	c. 1800-1600 BC
225	Germany	Германия (culture Unetice)	c. 1700-1400 BC

The analysis included 29 odontologic series from the territory of Eurasia (Tabl. 2). The analysis is carried out by means of following signs: diastema I^1-I^1 Shov J^1, $M^2\sum3,3+$, cara M^1, + 5 form on M_1, 6- and 4-forms on M_1, 4-form on M_2, DW, Dtc, 2med (II). Data are subjected to the component and cluster analysis. They were analyzed in 3 steps in order to maximize the number of skeletal samples included in the study. Kozintseva and Kozintseva's statistical package (Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of name of the Peter the Great, St. Petersburg) has been used.

3. Results and Discussion

Measurements of the neurocranium and facial skeleton have been used for many years to provide an assessment of the degree of biological relatedness among samples from past and living populations. Although these measurements are influenced by an unknown combination of hereditary and environmental factors (Cavalli-Sforza and Bodme, 1971), and may be affected by masticatory mechanics (Van Gerven, 1982) and environmental variation (Beals, 1972; Guglielmino-Matessi, Gluckman, & Cavalli-Sforza., 1979), twin studies (Clark, 1956; Orczykowska-Swiatkowska & Lebioda., 1975, Saunders, Popovich, & Thompson. 1980), familial studies (Devor, 1987; Howells, 1966), and worldwide comparisons of craniometric variation have revealed a moderate degree of genetic control (Susanne, 1977), and have demonstrated the utility of such variables for reconstructing patterns of biological interaction between populations (Howells, 1973, 1989; Abdushelishvili, 1982, 2003; Alexseev, 1986).

The analysis 1. Ten standard measurements from 86 crania were selected for analysis. Vectors for the first three canonical variates are given in table 3.

Table 3. Elements of three initial vectors for 86 groups

	♂		
	I	II	III
1	-0.273	0.602	0.635
8	0.306	-0.456	-0.425
17	-0.098	-0.245	0.311
9	-0.006	-0.248	0.536
45	0.716	-0.046	0.275
48	-0.292	-0.135	-0.497
55	0.243	0.057	0.366
54	-0.347	-0.063	-0.186
51	-0.427	0.101	0.019
52	0.447	0.770	-0.537
Values	21.501	13.039	12.490

As is to be expected, the first canonical vector accounts for the majority (21.6%) of the intergroup discrimination. The positive weight gives bizygomatic breadth (0.716). The second canonical vector (13.1%) are maximum for orbital height (0.770) and cranial length (0.602). The third canonical vector accounts for the 12.5% of the intergroup. The positive weight gives a cranial length (0.635) and minimal width of a forehead (0.536) in contrast to the negative weight for orbital breadth (-0.537).
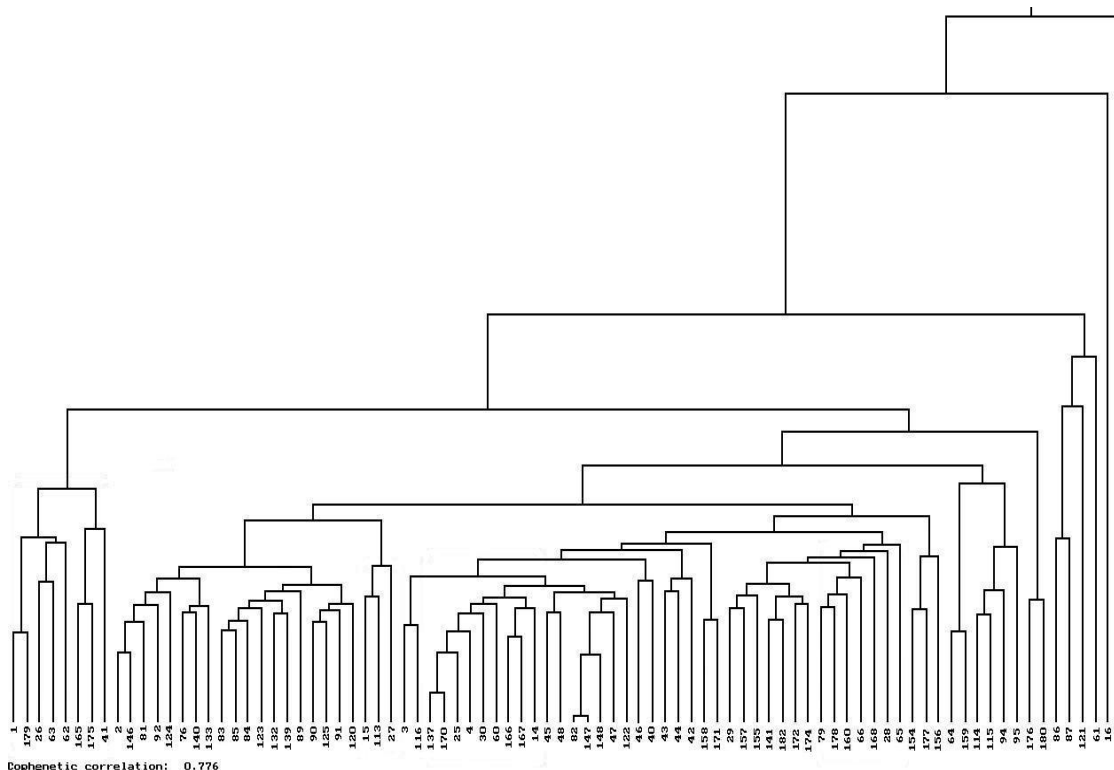
Figure1. Cluster tree based on Mahalanobis D^2 distances (86 groups of epoch of a neolith and bronze). The analysis 1

The dendrogram gives a visual idea of the relationship between the various groups (figure 1). Cluster analysis provides a different representation of the distance matrix, because it is an unrooted tree whose branches have different lengths. Long branch lengths may be interpreted as an indicator of a large degree of morphological separation, while short branch lengths are indicative of a small degree of morphological separation between

samples. Affinities among Kura-Araks population samples are rather diffuse. The Armenian highlands sample (Landjik) and sample from Czechia (Bogemia /Corded Ware culture/) exhibit close affinities to one another. The Jericho features a close affinity with those of the Europe samples (cultures Michelsberger and Corded Ware). The Catal Hüyüka sample from Asia Minor serves as a phenetic link between Armenian highlands (Kura-Araks culture), the Crimea (Kemi Oba culture) and Slovakia samples (Corded Ware culture) that feature the closest affinities to one another. In Catal Hüyük the shapes lie closer and to other European forms (Harvig, 2007, Khudaverdyan, 2011a). This suggests that some of the European genes do actually stem from this area. Mediterranean connections from Asia Minor and Georgia are distinctly fixed in Western Europe in the Early Bronze Age. The sample from Anatolia (Catal Ньука) exhibits affinities to sample to Georgia (Kura-Araks culture: -0.487). The Crimea sample (Kemi Oba culture) and the Armenian highlands (Kura-Araks culture: -0.556) sample exhibit close affinities to one another. Results of the analysis reveal a certain intersample affinities among the samples from Georgia (14, Kura-Araks culture) and Poland (Corded Ware culture). The Kura-Araks culture samples (Armenian highland) and Romania (burials with ochre) are identified as possessing the closest affinities to one another (0.440).

The Kalmykia sample (maikop culture: Evdik I) exhibit closest affinities to samples Cucuteni-Trypillian tribe cultures (aka Tripolye) (from Moldova 147, 148). The Armenian highlands samples (4, Kura-Araks culture) serve as a phenetic link between Moldova samples (Tripolye culture: 0.506) that feature the closest affinities to one another. Among groups, the two geographic samples included (Djarat / Kura-Araks culture/ and Vikhvatintsi /Cucuteni-Trypillian culture/: 0.384) are closest neighbors to each other, showing strong geographic clustering. The sample from Mayak (Tripolye culture) occupies a unique position among Ukraine samples by exhibiting much closer affinities to the Armenian highlands (odontological analysis, Analysis 3). The Anatolia sample (Chatal Hüyük: 0.232) and sample from Romania (Bilche-Zlota: Cucuteni-Trypillian culture) exhibit very close affinities to one another. Northern Caucasus sample (Chalcolithic, Bronze: 0.943) features a moderate affinity with the sample from Ukraine (Cucuteni-Trypillian culture). An examination of this array confirms the patterns of interregional affinities (figure 1). Hence, it is possible to outline the cultural and ethnic communications in antiquity and the known role of the Armenian highlands as the intermediary between ancient area of distribution of Tripolye cultures and the East countries (Passek, 1949; Martiroyan & Mnacakanyan, 1973; Lang, 2005).

Affinities are closest between the Armenian highland sample from Shengavit (3, Kura-Araks culture), and sample from Volga region (Late Fatianovo). The Armenian highlands sample (4, Kura-Araks culture: 0.446) and the Late Fatianovo sample from Volga region exhibit very close affinities to one another. The results, however, fail to demonstrate even a low-level phenetic affinity between Fatyanovo and either of the Western Europe samples. The sample from Georgia (Tkviavi) match the sample from the Volga region (Abashevskaya culture) (figure 1).

The Armenian highlands sample (4) and the Bronze Age (Pit Grave culture) samples from Dnieper region (0.755) and Ukraine (0.906) exhibit close affinities to one another. The Pit Grave-Catacomb time samples from Kalmykia and Djarat (2, Armenian highlands, 0.094) exhibit very close affinities.

The Catacomb culture samples from the Ukraine and Dnieper are identified as the steppe samples with closest affinities samples from Northern Caucasus (Chalcolithic, Bronze). The Armenian highlands samples (4, Kura-Araks culture: 0.252) and the Bronze Age sample from Kalmykia (Catacomb culture) exhibit very close affinities to one another. If we follow a hypothesis put forward and developed by Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1984) considering the ancestral home of Indo-European areas of the Anatolian/Armenian highlands and adjoining territories, whence other tribes get into the Northern Black coast both through the Caucasus and through Central Asia and the Volga region (carriers of a Catacomb culture ceremony), it is necessary to assign that movement to Aryan tribes, which were one of the first to get into Black Sea coast steppes through the Caucasus (or possibly by sea?). Though researchers connect this movement with the early Bronze Age, the process quite keeps well within the Catacomb culture. According to all available data from Chernykha (2008), early Catacomb cultures are dated to the beginning of the III millennium BC. This specifies the constant presence in the steppes of Kuro-Araks or of a cultural group to related it, and not transitory migrants. The Catacomb culture made sophisticated arsenical bronze weapons, tools, and ornaments, probably using Caucasian alloying recipes. Among subjects of the steppe Catacomb culture, a significant amount of Caucasian bronze products are revealed (Krupnov, 1966; Trifonov, 1991; Nechitailo, 1991; Pystovalov, 2002). In the II millennium BC Caucasian metal prevailed in northern areas, extending up to Oka. Experts have even allocated a whole stage in the history of metallurgy (from III thousand BC to the middle II thousand BC) to Eastern Europe and named its Caucasian (Nazarov, 2002; Pystovalov, 2002).

Analysis has shown that it is impossible to deny a some part in the formation of the Catacomb culture to the Pit Grave people (the local population is almost never completely replaced, and some part of it is almost always included in a new culture). It is possible to judge a measure of this participation on the basis of the following data: affinities are closest between the samples Catacomb culture from Kalmykia and Pit Grave culture samples from Ukraine and Dnieper.

From whence came the Catacomb population (or its alien component)? To connect the Catacomb population with any certain culture is not yet possible, but the Mediterranean component certainly added to the Catacomb population from territory of the Near East and the Armenian highlands. Balaresque et al. (2010) proposed an Anatolian origin for the predominant male DNA haplogroup in Europe, known as R1b (Y-DNA). It is necessary to notice that Shevchenko (1986), arguing on the basis of the occurrence of a ceremony of artificial deformation of the head in tribes of the Catacomb cultures, considered that this tradition was brought to the steppe of Eastern Europe from the Mediterranean more likely by Caucasian and through its concrete carriers. Khlopin (1983) connect the Catacomb culture with the Indo-Aryans, because catacomb burial ritual had roots in Southwestern Turkmenistan from the early IV millennium BC (Sumbar cemetery). Fisenko (1966) suggest that the Catacomb people were Proto-Hittites. Kuzmina (1998) also is a supporter of the hypothesis Fisenko. Anthony (2007) supposed Catacomb people to be ancestors of Greeks, while Berzin and Grantovsky (1962), Klejn (1980, 1984, 2010) determine the Indo-Aryans originated from the Catacomb culture.

The samples from Georgia (14, Kura-Araks culture) occupies a unique position among Caucasus samples by exhibiting much closer affinities to Egypt samples (Sakkara II: 0.160; Sakkara I: 0.825). Other researchers also emphasize the close affinities to samples from Egypt (Abdushelishvili, 2003). The Egypt samples (Acmant: 0.178, Badari: 0.588) and Iran (Tepe Gissar II) are identified as possessing the closest affinities to one another.

Let's continue the *analysis (2)* of 89 series. Vectors for the first three canonical variates are given in table 4. Placement of the samples used in figure 2 determined by the values of canonical vectors I (20.3%) and II (11.6%). Vector I has its strongest value nasal breadth (-0.596) and upper facial height (-0.544). Small values correspond to the basic sizes of a neurocranium (17, 9). The positive weight (vector II) given for maximum cranial height (0.532) in contrast to the negative weight for maximum bizygomatic breadth (-0. 850). The III canonical vector accounts for the 10.3% of the intergroup discrimination.The positive weight (vector III) given for maximum cranial breadth (0.650), nasal (0.546) and orbital (0.531) height in contrast to the negative weight for maximum cranial length (-0. 677), minimal width of a forehead (-0.529) and upper facial height (-0.500).

Table 4. Elements of three initial vectors for 89 and 109 groups

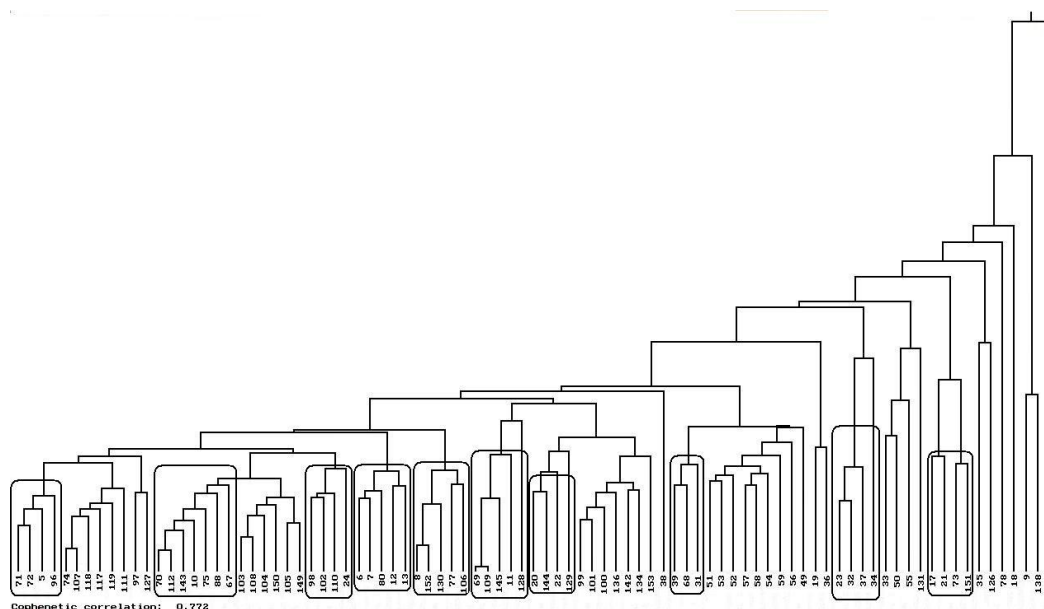|	♂		(89 groups)		♂ (109	groups)
	I	II	III	I	II	III
1	0.301	0.270	-0.677	-0.550	0.096	-0.306
8	-0.279	-0.350	0.650	0.789	-0.460	0.190
17	0.174	0.532	0.368	-0.457	0.023	0.548
9	0.274	-0.022	-0.529	-0.282	-0.132	-0.093
45	0.452	-0.850	-0.048	0.184	0.356	0.212
48	-0.544	-0.471	-0.500	0.150	-0.067	-1.086
55	0.461	0.424	0.546	-0.165	0.196	1.080
54	-0.596	0.114	0.276	-0.076	-0.190	-0.311
52	0.437	0.335	0.531	0.443	0.840	-0.036
51	-0.300	0.281	0.004	-0.194	-0.045	-0.231
Values	20.291	11.554	10.299	15.785	12.361	8.233

Figure 2. Cluster tree based on Mahalanobis D^2 distances (89 groups of epoch of a neolith and bronze). The analysis 2

Debets (1948, 1954) noted a large carcass gracile Timber Grave culture (Russ. Srubnaya culture) samples as compared with the Pit Grave and allocated among its carriers two anthropological types. Further evidence was provided by the Timber Grave on the western outskirts of the area to the circle of the Mediterranean forms (Konduktorova, 1956, 1969, Kruts, 1976). The presence of the Mediterranean components was marked by Shevchenko (1984, 1986), Khokhlov (2000) in carriers of Timber Grave cultures of the forest-steppe Volga region, and also by Yusupov (1989) in the Southern Urals Mountains. It is reasonable to suppose a new population, carriers of Mediterranean morphological features, reaches into the Middle Bronze Age in the East European Plain. Now one can, by scrupulous comparative analysis of races, cover many biological contacts of the carcass population. Depiction of the similarities of the various groups tested can be seen from the dendrogram. Affinities are closest between the Tajikistan samples from Symbar, Makonimor, Artik from Armenian highland and sample from Saratov region (Timber Grave culture) (figure 2). The Artik (5) sample from Armenian highlands and Timber Grave samples from Volgo-Ural region (Xrichovka: 0.289, Alekseevski: 0.331, Poplavskoe: -0.546, N.Orlianka I: -0.604, Luzanovka: 0.938) also exhibit close affinities to one another. And the Makonimor sample exhibits affinities to Timber Grave cultures samples from Volgo-Ural region (Poplavskoe: -0.084, Novoselki: -0.570, Studenci: 0.666, Luzanovka: 0.732, Roszestveno I:-0.946), Bashkiria (0.402) and Ukraine (143, flat burials: 0.637). The Symbar sample from the Tajikistan and Timber Grave samples from Volgo-Ural region (N.Orlianka I: -0.173, Roszestveno I: -0.284, Novoselki: 0.942) also exhibit close affinities to one another.

Samples from Armenian highlands (10, Arcvakar), Middle Asia (67: Dzarkytan, 70: Tigrovaya Balka),Western Kazakhstan (Andronovo culture) and Timber Grave samples from Volga region (Uranbash, Krivaya lyka), Ukraine exhibit close affinities (Fig. 2). The Arcvakar sample (AAR) exhibits affinities to ten Timber Grave cultures samples from Volgo-Ural region (Xrichovka et al.: 0.047, N.Orlianka I: -0.249, Pure Jr I: -0.502, Krivaya lyka: 0.504, Alekseevski: -0.755, Xrichovka: -0.847, Syezzhe: -0.854, Novoselki: -0.875, Studenci: 0.935, Luzanovka: -0.995), Saratov region(-0.497), Volgo-Astrakhan region (0.795), Forest-steppe the Volga region (0.533) and two samples from the Bashkiria (117: -0.585, 118, Old-Jabalaklinsky: -0.077). Also affinities are closest between the Arcvakar sample (CATB) and the sample from the Dnestr region (Kalfa: 0.493, Old Bedrazji: 0.805). The Dzarkytan sample (67) exhibit the closest affinities with the Timber Grave culture from Volga region (Studenci: 0.096, Krivaya lyka: 0.471) and Ukraine (143, flat burials: 0.266, Shirochanski: 0.910). The Tigrovaya Balka (Tajikistan, 70) features a close affinity with the samples of the Don (Jiasirev: 0.055), Volgo-Ural region (Poplavskoe: -0.011, Luzanovka: -0.081, Novoselki: -0.198, Syezzhe: -0.282, Spiridonovka II-Roszestveno I: 0.350, Xrichovka: -0.449, Spiridonovka II: 0.614, N.Orlianka I: -0.926, Xrichovka et al.: 0.968) and Bashkiria (119: 0.251).

The Late Bronze Age sample from the Georgia (Samtavro) exhibits a peripheral association with samples from Don region (129, Beglica) and Ukraine (144, Shirochanski) (figure 2). The Georgia (20, Samtavro /Late Bronze Age - II period/) sample and samples from Volgo-Uralja (Uranbash: 0.757, N.Orlianka I: 0.996) and Ukraine

(145, Chernyanka and Wide /Timber Grave culture /belozer phase/: -0.304) also exhibit close affinities to one another. The sample from Georgia (22, Samtavro /c. Õ-VI BC/) exhibits affinities to samples to Volgo-Uralja (Roszestveno I: 0.223; N.Orlianka I: -0.470).

The samples from Armenian highlands (8, Noraduz) and Northern Caucasus (77) serve as a phenetic link between Don region (130, nomads of steppe barrows I), Volgo-Uralja (106, Syezzhe) and the Latvia (Kreichi) featuring the closest affinities to one another (figure 2). The Noraduz (AHN) sample from Armenian highlands and Timber Grave samples from Saratov region (-0.425), Volgo-Uralja (Krivaya lyka: 0.368, N.Orlianka I: 0.127, Novoselki: -0.189, Pure Jr I: -0.384, Poplavskoe: -0.568, Studenci: -0.727) and Ukraine (flat burials: -0.711) also exhibit close affinities to one another.

The steppe Timber Grave sample from Volgo-Ural region exhibits close affinities to the two samples from Iran (Tepe Gissar III - Roszestveno I: -0.118, Tepe Gissar III - Uranbash: 0.737; Shar-i-Sotra - Poplavskoe: 0.941).

In 34 the Timber Grave samples from the territory of the Volgo-Ural region the most distinct phenetic affinities to Mediterraneans of the Armenian highlands, Caucasus, Iran and 30 - Central Asia can be found. Thus, on the basis of the analysis craniological series from the Neolithic and Bronze Ages from territory of Eurasia, the judgments of Khokhlov and Mimokhod (2008) about the periodic penetration into northeast areas of the European steppes of different morphological complexes connected with the Mediterranean anthropological type is proved.

The analysis 3. Placement of the 109 samples used in figure 3 determined by the values of canonical vectors I (15.8%) and II (12.4%) (Table 4). The positive weight (vector I) given for maximum cranial breadth (0.789) is in contrast to the negative weight for maximum cranial length (-0.550). Vector II has its strongest value orbital height (0.840). The III canonical vector accounts for the 8.3% of the intergroup discrimination. Vector III has its strongest value an upper facial height (-1.086) and nasal (1.080), cranial height (0.548).

The Mediterranean samples from the Armenian highlands, Iran, and Caucasus (Late Bronze Age) tend to tie with samples across the entire range from east to west. This is reflected by the degree of phenetic cohesion found among samples, regardless of the geographic distances that separate them. The Armenian highlands, Georgia, Iran samples and sample from Western Europe exhibit close affinities (figure 3). Results of the analysis reveal a certain intersample affinities among the samples from Armenian highland (5, Artik), Tajikistan (Makonimor, Symbar), Saratov region (Timber Grave culture) and Europe (188, Sardinia; 192, Grands Causses Lozere; 185, Ponte San Pietro, Rinaldone; 169, Poland: culture Zlota) (figure 3). The Armenian highlands sample (Noraduz) exhibits affinities to four Bronze Age samples from France (192, Grands Causses Lozere: -0.098, 193, Causses d`Aveyron: -0.114), Silesia (212, -0.107) and Hamburg (221, Tiszapolgár culture: 0.283). Affinities are closest between the Orom sample and the samples from Romania (161, Balintesh (culture Monteoru: 0.699), France (193, Causses d`Aveyron: 0.758) and Silesia (212, 0.564). The Armenian highlands (13) sample and samples from Hamburg (221, Tiszapolgár culture: 0.071; 196, Mecklenburg: 0.965), France (193, Causses d`Aveyron: 0.526) and Silesia (212, 0.684) also exhibit close affinities to one another.
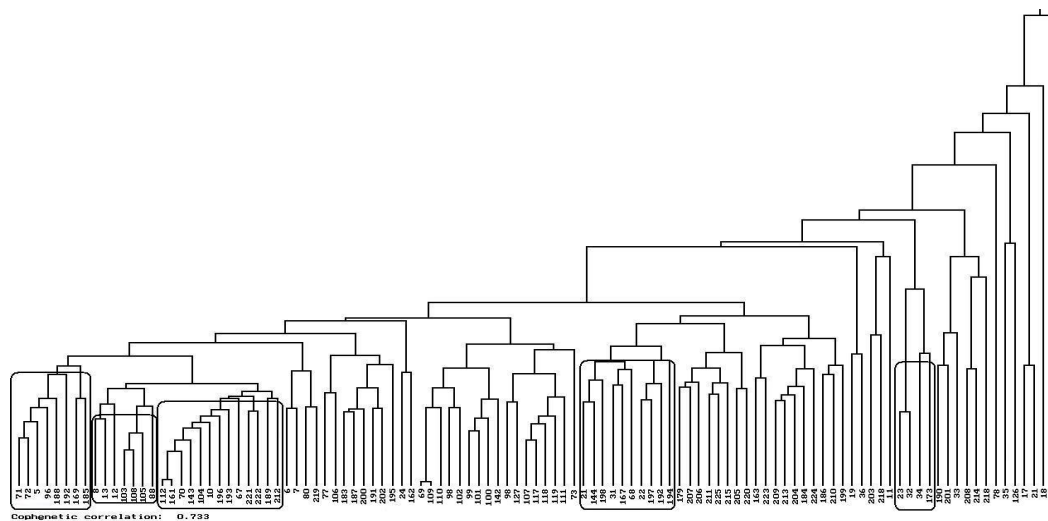

Figure 3. Cluster tree based on Mahalanobis D^2 distances (109 groups of epoch of a neolith and bronze). The analysis 3

One can see a clear link between the Armenian highlands samples and the Western Europe samples (the Arcvakar sample - 17 close phenetic links are revealed). The samples from the Georgia (Samtavro /Late Bronze Age - II period) and Iran (Tepe Gissar III), Uzbekistan (Sapallitepe) are identified as the samples with closest affinities samples from Ukraine (Shirochanski) and Poland, Germany (Corded Ware culture) in particular (figure 3). This suggests that some of the European genes do actually stem from this area. So, mediterranean connections from Armenian highlands, Georgia and Central Asia are distinctly fixed in Western Europe and in the Middle-Late Bronze Age.

For odontologic analysis it was necessary to select such feature set which, on the one hand, adequately enough would define a direction of intergroup variability in territory of Eurasia, and, on the other hand, would be accessible in publications of some the authors containing a material for the comparative analysis. In total, the analysis included 29 odontological samples from the territory of Eurasia (Table 2). Statistical comparisons were made within and between the different periods (Bronze and Iron Age tombs) from Eurasia. There was little difference dentally between individuals from corresponding time periods from Armenian highland, although it should be noted that groups were represented by small sample sizes, which may explain the lack of statistically significant MMD values (so we have united Bronze Ages from Armenian highlands).

Table 2. Eurasian odontologic samples

	Site (s)	Sample name	Date
1	Armenian highland	Total group I (Landjik-Black Fortress)	c. 3000-2000 BC
2	Armenian highland	Total group II	c. 3000-1000 BC
3	Georgia	Total group	c. 3000-1000 BC
4	Kalmykia	Total group (Pit Grave culture)	c. 3000 BC
5	Volga region	Taktalachuks	c. 2000-1000 BC
6	Volga region	Total group (Fatianovo culture)	c. 2000-1500 BC
7	Volga region	Total group (Balanovo culture)	c. 2000-1500 BC
8	Volga region	Krivaya lyka (Pit Grave culture)	c. 3000 BC
9	Volga region	Total group (Potapovsky culture)	c. 3000 BC
10	Volga region	Total group (Petrovskaya culture)	c. 3000 BC
11	Volga region	Total group (Pokrovkaya culture)	c. 3000 BC
12	Ural	Total group I (Sintashtinskaya culture)	c. 3000-2000 BC
13	Ural	Total group II (Sintashtinskaya culture)	c. 3000-2000 BC
14	Ural	Total group (Timber Grave and Alakul cultures)	c. 1800-1100BC
15	Ural	Total group (Alakul culture)	c. 1800-1100BC
16	Ural	Total group (Timber Grave culture)	c. 1800-1100BC
17	Altai	Total group (culture Andronovo)	c. 1700-1200BC
18	Siberia	Forest-steppe Barabinskaya (culture Andronovo)	c. 1700-1200BC
19	Siberia	Total group (Tagarskaya culture)	c. X – VIII BC
20	Turkmenia	Altyn- Depe	c. 2500-2100 BC
21	Turkmenia	Total group (painted ceramics culture)	c. 5000-3000 BC
22	Turkmenia	Gonur-Depe	c. 3000-2000 BC
23	Uzbekistan	Sapallitepe	c. 2000-1000 BC
24	Ukraine	Total group (Dnieper-Donets Culture)	c. 5000-2000 BC
25	Ukraine	Total group (Pit Grave culture)	c. 4000-3000 BC
26	Ukraine	Total group (Cucuteni- Trypillian culture)	c. 4000-3000 BC
27	Kareliya	Oleni ostrov	c. 6000-2000 BC
28	Latvia	Total group	c. 5000-3000 BC
29	Latvia	Kiwytkalnsk (Corded Ware culture)	c. 2000 BC

The analysis 1. Ten standard nonmetric traits from 11 crania were selected for analysis. Components for the first three factors are given in table 5. As is to be expected, the first component accounts for the majority (34.8%) of the intergroup discrimination. Taking into account character of connection of attributes in this component, it is possible to tell that the large values till I coordinate axes correspond to morphological groups with 4- form on M_1 (0.853), I^1-I^1 (diastema, 0.782), Shov I^2 (Shoveling, 0.698). The second component (25.4%) are maximum for +5 on M_1 (0.827), Carabelli trait (Cara M^1 /2-5/, 0.650) and 4-form on M_2 (0.592). The third component accounts

for the 20.1% of the intergroup. The positive weight gives a $M^2\sum3,3+$ (RHy) (0.742). Thus, on the basis of the given characteristic of morphological complexes it is possible to mention, that groups are differentiated under the form to a signs reducing character.

Table 5. Elements of three initial components for 11 groups

	I	II	III
I^1-I^1	0.782	-0.455	-0.042
Shov I^2	0.698	-0.301	0.560
$M^2\sum3,3+$	0.279	-0.113	0.742
Cara M^1 (2-5)	-0.227	0.650	0.455
$M_1$4	0.853	0.079	-0.447
+5 M_1	0.440	0.827	0.190
$M_2$4	0.529	0.592	-0.310
Values	34.701	25.315	20.074

The final step in analysis was to generate intersample affinities using only the above six traits to affirm their influence. Groups are in pairs and compared with the help of the not weighed paired-group method. The dendrogram gives a visual idea of the relationship between the various groups (figure 4).

During a bronze epoch southern grace odontologic the complex has been extended to big enough territory covering Caucasus, Central Asia and the Eastern Europe. The antiquity of this layer goes back to earlier time from areas of the Near East (Dahlberd, 1960; Pilloud, 2009). Results of the analysis reveal a certain intersample affinities among the samples from Armenian highland (1, Landjik-Black Fortress), Kalmykia (4, Pit Grave culture) and Volga region (8, Krivaya lyka /Pit Grave culture/) (figure 4). Necessary note, that results craniological the analysis on a wide geographical and cultural background have revealed relations of representatives Kuro-Araksa of the Armenian highlands with tribes Pit Grave culture (Analysis 1).

The Volga region sample (6, Fatianovo culture) and the sample from Latvia (28) exhibit close affinities to one another. The Kiwytkalnsk (29, Latvia) features a close affinity with those of the Turkmenia samples (21, painted ceramics culture). Affinities are closest between the Middle Asia samples from Altyn- Depe (20) and Sapallitepe (23).
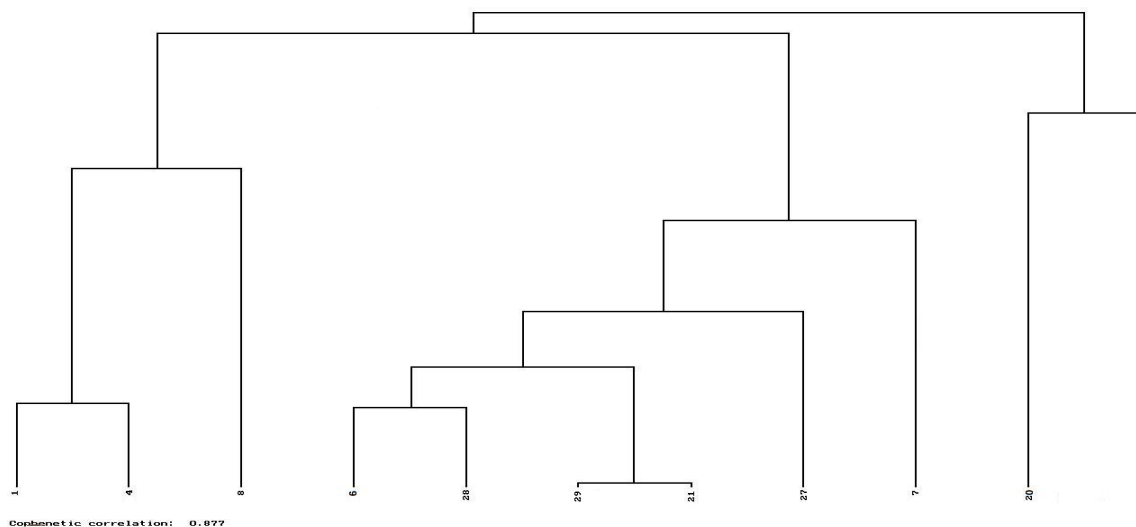
Figure 4. Cluster tree (11 groups of epoch of a neolith and bronze). The analysis 1

Let's continue the *analysis (2)* of 20 series. Placement of the samples used in figure 5 determined by the values of components I (32.9%) and II (22.5%) (Table 6). Component I has its strongest value and geniculate fold metaconulid (DW, 0.767), Distal comb trigonidum (Dtc, 0.747) and $M^2\sum3,3+$ (RHy, 0.646). The positive weight (component II) given for maximum 4-form on M_2 (0.749) and Carabelli trait (Cara M^1 /2-5/, 0.621). The III component accounts for the 16.7% of the intergroup discrimination. Component III has its strongest value an 2med (II) (0.755).

Table 6. Elements of three initial components for 20 groups

	I	II	III
$M^2\sum 3,3+$	0.646	0.147	-0.284
Cara M^1 (2-5)	0.269	0.621	0.483
$M_1 4$	0.710	0.558	0.037
$M_2 4$	-0.079	0.749	-0.444
DW	0.767	-0.446	-0.185
2med (II)	0.388	-0.118	0.755
Dtc	0.747	-0.282	-0.214
Values	32.807	22.457	16.618

The Armenian highlands sample (2) exhibit closest affinities to sample from Turkmenia (Gonur-Depe) (figure 5). The Balanovo culture sample from the Volga region (7) are identified as the steppe samples with closest affinities samples from Ukraine (26, Cucuteni-Trypillian culture) in particular. Intersample affinities among samples the Georgia (3) and Ural (16, Timber Grave culture) also show up. The Turkmenia sample (21, painted ceramics culture) and the Bronze Age sample from Ukraine (25, Pit Grave culture) exhibit very close affinities to one another. Analysis has shown close affinities samples from Turkmenia (20, Altyn-Depe) and Altai (17, culture Andronovo).
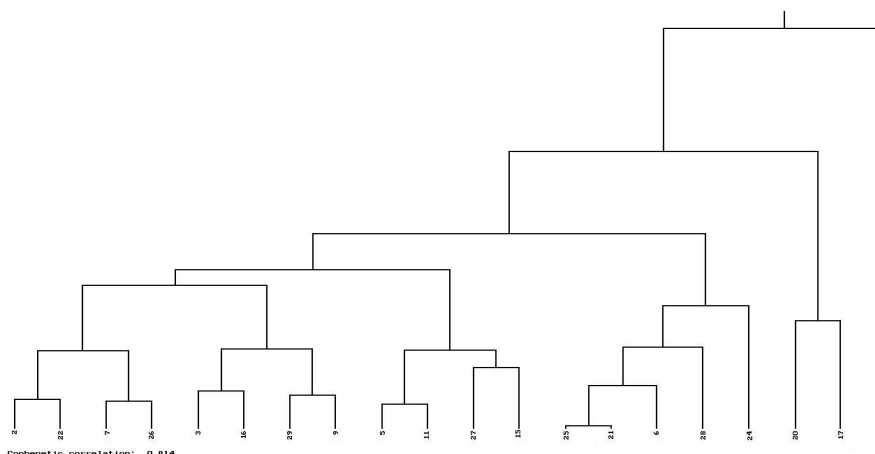
Figure 5. Cluster tree (20 groups of epoch of a neolith and bronze). The analysis 2

The analysis 3. Placement of the 26 samples used in figure 6 determined by the values of components I (38.9%) and II (22.3%) (Table 7). The positive weight (components I) given for maximum $M^2\sum 3,3+$ (RHy, 0.821), 4-form on M_1 and geniculate fold metaconulid (DW, 0.681). Component II has its strongest value 4-form on M_2 (0.920). The III component accounts for the 17.3% of the intergroup discrimination. Component III has its strongest value an Carabelli trait (Cara M^1 /2-5/, 0.833).

Table 7. Elements of three initial components for 26 groups

	I	II	III
$M^2\sum 3,3+$	0.821	0.192	0.168
Cara M^1 (2-5)	-0.482	-0.254	0.833
$M_1 4$	0.756	0.041	0.307
$M_2 4$	-0.038	0.920	0.206
DW	0.681	-0.406	0.058
Values	38.865	22.297	17.245

When considering the dendrogram, note the significant similarity of the ancient groups of the Armenian highlands (1), Ural (13, 15, 12), the Volga region (11, 10), Kalmykia (4) and Siberia (18). Possibly, it can be extrapolated on the big anthropological generality in which processes of difficult ethnocultural interactions proceeded. All groups have in a basis southern grace odontologic the complex (Khudaverdyan, 2009; Zubova, 2010; Kitov, 2011). So, the Bronze Age sample from the Armenian highlands (1) exhibit the closest affinities with the sample with Ural (13, Sintashtinskaya culture) (figure 6). Sample from Ukraine (26, Cucuteni-Trypillian culture) compare more closely to sample from the Armenian highlands (2) culture. Results odontologic and craniological researches as a whole coincide.

Gene flow is one of many potential historical factors affecting human variation. In the present study, we examined the potential effects of gene flow by among the popuation groups of Eurasia. These analyses provide abundant evidence in support of a migration of population from the Near East. This scenario is consistent with recent genetic studies supporting a Near Eastern contribution to the European gene pool (the great majority of the Y chromosomes of Europeans have their origins in the Neolithic expansion) (Richards et al., 2000, Chikhi et al., 2002, Balaresque et al., 2010).
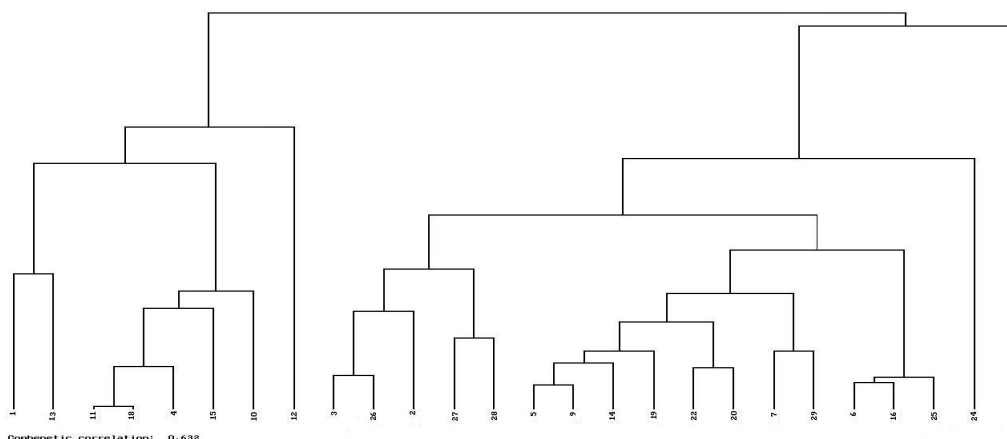
Figure 6. Cluster tree (26 groups of epoch of a neolith and bronze). The analysis 3

If true, it is suggested that the dispersal of the Indo-European languages have been accompanied by migration and some gene flow from the Armenian highlands homeland to the various historical seats of the Indo-European languages. The different rates of genetic drift and external gene flow may have contributed to the morphological differentiation and diversification amongst the different Eurasian populations. Cluster analysis has revealed a craniological series having analogies (on a complex of craniometric, odontologic characters) with representatives of the population of the Armenian highlands, the Caucasus, the Near East and Central Asia. The initial starting area (or one of the intermediate areas), as indicated by the anthropological data, would seem to be the Armenian highlands, and the Caucasus as a whole (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Major diffusion routes the Mediterranean groups.

It is easy to explain this extensive movement by the Mediterraneans in antiquity by demographic pressure, starting with the emergence of Asia Minor as a center and the development of a production-oriented economy. The anthropological facts revealed by us also have a historical basis, as the distribution of genetic markers is connected with resettlement, and the mixture of tribes is supported by concrete historical and cultural phenomena.
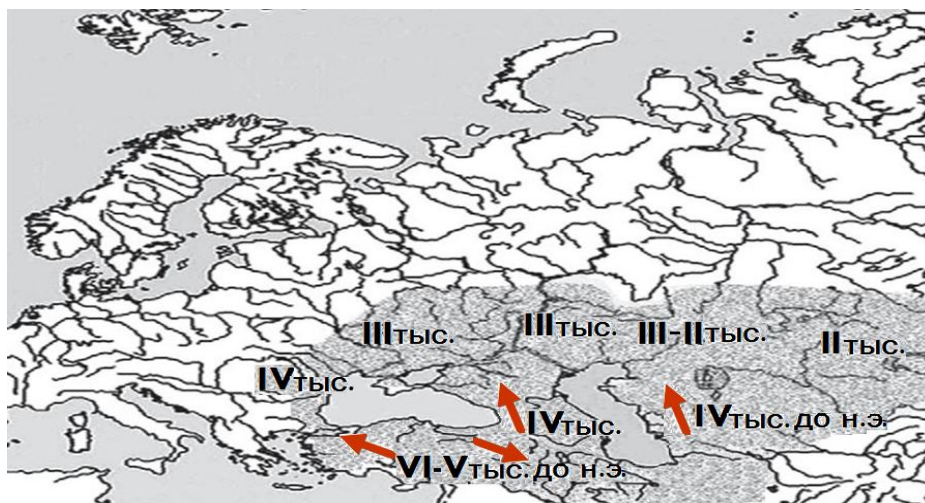
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An Empirical Analysis of Consumer Product Evaluation from an Ethnic Subcultural Perspective

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Abstract

One of the most significant cultural manifestations in buyer behavior may be the way in which a product is evaluated as a function of its various attributes. People from different cultures have different experiences and value structures which may cause them to view products differently. This purpose of this study was to examine variation in product evaluation across three consumer ethnic subcultures in Malaysia: Malay, Chinese, and Indian. Mobile phone was chosen as the target product in this study. Exploratory factor analysis, comparison of means, and analysis of variance were employed to analyze the data collected through a questionnaire survey. The results indicate that image, reference group influence, media, and post-sale services best distinguish the three ethnic groups in their evaluation of mobile phone attributes. Theoretical and managerial implications were discussed.

Keywords: product evaluation, mobile phone, ethnic subculture, Malaysia

1. Introduction

The globalization of the marketplace as well as changing ethnic structures of society, both within and across national boundaries, have prompted marketers to consider the development and implementation of marketing strategies specifically targeted towards diverse ethnic groups (Pirez & Stanton, 2005). Using ethnicity as a segmentation variable is justifiable by its nature as 'an obviously relevant causal construct' for both seller-buyer and consumer behavior (Hui, Joy, & Laroche, 1992). Identification of similarities and differences between ethnic subcultural groups, and how these change over time, is important in making a segmentation decision.

Paralleling the growing acknowledgement of cultural diversity and the potential of using ethnic subcultures as a segmenting variable within domestic economies, the past two decades or so have witnessed a heightened level of attention to the study of ethnicity by consumer researchers. Despite the attention this topic has received, most were done in the North American or European context. There is a paucity of studies that have investigated ethnic influences in an Asian setting. This is surprising at a time when marketing scholars make continuous pleas for cross-national studies and emphasize the acute need for international research to establish the universality of consumer behavior concepts and theories (Lee & Green, 1991; Luna & Gupta, 2001; Odgen, Odgen, & Schau, 2004). The study reported in this article responds to these calls and extends the research stream into Malaysia.

Malaysia provides a good starting point for subcultural analysis on Asian consumers as it is a multiracial society of Malays, Chinese, and Indians. Abdullah and Pedersen (2003) assert that individuals in a multi-ethnic society such as Malaysia are likely to have a set of ethnic and other identities that may be differently salient. Due to cultural differences that exist in the origins of different communities, there is a noticeable absence of homogeneity in the behavior of consumers in Malaysia where the nature of its domestic market is highly characterized by the "ethnically segmented consumer market" (Mohd Salleh, Teo, & Pecotich, 1998, p. 481).

This study was designed to gain insights into how consumers from different ethnic backgrounds vary in their evaluation of product attributes. An awareness and understanding of subcultural variances in consumers' product evaluation is critical in creating effective marketing strategies. Investigating such cultural variations is significant, because without clear evidence and guidelines, marketers may run the risk of making wrong decisions.

Marketers may well be attempting to present and sell unified and homogenous product images to increasingly heterogeneous cultures, which may perceive and evaluate products in entirely different ways. The assumption of universal product attribute importance could lead to stressing an irrelevant attribute, or ignoring one central to a given cultural group. This can easily result in impaired marketing communication and diminish the success of the entire marketing effort (Faber, O'Guinn, & McCarty, 1987).

This study involved the empirical assessment and comparison of three consumer ethnic subcultures in Malaysia (i.e. Malays, Chinese, and Indians) and the degree of importance members of each ethnic group assigned to product attributes. The author hypothesized that consumers of different ethnic groups employ different and embedded cultural dimensions in their evaluation of product attributes. For the purpose of investigation, the study focuses on one consumer durable product – mobile phone.

The paper is structured as follows. Following this introduction, section 2 presents a brief review of related literature on consumer product evaluation. Section 3 describes the research methodology. Section 4 discusses the empirical results obtained. Section 5 concludes the findings of the study.

2. Consumer Product Evaluation

The process of choosing a particular consumer product can be a fairly complicated event, especially for high involvement products such as mobile phones. Because of the importance of making the right choice, consumers are presumed to apply the traditional approach of decision making (i.e. need recognition – information search – evaluation of alternatives – purchase – consumption – post-purchase evaluation). This six-step decision making process assumes that the consumer approaches buying decisions rationally in the sense that alternatives are evaluated on the basis of carefully selected information. Consumers are presumed to search for attribute values either internally, in memory, or externally, in the environment. They process this information by a set of rules, and select an item for purchase (Blackwell, Miniard, & Engel, 2006).

Various theories have been proposed to explain how and why consumers choose a particular product or brand (e.g. Simonson, 1989; van Harreveld et al. 2000; Creusen & Schoormans, 2005). Among the many attempts, consumer behavior scholars have studied extensively on how a consumer develops attitude toward a product or brand (e.g. Steenkamp, & de Jong, 2010; Dempsey & Mitchell, 2010). The Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) developed by Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) suggest that there are two major components influencing an individual's attitude toward an object – belief structure and evaluative criteria. An individual's belief that a brand possesses given characteristics may be formed through direct personal experience with the brand, interpersonal communication with others who have tried or used the brand, and mass media sources. The impact of cultural norms and values on the belief structure may come from any one of these sources (Lee & Um, 1992).

The second component of TRA model, evaluative criteria, is where culture exerts the greatest impact on consumer choice. Customarily, it is assumed that consumers make their purchase decisions on the basis of their knowledge about, and evaluation of, the product attributes. A consumer evaluates a product by certain attributes he or she feels are pertinent to the purchase decision of that product. They constitute the primary evaluative criteria for consumers' attitude toward a brand. These criteria can be either subjective (emotional benefits) or objective (such as price and warranty) (Jamal & Goode, 2001). Culture affects consumers' product evaluation on two fronts. First, culture provides a consensual validation on what attributes are considered pertinent and important to the decision of purchasing a product. Secondly, culture tends to highlight the subjective criteria through an implicit symbolic meaning system for consumer products in a society (Lee & Um, 1992).

Few scattered studies have focused on cultural variations manifested in the perceived importance of product attributes between ethnic groups. Faber et al. (1987) conducted a study to determine if Hispanics and Anglos differed in their importance ratings of different product attributes. Their study showed that, when the product was a nondurable and less expensive (laundry detergent), few significant differences were found between the groups. In contrast, when the product was a consumer durable and expensive (television sets), significant differences were found between Anglos and Hispanics in their ratings of attribute importance. A similar study by Bristow and Asquith (1999) also showed that Hispanic consumers tend to differ substantially from their Anglo counterparts in their evaluation of several attributes for five product categories of sunglasses, alcohol, automobiles, blue jeans, and book bags. Although not exhaustive, these studies provide evidence that consumers' evaluation of product attributes, and therefore responses to marketing strategy are differential across ethnic groups. Clearly this, and other related concepts, needs to be investigated further if empirical generalizations are to be drawn about the ethnicity construct in terms of its potential to explain some of the variations in consumer behavior.

3. Methodology

3.1 Product Selection

Mobile phone was used as the target product in this study. This product was chosen because it is generally considered as a high involvement product since the purchase interval is normally long and price and perceived risk are usually high. Further, a product like mobile phone is normally evaluated on several attributes, both tangible and intangible, before a choice is made. Therefore, the presentation of information on several attributes is neither unusual nor unexpected for the student subjects.

3.2 The Questionnaire

The results reported in this paper were part of a larger study. For the study, a survey instrument that included questions designed to measure consumers' product evaluation and demographic related questions, was developed. The evaluation of product attributes were operationalized as the importance an individual assigns to the product attributes when it comes to the purchase decision-making (Jaccard, Brinberg, & Ackerman, 1986). Participants were asked to rate the relative importance of 29 attributes associated with the purchase of mobile phones. These items were developed based on past literature (Karjaluoto et al. 2005; Ling, Hwang, & Salvendy, 2006). Responses were measured on a Likert-type scale with values ranging from 1 (not at all important) to 7 (very important). To obtain personal background of the participants, questions regarding their gender, age, ethnicity, faculty, and course studied were included in the questionnaire.

The draft version of the survey form was pre-tested using ten undergraduates to check for possible problems with statement clarity and respondent understanding as well as ability to complete the survey instrument. A slight re-wording of some of the statements was made as a consequence.

3.3 Sampling

Sample consisted of undergraduate students who were attending classes in a public university located on the east coast of Malaysia. The student population was purposively chosen for the survey study because they represent an enthusiastic user group of mobile phones (Hakoama & Hakoyama, 2011). In addition, using a relatively more homogenous group such as undergraduate students minimizes random error that might occur by using a heterogeneous sample such as the general public (Calder, Phillips, & Tybout, 1981).

The whole population of undergraduates at the university's campus is estimated at 6,200 students. According to standards reported by Krejcie and Morgan (1970), the minimum sample size suggested for a population of 7,000 is 364 or 5.2% of the population. The questionnaires were distributed to a non-probability sample of 500 full-time students. Although the sample is selected on the basis of convenience and ease, data were gathered at different locations (classrooms and faculties), on different days of the week, and at different times of the day, thus reducing location and timing biases. Surveys were collected immediately upon completion, which yielded a total of 371 usable questionnaires, which was considered to be adequate to represent the population (Krecjie & Morgan, 1970).

4. Analysis and Results

4.1 Composition of the Sample

Of the 371 questionnaires, 70.1% were from female respondents. Respondents' ages ranged from 19 to 26 years, with a mean of 21.9 (standard deviation [SD] = 1.03). In terms of ethnicity, 72.2% of the respondents were Malay, 14.6% were Chinese, 10.8% were Indian, and other ethnic group, 2.4%. In this group, there were 140 (37.7%) first-year students, 82 (22.1%) second-year, and 149 (34.2%) third-year students.

4.2 Exploratory Factor Analysis

As an initial step, the suitability of the data for factor analysis is investigated. The KMO measure of sampling adequacy is found to be 0.867, higher than the minimum acceptable value of 0.5, indicating that the sample size is large enough to factor analyze 29 variables. Besides, the Chi-square value of Bartlett's Test of Sphericity ($\chi^2 = 2681.976$), which shows the suitability of the intercorrelation matrix of the 29 variables for factor analysis, is significant at the 0.001 level. As for the adequacy of the sample size, there is a 37-to-1 ratio of observations to variables in this study. According to Hair, Anderson, Tatham, and Black (1998), the ratio for adequate sample size should be at least 10:1, which, in this case falls well within the acceptable limits. Thus, the sample size and the nature of the data are both fit for the analysis.

In order to obtain more interpretable results solution, varimax factor rotation was applied using the minimum eigenvalue of one as the criterion to control the number of factors extracted. This caused the loadings to be distributed among the selected factors making it easier to interpret results (Hair *et al.*, 1998). Variables with

similar loadings on more than one factor were deleted, as were items that did not conceptually belong to the factor. The analysis resulted in seven homogeneous sub-scales with the eigenvalues of ranging from 1.07 to 6.25 (Table 1). The total percentage variance explained by these seven factors of the overall variance of the data was 60.93%, which satisfies the percentage of variance criterion for social science research (Hair et al. 1998). All items are grouped meaningfully into the factors with high loadings.

Factor 1 is a dominating factor which explained 16.84% of the total variance of the data. The factor exhibits heavy loadings for eight items pertaining to the importance of new innovative features mobile phones nowadays have: built-in camera, larger memory capacity, multimedia, Bluetooth and infrared, audio and video recording, color screen, radio and MP3, and design and styling. This factor is labeled 'innovative features'.

Factor 2 accounts for 9.72% of the total variance and is defined by five items, namely expensive and limited edition, country of origin, new product, brand image and accessories. All the five items directly related to the 'image' of mobile phones. Factor 3 is defined by three items relating to 'price', namely model at reduced price, special offer and alternative payment condition. This factor accounts for 9.65% of the total variance. Factor 4 can be called 'reference group influence' because the items loading at this factor refer to the importance of salesperson, family, and friend in influencing consumer choice of mobile phone.

Factor 5 has loading items of physical durability, being light and small size. This factor accounts for 6.10% of the total variability of the items. Physical durability can be defined as how long the device can last under normal use, or whether the device can resist impact from abnormal use (Ling *et al*. 2007). As a mobile device, mobile phones must have a tough case and a hard material. In addition, mobile phones need to be handy to carry around. Small and lightweight make a phone more portable. Thus, this factor is labeled 'durability and portable aspects'.

Factor 6, which explained 6.06% of the total variance, has loading items of television advertising and positive review in media. Thus, this factor is named the 'media influence'. The seventh factor explains 5.80% of the total variance and is labeled 'post-sales service', as the items comprising the factor refer to guarantee/warranty and after sales service.

To ensure that the items constructed in the questionnaire is reliable, Cronbach's alpha was calculated. A commonly accepted rule of thumb is that 0.50 is the lower level of acceptability for the alpha scores (Kerlinger & Lee, 2000). Since the reliability coefficient values for all the constructs shown in Table 1 are greater than the guideline of 0.50, the scales are of acceptable reliability and can therefore be applied for further analysis.

Table 1. Exploratory factor analysis

Factor label	Item	Factor loadings	Variance explained	Cronbach α
Factor 1: Innovative features	Built-in camera	0.82	16.84%	0.85
	Larger memory capacity	0.77		
	Multimedia	0.77		
	Bluetooth and infrared	0.68		
	Audio and video recording	0.67		
	Color screen	0.62		
	Radio and MP3	0.53		
	Design and styling	0.49		
Factor 2: Image	Expensive and limited edition	0.72	9.72%	0.69
	Country of origin	0.68		
	New product	0.55		
	Brand image	0.47		
	Accessories	0.42		
Factor 3: Price	Model at reduced price	0.74	9.65%	0.55
	Special offer	0.70		
	Alternative payment condition	0.51		

Factor 4: Reference group influence	Salesperson's recommendation	0.74	6.77%	0.51
	Family's recommendation	0.57		
	Friend's recommendation	0.57		
Factor 5: Durability and portable aspects	Physical durability	0.75	6.10%	0.53
	Being light	0.57		
	Small size	0.46		
Factor 6: Media influence	TV advertising	0.75	6.06%	0.51
	Positive review in media	0.73		
Factor 7: Post-sale service	Guarantee and warranty	0.80	5.80%	0.52
	After sale service	0.67		

4.3 Ranking Importance of Choice Criteria by Ethnicity

In order to analyze differences in the relative importance of product evaluation factors, a ranking table was produced showing the mean score of each factor. The factors that were more important to one ethnic group were less important to other groups, resulting in a difference in how the factors were ranked. As can be seen from Table 2, Malays and Indians share some similarities in their product evaluation, rated innovative features, reference group influence, and price as the most important factors influencing their choice decision. Chinese on the other hand, considers reference group influence as the most important factor, followed by price, and durability and portable aspects. Image was the least important factor for both Malays and Chinese. Media influence was perceived the least important factor to Indians.

Table 2. Ranking importance of product evaluation by ethnic groups

	Malay		Chinese		Indian	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
Innovative features	5.60	1	4.21	6	5.67	1
Image	4.64	7	4.20	7	4.82	5
Price	5.16	3	5.10	2	5.42	3
Reference group influence	5.22	2	5.28	1	5.55	2
Durability and portable aspects	5.03	4	4.83	3	5.12	4
Media influence	4.71	6	4.30	5	4.50	7
Post-sale service	4.94	5	4.50	4	4.78	6

4.4 Analysis of Variance

A one-way between-group analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to explore the influence of ethnicity on choice criteria of mobile phones. Respondents were divided into three groups according to their ethnic groups (Malay, Chinese, and Indian). The null hypothesis that there is no difference in means between groups is rejected if the F-statistic is sufficiently large to be significant. The probability level accepted for statistical significance of F-statistic in the present study was set at $p < 0.10$, showing there was 10% probability that the result occurred by chance. The results of ANOVA are shown in Table 3. The results revealed that the three groups were statistically different on the evaluation of the four mobile phone attributes. At the 0.01 significant level, there was a variation for 'image' factor ($F = 5.363$, $p = 0.005$). At the 0.05 level, factor of which the three samples had variation was 'post-sale service' ($F = 3.456$, $p = 0.033$). At the 0.10 level, factors of which the three samples had variation were 'reference group influence' ($F = 2.404$, $p = 0.092$) and 'media influence' ($F = 2.618$, $p = 0.074$).

To determine where the significant difference(s) lie after the null hypothesis has been rejected in ANOVA, pairwise multiple comparison tests were conducted. In keeping with customary practice, the significance level was set at $p < 0.05$ for all post-hoc comparisons. Both Malay and Indian emphasized image ($\bar{x} = 4.64$ and $\bar{x} = 4.82$, respectively) more so than Chinese ($\bar{x} = 4.20$). Malays also placed significantly more importance on both media influence ($\bar{x} = 4.71$), and post-sale service ($\bar{x} = 4.94$) than did their Chinese counterparts ($\bar{x} = 4.30$, and

$\bar{x}$ = 4.50 respectively). Indians valued reference groups ($\bar{x}$ = 5.55) to a greater degree than their Malay counterparts ($\bar{x}$ = 5.22).

In order to make certain that such subcultural differences was not caused by other demographic factor, the product attributes was examined via multivariate analysis of variance. Gender was included as a fixed factor in the general linear model since it was felt that gender differences across the three groups might produce artifactual differences in the dependent measures. Statistically significant differences in group means could then be interpreted as meaningful, and not simply the results of gender differences between subcultural groups. Because of the disparity in group sizes among the three ethnic groups, the homogeneity of covariance matrices was first tested using the Box's test of equality of covariance matrices. The test produced non-significant result (Box's M = 44.51, F = 0.749, p = 0.918), suggesting that the covariance matrices were equal and the assumption was not violated. Results of the analysis indicated that, when controlling for the effect of gender, there were statistically significant differences among the three ethnic groups on image (F = 5.837, $p < 0.01$), reference group influence (F = 2.332, $p < 0.10$), media influence (F = 2.663, $p < 0.10$), and post-sale service (F = 3.481, $p < 0.05$).

Table 3. Analysis of variance

	Malay	Chinese	Indian	F-value
Innovative features	5.60 (0.97)	4.21 (0.97)	5.67 (0.93)	1.069
Image	4.64 (1.01)[A]	4.20 (0.99)[B]	4.82 (1.08)[A]	5.363 ***
Price	5.16 (1.04)	5.10 (0.93)	5.42 (0.96)	1.320
Reference group influence	5.22 (0.92)[A]	5.28 (0.84)	5.55 (0.83)[B]	2.404 *
Durability and portable aspects	5.03 (0.90)	4.83 (0.87)	5.12 (0.91)	1.428
Media influence	4.71 (1.28)[A]	4.30 (1.20)[B]	4.50 (1.32)	2.618 *
Post-sale service	4.94 (1.12)[A]	4.50 (1.16)[B]	4.78 (1.32)	3.456 **

Note: The Levene's F-test showed that, for all seven dependent variables, none were significant ($p > 0.05$), indicating that the data meet the homogeneity of variance assumption.

*** Significant at $p < 0.01$; ** Significant at $p < 0.05$; * Significant at $p < 0.10$

Superscript letters A, B indicate between-ethnic differences as per Duncan multiple range tests ($p < 0.05$) used in ANOVA. A number with different superscript indicates a statistically significant difference between mean responses. The Standard Deviations are given in parentheses.

5. Conclusion

This study was conducted to determine whether consumers of different ethnic subcultures differed in their ratings of the importance of a selected product attributes. Among the seven product attributes tested for mobile phone, four showed significant differences between the ratings of the different subcultural groups even after differences in gender across subcultural groups were statistically controlled: image, reference group influence, media influence, and post-sale service. These differences indicate a higher level of importance attached to image, media, post-sale service among Malay consumers compared to Chinese, and a higher level of importance attached to image and reference group influence among Indian consumers compared to Malays. To the extent that these differences translate into actual buying behavior, then ethnicity may act as a powerful determinant of consumers' need for uniqueness and status, media exposure, and opinion leadership – all of which are manifested in the evaluation of product attributes by consumers.

On the theoretical side, this work has attempted to fill the gap in the consumer behavior literature on ethnic subcultures in Malaysia. Given the limited empirical evidence on this topic to date, the study should provide additional information to support the growing theoretical base for the study of subcultures. In addition to their theoretical implications, the findings of this study offer important implications for international marketers, especially those targeting the Malaysian market. In a manner consistent with the marketing concept, marketers must first identify product attributes considered most important by each ethnic group (Pirez & Stanton, 2005). This study provided evidence that consumers of various ethnic background differ in their product evaluation, thus it does not make sense to treat them all as being the same. Different ethnic groups may well require different

strategies. Developing a value proposition that better meets the needs and preferences of ethnic consumers can be a way of winning them and holding their loyalty (Pirez & Stanton, 2005).

Some limitations of this study should be noted. One main limitation is the use of a student sample. Although students were considered appropriate for this study, the sample may not represent views held by the ethnic segments of the population in Malaysia. Future research that extends sampling beyond a university environment would allow for a more representative assessment of ethnic influences on consumer choice in general society. In addition, only one product was examined in this study, namely mobile phones. Further research may be conducted to see if similar results are obtained with other durable and non-durable products.

Acknowledgement

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The Influence and Exploration of Forceful Control in Enshi Area in China during the Resistance War against Japan

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Abstract

During the resistance war against Japan in China, the national administrative authority penetrated the rural society in Enshi city in Hubei province. For one thing, the village officials as the national administrative power strengthened their functions controlling the rural area; for another, the clan organizations in the rural area in Enshi combated the control. The result of confrontation between the two forces was to further strengthen the legitimacy of the system, extend the national executive power down to the grassroots level, instead of the legitimacy of cultural traditions, and control the rural communities in the Enshi area. This control shows that a modern local administrative system has been established in the Enshi area, and to a certain extent, it reflects that the national government was trying to combine the national strong power with the democratic system to explore patterns of modern political initiatives. The result was that this powerful control in this particular setting of the war again Japan set an unprecedented performance.

Keywords: during the war, Enshi region, a new system of rural county, rural social control

1. The Social Situation before the Formation of the Dominant Social Control Power

In November 1938, Provincial Government moved westward to Enshi city in Hubei province in China because of the resistance war against Japan, and directly participated in and leaded the rural society of the area. Therefore, the national government became the centre power of grass-roots society.

Due to the war, the need of soldiers and civilians' provisions increased, which became the leading problem of the government of Hubei province. However, the local warlords' control on peasant economy seriously affected the government's administration; in this case, national administrative power is difficult to draw deeply into the rural society to obtain social resources for the war.

By means of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles, National Government also began to explore a modern political system to strengthen the control of rural society and to lay the foundation for the resistance war against Japan. These were carried into execution by "New County System" and gradually a new social structure and control mode—"nation (countryside official)—small farmers" was formed.

2. The National Administrative Power Infiltrating into the Rural Society and the Formation of "Nation (Countryside Official)—Small Farmers" as the Dominant Social Control Power

2.1 The Infiltration of Authority of National Administration under "New County System (Control Power)"

The infiltration of authority of national administration under "New County System (control power)" and the anti-control of rural society varied around grass-roots organizations. As Zhu (2004) holds, when control power strengthened, the administration of grassroots organization was intensified; equally, when control power weakened, the administration of grassroots organization abated. In the rural social interaction, the anti-clan organization also rose. In the process of implementation of "New County System", pao chia was becoming the village organization supported by the nation administration and its authority was derived from the provisions of national power. Xiao (1999) holds that the re-integration of the counties, townships, towns, and pao chia, broke geopolitical structure which was leaded and controlled by the clan in Enshi area. Even though there were some clan villages, they were under the acquiescence of national power and their existing was on the premise of supporting the leadership of the national executive power and cooperating with central executive administration.

The original marginalization leaded by clans and the religion organization were not the main functions anymore although the affection of religion was still on. Xu (2007) also studies that the anti-control power was becoming weaker, which would be the political condition of the infiltration of administrative power into the countryside.

2.2 The Execution of the Land Report and the Reduction of Tenant's Land Rent by 25 Per Cent

The execution of the land presentation and the reduction of tenant's land rent by 25 per cent, which were the main elements of land reform, injured the core profit of the gentry who own land. They objected the policy .On the other side, as Duara (1996) studies, the government of Hubei Province took repressive policies, which intensified the gentry's differentiation. Some of them were avoid of politics, while some local tyrants and evil gentry fled for the national government ranks, who would be the actual operators of the administrative power infiltration into the country.

The national party forces were growing steadily. They regulated the behavior of members with the party's organization principle and the government's disciplines and implemented the policies around grass-roots unit of the society. They executed "party-government contact" and "harmony party in politics" to concentrate on power in the national party's central executive committee and establish the central and local grassroots vertical management. Some local tyrants and evil gentry's families joined the national party organization which lined the religion with party, and then they partially replaced the administrative power of local clan organization and also introduced organization programs for the infiltration of the administrative power.

2.3 The Profound Changes in Enshi Region

In addition, the government moved to Enshi, made use of local tyrants and evil gentry, suppressed bandits, and soiled overlord, which greatly disintegrated the power of the local clan. The peasants partly broke away from the control of the local clan. They got protection through taxes payment, military service and various corves. The clan elder took action in mediating an issue, producing cooperation. Along with the implementation of "new county system", the social structure underwent profound changes in Enshi region. National administrative power filtered down to the village, the government worked on the rural resource through the administrative power, and then gradually a leading power structure–"nation (rural officials)–small farmers" was formed.

3. The Position and Influence on All Class Levels in the Control Mode of "Nation (Rural Officials) —Small Farmers"

3.1 The Constituent Part of Rural Officials

In the previous discussion, the author has referred to constituent part of rural officials. According to the origin and meaning of "Empire foundation – rural officials and the squire" created by Taiwan scholar Wang (1992), "rural officials" was a semi-autonomous bureaucrat under the unified empire in the local village community; "squire" are titles of those who have passed the imperial examinations and were incumbent. Those were forces besides the government and the power of antigovernment. It seemed that they belonged to the power of common people. This showed that rural officials and gentry should be two different groups and categories. However, there was overlap phenomenon in varying degrees during wars. Rural officials were made up of such parts during wars: the representatives elected by the local villages who had had short-term or long-term training from the government and were back to their hometown (elected individuals or family as representatives who owned prestige, school educated graduates); "important person" appointed by government (obtained through non-normal channels without strong prestige); local gentry who have been spitted off and were employed by the government. Rural officials' identity recognition and legitimacy was from the government's record and its functions were regulated by the government.

3.2 The Position and Influence of Small Farmers

Small farmers were controlled and belonged to the bottom of society, mainly made up by a large number of tenant farmers and small farmers. Despite the land reform, there were no change in the relation of production, such as national tax collection and other aspects on the premise of land property change, so the majority of small farmers can not always escape the fate of exploitation; there was also the burden of labor and military service during the war, in addition to their rent to make significant contribution to the victory of the war. In addition, the modern democratic sense of small farmers improved, as reflected in Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "civil rights" thinking.

3.3 The Series of Measures Working Actively

Under this control mode, the series of measure did work actively, and social stabilization is the important indemnity of the victory of the resistance war of against Japan. With grass-roots unit administrative organization foundation and all the public organization instauration, all the countryside officials would start to work in the

constituted requirement of the provincial government. In this case, all the local social business began to develop. Increasing production warranted the base goods and material supplying, reduced the supplying of local money, and warranted the living of people, government employees and teachers especially through land tax collected in the labor exchange. To some extent, it can make popular feelings stable through dealing with almsgiving, salt, reducing interest, putting down price, healthy, ban on opium-smoking and the opium trade; when the provincial institutions of high education move in, it set up all levels of schools, and it also started night schools for women. It held all levels of cadres training classes; increased all the schools and houses outlay. And it carried out free tuition fee system in the planning of a school or college for special instruction or training to train a certain amount of competent people and drill a lot of ethnic cadres, which improved its country civilizable function; make country construction take a new look through erecting and tidying telephone line, intensifying the water-control project, disseminating agricultural science and technology, calling for stockbreeding, mineral exploitation, building airport in Enshi city and Laifeng city, and developing transferring condition. It made rear production in the west of Hubei province and got a relative balanced social environment by rooting out local tyrant and cleaning up general mood of society. The development of those economy, culture and hygienist made great contribution to the anti-war in Hubei, and even to the whole country, so that Jiang Jieshi called it "model province of the Three People's Principles".

3.4 Autonomy with Great Official Governance in the Control Mode "The Two Elements"

The national government highlighted the national power, resulting in the implementing of national consciousness and party consciousness in the process of the formulation of laws and regulations. When the national government emphasized "party consciousness", a very important aspect is to carry out the party government into the rural area. Therefore, the national government's "autonomy" was always in the core of the "party rule". During the resistance war of against Japan in China, the national government could not arrange large-scale bureaucratic teams to go to the countryside, and had to train and develop large-scale party members in the countryside. Expanding the number of party members relied on the force of administration, suppressed the local clan organization, and prompted the development of clan organization into the organization for economic cooperation. It was also a very important aspect in the process of the modern transformation of rural society. Once the "party governance" took place of the autonomous function of clan organization and completed the political power restructuring of the countryside region, Chinese rustic appearance would change radically, completely into the administrative villages under the leadership of government, which is quite different from the currently popular village community under the modern management, and which also shows that in the "two elements" control mode, the national government's autonomy was just a sign.

In short, in the rural society under the county, establishing the scientific administration of the rule of law was a basic content of a local administrative system reform in the modern society of China. In the background of "new county" and the national force control mode, the reforming of the village system and rural social transformation played an important part in the political history of modern China. Its system design and the concrete operation process provide the useful experience and lessons for today's local administrative system and the construction of rural grassroots democracy, such as in the "two system mode" of   township politics and village governance, the distribution of the power of rural party organization and administrative power at the basic level, the influence of university students as village administrative leaders on rural grassroots construction, villager autonomy, and so on.

4. Conclusion

When the national government moved to Chongqing in China, most of Hubei's local region was occupied, and only the several counties' affection from the war in the Enshi area is relatively small. At the same time, the special geographical position in the Enshi area provided the conditions for the national administrative power penetrating into the countryside. In 1939, the practice of new county system provided operation platform for its infiltration, and the constitutional pattern also changed and formed a powerful control mode as the "officials in countryside–small peasants". Controlling the Enshi rural society essentially damaged the traditional political system. Then, it also provided the significance for village social control and modern transformation. But in the reform process, some measures taken—the private ownership of land did not touch the foundations of the society, and therefore, the reform is impossible to comply with the development trend of modern history.

To sum up, in the rural villages under the county, the establishment of the rule of law and the rural society of bureaucratic administration is a basic content of a local administrative system reform in modern society of China. In the background of new county system and the national force control mode, the reform of villages and towns system and rural social transformation are an important part of the political history in modern China. As the

famous scholar Zhang (2007) holds, the system designing and the concrete operation process provide very useful experience and lessons for today's local administrative system and the construction of rural grassroots democracy such as rural party organization power and the distribution of rural administrative power in the two-system mode of township politics and village governance, the influence of graduate students as the administrative officials in villages on rural grass-roots construction, villager autonomy, and so on,

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George Town World Heritage Site: What We Have and What We Sell?

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Abstract

In the new era of technology, internet turns to be one of the main sources of information, since it is considered cheaper and easier to use. Hence in tourism, two main pull factors influencing potential tourist to visit a destination are recognized as nature and culture which a destination offers. The acceptance of culture as one of the important factors in tourists' motivation, heritage sites become popular in many countries especially those which are nominated as world heritage sites. This paper is to analyze the condition of available online information about George Town world heritage spots (Penang, Malaysia). As far as heritage is one of the products of tourism and tourism, on the other hand, is a big help for sustainability of heritage sites, providing sufficient information about tourism heritage sites as a promotional key is very important. Top ten tourism websites were chosen and content analysis was performed to find the current situation of those websites. By recognizing heritage as tangible and intangible, the result shows that although the intangible heritages need more concern in sustainability matter, but the information about them are not as complete as the tangible ones. Lack of proper information was seen in most websites and the focus of information was more on tangible heritage and among intangible heritage, the main focus was on food. To support the result of analysis, in-dept interviews were conducted by couple of heritage offices in the city. The main reason behind the lack of sufficient information about intangible heritage seems to be the lack of complete list of them and moreover, promoting this division of heritage needs negotiation with the local residence involving in those activities. The paper suggests providing a complete list of George Town world heritage as far as some of them are disappearing lately, and keeping this valuable world heritage sustainable for next generation needs detailed study and completing the list as soon as possible. In this regard those intangible heritages which are in hazard of disappearing can be maintained by the effort of key holders of the field. Moreover, providing the mentioned list helps the information providers, especially related websites to focus equally on tangible and intangible George Town world heritage.

Keywords: world heritage site, tangible and intangible heritage, George Town, information search, promotion and sustainability

1. Introduction

Tourism by its diverse variety changes to be one of the largest contributors in the economy of many countries. People travel to different destination by variety of purposes and one of the main motivational factors is to visit the heritage sites. Being nominated as a world heritage makes George Town as a famous place for tourist to visit Penang, Malaysia. Although other tourism activities such as beach tourism were active in the city, but recently the number of tourists arrival to visit the heritage sites increase rapidly. Different heritage values can be found in the area which is divided in two groups of tangible and intangible heritage. In a comprehensive view, cultural tourism is a competent generator for destinations to create revenue which brings opportunities to the host community. However, the cultural heritage of a destination has the potentiality to be a tourism product, but destination's planners must flourish this latent. Hence, the responsibility of the destinations planners and marketers is to set a proper promotional plan. Pedersen (2002, p. 78) noted that:

> Promotion can play an important role in meeting educational and financial goals and objectives.
> If a site can accommodate greater numbers, and has a mechanism for retaining tourism

earnings, it can be promoted to draw in additional visitors and generate increased revenue for sustaining operations, solving management problems and meeting goals and objectives.

Of course, different cultural products cater different types of cultural tourists but there are some common factors among them. Silberberg (1995) points out that, cultural tourists stay longer and spend more money while on vacation and are highly educated compare to general public and in addition, they are in the older age group. Considering mentioned factors, it is obvious that this segment bring more profit and less negative impacts to destinations. A right promotional strategy should bring to light both tangible and intangible aspects of a destination.

Potential tourists search the necessary information from different sources and as it is confirmed, internet changes to be the main information source for them. Providing information in related website can play promotional role for the destination. Recognizing top ten web sites based on providing information about the case study of this paper helps the researchers to have a content analysis of each websites in order to find the amount of information about both tangible and intangible values and compare them together. The detail of the study will discuss as follows:

2. Defining Cultural Heritage

According to Imon et al. (2007, p. 1-3) "heritage means something that has been inherited from the past and which can be passed on to future generation" and "the meaning of the term, cultural heritage, has evolved over the last decades. Originally, it referred only to masterpieces of artistic and historic value; now it is used more broadly and covers everything that has a particular significance to people". Over the time, different definitions of "cultural heritage" have been introduced by international organizations such as UNESCO and ICOMOS. In 1964, Venice charter used "historical monument" interpreting the definition of culture and ICOMOS in 1965 redefined it as 'monuments' and 'site', while, UNESCO divided "cultural property" into movable and immovable. The terminology of heritage yet to be standardized and uniformed by all countries, but internationally agreed to include 'tangible', 'intangible' and 'environment' (Ahmad, 2006).

As cited in Imon, et al. (2007, p. 2-4) UNESCO categorized cultural heritage into two distinguish groups as tangible and intangible heritage. "Tangible heritage is that which exist in material form, meaning that can be physically touched, such as monuments, buildings, work of art, paintings, object …etc. Intangible heritage is that which exist in immaterial form, for instance, music, dance, literature, theatre, languages, knowledge, local traditions …etc".

Pervious definitions separated tangible heritage into movable (e.g. architectural works, monuments…etc) and immovable (e.g. museum collections, libraries…etc) but recently the importance of such distinction is reduced and all aspects of heritage were integrated together (Imon, et al., 2007). Intangible heritage includes all cultural aspects of a community which gather social values and tradition, customs, family values, cultural habits (wedding, marriage and delivery), cuisine , and traditional medicine that distinguishes the society from others (Brennan, 2005).

Clarke and Johnston (2003) argued that "there is, however, increasing recognition that intangible values play an important role in how people interact with their social and cultural environments" (p. 1). On the other hand, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, (ASEAN) members (countries through the ASEAN) have been declared the outline of cultural heritage in July 2000 in Bangkok which provided a definition of cultural heritage closer to home (regional context). Based on definition which ASEAN have been recognized, cultural heritage contains following implications (Definition of Culture and Cultural Heritage section, par. 18):

- Significant cultural values and concepts;

- Structures and artefacts: dwellings, buildings for worship, utility structures, works of visual arts, tools and implements that are of a historical or scientific significance

- Sites and human habits: human creations or combined human creations and nature, archaeological sites and sites of living human communities that are of outstanding value from a historical aesthetic anthropological or ecological viewpoint or because of its natural feathers, of considerable importance as habitat for the culture survival and identity of particular living traditions

- Oral and folk heritage: folkways, folklore, languages and literature, traditional arts and crafts, architecture and the performing arts, games, indigenous knowledge system and practices, myths, customs and beliefs, rituals and other living traditions;

  - The written heritage;

- Popular cultural heritage: popular creativity in mass cultures, popular forms of expression of outstanding aesthetic, anthropological and sociological values, including the music, dance, graphic arts, fashion, game and sports, industrial design, cinema, television, music video, video arts and cyber art in technologically-oriented and urbanized communities.

Based on ASEAN definition for cultural heritage, oral and folk heritage and popular cultural heritage could be marked as intangible cultural heritage while structures, artifacts and sites considered as tangible heritage. The division is shown in Figure 1.
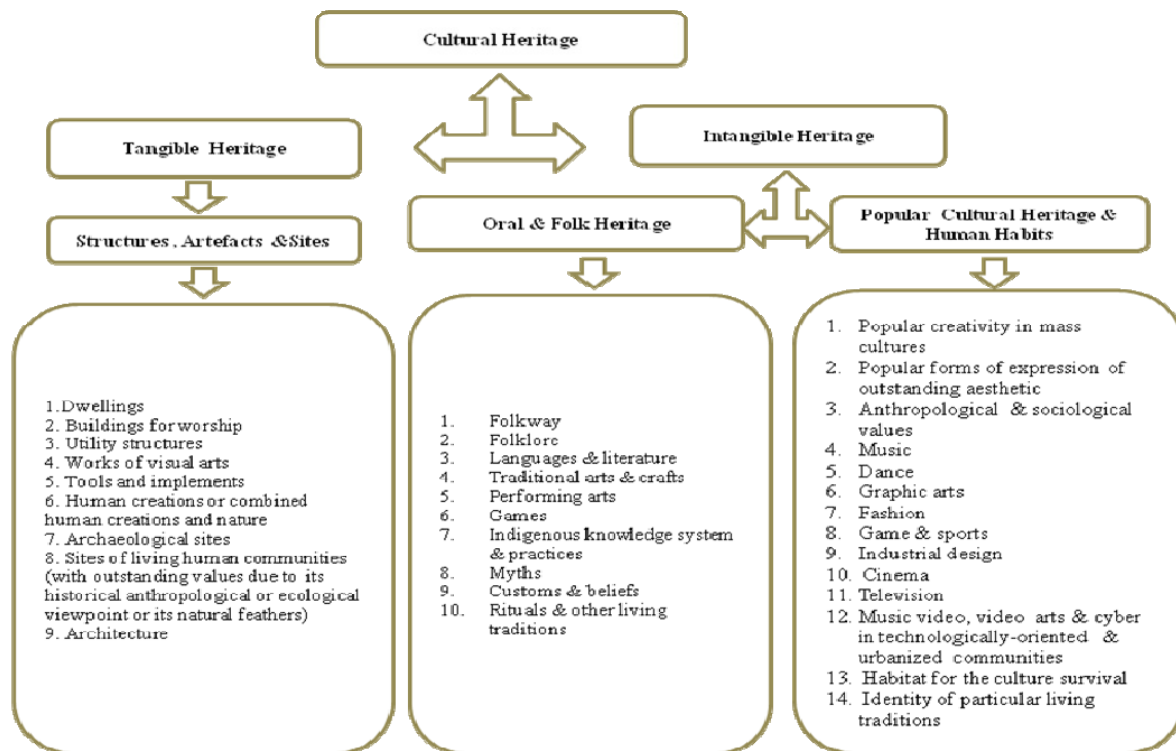

Figure 1. ASEAN definition of cultural heritage modified from ASEAN (2000)

Preserving intangible heritage and values that are related to a place is a crucial matter; hence they work as a connection between places, and social traditions. Moreover, these intangible elements of a place will help better understanding of tangible elements as well as making positive image related to that specific place (Clarke & Johnston, 2003). Intangible heritage in contrast with tangible heritage could not be protected in the museum as they consist of knowledge, skill and performance (cultural demonstration) which are undoubtedly linked to persons. It is widely accepted that, since tourism has been considered as an industry, it is known to generate income and bring benefits to the communities. It plays an important role to protect and preserve the heritage, thought sustainable promotion and sell of the culture is a discussable issue since it is as old as cultural tourism.

3. Cultural Tourism

By some means, defining cultural tourism is not simple as it looks like. Richards (2001) has defined cultural tourism as "the movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs". He used the term "intention to gather new information" to explain the notion of cultural tourism. While motivations to visit historical artistic places and lifestyle has been used by other researchers to define cultural tourism (Alzua, O'Leary, & Morrison, 1998; Silberberg, 1995). This subtle difference is the borderline between actual cultural tourist and who accidentally became a cultural tourist. However, visiting cultural aspects of the destination is a common motivation of a trip, and some tourists select specific destination just due to its cultural attractions. These are the one that Richard (2001) categorized as tourists with the intention to satisfy their cultural needs.

Richards, (2001, p. 7) explained that "Cultural tourism therefore covers not just the consumption of the cultural products of the past, but also of contemporary culture or the way of life of a people or region. Cultural tourism therefore has seen as covering both 'heritage tourism' (related to artifacts of the past) and 'arts tourism' (related to contemporary cultural production)".

UNWTO (1985) presented two definition of cultural tourism that are known as narrow definition and wide definition.

- The narrow definition is "movement of persons for essentially cultural motivations such as study tours, performing arts and cultural tours, travel to festivals and other cultural events, visits to sites and monuments, travel to study nature, folklore or art, and pilgrimages"
- The wide definition is "all movement of persons...because they satisfy the human need for diversity, tending to raise the cultural level of the individual and giving rise to new knowledge, experience and encounters" (Richards, 1996, p. 22).

As tourism became one of the most fast growing industries in the world and due to the increase interest to cultural tourism specifically, the role of sustainable tourism is even more crucial. By planning an organized sustainable tourism, it is possible to attract more investors and founds meanwhile improving local community economy. Therefore, increasing the various activities that are related to the cultural sites, tourism can play a critical role to sustain those cultural assets. George Town as the case study of this paper is not an exception and literature shows the magnitude of this world heritage site among other nominated ones.

4. Tourism and Cultural Tourism in George Town, Penang

Penang Island (Pulau Pinang) is an area of land, approximately 294 km^2, lies off on the opposite of Malaysia's mainland. The Island is connected to the mainland with the Penang Bridge, which is opened in 1985. British government pushed the Malay region for seeking trading opportunities during the late eighteen century when the East India Company was looking for eastern port in which to conduct business. As a result, Penang Island was yielded to the Company in 1786 (Handerson, 2004). People of all ethnic groups (European, Chinese, Indians, Bugis, Arabs, Armenians, Persians, Siamese and Sumatrans) were attracted by the settlement of the company (Mohamed, Ahmad, & Ismail, n.d.). Travel industry in its basic forms came to Penang region following by western trade, and after the China trade grew, more ships passed through the region. (Darke, 1970, p. 270) quoted that "It was also necessary to provide restaurant and refreshment ports (which) were just as important as trading ports". Penang turned into a visitor centre soon after its foundation in 1789. The first indication of 'tourist' in Penang was in a travelogue originally published in 1834 (Begbie, 1967) and the first hotels such as Hotel de L'Europe, E & O, Runnymede and the hill bungalows were managed based on European needs and enterprise (Snodgrass, 1980).

By the 1990s, "sun, see and sand" tourism was realised at the peak capability in Penang (Cairns, 2002). Led by the state government, Penang did considerable movement towards promoting tourism and distributing its own products. Essentially, Penang cultural heritage sites have been promoted as an alternative tourism (Hamzah, 2004). Therefore, the amalgam of tourism products caters Penang's visitors. Modern shopping centres and local bazaars as well as night markets, beautiful beaches, presenting variety of ethnics with variety of culture, customs, foods, lifestyle, and signs of different religion (Indus and Buddhists temples and mosques) could be seen within a natural cultural-historical environment (Penang Tourism, 2009).

In July 2008, "George Town and Malacca listed as World Heritage Sites". The nomination as a 'World Heritage Site' status by UNESCO has brought great opportunity to develop cultural tourism in George Town. The uniqueness of Melaka and George Town is about combination of religious pluralism, historic townscape and living heritage. These three unique items have been represented through house of worship and peaceful co-existence of different religious, a combination of Asian and colonial architectures and multicultural heritage which peeps out from the daily lives, rituals, trades and cuisine of the inner city community (Nasution, 2008, Nov). The World Heritage Site status by UNESCO drives attention towards developing culture-heritage tourism. As Penang Economic Monthly (2009) reported:

> In line with the growing numbers of global travelers seeking different kind of holidays that is not packaged as a rushed shopping/sightseeing tour trip. Not surprisingly, many countries that heavily depend on tourism are increasingly gearing their tourism industry to cater for these 'culture-vulture' travelers, who are deemed a more profitable and sustainable market (p. 7).

Khoo Salma Nasution at the RARC International Tourism Conference (2008, Nov) quoted that:

In many ways, Georgetown is just another urban area where people live, work and go shopping. But the high concentration of houses of worship and association buildings, the relatively walk able streetscape of shop houses and the close proximity of various attractions, gives Georgetown ambience of an open-air museum or museum without wall (p. 6).

The composition of a day life in George Town is made by Indian shopkeepers selling fabrics, flowers and religious statues in little India, Chinese shop houses with different skills that rooted in their culture (e.g. hand-made joss sticks, engraving wooden signboards) as well as Malay community who have their own symbols of culture (e.g. Malay cuisines and handicrafts). In fact George Town has the capability to be a focal point for Malaysia tourism. As reported by the Penang State Tourism official Website (2011) during 2008 Penang was blessed by receiving 6.3 million tourists excluding those visited Penang on cruises, day trips, and VFRs. Comparing 5.1 million tourist reception in 2007, Penang obviously benefited from being World Heritage City in 2008 (Table 1).

Table 1. Total number of Penang tourist arrival from 1999-2010

No. of visitors	1990	1996	2000	2005	2006	2007	2008
Total of tourists	1.8 million	3.44 million	3.75 million	4.35 million	4.71 million	5.18 million	6.3 million

Source: www.seri.com.my

As mentioned before, providing information for potential tourist can play an important role in promoting destinations. Probable tourists gain the necessary information from different sources which the detailed explanation can be found in the next section of this paper.

5. Information Search

In today's tourism competitive marketplace, understanding tourist information search behavior is an essential factor for marketing management to have effective marketing strategy through effective source/s. According to Moutinho (1987), an expressed need to check diverse sources before decision making is called information search. Referring to this definition, Fodness and Murray (1999) discuss about three main factors in tourism information search. They affirm motives, determinants and sources as those three factors. The potential tourists search for information in their travel planning stage to expand the quality of their trip (McIntosh and Goeldner, 1990). This searching for information helps them to get information and general idea about the destination as well as available services, attraction, price and alike. "Planning as a first step for any traveling requires adequate information which potential tourist may gain it through different sources. Travelers use various amounts and types of information through internal and external search to support their decision making in both areas of which place to visit and the available services they can have access in the chosen destination to reduce risk and uncertainty" (Farahani and Mohamed, 2009, P. 46).

In the first level, probable travelers search information from internal sources which Fodness and Murray (1997) defined it as past experience in the particular destination or the similar one/s. In most cases this level of information search doesn't help travelers to fulfill their needs completely. There is either no useful experience or if there is, the details are forgotten or need to be updated. Accordingly travelers move to the next level to get the information from external sources. In one perspective, external sources can be divided into commercial or noncommercial and received from personal or impersonal communication (Fodness and Murray, 1999).

The revolution in information technology, IT, in recent years include internet in the main list of external information sources. As tourism has information oriented nature, (Schertler, et al., 1995) and decision making and consumption are separated in time and space, information can be the only tool to overcome these distances (Kim, et al., 2007). In advance available information related to product can gain from internet in an easier and cheaper way. The importance of internet in tourism external information search has been confirmed by number of scholars (Bonn et al., 1999). Dolores, et al., (2008, p. 166) by referring to previous studies have been done in this area mentioned that " it is virtually impossible for tourism organization to overlook the internet in their marketing mixes due to its advantages, which include global accessibility, convenience in updating, real-time information service, interactive communications features and unique customization capabilities.

Moreover, Dolores et al. (2008) confirmed the importance of internet in information search when assert that "the advent of the internet and the possibility of interacting with the information carried by that new medium has

opened up a range of possibilities for investigating the way in which information processing takes place and differences in that respect between the internet and the more traditional media". Biswas (2004) also refer to the cost of internet which is lower than other traditional media as a main factor which make people to search for their information comparing to other sources. The mentioned reasons make the focus of this paper on internet as tourist main information source.

6. An Overview

The current paper is to analyze the available websites which provide information about George Town world heritage site in Penang, Malaysia. As far as the literature shows, now a day, internet turns to be a main source of information for potential tourists and as stated before, it is the major reason to choose it in this paper. Previously, two types of heritage; tangible and intangible, were elaborated and this study focus on both tangible and intangible heritage sites information provided in different main websites in the area of study. List of top ten informative website about the case study was provided by Penang global tourism as; Asia web, Penang global tourism, Yahoo Travel, Cuti.com, Penang heritage trust, Visit Penang 2010-2012, visit Penang, wiki travel, Penang Tourism and Pulau Pinang.

The content analysis was done to find the amount of information about each type separately. The result was checked by interviewing authorities from Penang Heritage Office and Penang Heritage Trust to find the reason/s behind the issue. Respectfully, the result is discussed as follows:

7. Results

The result of content analysis of each website is presented separately in this part and it is shown that although the complete information can not be found but some websites provided as much available information as possible.

7.1 Asia Web

This website, http://www.asiawebdirect.com/malaysia/penang/?q=Penang, has been designed for marketing purposes. It is one of the pioneers providing travelers with information to plan their trip within Asia since 1993. It is a member of the Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA) and the International Air Travel Association (IATA). The result shows that under tangible heritage category, this website advertised building for worship, dwelling, site of living human communities, and architecture. In case of intangible heritage, traditional arts and crafts, identity of particular living traditions, traditional cuisine, and Penang's culture have been introduced. Moreover, a brief history of historical building and monuments is elaborated.

7.2 Penang Global Tourism

Penang Global Tourism is the new state tourism bureau set up to work with key tourism players inside & outside of Penang. It is the promotion body of state tourism, to promote the state as a tourist destination. Almost all types of existing tangible heritage promoted in this website, http://penangglobaltourism.com/directory.html, such as; dwellings, buildings for worship, human creations, sites of living human communities, works of visual arts, and architecture. In terms of intangible heritage, the website introduces traditional arts & crafts, customs & beliefs, rituals & other living traditions, folklore, as well as popular forms of expression of outstanding aesthetic.

7.3 Yahoo Travel

The website, http://travel.yahoo.com/p-travelguide-191501653-penang_vacations-i, works with online advertising companies to provide travelers with advertising and promotions related to the destinations all over the world. As it is not specifically promoting Penang, so it provides information is general. The website categorized Penang attractions as "Explore the Kampong Sungai Keluang Attractions" that is an unfamiliar name to address Penang, hence, it is challenging for travelers to select attraction located in George Town heritage enclave as the attractions are not categorized based on where they are located. Dwellings, buildings for worship, and architecture are the type of tangible heritage that mentioned in this website. Traditional cuisine, traditional arts & crafts, and rituals & other living traditions are the intangible heritage that spelled out.

7.4 Cuti.com

CUTI, www.cuti.com.my, is an internet travel reservation and information gateway for Malaysia. The aim of website is to offer online travel services, including ticketing, hotel and tour reservation as well as facilitating search and planning before reaching the destination. They have talked about islands & beaches, places of interest, and hills/forest parks. There is no introduction about George Town world heritage site though they have mentioned few tangible heritages (Dwellings and buildings for worship) and traditional mode of transport (Trishaw) is the only intangible heritage that mentioned in this website.

7.5 Penang Heritage Trust

Formed in 1986, The Penang Heritage Trust (PHT) is one of the leaders to preserve the history and culture of Penang and to promote revitalization of George Town as a living heritage city. They also plan and trace the ongoing heritage movement in Penang. In their website, www.pht.org.my, they promote three heritage tours, Little India & Pinang Peranakan Mansion tour, Heritage Trail & Cheong Fatt Tze mansion tour and street of Harmony & Historical Enclave. It is an informative website that provides valuable information regard to George Town World heritage site for those who plan to visit the town. The dwellings, buildings for worship, sites of living human communities, and architecture are the categories of tangible heritage that PHT has listed during their offered tours. Furthermore, traditional arts & crafts, identity of particular living traditions, customs & beliefs are the intangible heritage that will be discussed during their offered tour.

7.6 Visit Penang 2010-2012

It is Penang state tourism official website, http://www.visitpenang.gov.my, which reports the previous event, while the information about upcoming events also provided. History of Penang, festivals, food and blogger are the other informational link in this website. Some videos are provided for those who are interested to watch videos rather than reading about the information. There are links entitled "what to see" which provide information about attraction in Penang. Again in this website the number of buildings for worship is higher than other tangible heritage. Human creations also can be seen among the available information. For the intangible heritage, the main information is about Penang's Traditional Joss Stick Maker and Penang Chinese Opera & Ko-Tai. It is better to say that this website is not a proper informative website since the number of heritage information there, is limited, although some brochure can be downloaded easily from the website to get related information.

7.7 Visit Penang

This website introduces the holiday destination of the island of Penang in Malaysia. This site features links to traveler reviews, travel guides, and resources. The address is http://www.visitpenang.com/ and it is linked to other informative sources such as' Penang Heritage Trust, Travel and Local News including All Malaysia Info, Penang Hawker, Food Blog, Penang Foods, iGeorgeTown News, and Penang News. Travel Overviews including Wikipedia and Wikitravel as well as Virtual Tourist and IgoUgo can also be found. Local Links including Little Penang, Street Market, Penang Heritage Trust, iGeorgeTown, and other links including TripAdvisor, Penang Story are the other available links. The result of content analysis of this website shows that regarding to tangible heritage the information are all around two main parts of tangible heritage (dwellings and buildings for worship), although museum and traditional transportation also can be found in the list. Regarding intangible heritage the main focus of the website is on food which of course is just one of the intangible elements. Festivals are the other main focus of the website in intangible perspective.

7.8 Tourism Penang

Tourism Penang, http://www.tourismpenang.net.my, is another website which is one of the main tourists' information providing sources. The number of useful information for tourists in this website is more detailed comparing to other websites. To some extent the website provide information about Tangible Cultural Heritage by "What to see", and Intangible Cultural Heritage by "What to do". Same as other websites, the information about buildings for worship can be seen more than other information although the information about George Town World Heritage are the most complete one among other websites. They came with the idea of top ten what to see, what to eat, and what to do to make it easy for potential tourist to choose. Regarding tangible heritage all major heritage buildings and clan houses in the George Town inner city can be seen in the website. More over buildings for worship can also be found. Food and transportation are the items related to intangible heritage in the website information.

7.9 Wiki Travel

It is a division of Wikipedia by the address of http://wikitravel.org/en/Penang#b. Very general information about different tourism spots can be found in that website. The information is not by detail and it can be used only to get the general information about the destination. Very small information about both tangible and intangible heritage is presented in that webpage. Among tangible heritage values, buildings for worship, sites of living human communities, works of visual arts, and architecture can be seen. In terms of intangible heritage, the website provide information about customs & beliefs, rituals & other living traditions, food, as well as identity of particular living tradition. The website suggested some tourism related division to get more information such as Penang Tourism Action Council, Tourism Malaysia, Penang Tourist Centre, Penang Development Corporation Tourism

Division, Tourism Information Centre, Tourism Malaysia Penang Branch, Penang Heritage Trust and The Penang Old House.

7.10 Pulau Pinang

Although the name of this website, http://www.pulaupinang.com, is in Malay language but the information provided by this website is in English and can be useful for international users. They call it the E-gateway to Gorge Town World Heritage City. In this website the information are categorized under eight divisions. The first division is "about Penang" which subcategorized by George Town, History, and Penang Story. The second main division is "Happiness" including, tourism views, tourism events, travel alert and travelogue. The third division is "World Heritage" which provides news regarding to world heritage and events. Forth division entitled "Tourist Attraction" and explains about culture, religion and nature. Next partition is "Penang Mall" which mostly provides information about food, restaurant and shopping. "Art and Culture" is another division which includes information about art craft, performing art, and religion and custom that can be categorized under traditional cuisine, art and crafts, culture, and customs and beliefs subgroups of intangible heritage. "Media" is the division which minimize to; opinion, 3D panoramic, Penang TV, photos and post cards. The last division is "Tourist Map" which obviously provides different necessary maps for tourists. Like Penang Global Tourism, nearly most information about all types of existing tangible heritage is provided in this website. Dwellings, buildings for worship, human creations, sites of living human communities, works of visual arts, and architecture are the examples of tangible heritage items. In terms of intangible heritage, the website promotes traditional arts & crafts, customs & beliefs, rituals & other living traditions, folklore, and popular forms of expression of outstanding aesthetic.

8. Conclusion and Implication

As far as heritage is a very valuable attraction for tourism and to be considered as the main tourism motivational factors, its sustainability facilitates tourism industry. On the other hand, tourism can play an important role in sustainability of heritage especially intangible ones. The brief result of the content analysis is shown in table 2.

Table 2. Tangible and intangible information in top ten penang tourism websites

Name of Website	Tangible Heritage	Intangible Heritage
Asia Web	building for worship, dwelling, site of living human communities, and architecture	traditional arts and crafts, Identity of particular living traditions, traditional cuisine, Penang's culture, history of historical building and monuments
Penang Global Tourism	dwellings, buildings for worship, human creations, sites of living human communities, works of visual arts, and architecture	traditional arts & crafts, customs & beliefs, rituals & other living traditions, folklore, also popular forms of expression of outstanding aesthetic & traditional cuisine
Yahoo Travel	dwellings, buildings for worship, and architecture	traditional cuisine, traditional arts & crafts, and rituals & other living traditions
Cuti.com	dwellings and buildings for worship	traditional mode of transport
Penang Heritage Trust	dwellings, buildings for worship, sites of living human communities, and architecture	traditional arts & crafts, identity of particular living traditions, customs & beliefs are the intangible heritage
Visit Penang 2010-2012	buildings for worship	art and crafts
Visit Penang	dwellings, buildings for worship & museum	traditional transportation, traditional cuisine& festivals
Tourism Penang	buildings for worship, works of visual arts	Traditional cuisine, traditional arts & crafts

Wiki Travel	buildings for worship, sites of living human communities, works of visual arts, and architecture	customs & beliefs, rituals & other living traditions, food, as well as identity of particular living tradition
Pulau Pinang	Dwellings, buildings for worship, human creations, sites of living human communities, works of visual arts, and architecture	Traditional cuisine, art and crafts, Penang culture, & customs and beliefs, rituals & other living traditions, folklore, also popular forms of expression of outstanding aesthetic.

The result of the study reveals that there is no complete information about all heritage values in George Town and through the interviews it is found that the reason behind the shortage of information is lack of complete list of heritage items therefore, websites don't have access to the complete list in order to provide the information according to it. Moreover, since the list is not available, some of the values are disappearing as there is no proper check list to use in order to update the information regarding to the condition of different values.

Comparing tangible and intangible heritage, it is clear that the intangible heritage are more sensible in case of sustainability, and as far as they are intangible so there is less policy and plan towards their conservation. Assessing the reason behind the minor information about intangible heritage comparing to the tangible ones, leads the researchers to know that providing and uploading information about intangible information needs key holders and trades owners agreement which is not an easy job and this negotiation takes lots of time, and efforts.

The result of interviews reveals the fact that, the appearance of the city is changing every three months which the reason behind it can be withdrawing one of the valuable intangible heritage every time since they can not compete with others. Moreover, minor businesses such as fortune telling are disappearing since the people behind these heritage values don't afford to keep the business active.

It is definitely needed to provide a complete list of both tangible and intangible heritage and make it available for different websites to provide their information by referring to the list. Negotiations with the people behind intangible heritage should be considered as a serious issue since; when they disappear it is too late to care about.

Acknowledgements

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The Scourge of Prostitution in Contemporary China:

The "Bao Ernai" Phenomenon

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Abstract

China in the post-Mao era was transformed by a veritable economic miracle and simultaneously underwent a series of radical époque-making changes in the Chinese ruling classes' political and ideological approach to government. The continued rapid growth and the expansion of a consumer society have also contributed to the discrediting of those traditional values which for many years underpinned and fortified the force of communism. In addition to the demise of traditional values, the waning belief in Maoist ideology and the rise of consumerism as the new ideological credo, there have also been transformations in some of the main pillars of Chinese society, in particular the family, as a result of a resurgence of social practices that were thought to belong to the past. The most widespread in contemporary China is the "*bao ernai*" phenomenon, or the taking of a second wife, which involves mainly businessmen and politicians, strictly related to the increase of corruption. The increasingly worrying proportions assumed in recent years by such practice, while risking to compromise the sustenance of the much exalted harmonious society, have favoured the emergence of a heated debate inside the Chinese society.

Keywords: economic miracle, loss of traditional values, prostitution, "bao ernai" phenomenon, corruption, social destabilization

1. The Two Faces of the Chinese Miracle

China in the post-Mao era was transformed by a veritable economic miracle and simultaneously underwent a series of radical époque-making changes in the Chinese ruling classes' political and ideological approach to government. This was instigated by the extremely pragmatic policies and an adaptation to the new economic and social reality produced by the reform policies that, in Deng Xiaoping's mind, were the only way for the CCP to maintain its monopoly hold on power (Baum, 1996; Gittings, 2005; Vogel, 2011). Specifically, the espousal of the concept of a 'socialist market economy' (*shehuizhuyi shichang jingji*), also known as 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' (*Zhongguo tese de shehuizhuyi*), on the one hand, and the Three Represents Theory (*san ge diabiao lilun*) on the other, caused some observers to pose the question as to whether or not China should still be considered a socialist country.

In truth, while the institutional system based on the three-tier hierarchy of party-state-army is still in place, together with an ideology that continues to honour and celebrate socialism and the leading role of the Communist Party, the very nature of the CCP has been transformed by profound changes. Today it is no longer the party of the working classes, peasants and soldiers united in a common struggle, but has instead become the party of government, obliged therefore to represent all the forces in society that contribute to the 'economic development' of the nation (i.e. private entrepreneurs, capitalists, managers, technicians and intellectuals who together comprise the more advanced strata in society) (Fewsmith, 2002, 2003). On closer inspection, however, it does appear evident that such changes have not marked any real turning point in China, which proceeds along a path of reforms orchestrated by a party that professes to be Communist (it is only by name) and whose chief objective is to maintain the high rates of growth registered in the past few decades. The alternative would be the destabilization of Chinese society and an end to the 'Mandate of Heaven' (*tianming*) for its legitimacy to govern.

At the same time, the continued rapid growth and the expansion of a consumer society have contributed to the discrediting of a whole series of values such as attention to the common good, social justice, honesty and rectitude, which for many years underpinned and fortified the force of communism, governing its capacity to mobilize the Chinese population. The supreme 'good' today has become "money" and business dealing, which seems to have taken over as a guiding force in the party, in the government and in society as a whole. The most often heard new year wish for the Chinese is "*gongxi facai*" ("May you become rich"). In addition to the demise of traditional values, the waning belief in Maoist ideology and the rise of consumerism as the new ideological credo, there have also been transformations in some of the main pillars of Chinese society, in particular the family (Note 1) as a result of a resurgence of social practices that were thought to belong to the past. The most widespread in contempory China is the "*bao ernai*" phenomenon, or the taking of a second wife or concubine.

2. Prostitution in Chinese History

China has a long history of institutionalized prostitution, sustained and upheld by the patriarchal custom of taking concubines together with the ancient practice of priming girls for a life as courtesans, which has served as the subject matter of many classic works of Chinese literature. Society in imperial China was essentially based on a patriarchal social system in which women were subordinated to men. Generally speaking, a woman had five basic roles in life: wife, concubine, servant, nun, and prostitute. A traditional Chinese wife (*qizi* or *da laopo*) for a well-being family had to come from a good family, be servile, innocent and fertile, in order to be able to fulfill her main function in life, namely to guarantee the continuation of the family lineage (raising male off-spring in particular). A wife did not necessarily have to be beautiful or educated; on the contrary, ugly, cold and talentless women were often preferred, while beauty and sexual prowess were the required attributes of concubines (*qie* or *xiao laopo*), who generally came from poor and uneducated families and were young, capricious and whimsical. Since they were considered as little more than "toys", they could only hope to climb up the social scale when the official wife died (Dougherty, 2006, p.5).

In more recent times, the causes of Shanghai's moral decadence in the 1930s, when it was known as the "Pearl of Asia" and also as the "brothel of Asia" or the paradise of adventure seekers, were to be found in the proliferation of prostitution, which was the mainstay of the entertainment industry at that time (Onnis, 2005, chap. 3). Immediately after the Communists came to power in 1949, one of the most urgent measures that the new regime wanted to take was to eradicate the phenomenon of prostitution – which in the 'century of shame and humiliation' (*bainian chiru*) the rich and developed West had been responsible for disseminating – and also to end the practice of taking concubines, since it was the dissolute practice of richer classes (Wu Zhihong, 2001). Indeed, the CCP began a concerted and at least apparently successful campaign of repression that aimed at eradicating it within a decade in the 1950s. In doing so, Mao intended to pay homage and offer justice to those whom he referred to as "the other side of the sky", i.e. women, who had until then been forced to succumb to the Confucian dictates of the so-called "three submissions and four virtues" (obedience to the father, the husband, and after the death of the latter, obedience to the eldest son; adherence to the virtues of faith, beauty, and deference in use of language and correctness in behavior, as well as diligence in household tasks). In other words, women would be encouraged to participate where possible, in the political, economic and social life of the country. Right from the beginning, then, Chinese women benefited greatly from these Communist Party's reforms; consider for example the Marriage Law passed in 1950, which put an end to a whole host of practices and principles that were detrimental to the dignity of women, such as arranged marriages and polygamy. Recent studies have shown, however, that prostitution in Maoist China had not been completely repressed and controlled, and that the most powerful government officials continued with their custom of maintaining numerous wives and concubines. Indeed, two leading experts on this subject at the University of Beijing, the director of sociological studies of sexual behaviour, Pan Suimin, and Li Yinhe of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, argue that the so-called 'invisible' prostitution, or the practice of providing sexual favours in return for certain privileges, was alive and well in Maoist China, and much practiced by Mao himself (Pan Suimin, 1996, pp.20-21; Li Zhusui, 1994).

Deng Xiaoping's reform and open-door policy (*gaige kaifang*) signaled the end of rigid Communist morals, the rise of economic prosperity and the espousal of utilitarian principles that place financial gain above all else; it also led to the return of the ancient Confucian tradition of patriarchal polygamy. Meanwhile, the market for prostitution continued to grow and became more widespread, often with local authorities playing an active role in encouraging what would soon become a vast industry involving millions of people and generating a turnover of vast magnitude (Zhong Wei, 2000; Zhang Fan, 2007). It also came to be associated with a series of problems such as organized crime, government corruption, and more seriously the mushrooming of sexually transmitted diseases. The campaigns against various forms of social deviation including police operations to eliminate

pornography (*saohuang dafei*) and in general "spiritual contamination" (*jingshen wuran*) launched in the 1980s, seemed to have had little effect; neither did the increased severity of sentences for crimes related to prostitution. In fact, while the Penal Code (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo xingfa*) of 1979 had relatively moderate punishments for organizing and aiding and abetting prostitution, an amendment passed in 1983 by the National People's Congress (NPC) set the maximum penalty, i.e. the death penalty, for such crimes. Although the new 1999 Penal Code reduced penalties for some offences, the death penalty was maintained (art. 358) for more serious crimes (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo xinfa*, p.83). Clients and prostitutes themselves are subject to fines, as stated in the Regulation for offenses related to disturbance of public order (*Zhonggua renmin gongheguo zhi'an guanli chufa tiaoli*).

3. The New Forms of Prostitution in Contemporary China

Being the revival of prostitution a direct consequence of the reform and open-door policies, it was initially confined to the coastal cities in the eastern and southern parts of the country, but during the 1990s it gradually became a nationwide phenomenon. The main factor that triggered the resurgence of prostitution was the migration of large numbers of people from the countryside to the cities (known as *liudong renkou*, or "floating population") (Note 2) made possible by the slackening of strict measures of control that obliged people to remain tied to their places of origins (*hukou)* and workpaces (*danwei*). However, with the urban employment market still in an embryonic phase, those migrant workers with little or no qualifications found themselves unable to find any form of employment other than as sex workers.

The sector of the population that comprised and helped burgeon the main client base for paid sex were male migrant workers with an average age of 30, working to support families back home that they could only see during periods of national holidays and festivities. The supply side of the market was made up of migrant female workers attracted by the lure of fast and easy earnings, as well as ex-employees of state companies who had lost their jobs following company restructuring or downsizing and were unable to find employment opportunities in an increasingly competitive work market (Franceschini, 2008, p.235). Although what initially pushed people into the world of prostitution was economic hardship and necessity, during the last years of the 1990s and the start of the new millennium, a number of more educated women, many of them university students, deliberately chose to resort to prostitution as a means to ensure themselves financial security as well as to gain access into higher social circles and more attractive life styles (Miao Cuihuai & Li Longhai, 2008, p.97). As a result, the new clients also tended to be better educated, more sophisticated and ostentatious.

The sex industry in post-Maoist China found itself having to adapt to the needs of a highly diversified client base, from the migrant worker to the successful business manager or high level government official and due to this diversification grew into an industry of vast proportions. The diverse nature of the phenomenon is clearly indicated in a seven-level ranking order list compiled by the Chinese authorities (Sex Work in China, 1999-2000). In descending order, at the top of the hierarchy are the *ernai*, the "second wives" or simply the lovers of rich and influential men, usually government officials or businessmen, who exchange sexual favours in return for accommodation and a regular income. In a second position on the hierarchy and similar in many ways to the *ernai* are the *baopo*, or so-called "girls for rent", who are sought by wealthy clients for short periods during business trips or work appointments, for a pre-arranged recompense. Those in the next category are known as *peinü* ("escort" girls); they basically accompany men to karaoke clubs, dance halls, restaurants and tea houses where they spend time chatting to their prospective clients before moving on from the meeting place to continue the evening together. The *peinü* are generally girls of a good social standing and are much in vogue in large cities such as Beijing and Shanghai; they command high prices. Next come the *dingdong xiaojie* ("dingdong" girls), many of whom are university students marketing themselves on internet sites or by telephoning clients directly in hotel rooms. Fifth place on the descending order list are the *falangmei* or "sisters of hairdressing salons" who advertise themselves as masseurs or hairdressers but in reality are offering sex in private rooms behind beauty centres, hair salons (basically brothels),   saunas and so on.   With their trademark red lights outside the shops, the *falangmei* are the most visible example of the phenomenon of prostitution in contemporary China. They are mainly uneducated migrant workers coming from rural areas, who are closely monitored by their protectors. The lowest two levels on the scale involve more direct forms of an exchange of 'money for sex' between client and prostitute, with no connection to the new forms of entertainment and without the involvement of corrupt government officials or white collar criminality. They are commonly known as *jienü* ("street girls") and *xiagongpeng* ("after-work shacks"), i.e. women who sell sex to poor migrant and itinerant workers. The *xiagongpeng* are generally also poor and not particularly attractive, but they do perform the important function of providing solace in the empty lives of their clients who have left their families at home to come and work in the city.

4. The Social Consequences of the "Bao Ernai" Phenomenon

It was towards the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the new millennium, just at the time when the direct involvement of the political elite in the whole phenomenon was coming to light, that a number of scholars began to warn of the damage and threat to social stability that the practice of *ernai* was posing; at the same time, the *ernai* were coming under attack from legitimate wives – ironically promoted to the status of "first wives", in complete contradiction with the idea of marriage as a monogamous, heterosexual institution (*yi fu yi qi zhi*) – as well as from certain sectors of society in general.

With official divorce statistics showing that the *ernai* were the leading cause of breakdown in family relations (Zhang Yuanting, 2007, p.20) the standing committee of the National People's Congress was prompted into amending (April 2001) the 1980 Law on Marriage, making adultery and concubinage illegal. (Note 3) Regardless of the statistics, if the existence of *ernai* continues to be tolerated (on some occasions they ensure the continuing of a family lineage) it will mean perpetuating the traditional Chinese patriarchal family and risking the setback of all the modern progress made in Chinese society (in particular as regards women) over the past few decades. The revival of concubinage in its modern version of *ernai* has also worsened another phenomenon which had emerged at the beginning of the 1980's, i.e. enforced celibacy for life for the poorest and least enterprising men. In fact, one consequence of the 'single child' policy that inevitably meant a preference for male progeny, has been a considerable disparity in the proportion of the two genders. The upshot of this is that a poor boy from a rural area will find it more and more difficult to find a wife, because many of those who would normally be available are ensnared by more wealthy men who 'take' them as second wives. Furthermore, the phenomenon has also brought about the growth of the so-called "hidden population" (*yinbi renkou*), which are a source of great concern for legitimate wives given that under Chinese law children born outside marriage have the same inheritance rights (Shen Hsiu-hua, 2008, p.12) as those born from the first marriage. Not surprisingly, the first wives from places most affected, in particular Taiwanese women, have turned first to religious organizations for comfort and solidarity and have now begun to form leagues and associations aimed at raising awareness among the public in general and other groups of women in particular, of the threat posed by women they define as mercenaries and dowry hunters, whose only aim is material gain (Ibid., pp. 11-12). In January 2003, in response to pressure from these groups, the Taiwanese government passed an amendment to the Code of Civil Procedure brought in so that legitimate wives filing for divorce over an extra-marital relationship can obtain direct access to their share of the husbands assets for which they have a right to claim (Ibid., p. 20). On the other hand, the wives of Hong Kong men tend to opt for silence due in part to the social stigma attached to the failure of a marriage in a society with a relatively low divorce rate, but also in order not to face maternity on their own (Lang & Smart, 2002, p.555). Another vital issue is that promiscuity jeopardizes the health of both wives and children, through the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, including of course, AIDS. Lastly, but no less importantly, the escalation of such a practice has contributed to fuelling the increase in corruption, in particular among government officials. If recent statistics are to be believed, nine out of ten party officials keep lovers, resulting in exorbitant costs of maintaining an *ernai* (Watts, 2007).

5. The Current Debate on Prostitution in China

The innumerable consequences of a social phenomenon of such breadth and complexity has in recent years come under the scrutiny of the Chinese academic community as well as contemporary authors – just as concubines were a common theme in classical literature; the writings of some young female authors have been labeled under a literary current known as *jinü wenxue*, or simply "prostitution literature." (Note 4)

The most fervent debate inside the Chinese society has concentrated mainly on the "*bao ernai*" phenomenon for two main reasons. Firstly, because the growing trend is unquestionably associated with rampant corruption among high ranking party officials, and white collar functionaries in general, but also because of the potentially destabilizing effect it has on the family and on society as a whole (Shi Lihua & Hu Aiguo, 2002). As mentioned above, in the past few years in China, as a result of the economic boom set in motion by Deng Xiaoping's "new path" policy, the traditional role of the concubine turned rapidly into more of a career and financial advancement option chosen by women throughout the country, although it remained confined largely to urban areas. Yet, whereas the *ernai* phenomenon initially remained a hidden 'trend' confined to the coastal provinces in the South and to business environments, it grew into a worrying problem once it emerged that several local businessmen (Note 5) and in particular high ranking government officials were involved. It was symptomatic of the ever increasing widespread corruption within China, confirmed by the revelation of a series of scandals implicating party and government officials at the highest levels. (Note 6) Already at the start of the millennium, an internet search using the words "*bao ernai*" on Sohu.com – one of the most frequently used internet portals – obtained about 3,800 returns, thus indicating how prevalent the fad, or rather serious the social problem actually was (Shi

Lihua & Hu Aiguo, 2002, p.62). *Nanren youwei cai bao ernai* (a man of promise will contract a second wife) has become a much-heard expression and the "men of promise" are admired and emulated by the less fortunate, albeit with a certain amount of envy. In short, "*bao ernai*" has become such a consolidated social trend that it is spawning material utilitarian obsessions to the detriment of moral values (Ibid., p. 63).

The increasing spread of "*bao ernai*," meaning literally "contracting a second wife," though in a wider sense, "keeping a lover," has become not only the subject of much debate in the media and in society, but also a subject of academic enquiry, as evidenced by numerous studies published on the extra-marital relationships between businessmen from Hong Kong and Taiwan with mainland Chinese women (Zhang Xingkui, 2008; Shen Hsiu-hua, 2008). A number of authors have explained how the rapid industrialization in Southern China in the second half of the 1970s and early 1980s attracted in particular Chinese from Hong Kong and Taiwan (tongbao), thus 'bringing together' two categories of migrants. The first of these were young Chinese women from poor rural areas looking for work and opportunities to climb the social ladder, while the second were business entrepreneurs from Hong Kong who were setting up operations in the coastal provinces of the South. With their being no shortage of occasions for work relations developing into extramarital affairs (*hunwailian*), there reemerged a sort of peripheral polygyny, whereby Hong Kong businessmen with wives and children on the island, maintain a second family with young migrant women on the mainland. Economic ties between Taiwan and the coastal province of Fujian as well as with Singapore led to analogous relationships emerging between Taiwanese and Singaporean businessmen and young Chinese female emigrants living in Fujian or other coastal provinces (Lang & Smart, 2002, pp.546, 562). According to the Chinese scholar Zheng Tiantian it was during the transition phase from a planned economy to a market economy that the custom of offering sex as a ritual part of a business deal really took hold, as it was seen to be a means of consolidating local connections and establishing relations of trust with potential partners. In other words, it was an essential ingredient for ensuring business deals went ahead (Zheng Tiantian, 2006). Various studies carried out on the subject have concluded that the maintaining of a lover in the tradition of "*bao ernai*" has become a veritable status symbol or a display of cultural kudos in the world of business enterprise. For a man, having a lover is effectively a statement of his economic standing and virility (Shi Lihua & Hu Aiguo, 2002, p.62); the lifestyle and material prosperity of an *ernai* reflects the spending power of her client, while her beauty is indicative of his good taste (Miao Cuihuai & Li Longhai, 2008, p. 97).

As has been described above, it is clear that the *ernai* trend is typically an urban phenomenon which has spread chiefly in the province of Guangdong, but is also common in the vast majority of prosperous areas of the country, such as Shanghai, where they are often referred to as *jin si niao* ("canaries of golden silk") and in Beijing, where they are known as *xiao mi* ("little honey"). The most striking visible evidence of the phenomenon in many of the rich industrialized areas of eastern and western China (from Hangzhou to Shenzhen) is the presence of entire luxury neighbourhoods known as *ernai cun*, or "second wife condominiums," inhabited by young lovers (often with the children born from these relationships) of rich commuter businessmen. They can be seen dressed flamboyantly in their designer clothes and precious jewelry, frequenting fashionable health and beauty centres, driving ostentatiously in BMWs, Audis and Minis or promenading with their small 'designer' dogs sitting inside their original Gucci handbags. Some also work in businesses such as in real estate or as interior designers and decorators (Ibid.). In a few cases, *ernai* with high level liaisons have been entrusted with top positions, as revealed by the numerous government corruption scandals in which they have been implicated, in particular the laundering of dirty money (*La moda delle "seconde mogli"*, 2007, pp.61-62).

6. The State/Party Reaction

  In February 2004 the Politburo Standing Committee of the Chinese Communist Party took the unprecedented step of passing a regulation with disciplinary measures regarding the private lives of party members (*Zhongguo gongchandang jilu waiwu tiaoli*), in an attempt to halt the dissemination of the "fad" among public officials. (Note 7) Specifically, article 150 states as follows: "Those who commit adultery give a negative image, and must receive a plain or severe warning; in quite serious cases, the guilty member shall be temporarily removed from the party, or an internal investigation will be launched; in extreme cases, provisions are made for expulsion from the party. In cases of adultery with spouses of serving military personnel, punishment shall be as indicated in previous clause, or more severe. In proven cases of bigamy or the maintaining of female (male) lovers, culprits shall be expelled from the party." Indeed, the most publicized recent cases of corruption, many of them reported in the Italian press (Rampini, 2007; Del Corona, 2007), have revealed that the practice of "*bao ernai*" had become a habitual vice among corrupt officials. Official confirmation was given by the Party Officials anti-corruption department (*Fanfu bumen*) itself; it was openly admitted that of the corrupt officials identified since 2002, the percentage of those harbouring "second wives" had reached   90%. (*La moda delle "seconde*

mogli", 2007, p.63). An interesting point that came out in article 150 of the Communist Party's Regulation on intra-party disciplinary measures is the reference to the maintenance of "male" lovers. Indeed, a parallel phenomenon has recently emerged, wherein rich women entrepreneurs or the neglected wives of millionaire husbands 'rent' gigolos at a cost of thousands of euros a day, to accompany them on shopping trips, to dine out, or to go out to clubs or discoteques and on to complete the evening's entertainment; there are also cases of female state officials who take on "second husbands" (Ibid., pp.70-71). However, this is still a minor phenomenon by comparison.

7. The Academic Community "Recipe"

Having brought the dangers to social stability to public attention, the Chinese academic community is also addressing the question of how best to intervene and control a phenomenon that has now assumed increasingly worrying proportions. According to Shi Lihua and Hu Aiguo (2008, p.64), the only way to deal with this strictly social phenomenon is to tackle the causes of its dissemination; firstly, by ensuring a more equitable economic growth, reducing the gap between urban and rural areas in order to arrest or curtail the continual movement of "floating population"; helping women to escape from the poverty trap by providing greater work opportunities that will also boost self-esteem; using mass media communication channels to educate and sensitize public opinion to this issue; passing further legislation with harsher sanctions and disciplinary measures within the party, given that the laws and legislation currently in force seem to have had little effect in discouraging the dissolute practices of certain government officials. An emblematic case is that of Pang Jiayu, the former deputy head of the provincial political advisory body in the northwestern province of Shaanxi, on whom, in 2007, charges were brought collectively by his 11 lovers (Watts, 2007). Another example is the so called "100 days' campaign" launched by the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau last June to crack down on environmental pollution on the streets and ensure order in society (Cao Yin, 2011).

Whether or not China will succeed in reducing or eradicating the phenomenon of *ernai* is difficult to say. What is certain though, is that if this problem, together with all others that derive from it, is not effectively addressed, the sustenance of a harmonious society (*hexie shehui*) much talked about by the current leaders in power, will be heavily compromised.

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Notes

Note 1. While until fairly recently the typical family in Chinese cities consisted of husband, wife and only child, a nationwide survey carried out in 2003 showed there had been a sharp drop in the number of nuclear families, falling from 48% in 1997 to 37% in 2003 and an increase in the number of so-called Dink (*double-income-no-kids*) families, i.e. childless couples. See Nuclear Families in Decline in Chinese Cities (2003); Doing the DINK (2004).

Note 2. According to "The 2010 Report on the Development of China's Floating Population" – based on a survey by the National Population and Family Planning Commission – China's floating population of migrant workers reached a record 211 million in 2009 and will hit 350 million by 2050 if government policies remain unchanged. See China's 'floating population' exceeds 210m (2010).

Note 3. The amendments passed serve to guarantee greater protection for women and children, and oblige those found guilty of adultery or concubinage to provide compensation in cases of divorce. Some legal experts and women's pressure groups are calling for adulterers to be incriminated as de facto "bigamists", a crime punishable in China with up to a two-year prison sentence. See Zhang Xuejun, *Amendments of the Marriage Law in China* (2002).

Note 4. The most notable author on the subject is the young Chinese female noveliste Jiu Dan. In 2001 she published a book, entitled *Wuya* (Crows), about *xiaolongnu*, or little dragon girls, who travel to Singapore as students but prey on rich men to gain access to the good life. The publication of the book has stirred much controversy especially among the Chinese communities around the world in the contest of the wave of Chinese studying abroad. See Shi Xueqin, Women. International Migration and Development: Chinese Women's Migration to Southeast Asia since 1978 (2010), p.223.

Note 5. An interesting account of the close connection between economic development and the custom of Chinese businessmen being offered sex with Chinese women can be found in E. Jeffreys, *China, Sex and Prostitution* (2004).

Note 6. An enlightening article on the subject is "La moda delle "seconde mogli" e la dissoluta cerchia dei funzionari cinesi" (*Ernai re yu milan de Zhongguo guanchang*) (2007).

Note 7. The full text of the law can be downloaded from the following: http://news.xinhuanet.com/weekend/2004-02/18/content_1320429_15.htm.

Aesthetic Sense of the Vietnamese through Three Renovations of the Women's Ao dai in the 20th Century

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Abstract

Ao dai is a typical long dress of Viet Nam used to be worn by both men and women of the Viet and other ethnic peoples. In her shaping and development history, Viet Nam became a place that converged various cultural flows such as the Vietnamese indigenous culture and that of the Chinese, Champa and Indian etc. To the end of the 19th century, especially the 20th, Viet Nam continued to be influenced by the French culture and the American ways of living. The acceptance of cultures from various nationalities and communities from the North to South, East to West made it possible for the Vietnamese fashion designers to harmonize all into an Ao dai for the Vietnamese women. This article will synthesize and analyze three renovation movements of Ao dai in the 20th century. It also discusses about these processes and introduces typical innovators whose contribution has created the Ao dai as it is today, a traditional dress that represents history of the Vietnamese culture, aesthetic sense, art and vitality.

Keywords: Ao dai, renovation trends, designers, Ao dai renovation

Movements to renovate the Vietnamese Ao dai originated since the 1930s of the 20th century. Thirty years later, there appeared a new renovation movement with typical Ao dai renovators. (The first trend: During the thirties. The second, the sixties and seventies, and the third: The nineties). These renovations have all grounded on the tradition and acquired the then aesthetic senses combined with the American European designing techniques. The perception and approach to create styles of the then renovators remain useful experience for the designers today, who want to combine the traditional styles with the modern ones.

1. The First Renovation Movement: The Thirties of the 20th Century

1.1 Situation in Vietnam before the First Movement to Renovate Ao dai

Viet Nam in the late nineteen and early twentieth century was under the feudal Nguyen Dynasty. The main "traditional appearance of the Vietnamese costume, whose background was shaped since the time of the King Hung, and went through nearly twenty centuries of development and exchange, has become nearly perfect" (Ngo Duc Thinh, 1994). There are not only diversified styles and modes of the Viet people, but also the especially excellent ones of the 53 brotherly ethnic minorities in the Vietnamese territory.

1.2 Renovation Context

In the early 20th century, Vietnam, a semi-feudal society was under the French colonialism. This was the first time the Vietnamese traditional culture contacted the modern West through the French culture in a compulsory manner. Western-style cities were gradually built and new careers appeared. In addition, the division of spirit took place more and more distinctively. More people went to the West to study that resulted in the import of various new thoughts, knowledge and cultures into the spirit life of the Vietnamese society. More new forms of art and culture such as reformed theatre, play, novel, press… appeared. The Vietnamese people had more chances to contact with the civilization, art and even the French Paris fashion (Nguyen Luong Tieu Bach,2005). In such context, Ao dai of the Vietnamese women has been renovated following a trend to be urbanized by

integrating new Western elements. (Figure1). Meanwhile in the rural area, it basically remained unchanged in comparison with that in the past period.
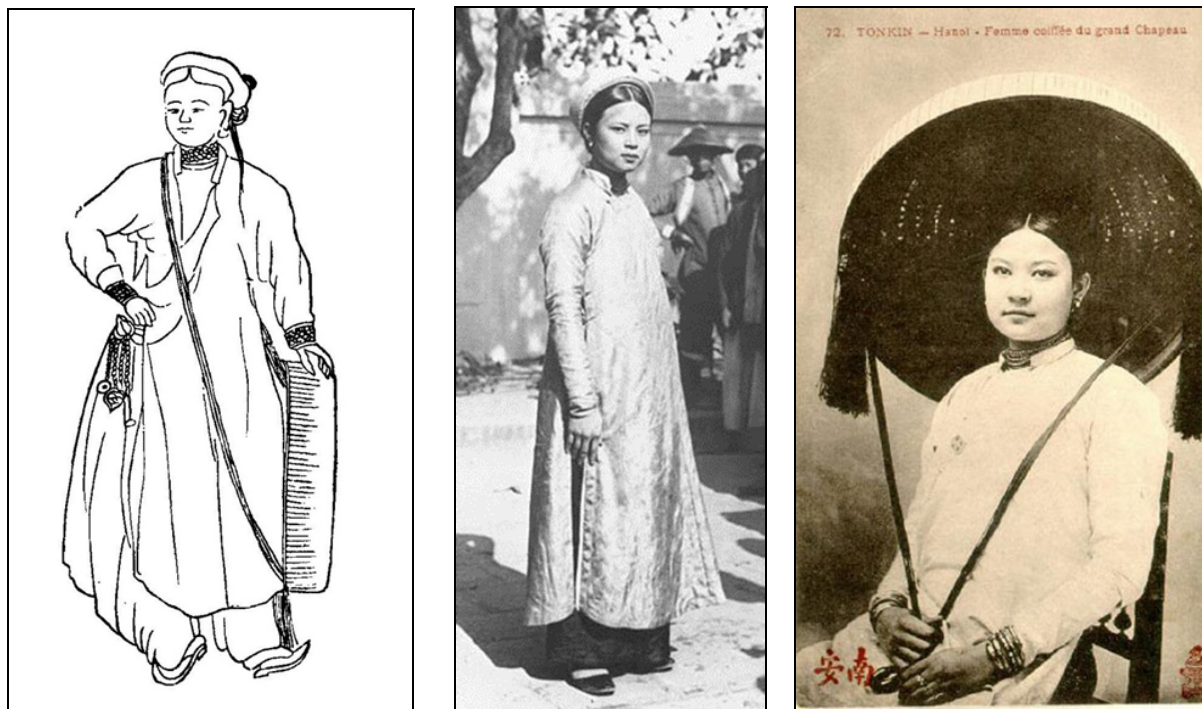

Figure 1 (a, b, c)

Figure 1a. Costume: urban women's Ao dai (Wooden painting by Henri Oger. *Technique du peuple Annamite.* 1908-1909)

Figure 1b & c. Hanoian women in Ao dai in the French Indochinese post card at the beginning of 20th century

1.3 Typical Designers

In 1934, on the Dep (beauty) subject of Phong Hoa newspaper, artist Nguyen Cat Tuong introduced a collection called "Hoa Hong Gio Ty" (roses in the midnight) that included modes named "Le Mur", meaning 'cat tuong' in Vietnamese but 'auspicious' in English. Although it created a great resound, 'Lemur' faced astrong opposition from the conservative Confucian scholars. Later, as artist Le Pho adjusted some details (Figure2c), "Ao dai Lemur" become convincing to women from North to South.

Artist Nguyen Cat Tuong

Brief introduction: Artist Nguyen Cat Tuong (1911-1946) graduated in 1934 from the Indochina College of Fine Arts. He was, together with artist Nguyen Gia Tri, in charge of the Art subject for Phong Hoa and Ngay Nay newspapers. He actively participated in social reform activities laid by Phong Hoa newspaper and the "Tu Luc Van Doan" (Self-help Literature Association).

Regarding 'costume of women', his outlook was that "although clothes are used to cover the body, it could be a mirror to reflect the level of knowledge of a nation" (Cat Tuong, 1934). Concerning the renovation, he articulated: "… the dress of you girls; first of all, it must be suitable for the climate in our region, for different seasons, for your work and the measurement of your body. Then it has to be neat, simple, sinewy, artistic and well-mannered. But no matter how it looks like; it must bear our own nation's characters" (Cat Tuong, 1934).

He specified the modification of Ao dai as follows: "As I said, it's the collar that is redundant, and the sleeves inconvenient… We were created with different forms… Therefore, the dress has to be added or cut in accordance with each person" (Cat Tuong, 1934). He also stressed the advantages of the Ao dai he designed such as "has its own character; is hygienic and artistic; can increase the charming of the "fair sex". To achieve such effects, he narrowed the waist as he explained "I made the belly a little tighter because I want to clearly

differentiate the belly and the bosom" (Cat Tuong, 1934). He asserted that the West's conception of the women's beauty is coincident with local traditional conception "that day lung ong" (wasp-waisted) of the Vietnamese girls.
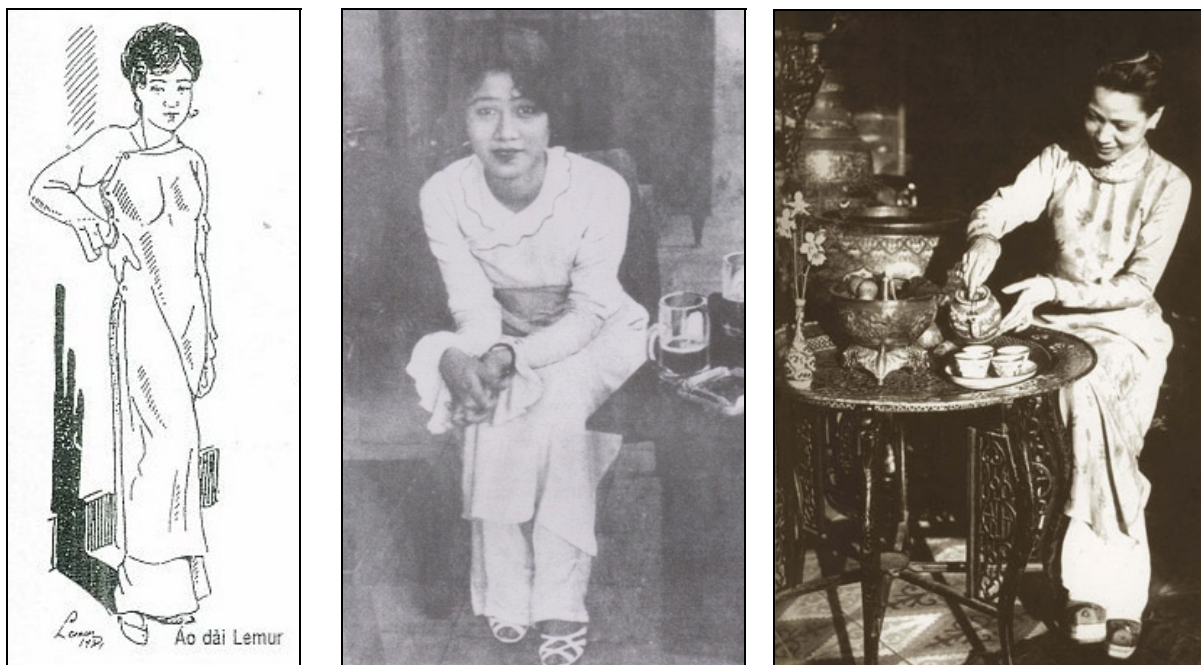

Figure 2 (a, b, c)

Figure 2a. A sketch of Ao dai in Phong Hoa newspaper designed by Lemur

Figure 2b. Miss Nguyen Thi Hau in Ao dai Lemur, 1930s

Figure 2c: Ao dai of Le Pho

Regarding the front and back tails of the Ao dai, he believed that it was better to make them tidier. Regarding the trousers worn inside the tails, he had considerable improvements such as "from the waist to the knee, it should be narrower to fit the body (thighs). That is to make the natural beauty of girls exposed. And the part from the knees to the cuffs, the two trouser legs should be flaring to make the girls look more gently" (Cat Tuong, 1934).

He also cared about the underwear inside Ao dai because "wearing modern Ao dai without proper underwear could be unaesthetic". He further opened a workshop to make high heel clogs designed by him, and organized "Ao dai fashion shows" from North to South in trade fairs with models selected from students and intellectuals to perform the costumes designed by himself (Figure 2a, b).

Comment: Today, someone may ask whether artist Cat Tuong was the first person who renovated Ao dai or not (Note 1). However, basing on photos and articles published on Phong Hoa newspapers during those days, one could relatively admit his conception and means as well as his contribution to the renovation of Ao dai for the Vietnamese women. He might copy the West on how to "express" graphic elements in costume design but more importantly, he has engendered a new form of Ao dai, fashionable but still contains specific characters of the Vietnamese women. On the basis of this aesthetic conception, future designers continued to follow the way he had mapped out.

2. The Second Renovation Movement: The Sixties and Seventies of the 20th Century

2.1 Renovation Context

To the end of the 19th century, Saigon had become "the pearl of the Far East" – a centre of culture and economy of a French colony. After the French, the American had changed Sai Gon into the capital of the Sai Gon Administration for 20 years (1955-1975). The American ways of living (hurried, self-satisfied and individualism)

gradually replaced the French culture. This affected Sai Gon in many aspects… Sai Gon had made the most of her internal strength to, on the one hand, assimilate the positive elements (of the American culture) and on the other hand, to reject the exotic ones that were against the traditional culture of the Vietnamese nation (Nhieu tac gia, 2005).

2.2 Typicaldesigners

Along with the American culture and ways of living such as jeans, flared trousers, 'hippy' and 'miniskirt', the 2nd renovation movement took place in various manners. On 6 December1958, in the Household Arts Exhibition at Nu Vuong Hoa Binh Orphanage, Tran le Xuan, the First Lady appeared in Ao dai with boat-shaped collar (half-moon shape) and short sleeves. Her arms were in white gloves and her hairs done high up in a chignon. Then this style was imitated by some ladies in the Jointly Women Association. They cut their Ao dai with open neck collar, or rounded, squared or heart-shaped style.

Tran Le Xuan

Brief introduction: Tran Le Xuan was born in 1924 in Hanoi from a royal family of the Nguyen dynasty. She acquired the French education. In 1943, she married Mr. Ngo Dinh Nhu who was a younger brother and advisor of the then President of the Vietnam Republic Ngo Dinh Diem. That is why she was titled 'Madam Advisor' or 'The First Lady' of the Vietnam Republic (1955-1963) due to her powerful position.

Madam Tran Le Xuan was also known as the prophet of the modern collar Ao dai called "Ao dai Tran Le Xuan"(BBCVietnamese, 2011). She used to appear in public in V-shaped collar and short sleeved Ao dai. Her arms were in white gloves, her hairs done high up in a chignon and her neck gently wearing a simple necklace (Figure 3a, b).

Figure 3 (a, b, c)

Figure 3a. The First Lady Tran Le Xuan at Gia Long Palace (Photo: Manh Hai- Associated Press. 1963)

Figure 3b: Tran Le Xuan in Paris. 1963 (photo: LIFE)

Figure 3c. Ao dai Raglan (Ms. Dang Tuyet Mai, Paris. 1969. Photo by Loomis Dean)

Comment: Many articles and novels were written about the idea of Lady Tran Le Xuan to renovate the Ao dai. However, in her final years in Paris, she referred to that renovated Ao dai in an interview that "It's very hot in Saigon. So when I wear Ao dai with open collar, the President was not satisfied" (CAND, 2009). This indicated the conception of the traditional Vietnamese women in that period. Although they accepted pragmatism to

renovate the collar to adapt to the climate of the South of Vietnam, the convenience of costume sometimes is not the symbol of the traditional aesthetic conception of the Vietnamese women.

2.3 Other Renovations

Brief introduction: In the early 1960s, a tailor in Dakao named Dung launched a new model: the "Ao dai Raglan" (Figure3c) wearing with slanted trousers. The way to sew the sleeves and the body at the armpit and shoulder helped erasing the crumpled marks beside the armpits and shoulders and improving aestheticism of the upper part of Ao dai. The slanted trousers made of soft cloth holding more closely the bottom and the thighs but flaring in the lower part made the shoe appear and disappear alternately under the silk waves when the girl was walking.

In 1968, young girls liked to wear a new Ao dai style made of colorful cloth, with the front and back tails as short to the knees only. They called it "Ao dai hippy" (Note 2). However, this was not preferred by the majority. Many of them only accepted to wear Ao dai made of cloth printed with flowers during special occasions such as wedding or dancing party.

In the early 1970s, to adapt to miniskirt of girls and flared trousers of boys according to the hippy style, "Ao dai mini" appeared and immediately become up-to-date mode. The tails of Ao dai was narrower and short to the knees sometimes. The body part was bigger and the waist was not taken in but still attached to the curves of the body. The collar was lowered by three centimeters. The shoulders were cut according to raglan style so that it could hold close to the bosom and arms. Meanwhile, the trousers were very long and their fringes made as wide as 60 centimeters.

Comment: In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Ao dai of the Vietnamese women had directly contacted the then various world fashion styles. Such experiments with various textures, proportions and ornamentation had laid foundation for further improvements to perfect the Ao dai as it is today.

3. The Third Renovation Movement: The 1990s of the 20th Century

3.1 Renovation Context

During the 1980s, the world fashion with the advertising branch and fashion models vigorously developed and truly became a highly cultured industry. The emergence of the Asian fashion designers who have become the famous ones among the world's, and the journey to the East, all together have changed the thought of fashion creation in the world (Kim Duc, 1997). In addition to that, the renovation and integration of the economy of Vietnam started from 1986 have produced strong impacts on the Vietnamese, both people and culture. In the early 1990s, the Vietnamese fashion witnessed pleasing changes. In designing Ao dai, there emerged a model maker Ngan An in Hanoi. In the field of fashion show, there were Ao dai collections inspired by the idea of "national costume" designed by artist Minh Hanh and artist Sy Hoang. Those eventually led to the third Ao dairenovation movement.

3.2 Typical Designers

Ngan An

Brief introduction: The Hanoian designer Ngan An, though not being a designer with extraordinary improvements during the late of 1980s and early 1990s, was soon to achieve certain successes with Ao dai models bearing Hanoi style.

Before pursuing Ao dai and costumes of other ethnic minorities in Vietnam, she had 20 years acting as a well-known player in Hanoi. In 1986, she left the stage and was officially in charge of fashion design in Hanoi Fine Art Company. In 1993, Ngan An won gold medal for Ao dai in the international trade fair of industrial products held in Hanoi. In 1995, she was selected by the press to award the title of "Ban Tay Vang" (golden hand) of Vietnam. In addition to organizing fashion shows of Ao dai in South Korea, Singapore, Thailand and the Francophone Summit, she also cooperated with a famous Japanese fashion designer, Kansai, to organize an imposing fashion show called "Hello Vietnam" in Hanoi.

Her Ao dai made of green bamboo brocade worn by Ms. Truong Quynh Mai in the Miss International Contest in 1995 won the prize "The Most Beautiful National Costume" helped honoring the Vietnamese Ao dai in the international arena. (Figure 4a, b).

Figure 4 (a, b)

Figure 4a. Miss Truong Quynh Mai, "Most Beautiful National Costume", 1995

Figure 4b. Ao dai designed by Kansai in Hanoi, 1995

In the following years, her name has become popular in many social activities in Vietnam. She is also a famous memberof almost beauty and fashion contests. Her Ao dai or wedding dress models have been very much loved by ladies, artists, businesswomen, diplomats and foreign visitors.

Comment: In addition soul and sense of an artist, and the passion on designing national costumes, especially Ao dai of the Vietnamese women, Ngan An's Ao dai models have not only managed to succeed the traditions of Hanoi women, ingeniousness and responsibility, but also automatically become a natural mixture of the Vietnamese traditional culture and the beauty of Hanoi women, fervent, tender, courteous and smart.

Minh Hanh

Brief Introduction: Minh Hanh was born in Pleiku from a family native of Hue city. After graduating from Gia Dinh Fine Art School, she worked as a newspaper artist for years, and then moved to work for a fashion journal. In 1992, she became the manager of Fashion Center named Legafashion, the first one in Vietnam. In 1994, she came to work in the Institute of Vietnam Fashion Models (Fadin). In June 2006, she was the first Vietnamese fashion designer being awarded with the title of "Knight" in art and literature by the French Government(Hoai Nam, 2006).

Designer Minh Hanh spent much of her time to honor the Vietnamese Ao dai which, according to her, is "a language that needs no translator" (Toan Nguyen, 2006). Responding to a question "Why do you focus only Ao dai?" she said "The combination of traditional and modern is the right and shortest road for any Vietnamese fashion designer. Every designer's style must be stamped with the origin. Ao dai to me is a precious thing spared for the Vietnamese women. In this career, designing Ao dai is the most difficult task. Any young designer who desires to grow up has to overcome this first challenge" (Toan Nguyen, 2006).

Starting with an Ao dai made of "Tho Cam" (a type of brocade manually weaved by ethnic women of Vietnam) that was prized in a contest in Japan in 1977 (Figure 5a), Minh Hanh initiated a modernization of materials for Ao dai of the Vietnamese women. This attracted attention of fashion makers to the beauty of the traditional costumes of different ethnic peoples in Vietnam. Using fashion shows as a key means, she deserved credit for extending and popularizing the Ao dai culture at home and abroad.

At home, Minh Hanh has initiated and organized Ao dai festival at Festival Hue in 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, and 2010. Through these festivals, Ao dai design and performance have been expanded and helped to shape various designing styles for Ao dai of the Vietnamese women.

She was also a designer who successfully introduced Ao dai fashion collection abroad. In September 1997, owing to the prize she got in a contest in Japan in 1977, she was invited as the first foreign designer to introduce 100 models of her collection of Ao dai Vietnam named "Tradition and Future" in Kiyomizu temple – Dera. After that event, she successively introduced her collection of Ao dai in Germany (September, 1999) and the collection "Dragon and Butterfly" in Italy (June, 2006), participated in the week for international fashion show in Italy (January, 2009). (Figure 5b), then, "The Vietnamese Month in Lorient", France (May, 2011) and next, the Water Festival in China and finally, the Ao dai performance in England (December, 2011).(Figure 5c).

Figure 5 (a, b, c)

Figure 5a. Ao dai of Minh Hanh awarded with "New Designer Award" in the contest of Makuhari Grand Prix in Japan, 1997

Figure 5b. Ao dai collection of Minh Hanh in Rome, 2009 (Photo: Luca Sorrentino)

Figure 5c. Ao dai collection of Minh Hanh in London, 2011 (Photo: Hai Dong)

Comment: It can be said that Minh Hanh's most success is in Ao dai performance. She is also a pioneer in combining material and vignette from the ethnic peoples' traditional costumes (mainly brocade of ethnic peoples from the North of Vietnam) in Ao dai to reflect the unified beauty in the diversified cultures of Vietnam. She deserves to be a pioneer who has a great influence on young fashion designers in designing modern Vietnamese costumes in general and renovating Ao dai in particular.

Sy Hoang

Brief introduction: Sy Hoang was born in Saigon. He started his career in 1989. From the successes in designing single Ao dai for contestants of "Miss Ao dai in Ho Chi Minh City" (first time in 1989, second time in 1995 and won the prize titled "The Best Ao dai Design" performed by the second-best Miss Vo Ngoc Hoang Hoa), his first Ao dai collection titled "National Patterns" has opened Sy Hoang's philosophy in designing "bringing

painting art into traditional costumes and searching for creative ideas from the treasure of national cultures"(Si Hoang) (Figure6a). Every year after that, Sy Hoang successively gave birth his Ao dai collections such as: The "National Pattern" (1995), "Kaleidoscope" (1996), "The Night of Flower Garlands and Colored Lanterns" (1997), the wedding Ao dai called "Imperial Hue Palace" and "Masks of Tuong" (Tuong: classical drama of Vietnam) (1998) (Figure 6b), the "Ancient Incense" (2005) and "Dong Son Legend" and "Ao dai of Vietnam" (2008).

With his Ao dai designs, Si Hoang has contributed to build and spread the beauty of the "Vietnamese Ao dai culture" at home and abroad. His Ao dai collections have been performed many times in Festival Hue, the "Charming Vietnam" programmer and in other important festivals of the country. His collections were also performed in Belgium (2001), Germany (2003), Sweden (2004), France (2005) and San Jose of America (2006).

In 2005, Sy Hoang launched a movement to create drawings and Ao dai for children. He performed his Ao dai for children collection called "This Earth Is Ours" (2005) and "I'm here with you, Life" (2005). He also organized children's Ao dai drawing contest called "Little Designing Talents" (2008) and "the 12th Ho Chi Minh City's Green Painting" (2009-2010) (Figure 6c).

Figure 6 (a,b,c)

Figure 6a: Ao dai designed by Sy Hoang, Ao dai exhibition, San Jose – America in 2006.(Photo: Vietarts- San Jose)

Figure 6b: Ao dai illustration by Sy Hoang

Figure 6c: Sy Hoang with kids wearing his designs (Photo: vietpress)

Comment: Designer Sy Hoang has opened a new trend for renovating Ao dai of the Vietnamese women that highly contains painting and ornamental characters. In addition to that, he has spared no effort in building an "Ao dai culture" environment to maintain and transfer the beauty of the Vietnamese costumes to future generations of Vietnam.

4. Conclusion

To the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, Ao dai of the Vietnamese women has been much improved (both style and variety). As resulted from the compulsory impacts of the Western culture (started with the French colonialism), there came the first renovation movement during the 1930s often called "Ao dai Le Mur" (Ao dai Cat Tuong or Ao dai Le Pho). With that renovation, the aesthetic conception about the traditional beauty of the Vietnamese women first time met that of the Western women and both had been harmonized in

modern Ao dai by using expression language for new fashion styles. That resulted in a new trend for designing Ao dai: fashionable but still containing specific characters of the Vietnamese women.

In the 1960s, under the stormy attack of the 'slightly characterized' pragmatic culture of the American, Ao dai once again acquired positive elements of that culture such as 'the joy to live' (Ao dai hippy), 'pragmatism' (Ao dai mini), the 'reasonableness' (Ao dai Raglan), the 'suggestive' (Ao dai Tran Le Xuan). During the second renovation movement, Ao dai of the Vietnamese women one more time continued to accept new aesthetic elements which were suitable to the aesthetic conception of the Vietnamese that was proved by the perfection of the Ao dai models in the 1970s.

The final renovation movement took place in the 1990s of the 20th century. The renovation this time typified an international exchange and the conservation of national characters in the field of Vietnamese culture in costumes. Minh Hanh and Ngan An's collections of Ao dai which were inspired by the beauty of costumes of different ethnic peoples in Vietnam and Si Hoang's from artistic painting and cultures of ethnic minorities in Vietnam, all have resulted in plentiful possibility to express Ao dai on the way to integrate into the region and the world.

From studying these three renovation movements and the typical designers in the 20th century, it is found that on the foundation of plentiful and diversified cultures of Vietnam, by the unceasing efforts of the Vietnamese talented designers, how has Ao dai of the Vietnamese women accepted and assimilated the superior features of various cultures. As resulted of such efforts, there is one lap of Ao dai, very delicate but its beauty does help stirring the hearts of numerous persons when they contemplate it.

In future, there will certainly be more renovation movements. But what have been brought about by the renovation movements and the typical designers during the 20th century are an invaluable contribution to the Ao dai of the Vietnamese women, and the harmonization of the aesthetic conception of the Vietnamese useful experience for the Vietnamese designers afterwards.

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Notes

Note 1. The origin of modern Ao dai, according to Tan a Newspaper, was created by a Vietnamese in 1921, which affected by the fashion style of a famous French designer Doenillet. Until 1929, this Ao dai model was

brought to Hanoi by designer Chu Huong Mau and launched by artist Cat Tuong as "Ao dai Lemur". During 1933-1934, many Hanoi women started wearing it and spread all over the country (P.Thu. *Vietnamese Women with A Sense of The Beauty And History of The National Dress*. Records of Scientific Conference of the Women of Hanoi National University, 1997).

Note 2. The fashion "Hippy" from America came to Vietnam in early 70s; hippy culture (or hippie) includes liberal dress, against the routines.

Open-air Conservation of Ruins and the Concept of "Non-Dislocation"

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Abstract

Most of the on-going debate is about "how" to protect archaeological ruins, whilst at the same time allowing the general public to enjoy them. Today it is clear how important it is, from the actual planning stages of excavations, to interact with experts from other disciplines, who are working on their own findings and offering them up for collective enjoyment. Whatever might be feasible for an indoor museum is not always feasible with an architectonic ruin, as regards both presenting objects with explicative apparatus that determines their significance, and exploring them in a new way when interpretations change or new ideologies are introduced. First of all, conserving excavations is the not the same as conserving a transportable object. In the past many countries in Europe preferred to "present" Roman remains simply as "gardens of ruins", often endeavouring to stand them in sharp contrast with a more recurrent evocation of the original contexts of local life. Recently, with regard to the Roman tradition, there has been a noticeable inversion of trend in musealization operations, according to which the mere "contemplation of ruins" should be replaced by emotional contact with history. The main consequence of these new tendencies is the replacement of an informatics-based and didactic approach to musealization, in favour of a more authentically interpretative approach. Back-up resulting from experimentation in the fields of restoration and conservation becomes indispensible in implementing these new strategies for the musealization of archaeology. Continuous research and the progressive advance of conservation techniques have meant that the need to transfer archaeological remains has been avoided and an improved *in situ* "presentation" of these remains, both movable and immovable, can now be guaranteed.

Keywords: heritage conservation, archaeological sites, open-air musealization

1. Introduction

When the idea of conservation is also understood as conservation for the general public/tourism there is a risk of coming into conflict with scientific research, and above all with the process of safeguarding remains "abandoned" in the field by research itself. Most of contemporary debate does in fact centre around the criteria for safeguarding archaeological remains in such a way that this can be accomplished without having to affect public enjoyment of the object in question. Today, archaeologists concerned about the *future of our past* have realised how indispensable it is, from the earliest planning stages of an excavation campaign, to interact with professionals from other disciplines, be they curators, restorers, historians, museologists or museographers, all dealing with their findings in order to deliver them up for collective enjoyment; simply speaking the archaeological heritage is to be considered a public asset and the more the experimentation the greater the possibility that it will not be forsaken or, even worse, destroyed.

It is obviously not possible to treat open-air ruins in the same way as an indoor museographic operation, both with regard to presentation by means of interpretative apparatus defining the significance of the "item" created (Note 1) and to the ways in which it is exhibited; these inevitably change with every fresh interpretation or with the introduction of new ideologies, which "have nothing to do with the objects, but which, however, end up colliding with the general conception of what they represent or how they should be represented". First of all, conserving an excavated site is not the same as conserving a transportable object; any intervention carried out on ruins is always irreversible; no restoration, however big or small, can ever be considered fully reversible (Note 2).

In fact there is a recent British Museum paper titled: *Reversibility - Does it exist*? (Oddy & Carrol, 1999). The concept of irreversibility responds to Ruskinian thinking, which is wholeheartedly embraced by the British archaeological community, with one of the consequences being the almost total refusal of the dominant cultural trend in Germany, i.e. the marked passion for *in situ* philological reconstructions. Although British archaeologists have taken their distance from these practices, Great Britain does offer several examples of reconstructive interventions (Note 3).

The systemic complexity with regard to the co-presence of a variety of actions (safeguard, presentation and musealization) carried out in an open-air site, poses more than a few questions, most of which can only be answered at the end of the actual conservation process as seen from a holistic perspective (Note 4). To plan a conservation intervention from this *holistic perspective* means that, on the part of the general public, enjoyment of an archaeological ruin is also inevitably extended to the surrounding context, with its material (physical) and spiritual (non-material) values. Were all these values to be thrown together into the melting-pot of sustainable exploitation, they might jeopardize the actual opportunity of "giving back" to the general public these archaeological remains. In fact, when it is not possible to safeguard all the values, the so-called "non-codifiable" choices, which belong more readily to the sphere of ethics, come into play. Whoever finds himself operating in sensitive areas, from the conservational point of view, will always be forced to make an ethical (and not scientific) assessment with regard to "what" can be sacrificed and "what else" can be turned to account. For example, in order not to interfere with the skyline of an (urban or rural) landscape, how can one objectively decide whether it may be opportune to "re-inter" the pre-existing item, and thus surrender the opportunity of exploiting it through the juxtaposition of a protective and, wherever possible, musealized structure? These are planning problems that cannot easily be solved and which still today foment on-going, open international discussion. It needs to be acknowledged, however, that in Europe there are countless examples in which the safeguarding of all relevant values can be said to be entirely successful (Note 5).

2. Some French Examples of Open-Air Conservation of Ruins

Especially in the recent past, and in the wake of the above-mentioned attitudes, many countries in the rest of Europe have been worried about interfering with the nature of a place or trivialising a site with roofing-structures or by closing off ruins. They have in fact often preferred "to present" the vestiges simply as "gardens of ruins", particularly Roman ruins, taking pains to show them off and contrast them sharply with a more recurrent *re-evocation* of the original contexts of local life; the presence of Roman architecture in the background might actually serve to exalt the "native" populations (Note 6).

An approach very similar to the one just mentioned was applied in the archaeological site at Séviac, near Montréal du Gers (Dip. Gers), in which the utilisation of "vernacular" architecture sets a grand Gallic-Roman villa against a rural backdrop. In this case "vernacular" (Note 7) is a synonym for indigenous, domestic architecture and underlines an indifference to influences from other cultures, and restores greater consideration to the original cultural heritage, seen as an instrument for understanding a community, i.e. the real *genius loci*. In fact, with the creation of vernacular-style roofing, the present intervention to protect the ruins seems to recapture the ancient Celto-Gallic spirit better than might have been the case with the more evident Roman cultural matrix and construction-techniques. This great archaeological complex, dating back to the 2nd cent. A.D., today stands out because of the ruins of the private baths and the afore-mentioned *villa*, built around two garden-courtyards delimited by a marble-columned peristyle; and then above all, from the residential part, there is the unique series of late-Empire polychrome mosaics, among which one can admire the famous "mosaïque aux arbres".

The most important remains at Séviac have been preserved *in situ*, including the polychrome mosaics (Note 8), which have thus been kept in a rural and traditional context that bestows upon the archaeological whole a rural character that is not entirely satisfying. Since 1979 several protective structures have been built in the areas at risk of degradation (including those still marked by the presence of *in loco* mosaics); these pavilions of rough-hewn wood and tile-roofs recapture the traditional partial roofing much-used in the world of Anglo-Saxon conservation (Note 9), but without the slavish intention to reconfigure the original forms.

In the same way, only a few years later (1989), another Gallo-Roman structure (baths to be more precise) was covered with a protective wooden structure, again respecting the traditional "local style". This took place in the municipality of present-day Chassenon, which is to say, among the largest and best-preserved monumental structures in the Roman Empire, that of Cassinomagus. The archaeological complex, an ancient Gallo-Roman rural sanctuary built between the 1st and 4th century A.D., emerged largely because of its extraordinary size and the ingenuity of the building systems employed, but mainly because of the exceptional state of conservation (Note 10), which enabled one to easily recognise the original functions of the spaces into which it was divided.

In the roofing system adopted to protect the ruins, it was possible to discern the influence of vernacular architecture of a Celtic matrix (though filtered through the obvious Roman "presence"), expressed by the massive stone walls and the virtuosity of the building techniques. Apart from the remarkably high outer walls, part of the heating and water distribution systems have survived, along with paved swimming pools, a great number of statues and artefacts. The previous guided tour wound its way through the ruins, following the original series of links, occasionally interrupted by the unstable condition of the paving and the considerable difference in level between the walking surfaces. The continuity of the itinerary was guaranteed by a raised system of wooden walkways.

Figures 1 & 2. The Gallic-Roman *villa* at Séviac
One can discern the utilisation of a vernacular idiom in the roofing over the ruins

Figures 3 & 4. Cassinomagus Baths

On the left, an internal view of the ancient roofing system; on the right, a view of the forthcoming re-structuring, in accordance with the Atélier Kérosène project (drawings by Antoine Renaud - Atélier Kérosène).

The new show-casing project (Note 11) has emerged from the intention to offer greater conservational guarantees and a greater possibility for enjoyment, and envisages a radical transformation of the present-day site in favour of a hyper-technological and multi-functional protective structure; this is a definite improvement over the ancient roofing, which was rather too characteristic of the peculiar organic nature of the vernacular architecture. In fact, the most ambitious part of the project actually consists in covering the ruins of the baths with a large horizontal plait. In a position corresponding to the symmetric axis of the baths, a metal structural girder will constitute the "spinal column" of the roofing, resting on two series of supports (also of metal) positioned at the sides West and East of the ruins; the area of the baths will thus be left free, avoiding the interposition of further supports among the archaeological ruins (Note 12). A suspended gallery, called *galerie d'interprétation*, and held up by the central girder, permits the visitor, starting from the reception building, to look out progressively on to the ruins and to take in the whole lay-out. A network of secondary girders will be fixed to the main framework, so as to form a support for the waterproof protective sheet, which, in its turn, will allow natural light through, utilising serigraphy to dose the light in function of the nature of the underlying areas. The new roofing, in contrast to the previous structure, will stand out in the landscape, along with the other "additional" structures envisaged for receiving the general public, the temporary exhibitions and the special interpretative tools. As regards the viewing point for the ruins, the impending museographic "mechanism" promises a complete communicational back-up, boasting the most up-to-date presentation techniques for archaeology; mention might here be made of multi-media projections, holograms, lighting-effects, sound re-evocation etc. All in all, whatever is lost through the poor re-configurative approach to protection, will be compensated by the communicational power of the internal musealization.

In fact, it is with regard to operations involving the musealization of the "Roman spirit" that a trend has recently come into prominence, according to which "contemplation of ruins" *sic et simpliciter* should be replaced by emotional contact with history. The visitor establishes this contact both through experiencing the open-air display, and through direct involvement in activities of archaeological research. The real innovation in this approach is actually represented by architectonic research, which is filtered through the most innovative museographic requirements and plays a determining role, since it finds accord between the demands of conservation, presentation, respect for what lies underground and the present-day orientation towards *beautification* (Note 13); as the archaeologist Kevin Walsh points out in this regard, if taken to extremes, this approach might not take into account all those aspects from the past that do not actually contribute to the construction of something generally pleasing and harmonious, and might thus privilege the more spectacular aspects of the territory, seen almost exclusively through the eyes of the beholder. The Roman ruins become "traces" of something else, elements calling to mind a natural landscape in which ancient civilisations settled and for this reason the sense of the creation of these archaeological gardens with Roman ruins is, in most cases, characterised by the historical *mise en valeur* of the natural elements rather than the individual ruins themselves (Note 14).

In 1994 the *Conseil général de l'Eure* decided to embark on a project to show-case the Gallic-Roman baths at Gisacum (Note 15), with the aim of transforming the ruins into an "archaeological garden". It was only in 2001 that the local administration planned a real musealization of the site, and to this end an architecture competition was announced, laying down extremely detailed directions for the project, especially with regard to the restoration of the ruins and the creation of a structure for educational purposes sited in an attractive scenic setting (Note 16). The imperative to protect the archaeological traces restricted archaeological exploration *in situ* and triggered off a particular form of "wholesale protection", contrasted with bold, and at the same time communicative, presentational ploys. Within a framework of show-casing the Baths, the project emphasises above all the educational dimension, with the objective of putting on display a significant work of ancient architecture and rendering it intelligible to the general public. The possibility of total reconstruction was disregarded because it was not really desirable and the costs were too daunting; a proposal was then put forward to "re-evoke" the architecture by using particular devices, which, in the absence of an overall roofing structure, and apart from a specific interpretative purpose, would take on the function of protecting the walls above ground. In order to prevent the elements and the presence of Man from rapidly causing damage, the whole site was a covered with a protective geotextile layer, on which soil for plants was placed, in order to preserve the porosity and natural hygrometry of the terrain.

Figure 5. Gallic-Roman Baths at Gisacum

The open-air presentation system of the ruins (by F. Grimaud, Mission Archéologique Départementale de L'Eure).

Here, above the hygrometric barrier, the traces extruded that suggest the outline of walls present underground (the result of lined-out museographic practice), help in restitution of the entire ground-plan of the lay-out of the Baths. In order to compensate for the lack of vertical elements and render all parts intelligible, a few archaeological items (such as portions of pools and hypocausts) have been reconstructed using both traditional materials and contemporary techniques and laid out along the guided visitors' path. In line with the idea of maintaining the ruins in their original state, sections of wall emerging above ground were provided with special "coating layers" made from traditional lime mortar, treated with a water-repellent solution.

The afore-mentioned *lined-out* archaeological presentation therefore enables one to render visible parts of walls

that are still interred; these have been virtually "extruded" by a wooden box-structure, surmounted and sealed off with a zinc protective covering - a decidedly bold, aesthetic choice, costing very little and, most importantly, being reversible. These wooden faces are arranged to follow the line of the underlying walls, or overlaid on portions of wall above ground, and escort visitors in their exploration of the various areas of the Baths; these latter structures themselves no longer exist, but can be clearly imagined, represented as they are by the elevation of the perimeter-wall sections, which in some cases reach a height of over two metres. The employment of coloured gravel not only helps distinguish originally roofed areas from those in the open, but also the private from the public, whilst enabling the visitor to single out the various functions of the Baths; the flooring takes on different shades of blue, with devices simulating the Baths at high water, similar those of the Roman baths at Caerleon (Note 17). The case of Gisacum represents one of the possible approaches identified in the French interventionist panorama, documented, moreover, by a wide variety of archaeology show-casing experiences. Almost paradoxically, this variety means that each of these experiences from time to time constitutes an extreme case for intervention but in no way delegitimizes the projects even though there might be considerable dissimilarity between one project and another, with each intervention being geared towards quite different scenarios.

The case of the *Parc Archéologique Européen Bliesbruck-Reinheim* is rather different, being acknowledged mainly for the bold approach to the ruins, with the utilisation of contemporary structures, in line with criteria quite similar to those employed in the roofing operations at Montcaret, Périgueux and Loupian. In the Roman epoch the area was covered by a dense road network, with numerous inhabited centres, farms and isolated fields (*villae*). Several of these centres, such as Bliesbruck, were renowned for their handicrafts and as regional markets. The union with nearby Reinheim, which took place around the middle of the 1st cent. A.D., gave life to a thriving centre, which reached its height of development in the first half of the 3rd cent. A.D. (Note 18). Following recent excavations evidence of the existence of the main axis through the ancient urban conglomeration has come to light, and traces of numerous artisans' quarters have been revealed (Note 19). The archaeological park at Bliesbruck-Reinheim has a centre for archaeological research and experimentation, a "diffused" museographic system (with thematic pavilions scattered around the park), a site-museum, which, apart from providing an overview of the park, houses exhibitions (that are in continual evolution in function of fresh discoveries), several life-size reconstructions and reception facilities. Each of these museographic elements lives and breathes within the wider *mise en valeur* of the whole landscape.

Whilst the scientific aspect is entrusted to the research centre, the museographic and educational aspects are in the hands of numerous separate structures, in particular the *Pavillon des Thermes* (1993), reflecting the most up-to-date museographic models and educational-exhibitory criteria, which allow the general public to move about easily and independently. It was designed "to exhibit" and, at the same time, "to protect" the remains of the Roman Baths, which were particularly prone to degradation. The building evokes rural architecture and stands out as a visible landmark in the surrounding area; this large structure was built over the original ruins and was covered with extended curved copper centring, resting on wooden and metal supports, through which a viewing itinerary winds its way, based around a "suspended" system of walkways held up by a structured latticework of steel bars set out among the trusses. The walkways above the ruins are positioned at the approximate height of the original floors, offering the visitor an overall vision of the lay-out of the buildings and their functioning. These walkways are a tool of "discovery" and not "restitution"; the visitors understand that they are not walking along the original paths which have been adjusted by about four degrees in relation to the direction of the ancient paths.

The image of the *Pavillon des Thermes* is characterised by recurring, hi-tech, curved shapes, the building material of which is almost exclusively wood, glass and metal; these are a recurring element in all the other new buildings on the site, from the protective roofing of the ruins to the excavation modules. Although the museum stands out clearly against the skyline, the wooden facing and copper roofing, which has gradually taken on a green hue, help the structure blend into the landscape. Initial attention was concentrated principally on the splendid Baths and their subsequent conservation; as regards the outdoor ruins, a more recurrent practice of conservation was carried out, which first of all entailed the mere levelling of walls, with partial integrations, and highlighting the flooring with gravel of different colours, etc. This technique for recovery and presentation had already been tried out in many archaeological sites in other *départements*, often quite a long way from each other; one might mention, for example, the Roman baths at the archaeological site of Barzan (Charente-Maritime), but also the classic cleaning operations and attentive maintenance characteristic of many English sites.

Unlike the previously-mentioned case, the Saint-Romain-en-Gal site (Rhône) boasts a museum (Note 20) that integrates architectonic virtuosity, a relationship with the site and intelligibility of the ruins, whilst also aspiring

to an aura of exceptional grandeur. The ostentatious use of metal and glass, in clear contrast with the stone of the ruins, reflects the desire not to conform with traditional building systems from the Roman epoch and makes a clear statement about the nature of the building, blankly refusing to compete in any way with the intense historical vestiges.

Sited in a bend in the river Rhone, the flood plain of the *rive droit* of the river (under the local municipal authority of Saint-Romain-en-Gal and Sainte-Colombe) has been the preferred subject of the authors from Vienne since the 17th century, because of its wealth of antiquities and the great number of finds, especially mosaics (Note 21). Around 1968, the unexpected discovery of traces of ancient Vienne (1st cent. B.C), one of the richest cities in Gaul, led to the individuation of a large, originally very densely built-up, artisans' and residential quarter (Note 22). What needs to be emphasised here is the similarity between all the open-air protection operations in the case-studies hitherto cited. The outdoor areas of the site in Vienne are also extremely well laid-out; the particular attention devoted to the walls helps them stand out clearly. There is great variety among the open-air ruins, with a wealth of mosaics maintained *in situ* (and not dislocated for the most part), reconstructed gardens with pergolas and buildings for bathing, all presented in line with an intervention approach that has been appraised several times; this system entails the levelling-out of outer walls (with the overlaying of fresh stone material), partial completion of the structures, recognition of internal/external spaces through the use of coloured gravel and the juxtaposition of newly-created elements as metric parameters of comparison (e.g. columns placed at intervals corresponding to pre-existing remains). Reconstructions of a summer *triclinium* and lavatories stand out among the ruins. From time to time representations of battles and scenes from Roman life are *mises en scène* in order to increase knowledge of the city's past and shape the visitor's awareness, as part of a controlled educational process already initiated at the museum. The main upshot of these new approaches consists in overcoming the informative and didactic character of musealization in favour of a more authentically interpretative approach. Expressive systems of a highly narrative (and often rather audacious) character have been set up with regard to this new trend, the fruit of mediation between a romantic sense of "contemplating the ruins" and a modern desire to filter history through new instruments of interpretation.

3. Conclusion

It might now seem clear that, in the creation of these new strategies for the safeguard and musealization of archaeology, the support emerging from experimentation in the field of restoration and conservation is indispensible. Research goes on and the continual advances in conservational techniques now mean that a more faithful "presentation" of ruins *in situ* might be achieved, avoiding both the ravages of time and the elements and, wherever possible, their dislocation.

Figures 6 & 7. The Saint-Romain-en-Gal site, Vienne
On the left, a view of the ruins with museum buildings (housing the permanent exhibition) in the background; on the right, the presentation of the ruins in various approaches to open-air exhibition.

Figures 8 & 9. Parc Archéologique de Bliesbruck-Reinheim

Left, internal view of the "Pavillion des Thermes" (1993); right, artisans' quarter West; to be noted the levelling-out of the outer walls and the clear demarcation of the areas.

Figures 10 & 11. The Barzan site, also called du Fâ, *Novioregum* daths

Left, the spectacular reduced-scale model of the Bathing complex, positioned among the ruins, provides a three-dimensional view of the monument and an assessment of its architectonic components in a direct comparison with the ruins; right, *in situ* exhibition of the finds.

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Notes

Note 1. A wide-ranging panorama of presentation strategies for objects is illustrated in the article of Neville Agnew and Janet Bridgland (Agnew & Bridgland, 2006).

Note 2. Much of the literature in this sector argues about the objective impossibility of intervening in reversible fashion in any case. In this sense, in the case of archaeological ruins, one either decides to leave the pre-existing item in the open in the conditions in which it was restored to the light of day, or, as happens in the scientific practices of archaeologists from the Anglo-Saxon world, to proceed with its immediate re-interment. In England re-burial is never considered a makeshift remedy, but on the contrary, an operation of great civil and scientific respect for "future generations"; (Goodburn-Brown & Panther, 2004).

Note 3. Apart from the better-known intervention on Cardiff Castle, q.v. the Roman gate of Manchester Castle, Roman forts at Segedunum, Arbeia, Lunt and others.

Note 4. 1999 saw the international adoption of the *Carta di Burra*, renowned for arranging the phases of the conservational process, but worth noting here because of those points in which the cultural value of the monuments is defined as an aesthetic, historical, scientific, social, political and spiritual value; i.e. that the totality of values of a heritage is rendered natural in the actual place itself and is made up of real (or physical) aspects as well as various associated non-material values; hence the definition of *holistic perspective* (Agnew, 1997).

Note 5. Q.v. in this regard, the great number of cases of architectural operations on ruins as examined by Maria Clara Ruggieri Tricoli (Ruggieri Tricoli, 2007).

Note 6. Many cases of this type have been examined by Maria Clara Ruggieri Tricoli (Ruggieri Tricoli, M. C., 2000); q.v. also Aldo R. D. Accardi, especially the part in which express reference is made to the project of musealization in Alésia at the Archéodrome de Bourgogne (Accardi, 2005).

Note 7. Etymologically the vernacular term (from "verna"), harks back to the opposition between the architecture of the "masters" and that of the "servants". This definition might highlight the condition of whoever is working, which, in the configuration of the pre-industrialised world, leads to identifying vernacular architecture with working-class, rural architecture (Parent, 1975, pp. 4-8). For aspects linked to the close relationship between landscape and vernacular architecture, q.v. the so-called Celtic background, cited by Maria Clara Ruggieri Tricoli (Ruggieri Tricoli, 2007, p. 42).

Note 8. During the period of winter-closing mosaic paving is covered with a thick layer of sand, which protects it from extremes of temperature.

Note 9. In protective operations carried out in the Gallo-Roman villas, the adoption of a vernacular idiom expresses an attitude (often encountered in other European contexts) according to which the *villae* are seen as testimony to the rural life, rather than actual monuments. Cf. in this sense, with the case of the Bignor *villa* in Sussex (Ruggieri Tricoli, 2007, pp. 61-69).

Note 10. The excellent state of conservation permits one to appreciate several ancient walls at varying heights (from 5 to 7 m), baths, vaulted subterranean halls, boilers and portions of painted plasterwork. Visiting the building from the outside, the visitor's attention is drawn to the succession of great openings in the walls that are still recognisable in their original settings, which convey the idea of the degree of lighting that once existed in closed habitats.

Note 11. The project, which has now progressed to the execution phase, was awarded in 2005 to the architect Antoine Renaud of the Atélier Kérosène, the same group of professionals who designed the system of musealization adopted in Parc Archéologique Européen Bliesbruck-Reinheim, *Infra*.

Note 12. The East and West sides of the roofing are in their turn held up by further metal supports, halved at the top, and positioned not far from the perimeter walls of the Baths. The tension to which the large structure is subjected is relaxed by a system of taut metal cables and (mixed wooden and metal) punches, which work by compression (in line with the principle of the well-known Polonceau truss).

Note 13. In many foreign countries, more so than in Italy, the outcome of these orientations can be seen in the propensity to talk about *Heritage landscapes* instead of simply *Heritage* (Aitchison et Al., 2000, pp. 94-109).

Note 14. An approach that probably can be partly justified in the line of thought of certain archaeologists, according to whom "an archaeologist without landscape is already setting out with a reductive vision". For them the history of the landscape and archaeology are indissolubly linked (Goudineau & Guilaine, 1991).

Note 15. For further details about the case of Gisacum, q.v. the paper of Aldo R. D. Accardi (Accardi, 2007, pp. 41-44).

Note 16. The competition announcement also stated explicitly that each of the *équipes* of project designers taking part should be composed of at least one heritage architect, a designer-architect and landscape architect. In December 1999, the team winning the competition to produce systems for the protection and presentation of the ruins of Gisacum was made up of Philippe Allart (heritage architect), the Agenzia Inca (designer-architects) and Epure (*équipe* of landscape architects), to whom were also added an economist, a professional figure in ever greater demand nowadays, given the consolidated attention directed towards merchandising and the effect of turning everything into a business, which affects every museum, whether indoor or outdoor.

Note 17. Caerleon is a small town near Newport (England), which has various interesting proposals for managing its own Roman pre-existences, among which we might mention the Roman Baths Museum connected to the *balnea*, and today partly protected by extensive roofing, the presentation of which was the idea of Peter Wardle (Strike, 1994, pp. 76 and 86).

Note 18. When it was finally abandoned at the end of the 4th cent. A.D,. the site was used as a "stone quarry" and every single reclaimable fragment was looted (Massy, 1997, pp. 29-56).

Note 19. This discovery owes everything to the French policy of show-casing, the precise regulations of which have the sole aim of protecting archaeological finds, and even consent the conservation of lucky finds (*fouilles de sauvetage*), as well as those already programmed or excavated. Control of archaeological potential as carried out by *archéologie de prévention* does not always result in an assured operation; luckily, however, in the case of "unforeseen" finds it is possible to avoid the impasse by applying the regulations for *archéologie de sauvetage*.

Note 20. The museum building was designed by the architects Philippe Chaix and Jean-Paul Morel, to meet the needs of research and conservation of the finds and presentation of the site. The project defined two buildings that are very different in their conception, but were planned so that the interior would open up on to the site, in perfect visual continuity. The first is firmly grounded and distinguished by an enormous flanking staircase and houses the museum's services (Robert, 1997, pp. 32-49).

Note 21. Scouring of the site, in fact, brought to light no fewer than sixty mosaic floors.

Note 22. Vienne, founded as a Celtic village on the left bank of the Rhone and established as a city by Julius Caesar in 47, B.C., extended over both banks of the Rhone; whereas the residential/commercial districts sprung up on the right bank, the political and religious centre and the buildings for spectacles were built on the left bank (Pelletier, 1982).

From Altar to Forests: Chinese Ancient Wine's Cultural Functions

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Abstract

With a profound cultural crystalization, China was one of the first countries to brew wine in the world. As a Cultural carrier, wine ever performed the functions of religion, literature, art, and entertainment. To have a deep understanding of Chinese extensive and profound culture, it is necessary to pore over Chinese ancient wine's various functions.

Keywords: altar, forest, ancient wine, cultural function

1. Introduction

It seems that Chinese cultural history has been written in wine. With the rolling out of the srcroll of Chinese national art, intense vinous flavour comes out from between the lines. For those who want to have a good standing of Chinese extensive and profound culture, it is a useful way to probe into the origins and functions of ancient wine, and it is also very necessary to know about the various forms of elegant tastes concerning ancient wine.

2. Origin of Wine

China was one of the first countries to brew wine in the world. As for the time of wine's invention, there are various legends. The most popular one is that Du Kang was the inventor, but there is no evidence. In legend, Du Kang once put cooked sorghum in a tree hole for a long period occasionally and the cooked sorghum fermented to be wine. Hence, wine was first named "久" (a long period) and then named "酒" (wine).(Lǚ. J., 2007:128) Another relatively reliable legend was that Yi Di invented wine. The legend appears in some Pre-Qin classics such as *Shiben*, *Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals* and *Strategies of the Warring States Period*, and this legend is supported by the archaeological findings of Longshan ancient cultural relics.

In fact, according to records in ancient books, Yellow Emperor discussed how to treat patients with wine with a doctor named Qi Bo in the ages of the three sovereigns. In 1959, complete sets of brewing instruments of pottery, including pottery goblets and double-eared cups, were unearthed. This evidences the fact that ancient Chinese began to brew wine as early as six or seven thousand years ago. Yi Di has been respected as the inventor symbolically by the following generations.

Since the Shang Dynasty, the practice of drinking wine was prevalent. According to the records in *The Biographies of the Emperors of Shang, Records of the Grand Historian*: "The king Zhou of the Shang Dynasty entertained himself by creating the lake of wine and the forest of meat, making servants walk among the dangled meat pieces and drinking all night long" (SIMA.Q.,1959: 243). Also, there are lines in *The Book of Songs* about vintage: "Harvest rice in October and brew wine with it" (KONG. Q., 2006:73) and "Your libation has intoxicated me，and your piety has made me satisfied" (KONG. Q., 2006:86), which reflects that vintage with corn and wine-drinking were very popular at that time.

3. Ancient Wine's Function Related to Religion

Chinese culture is fragranted with ancient wine. The two most important things were fete and war. Probing into

the history of Chinese ancient wine, we find that since time immemorial wine has been performing religious and ritual tasks. Before the Xia and Shang Dynasties, whenever a great decision was to be made or a festival concerning a certain god was observed, solemn sacrifice activities would be conducted to pray to the heaven or god for protection and good fortune. It is recorded: "People of the Yin Dynasty paid homage to gods, and so sacrifice took priority over worldly ritual ceremony."(SIMA.Q.,1959:244)The Chinese character "福"carries religious meanings originationg from the Xia and Shang Dynasties. Its original meaning was to offer respectfully a jar of wine in front of gods to pray. Ancients also pour liquid on a bale of thatch, and the liquid infiltrated into the bale, which was much like the god was enjoying the wine. (LIU. X., 2005:266)

4. Ancient Wine's Function Related to Literature and Art

Ancient literati were steeped in literary books and had many taboos on etiquette. Wine could liberate literati from the shackles of federal ritual customs transitorily. Rolling out the historical documents of Chinese ancient elegant culture, we smell the strong vinous bouquet coming from between the lines.

Wine was the real reflection of literati's emotional ups and downs. Literati's liking for wine can be classified into three types or three levels. First level was represented by Tao Yuanming, who indulged in wine to the degree of forgetting external and internal affairs, which is supported by his lines—"While picking asters 'neath the Eastern fence，my gaze upon the Southern mountain rests". (TAO.Y., 1979: 108) He tasted the harmony and unity between man and nature. Second level was represented by Li Bai of the Tang Dynasty and Su Shi of the Northern Song Dynasty. They took delight in drinking wine. Through drinking, the drinker got creative inspiration and started their abandoned poetic composing. Third, drinking to forget worries and avoid disasters. Stimulated by wine, literati were brave enough to express their disappointment at political affairs, which was typical of literati of successive generations and very common in the Jin, Song, Yuan and Qing dynasties. "The seven worthies of the bamboo groves" always expressed their pent-up indignation. Ruan Ji had always been drunk for more than one month and Ji Kang's passing out like the oncoming collapse of jade mountains, even his drunken posture displaying sense of beauty.

Wine was not exclusive to males, for some female literati were fond of drinking too. Li Qingzhao, a poetess of the graceful and restrained school, was potatory in daily life, which could be evidenced by her ci-poem, (to the tune of Ru Meng Ling): "Often remembers the Creek Bower at twilight, /Too drunk to tell the way home. /Having had our fill, /Returned at night by boat /And blundered deep into the lotus blooms. /Hurrying through,/ Hurrying through,/ Startled a beach of herons and gulls."(LI. Q., 2006: 57) In a tranquil and mysterious world, the smell of wine and the aroma of flowers freed the peotess from the federal shackles attached to the daughter of an eminent family and made her display her outgoing, vivacious, curious and progressive nature.

Zhuang Zi said, "The drunk are sober" (Zhuang. Z., 2007:254) and Su Shi said, "The intoxicated writer writes well"(SU. S., 2003: 381). Wine-addicted literati created excellent atmosphere with the help of wine. When intoxicated with wine, literati could not only break the rational moral fence but also enhance their desire for and confidence in creation. Superb works were more often than not composed by intoxicated literati, which became the fascinating scroll of Chinese elegant culture.

Studying the relation between wine and elegant culture, we may come to the conclusion that the two added driving force to each other. On the one hand, wine, as the accelerant of elegant culture, advanced the artistic creation. Many ancient literati were fond of drinking, and they liked to poetize when intoxicated, leaving many much-told stories. Du Fu ever wrote a group of poems entitled *The Eight Immortal Drinkers,* "Zhizhang rode horse like taking a boat when drunk,/ A giddy fall sent him sleeping on the bottom of the well." "Li Bai could turn sweet nectar into verses fine. /Drunk in the capital, he'd lie in shops of wine. /Even imperial summons proudly he'd decline, /Saying immortals could not leave the drink divine." "Legend had it that the Cursive Sage could write well when drunk. /Bareheaded in the presence of noblemen, /He moved his brush fast like the flow of clouds and smoke." (DU. F., 2006: 95-98) Calligraphers often took the advantages of wine to create handwritings. According to ancient books, Wang Xizhi did not write any characters without drinking and each time he drank, he must be drunk. For another instance, Zhang Xu was addicted to wine in legend and was nicknamed "Insane Zhang". When drunken, he often dipped his head into ink and wrote with his head. After waking up, he was surprised by his wonderful calligraphic works but could not repeat the masterpiece." *The Four Ancient Poems*, the copybook by Zhang Xu when drunken, was considered masterpiece, in which strokes of characters move fast like clouds and smoke. Painters also sought inspiration from wine. Wu Daozi, the saint of painting, was forthright and keen on wine. He ever painted the landscape of the Jialing River at the command of Emperor Minghuang of the Tang Dynasty. He fulfilled the task within only three days with the help of wine.

On the other hand, there were many instruments, poems and articles, paintings, calligraphic works, which,

related to elegant culture, became the fantastic packaging materials of wine. It is safe to say that "poems were composed with the help of wine, and wine became famous for poems" (Lǔ. J., 2007:134). The fame of poems helps enhance the reputation of wine. Many poems passed down from ancient times were related to wine. Take the three greatest poets for example. According to statistics, Du Fu altogether left 1,400 poems, 300 of which were related to wine. Li Bai left 1050 poems and 170 poems were related to wine. Bai Juyi left more than 3,000 poems, and those related to wine adds up to more than 900.

5. Ancient Wine's Function Related to Entertainment

The relation between wine and Chinese elegant culture was very close and extensive. Literati were inseparable to wine and meanwhile wine culture involved drinking vessels, drinking customs, and drinking games.

Wine vessels were indispensable to drinking. Ancient people remarked: "No wine vessels, no drinking. Attention should be paid to the sizes of vessels."(Lǔ. J., 2007:102) Since ancient times, the Chinese have been critical about food and vessels, and drinking vessels involve rites and elegant culture. Dignified, simplistic and elegant bronze wares of the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties are typical examples. According to their uses, wine vessels could be classified into three types: wine-hoarding vessels, wine containers, and drinking vessels, which, according to different materials and various shapes, could be subdivided into many sub-types. In classical literature, terms like "觥筹交错" (i.e. drinking vessels and the game tokens mingled together) often appeared. Swordsmen of the Robin Hood type bought wine with large gourd ladle and bowels. Wang Xizhi, the saint of calligraphy, played the game of Qu Shui Liu Shang by the rivers. Li Bai, the god of poetry, wrote a line, "I'd like to dink 300 goblets of wine at one go". Su Dongpo composed such a line: "I poured wine into the river in libation to the shadow of moon." Fan Zhongyan had the words "standing in wind with goblet in hand". Li Qingzhao ever wrote "three goblets and two small cups of wine". "觥" "樽" "杯" "盏" are all drinking vessels, the names of which suggested the differences between the drinkers and the wine customs of their respective ages. For instance, ancient people lapped water from wine pool and swordsmen of the Robin Hood type boozed wine with gourd ladles and bowels, and literati drank with goblets and cups.

Drinking games were one unique feature of Chinese wine culture. Playing drinking games was a very useful way to enhance enjoyment. Drinking games could be categorized into elegant games and popular games. When elegant drinking games were played, the drinkers should improvise poems and articles to show off his literary talents. Popular drinking games referred to dice-tossing, lot-drawing, finger-guessing, number-guessing, etc. All the games were helpful to liven up the atmosphere at the feast.

Drinking games were very common in daily life, and they were reflected in classic literature. For instance, in the forty chapter of *A Dream of Red Chamber*, Yuan Yang was in charge of the drinking games at the banquet, which was the situation of playing drinking games at upper-class banquets in the Qing Dynasty. The drinking game described in *Strange Stories from a Scholar's Studio* might serve to be an example which suits both refined and popular tastes:

Several goblets of wine have been drunken, then someone started a game by using a Chinese character: "The Chinese character '田'is all-sidedly enclosed with a Chinese character '十'in the heart; push the Chinese character '十'upwards, then another Chinese character of '古' is formed, so I can be excused from a goblet of wine." A second person picked up: "The Chinese character '回'is all-sidedly enclosed with a Chinese character '口'in the heart; push the Chinese character '口'upwards, then another Chinese character of '吕'is formed, so I can be excused from a goblet of wine." Then a third person continued："The Chinese character '图' is all-sidedly enclosed with a Chinese character '令'in the heart; push the Chinese character '令'upwards, then another Chinese character of '含'is formed, so I can be excused from a goblet of wine." Then a fourth person continued the game, "The Chinese character '困' is all-sidedly enclosed with a Chinese character '木'in the heart; push the Chinese character '木'upwards, then another Chinese character of '杏'is formed, so I can be excused from a goblet of wine."Finally, it was Zhan's turn to carry on the game, but he failed. The others laughed, "Now that you have failed, you should drink a goblet of wine."A goblet of wine was passed to him, when Zhan continued in a hurry, "Alas! I've got it. The Chinese character '日' is all-sidedly enclosed with a Chinese character '一'in the heart，…"The others laughed again, challengling, "Then what is formed?"Zhan had no choice but to drink the goblet of wine, laughing, "Push the Chinese character '一' upwards, then no Chinese character is formed , so I have to drink up this goblet of wine!"(PU, S., 2004:317)

Drinking games embody the hospitality of ancient people, and they are also the combination of the art of drinking and wisdom.

6. Conclusion

In short, in ancient China wine culture experienced two important periods. In the first period, wine performed the function of religion (namely sacrifice), closely related to imperial cerimony. In the second period, it performed the function of literature, art and entertainment after its introduction into the countryside by aristocracies and high officials. This period began in the Wei and Jin Dynasties and became popular in the Tang and Song Dynasties. Chinese unique wine culture came into existence when the functions performed by wine in the two periods were combined. As a special culture form, wine culture has not only permeateted intoChinese people's material life but also exerted great influence on people's sipiritual life.

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Evolution of Clan Culture and Its Contemporary Significance

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Abstract

As a component of Chinese traditional culture, clan culture still has both positive and negative influences upon Chinese society at present for several thousand years goes by. It is necessary for us to sort out the process of the evolution of clan culture, make clear its contemporary influences and explore an effective approach to continue to give play to its positive effects and avoid its negative effects, with the expectation of gradually realizing its disintegration and extinction in the process of harmonious socialist social construction.

Keywords: clan, clan culture, evolution, influence, significance

Clan is an expanded family complex with the bond of blood relationship. Ever since the primitive society was disintegrated, it has accompanied with the historical development of China for several thousand years in a either loose or intense way with a variety of metamorphosing forms and has constituted an important component of the ancient, modern and contemporary Chinese social structure. Its particular organizational principle and activity means have become a particular historical and cultural phenomenon that suit with a certain development stage of productivity. It is of great realistic significance for the stability and harmonious development of contemporary Chinese society to study the historical evolution process of clan culture, make clear its influences upon the contemporary China and give full play to its positive effects.

1. Historical Evolution of Clan Culture

"A certain culture (culture in its conceptual and ideological form) is the reflection of certain social politics and economy and also exerts great influences and acts on certain social politics and economy." (Mao Zedong, 1991) The same is true with formation and development of clan and clan culture, which undergoes the following three stages.

1.1 The Formation Stage of Clan and Clan Culture

In the primitive society, the productivity was quite low and people gathered together into a social community with the blood relationship as the bond in order to satisfy the need of subsistence, which laid foundation for generation of clan. However, during the period in which "the people knew their mothers, not knowing their fathers", since "family" in a strict sense was not formed, the type and scale of gathering together by people could only be summarized by "clan". It was said in "Er Ya Shi Qin" that, "a clan was constituted by patriarchal blood relations." (Hao Yihang, 1982) Thus, construction of the clan was an outcome that identified part of relatives as the particular "clan relatives" from the blood relations according to the principle of patriarchal single pedigree. (Qian Hang, 2009) In the patriarchal society, although the paternity within the clan family was not really formed, the external characteristics of the patriarchal clan system had taken its initial shape. Especially by the later period of the paternal clan, the paternal position got established and the patriarch system was further politicalized, which gradually formed domination over the whole kinship group. With development of social productivity and continuous surplus of products, this sort of social mode which counted pedigree blood relationship by means of patriarchal system and inherited property further aggravated production of the private ownership, speeded up disintegration of the primitive society and appearance of class society and created the preconditions for formation of the patriarch system and prosperity of clan culture in a later generation.

1.2 The Prosperity Stage of Clan and Clan Culture

Just as Mr the modern leading intellectual Liang Qichao (1873～1929) said, "Politics in ancient China was family-oriented politics." (Liang Qichao, 1986) For several thousand years, the following phenomena generally existed in the premodern feudal Chinese society: no separation of family and the nation, unity of family and the nation, supplement of patriarchal clan system and the national law, joint ruling of clan power and political power, close connection of blood relations and geopolitics and clan power as extension and supplement of the national power. Although the clan system that is mainly characterized by paternity and clan power neither has the formal form and wide efficacy of the national political law system nor has any property of the national regime, in the feudal society in China for the past two thousand years or so, clan and clan culture have depended upon the traditional agricultural production means, deeply rooted in the vast local society, constituted the formal and legal value system and political system of the traditional Chinese society and dominated all aspects in the social life in the ancient China.

In the first place, in terms of ideological concept, the Confucianism with the major content and basic characteristics of patriarchal clan ethical thought is the ideological foundation for Chinese feudal society. In the long term evolution, a whole set of feudal law and discipline system was formed with the major content of the patriarchal ethical concepts of "principles of feudal moral conduct", "Qin Qin", "Zun Zun", "Jiu Zu" and "Wu Fu", and so on. The feudal clan organizations further carried out corresponding family rules and clan regulations according to these rituals and the realistic situations of the clan family. As a result, these feudal rituals and family rules and clan regulations became a vigorous weapon to safeguard the clan's ruling and imprisoning people's thought and behaviors.

In the second place, in terms of political rule, clan was combined together with imperial power. The imperial power and the patriarchal clan had absolute dominating power on the nation, while the imperial clan and the aristocracy always assisted the imperial family in politics. Combined together with the law, the clan carried out the principle of relative law to protect rights of the elders and the betters. The clan emphasized kinship in terms of judicature but ignored legal principles and the elders and betters had certain judicial privilege in that they carried out clan domination within the clan and assisted the domination of the government. The clan also cooperated with *paochia* system to become an important power in maintaining social stability.

In the third place, in terms of social life, it can be said that clan relationship was a primary social relationship of people in the traditional Chinese society. Any of the significant life issues could hardly break away from the clan, such as, marriage, making a living, sacrificing, burying and succeeding, etc. At the same time, clan also played certain positive social functions in terms of maintaining social ethics, stabilizing social order, protecting the interests of the clan people and so on and became an indispensable power in the traditional Chinese society.

1.3 The Recession Stage of Clan and Clan Culture

Ever since the 20th Century, as a result of attack by political reform, economic development, social thought and value concepts, the economic, political and cultural foundation has been shaken that the clans have depended upon and the clans and their cultural power have also gradually dispelled and declined.

Firstly, the clan culture thought has been cleared up. Ever since the modern times, in the process of saving the nation from subjugation and ensuring its survival, the Chinese bourgeois revolutionists have given profound critics on the clan system, the patriarchal clan system and the feudal ethical morality and have attacked strongly the clan system and the patriarchal hierarchical system. Especially during the period before and after the May 4th Movement, the advanced intellectuals represented by Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao, Lu Xun and so on gave a systematic and sharp criticism on the feudal clan system and encouraged people to emancipate themselves from the constraint of the patriarchal thought.

Secondly, the clan organization power has collapsed. Ever since the 20s in the 20th Century, the National Government began to set up the administrative units in villages and made the regime agencies extend from counties to villages. From then on, the clan gradually lost the legal rights of administering social affairs in the vast rural areas in China. Especially during the period of the new democratic revolution and the period of socialist revolution, the Communist Party of China further collapsed the clan system at the levels of economic basis, ideology and clan function, etc. After the new People's Republic of China was founded, the CPC took more vigorous measures to ban all sorts of clan activities by explicit order, continue to criticize the clan system and make the old clan organizations thoroughly collapse.

1.4 The Rejuvenation Stage of Clan and Clan Culture

Ever since the reform and opening up, with further penetration of the economic system reform in China, "rejuvenation" has appeared, to a certain extent, in some local clan organizations. People began to re-write the pedigree of the clan, build the ancestral hall and repair the ancestral grave. The clan people began to be bound up in seeking for roots and their ancestors. The social and political influences of clan activities and clan power became more and more obvious.

2. Influences of Clan Culture in the Contemporary World

As an important part of the traditional Chinese culture, clan culture has both positive and negative influences upon the contemporary Chinese society, especially the vast rural areas.

2.1 Positive Influences

It helps to maintain public order and mitigate social contradictions. The abundant ethical and moral thought in the traditional Chinese culture is well inherited and exercised in the contemporary clan organizations and activities. Although feudal ideological residue and outmoded conventions and undesirable customs are still unavoidable, it can't be denied that the thoughts of benevolence and good-neighborliness, modesty and courtliness, honesty and trustworthiness, and emphasis on righteousness and negligence of benefit, etc. advocated by the clan have played a quite important role in maintaining the public order of the grass-root society, and especially in maintaining the human relations order at an ethical level and mitigating social contradictions.

It helps to safeguard the interests of the clan people. This sort of collaborative consciousness and credit mechanism that is established on the basis of blood relations in the clan makes the clan possess a more reliable relationship network than any other social organization. This is of great assistance to safeguard the interests of members in the clan and promote all sorts of economic activities within the clan or outside the clan.

It helps to offer emotional sense of belonging and rich spiritual and cultural life. Rejuvenation of the clan per se refers to release of the psychology and emotional energy that has been repressed for a long time and the fear and guarding psychology of people caused by the social changes as well as the reflection of people's attitude towards seeking for historical stability sense. (Gong Zhiwei, 2006) A variety of cultural activities in which the clan is regarded as a unit has not only made intimate people's emotion and has enriched people's spiritual and cultural life, but has also played an important role in such social affairs as paving a road and repairing a bridge, supporting the poor and alleviating the poverty.

2.2 Negative Influences

Clan culture affects democratic election and devastates autonomy of the grass-root public. Autonomy of the grass-root public is one of the political systems with Chinese characteristics. In the vast grass-root organizations, especially in rural areas, some clans even play favoritism, commit irregularities, interfere, disturb and even manipulate the election for consideration of their own interests in the process of election of cadres at the basic level, with the aim of electing an "appropriate" candidate who can mostly represent their interests. In the meantime, when villagers make an election, they often determine their own objects of election by considering the blood relationship instead of considering the factors of competence and popular trust of the candidates. Therefore, the result of the election is often that the clan that occupies the predominance wins the political manipulative authority of the election village and the village-based organizations, to some extent, become an outcome for the clans to balance their rights and become a clan organization "under a legal cloak."

Clan culture affects democratic administration and weakens authority of administrative organizations. In light of the great power of the clan, it often occurs that some cadres at the basic level often have such a psychology that they "hold back from taking action for fear of injuring others" when they deal with the public affairs, which affects the prestige of organizations and cadres at the basic level. There are even some cadres at the basic level who are successful in being elected just owing to their relationship with the clans who have difficulty in dealing with the public affairs in an objective and justified way just for consideration of human relationship or a variety of interests, which may even make the national administrative organs descend to a private agency that safeguards the interests of the clan.

Clan culture impedes the progress of law-based construction. In places where the clan power is relatively prevailing, the following phenomena are common: the clan controls politics in the village, the clan replaces the village rules and regulations or the autonomous regulations of the villagers with the clan rules and regulations, the clan resolves a dispute illegally and without any consent and abuses the illegal punishment, etc. This phenomenon that the legal power gives place to the clan power and rule of people gives place to rule of law seriously departs from the modern democratic spirit of rule by law and impedes the progress of socialism

law-based construction.

Clan culture weakens the democratic consciousness of the people in the clan. The clan strengthens constraint, management and control over the clan people by means of all sorts of activities and the teachings or rules of the clan and re-shape the cultural environment in which the traditional clan takes control over an individual. The clan has restrained functioning of people's independence, creativity and enthusiasm, damaged freedom of the personality of an individual and impeded realization of the self-value of an individual.

Clan culture affects the production and operation activities and the spiritual civilization construction. In some places where the clan organizations have great power, some economic complex of the same surname and the same clan even conduct illegal operation activities and interfere in development of the collective economy and normal economic order in order to protect the economic interests of the clan and big clan family. In places where the power of the clan is strong, the feudal etiquette and customs resurge. For example, the clan activities of repairing the family tree, recovering the ancestral hall and occupying the ancestral grave never cease at all, which not only increases burden of people, but also seriously constrains the spiritual civilization construction.

3. Countermeasures to Direct the Clan Culture in Playing Its Positive Role

The double influences of clan on the contemporary society calls us to dialectically treat with this historical and cultural phenomenon. At the time when we bring the positive influences of clan on the society into the track of standardization, institutionalization and legalization, we should also eliminate its negative influences in the social development and ultimately make it disintegrate and wither away step by step in the process of socialism modernization construction.

It is necessary to strengthen grass-root regime construction and eradicate clan organization power. The relationship between improvement of clan power and grass-root organization and the condition of grass-root regime construction is waxing and waning. Therefore, we have to strengthen grass-root organization and regime construction, get rid of interference of clan power and select the grass-root cadres who have perfect professional competence and strong sense of responsibility and who are dedicated to the public affairs. Thus, it is necessary to intensify construction of grass-root security association and mediation association, allocate sufficient and powerful personnel, carry out the treatment policy, give full play to its role as the first line of defense in constructing a harmonious countryside and keep down extension and expansion of clan power.

It is necessary to intensify law-based construction and give strict attack to any illegal clan activity. We have to draw up and complete relevant laws and regulations concerning clan problems and scientific clan administration methods. As for any illegal behaviors triggered by the clans, such as, fighting with weapons, illegal election, riding roughshod over the villagers and triggering disputes and so on, the government departments and the judicial agencies have to respond with resolute attack. It is necessary to strengthen legal education among people and form a great atmosphere in which the whole society resists together any illegal clan activity.

It is necessary to reinforce material and civilization construction and eradicate the social sources for the clan power. Closing the door to the outside world and backwardness is the social source that breeds the clan power. Development of productivity and prosperity of market economy can break through the relationship of blood relations and geopolitics and weaken influences of the clan power. In the meantime, development of economy may also reinforce the material foundation of grass-root organizations, stimulate development of a series of social public services and facilities, such as, culture and education, scientific sanitation and social security, etc., set up the rallying power, cohesive power, public trust and fight capacity of grass-root organizations and keep down development of the clan power.

It is necessary to improve the clan culture and intensify spiritual civilization construction. The clan culture not only contains excellent traditional cultural quintessence, but also contains dross of feudal thoughts. Thus, on one hand, we have to bring in advanced culture from the outside world to improve the clan culture and to make it suit with advanced socialism culture. On the other hand, we have to strengthen spiritual civilization construction, direct social culture with advanced and lofty socialism culture, widely convey the positive and progressive advanced thoughts in the enriched form that the ordinary people are delighted to see and hear and clear up the ideological and cultural foundation for existence of clan culture fundamentally.

To sum up, as a component of the traditional Chinese culture, existence, development of exerting an influence of clan culture all have certain social and historical origins. In the process of building a harmonious socialism society, it is not only necessary to take into consideration the objective reality of its existence and provide scientific direction and standardization with appropriate procedures and plans, but also necessary to pay enough

attention to the negative influences of clan culture and expedite construction of socialism material civilization, spiritual civilization, political civilization and ecological civilization, with the expectation of ultimately realizing disintegration and eradication of the clan culture in the process of modernization construction.

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Managing University Congregation Election in Nigeria for Better Result

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Abstract

The study investigated the conduct of university's congregation election following the general complaints by university staff of poor organization and conduct. The population consisted of all principal officers and all graduates employed by the various universities in the three geo-political zones of Nigerian federation: North-Central, Southeast, and Southwest. From these zones, a sample of two federal and two state universities were selected by stratified random sampling method for the study. A stratified random sampling method was used to select 200 (100 academic and 100 non-academic) staff from each of federal government universities while 100 (50 academic and 50 non-academic) staff was selected from state universities. A total sample of 900 academic staff (450 males and 450 females) and 900 administrative staff (450males and 450 females) participated in the study. The data of the study were collected using questionnaire. The questionnaire was titled Management of Congregation Election Inventory (MCEI). It was made up of two parts – Part A was demographic while Part B contained 12 questions bothering on organization of previous elections, management and outcome of previous election results. The validity of the questionnaire was made by the experts in educational administration and planning and also in political Science. The reliability of the instrument was tested using a Split-Half Method. The Correlation Coefficient was corrected by the use of Spearman Brown Formula. The Pearson Product Moment Correlation was .75 and final Spearman Brown Formula yielded 0.82. The major finding was that election was poorly organized and conducted, Based on the findings, the major recommendation was a surgical change in the organization and conduct of congregation election

Keywords: managing, congregation, election, Nigerian, universities

1 Introduction

People decide their rulers and assign persons to rulership position. Since there is voluntary participation in the choice of leaders, legitimacy is bequeathed or invested. According to Peretomade (2008), election is seen as a process of decision making of thought and deliberation that results in individuals or members of an organization both opportunities and problems and providing solution to problems. It involves voting to choose from candidates or contestants that will be capable of actualizing the purpose of the organization. Fiorina (2001) saw election as voting behavior which is purposeful. He believed that the voters choose their candidates based on most personal benefit which is the height of rationality. Guy (2006) saw election as the preferred means for solving or mediating competition. In fact, if there is no competition, there will be no election.

Universities in Nigeria are formal organizations and consequently use election to fill their various competitive vacant committee positions. In the universities, the congregation election is legally participated by all principal officers and all graduates employed by the various universities.

Ikelegbe (2004) asserted that the success and performance of election show how peaceful and effective democratic transitional process is and reflects the level of political development and systematic stability. In the same vein, Kunle (2007) opined that the creditability and general acceptance of any election outcome and legitimacy of the elected persons are a function of the transparency, freeness and fairness of the electoral process. Aliyu (2009) stressed that the failures to conduct fair election are mostly practiced in Africa, Middle East and

some Asian countries while in America and some western countries, high standard is maintained and in accordance with due process.

The present Congregation Election in most of the Nigerian universities is quite undesirable. There have been complaints about rigging, double voting, non-university workers voting, undue campaign, poor timing and delays in the organization of the election, wrong candidates running for the posts they are not qualified to run, poor time management, poor accreditation, unnecessarily waste of resources in massive campaigning etc. The whole excise looks so chaotic and stressful for the participants. The days for elections sometimes coincide with other important activities in the universities. This creates problem of full participation. Power failures have been recorded and sometimes, the votes are counted with lantern. There is need to elect right candidates for effective and efficient performance of various responsibilities they are supposed to undertake. A university is full of knowledgeable and highly experienced individuals. It is supposed to be the role model to other organizations in the organization and conduct of election. The public is always concerned with what goes on in the universities. This is because a university is seen as a pace setter.

At Cambridge University according to Wall (2011), there is as an ideal model for congregation election. The officers to be elected are usually screened, nominated and their curriculum Vitae made public before the election. This is not the case with many Nigerian universities. In most cases candidates' names are not publicized except on the voting day. The Oxford University according to Webmaster (2011), has similar procedure as Cambridge University except that the balloting papers are sent out and the final day for submission stated. The ballot papers which are not received before the deadline are not counted. The election is often done in a highly civilized and legal way that the result is never contested.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The university like any formal organization needs the best personnel to manage its various vacant positions. The present poor organization and conduct of election create room for rigging, poor timing and poor time management, voting wrong persons into positions etc. there is a feeling that the election is stressful and could be better if the organizers make solid plan for the organization and conduct of the election and implement it judiciously. The complaints about congregation election irregularities seem to be more with the academic staff than the non-academic staff. There is need to find out scientifically if the complaints are true and if the non-academics are comfortable with the present method of conducting congregation election.

1.2 Research Questions

Based on the above stated problems, the following questions are raised to guide the research study:

1. Is the present method of conducting congregation election adequate for the selection of best candidates?

2. Are all the candidates for election qualified?

3. Are only accredited eligible voters allowed to vote?

4. Is time properly managed during the election?

5. Is the timing of the election conducive?

6. Are materials adequate and well arranged for the smooth running of the election?

7. Are the congregation members happy with the overall conduct of election?

1.3 Hypotheses

The following null hypotheses are raised from the research questions above:

1. There will be no significant difference in the responses of male and female congregation members as to the adequacy of present method of conducting congregation election in selecting the best candidates.

2. There will be no significant difference in the responses of academic and non-academic congregation members as to the adequacy of present congregation election in selecting the best candidates

3. There will be no significant difference in the responses of academic and non-academic voters as to whether the time management was conducive for election.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study will benefit government by knowing that her policies which are being implemented by various universities are being carried out by qualified elected personnel. The university administration will be happy to work with hard working and qualified elected individuals who can move the university forward. The university community will be glad to know that fair and free election is possible and time can be better managed. Also, all

stresses usually encountered will be the thing of the past. Most importantly, peace which is highly desired in every organization will reign.

2. Methodology

The research design used was survey. The population consisted of all principal officers and all graduates employed by the various universities in the three geo-political zones of Nigerian federation: North-Central, Southeast, and Southwest. From these zones, a sample of two federal and two state universities were selected by stratified random sampling method for the study. A stratified random sampling method was used to select 200 (100 academic and 100 non-academic) staff from each of federal government universities while 100 (50 academic and 50 non-academic) staff was selected from state universities. A total sample of 900 academic staff (450 males and 450 females) and 900 administrative staff (450males and 450 females) participated in the study.

The data of the study were collected using questionnaire and oral interview. The questionnaire was titled Management of Congregation Election Inventory (MCEI). It was made up of two parts – Part A was demographic while Part B contained 12 questions bothering on organization of previous elections, management and outcome of previous results. The validity of the questionnaire was made by experts in Educational Administration and Planning and Political Science. The reliability of the instrument was tested using a Split-Half Method. The Correlation Coefficient was corrected by the use of Spearman Brown Formula. The Pearson Product Moment Correlation was .75 and final Spearman Brown Formula yielded 0.82. The statistics used for data analysis were Z-test and percentage. The scoring was based on 0 – 1.00 as very poor; 1.01 – 1.99 as poor; 2.00 –2.50 as average, 2.51 - 3.50 as good and 3.51 – 4.00 as excellent.

3. Results

Answers to Research Questions are on Table 1.

Table 1. Answers to research questions

	YES	NO	
1. Is the present method of conducting Congregation adequate for the selection of best candidates?	13%	87%	100%
2. Are all the candidates for election qualified?	63%	37%	100%
3. Are only accredited eligible voters allowed to vote?	06%	94%	100%
4. Is time properly managed during the election?	15%	85%	100%
5. Is the timing of the elective conducive?	11%	89%	100%
6. Are the materials adequate and well arranged for smooth running of election?	12%	88%	100%
7. Are congregation members happy the overall conduct of election?	7%	93%	100%

3.1 Testing Hypotheses

H01 The first null hypothesis which states that there will be no significant difference in the responses of male and female congregation members as to the adequacy of present method of conducting congregation election in selecting the best candidates was tested and the result is as on Table 2.

Table 2. Test of significant difference on the adequacy of present method in conducting congregation election based on sex of members

Statistics	Males	Females	Calculated Z-Test	Table Value
Number	900	900		
Mean	1.92	1.95	1.66	1.96
SD	.35	.40		

From Table 2, the calculated Z-Value is 1.66 at 0.05 – Confidence Level. The null hypothesis that there will be no significant difference in the responses of male and female congregation members as to the adequacy of

present method of congregation election in selecting the best candidates is therefore accepted. Both the academic and non-academics agreed that the present method of conducting election was poor. Eight-seven percent of the respondents agreed that the present method was deficient as opposed to 13% that responded positively.

HO2 The second null hypothesis that states that there will be no significant difference, in the responses of academic and non-academic congregation members, as to the adequacy of present congregation election in selecting the best candidates, was analyzed with the data collected from the questionnaire and the result is on Table 3.

Table 3. Test of significant difference between the responses of academic and non-academic staff on the adequacy of the present method of conducting congregation election

Statistics	Academics	Non-Academics	Calculated Z-Test	Table Value
Number	900	900		
Mean	1.95	1.98	1.58	1.96
SD	0.38	0.41		

From Table 3, the calculated Z-Value at 0.05-Confidence Level is 1.58 while the Table Value is 1.96, the null hypothesis that states that there will be no significant difference, in the responses of academic and non-academic congregation members, as to the adequacy of present congregation election in selecting the best candidates is therefore accepted. Both the academic and non-academics agreed that the method was poor. Ninety-four percent of the academics as opposed to 89% of the non-academics responded that the method of election was poor. Only 06% of the academics as opposed to 11% of non-academic agreed that the method of election was fair. No one responded that the election method was neither good nor excellent.

HO3 The third null hypothesis that states that there will be no significant difference in the responses of academic and non-academic staff as to whether the time management was conducive for election was analyzed from the collected data and the result is on Table 4.

Table 4. Test of significant difference between the responses of academic and non-academic on the time management of congregation election

Statistics	Academics	Non-Academics	Calculated Z-Test	Table Value
Number	900	900		
Mean	1.96	2.01	3,13	
SD	.36	.31		

From Table 4, the calculated Z-Value at 0.05-Confidence Level is 3.13 while the Table Value is 1.96. The null hypothesis that stated that there will be no significant difference in the responses of academic and non-academic staff, as to whether the time management was conducive for election was therefore rejected. There was a significant difference. The academics responded that the time management was poor while the non-academics agreed that it was of average. None of the participants rated the conduct of election as good or excellent.

3.2 Discussion

From the analysis of data collected, 87% of the respondents agreed that the method of the conduct of university's congregation election was poor. This is the first signal that there is need for reform. Although 63% of participants agreed that the candidates for election were qualified, 37% felt they were not. The university constitution stated the qualification the candidate must have before applying for the post. This was always checked before nomination is made. This means that there were some candidates who were not qualified. When some participants were randomly interviewed, they opined that the qualification should not be based only on paper qualification. They asserted that some candidates had no integrity and some psychologically were not qualified.

Ninety-four percent of the respondents agreed that there was an accreditation, but not only those accredited, were allowed to vote. There used to be three hours accreditation but those who came after accreditation were also

allowed to vote. There was no restriction to vote as long as one is a congregation member. This is at variance with the law guiding congregation election. Also, poor time management and poor timing were indicated by 85% of the respondents. Most of the elections were scheduled on Fridays in the past. This made attendance poor because of some religious, social and political commitments. According to some participants who were randomly interviewed, most of the elections in the past started at noon after two or three hours of accreditation but stretched towards midnight. In most cases there was power failure and no standby generators. Lanterns were used and this created loop holes for rigging. There were some unethical campaign practices which all the respondents would like to stop. The major one is the expensive cooking for the voters and giving them drinks before election.

It was also observed that material for election was inadequate and poorly organized.

4. Conclusion

The success of any election is based on peaceful and effective transitional process. The past university congregation elections from the above have not been peaceful. It is marred with poor organization and poor conduct. Time which is an importance factor is poorly managed and the elections were poorly timed. This has made participation to be low. There was no restriction on non-accredited members to vote. There was no order. None congregation members vote without being challenged. The problems encountered should be tackled so that efficient and effective congregation election could be realized. Nigeria has not reached the stage of distributing ballot papers and returning them on the specific date. Only what can be done at the mean time is to make some changes in the present election method so as to make it as fair and free as possible. Transparency and meritocracy can never be sacrificed. There should be trust when election is properly conducted. The university should set a pace to show the society at large what good conduct of election means.

5. Recommendations

In order to make university congregation election more desirable, the following are recommended for the surgical change:

- There should be conferences, seminars and workshop to create public awareness on the importance of properly organized and conducted election.

- The timing of the elections should not be on Fridays but midweek in order to ensure full participation.

- All materials needed for election should be adequate and properly prepared. They should be numbered, stamped and duly signed. All vacant posts and the contestants should be indicated. The voter will just thick the choice and drop the form in the highly secured ballot boxes.

- Candidates for election should be screened.

- There must be accreditation of all members who want to vote.

- Only those accredited should be given election forms with the form number written against the voter's name.

- At the end of the accreditation, the forms are picked and the contestants' votes counted. This should be done at the maximum of two hours.

- The winners should be announced immediately. There should not be any sort of delays.

- Any unethical campaigning is unacceptable. Campaigning should be limited to promotion of manifestos.

- High powered security should be put in place to ensure full compliance.

- There is need for a committee to be set up to screen the prospective contestant. This should be done before a candidate is allowed to contest.

- No tout should be allowed in the vicinity during the election.

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Assessment of Ancient Fridges: A Sustainable Method to Storage Ice in Hot-Arid Climates

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Abstract

This article is an attempt to introducing ancient fridges as sustainable method to store ice in hot-arid Climates. Architectural heritages are considered as fundamental issue in the life of contemporaryworld.Hence, researches around this category despite of historical interest attractscientific scopesto providesustainable society through tourism industry and green architecture. In this paper among different Iranian heritage buildings, ancient fridges, or Pachal (in Persian), has been analyzed. Because of great importance of water and especially cold water in hot-arid climates, Hundreds of Pachals have built in central plateau of Iran. The interpretive technique has been applied to assessment ancient fridges. In addition, observation as a part of the authors` field work, and Historical documentsconcerning the traditional buildings built techniques and the architectural heritage of the Iraniantraditional fridges, are another part of this research. This article is atry to indicate that vernacular architecture of "Pachals" are very responsible monuments to fit the hard-life situation of hot-arid climates in ancient world.

Keywords: ancient fridges, pachal, vernacular architecture, historical heritages

1. Introduction

Ancient fridges are a pit with a sophisticated method to store ice in hot-arid climates. Ice prepared in winter season and reserves until hot seasons to keep meat, fruits and dairies, and also used as a method to making water cold and tasty. Considering a large hot-arid region in Iran and long summer season with high degree warmth, these buildings had a major role in providing comfort for human. Matthews (1987) comment that Chinese reserve ice thousands years before Christ, Greeks and romans makes their potables icy with stored snow, and finally in 18 century noble Europeans interested in icy potable, but storing ice method in Iran was such sophisticated that poor people also reached these facilities (p. 91). With such perspective, this article is an attempt to introducing ancient fridges in Iran.

Unfortunately there is not historical record about fridges until Safavid period. Tourists through the times had recorded several itineraries about these fridges. Sharden comments that "storing ice in Safavid era especially in Kashan city (in Isfahan province) was usual tradition" (Yaghmaei, 1995, p. 271). Also Brouin (1693) pictured a fridge in Qum city that is one of the oldest one that is destroyed today. The content of this article relies heavily on two bases: The interpretive technique has applied to assessment ancient fridges. Also observation as a part of the authors` field work, and historic documents concerning the traditional buildings built techniques and the architectural heritage of the Iranian traditional fridges, are another part of this research Here in, the architecture of Iranian ancient fridges are analyzed with respect to the following factors: The architectural background of fridges in each hot-arid regions, Construction methods and materials, and Formation of the plans and sections.

2. Methods

2.1 Ancient Fridges Main Parts

Fridges consists of several parts, here in, three major part of this building inclusive shade wall, ice cavity and ice storage, Entrance space is described. Shade Wall which is a high (up to ten meters) and lengthy (5 to 12 meters) wall has been built from East to west. Sometimes despite of main wall, other walls will be built. Also thickness

of Shade Wall decreases from bottom to overhead of it (Figure 1, 2, 3). Ice Cavities were rectangular shaped pits which are built parallelism to Shade Wall with less length regard to it and 40 to 50 centimeters depth in ground. The role of Ice Cavity was making ice in cold winter nights. Ice Storages were a store with six meter depth which kept ice from solar radiation and raining, with roof covering (Bahadori, 1978, p. 1976).
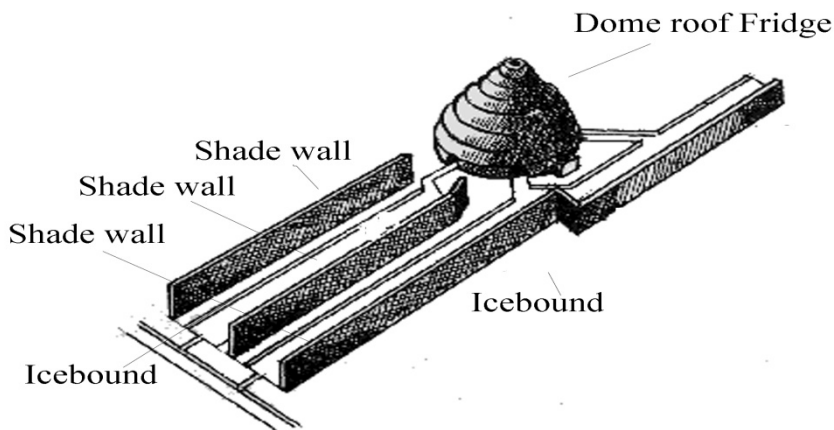

Figure 1. Ancient fridges main parts
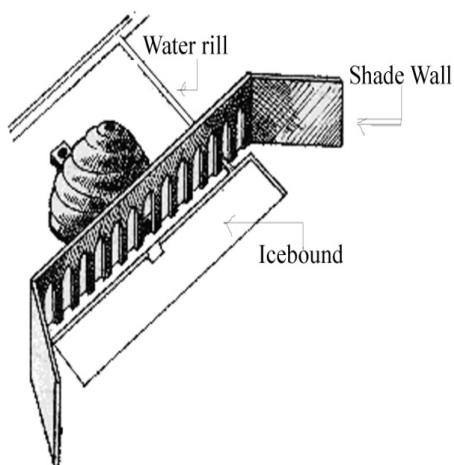
Source: Image Archive of Tarbiat Modares University

Figure 2. Ancient fridges main parts

Source: Image Archive of Tarbiat Modares University
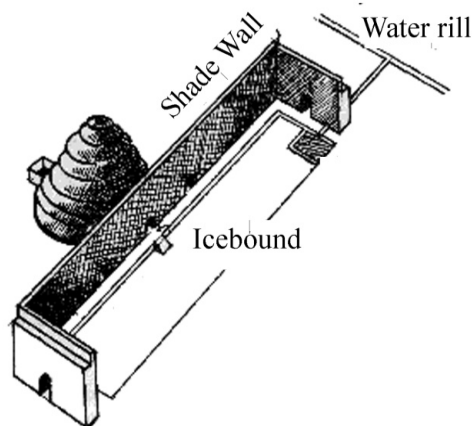
Figure 3. Ancient fridges main parts

Source: Archive of Tarbiat Modares University

2.2 Natural Ice Making Method

Utilization climatic aspects to create suitable environmental situation is primal element of traditional architecture of Iran. For making ice, first people dig shallow pounds with square dimensions with 40 to 50 centimeters depth which called basin (Tash-taki in Persian). Then they filled these shallow pounds with water in cold winter nights, and the day after it they divide ice huge pieces to little pieces as possible and transfer these pieces to fridge near the cavity and in each layer of pieces they spread water to increase density of ice pieces. The range of frizzing depends on weather degree and sky's condition. After about eight days and nights process of production will be stopped with an usual tradition ceremony. The last step is covering the ice with straws and brushwood and closing the fridge's entrance with sea sedge, which called Bi-Zur in Persian. Also in summers opening the entrance of fridge with another ceremony will be held (Ghobadian, 2007, p. 102).

Fridges are natural way for making Ice. To figure out the ice making process the following explanations are presented. If we have a piece of ice in shallow pounds with a determined height, and some water with a Diameter equal to "s", following relationships can be expressed to determine the size of ice making production (Figure4),

which Eq one is for cooling water up to freezing point. Also Eq2 shows an equation for freezing water in zero degree water's layer:

Eq 1: $(Q_{r1}+Q_{e1}+Q_{c1}-Q_{s1})\Delta t_{1=} \rho_{w*}A_{s*}C_{w*}t_{wi}$

Eq 2: $(Q_{r2}+Q_{e2}+Q_{c2}-Q_{s2})\Delta t_{2=} \rho_{w*}A_{s*}h_{if}$

Which the parameters are: (Bahadori, 1987, p. 54)

Q_{r1} transitive heat of radiation

Q_{e1} transitive heat of evaporation

Q_{c1} transitive heat of convection

Q_{s1} transitive heat of water above ice surface

Δt_1 Time to cooling the water from t_{wi} to zero

Δt_2 Time to freezing the water

ρ_w Density of water

A_s Area of ice surface in cavity

h_{if} Freezing enthalpy

t_{wi} Primal temperature of the water

C_w Specific Heat of water

So the ice making size would be calculated from Eq3

$S´=\rho_{w*s}/\rho_{i*}\Delta_t$

$\Delta_t=\Delta_{t1}+\Delta_{t2}$

The size of ice making at specific temperature, moisture and transitive heat coefficient is shown in Figure 10.

FI
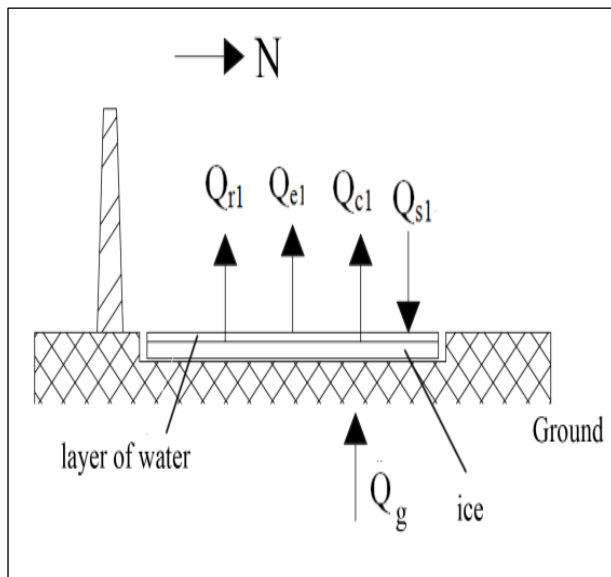
Figure 4. Section of cavity of ice making
(Yaghubi, 2010, p. 715)
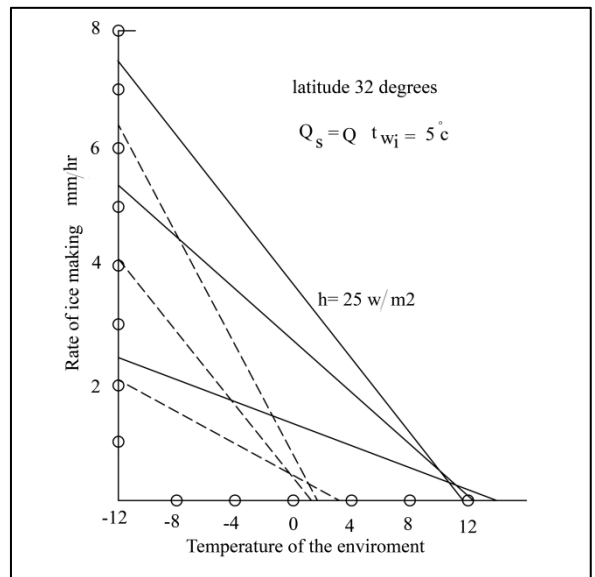
Figure 10. Rate of ice making in natural fridges
(Yaghubi, 2010, p. 717)

3. Investigating Ancient Fridge's Typology

Architecture of fridges shows the intelligent methods had been used for insulating and preparing enough cold to reserving ice. Because of large land usage of fridges and expensive land price in cities, these buildings had been built in countryside. Fridges have three main types: domed roof fridges, underground fridges and pool fridges.

3.1 Domed Roof Fridges

Domed Roof Fridges are built in margins of central dessert and eastern north of Iran (Figure5). This fridge consists of a huge conical pit. In bottom of the pit, there was a water path to lead the extra water to the shaft.
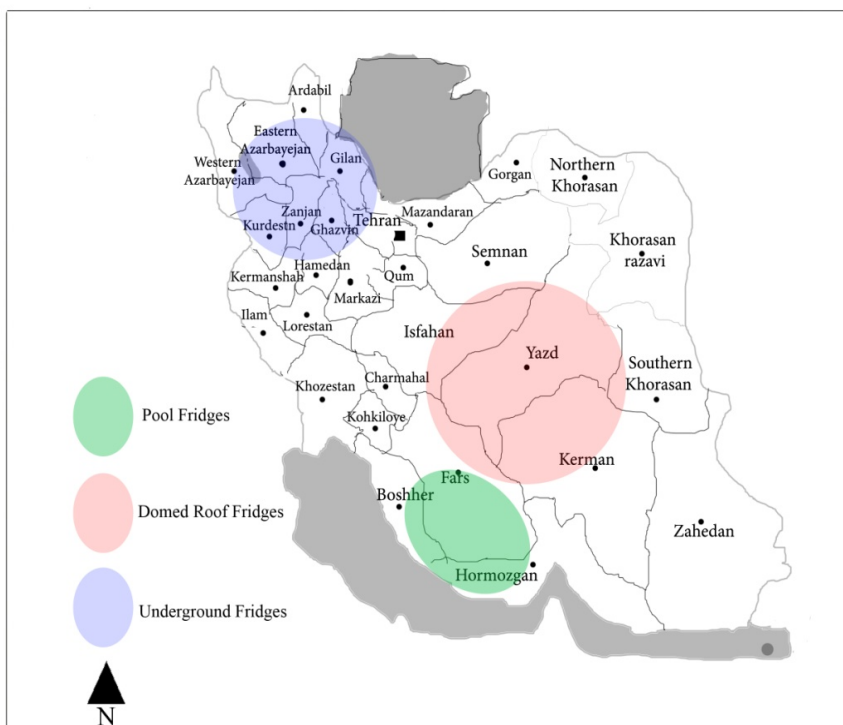
Figure 5. Location of different types of ancient fridges

The dimensions of pits were different. For example, diagonal of Meybud Pachal in Kerman is 13 meters and 6 meters depth (Figure 6). Doomed Roof Fridges has a stage and after it fridge has a squatty doom shell. Fridges dome was dowr-chin kind and the main materials are adobe and brick. Thickness of the dome decrease from bottom to overhead of it for structural and thriftily reason to reducing material usage.
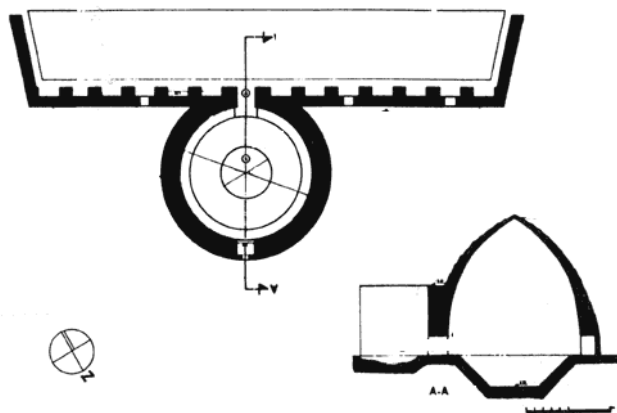
Figure 6. Different domed roof fridges in Iran (Ghobadian, 2007)

Yearly layering new adobes for reparation of dome from rain and solar radiation damages, and Echelon form of dome is for easing of this reparation. Usually a high wall has built in the northern side of the dome to provide direct south solar radiation. Fridges had 2 enteral doors, one in south side for taking ice from icebound to pit, and north side door which end to a long stairs to approaching ice pieces (Figure 7). The height of domes for climatically reasons was tall, like Meybud Pachal with 15 meters height.
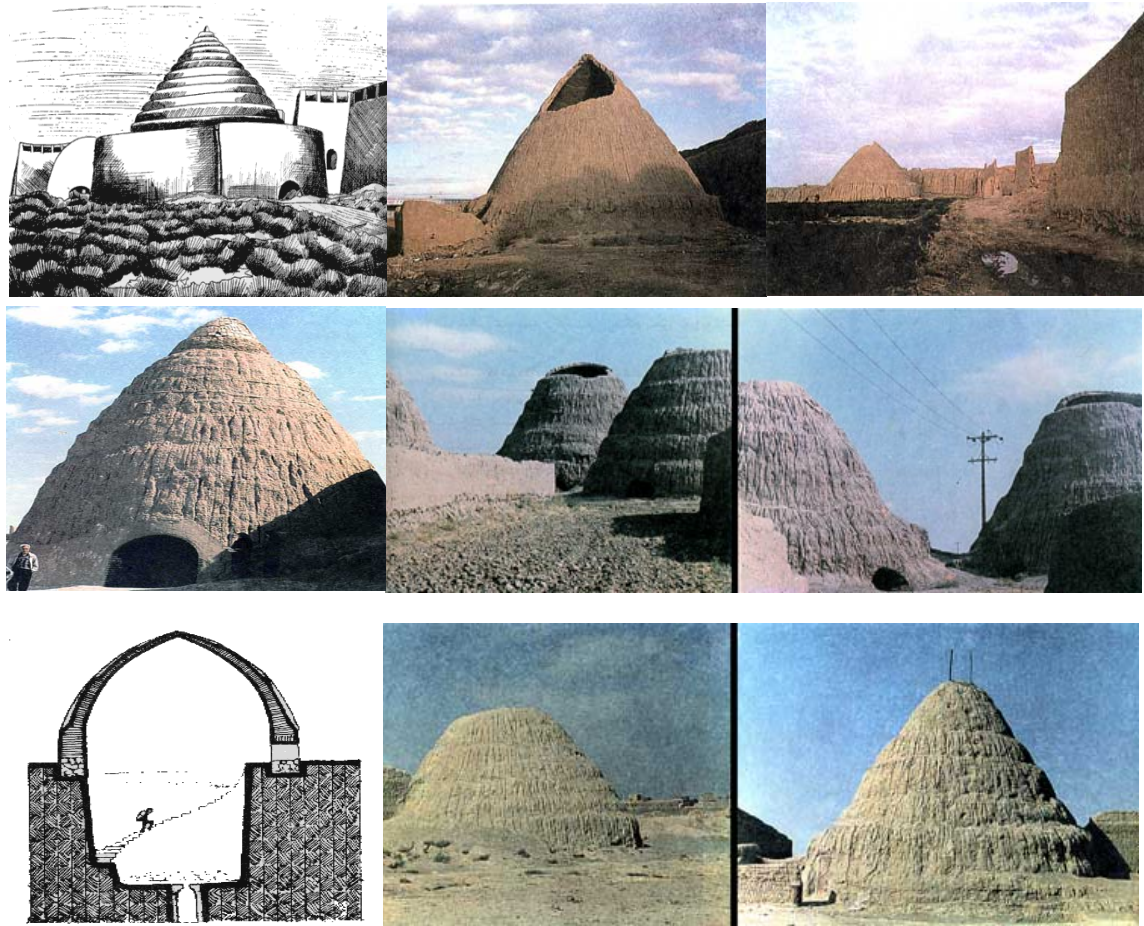
Figure 7. Different domed roof fridges in Iran

Source: Archive of Tarbiat Modares University

3.2 Underground Fridges

Underground Fridges were built in north and western north of Iran (Figure 5). Stone and bricks are main material of these fridges. In addition, this building has vaulted or arched roof. After frizzing ices in pit to fridge and after each layer of ice they spread ice to cohere it. Because of enough coldness of these regions, isolating the fridge was easier. Fridge has a door ending stairs to delivering ice to people. The Sa-ve Pachal in Markazi province and eastern north of Sa-ve city is one of the eminent cases of these kinds of fridges. Sa-ve Pachal height is five meters from ground surface and 3.5 meters width and 12 length. Thickness of wall is 80 centimeter and brick's dimension is 25 in 25 centimeter (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Different domed roof fridges in Iran (Ghobadian, 2007, p. 135)

3.3 Pool Fridges

Pool Fridge is another kind of fridges had built in southern provinces of Iran. These fridges consist of a pool with five to six meters depth, 12 meters length and five meters width and a wall in north side of the pool with four to five meters height and to 12 meters length. Like another fridges making ice was in cold winter night to use it in hot summer days. After filling, the pool had been covered with straws and brushwood. Unfortunately this kind of fridges is completely destroyed today (Figure 9).

Thus, we can categorize ancient fridges to three main types. First, and more extant one, is dome roof fridges, which are located in central part of Iran. Second, is underground fridges, which are located in western and northern part of Iran. At last, pool fridges, which founded in southern part of Iran (Table1).
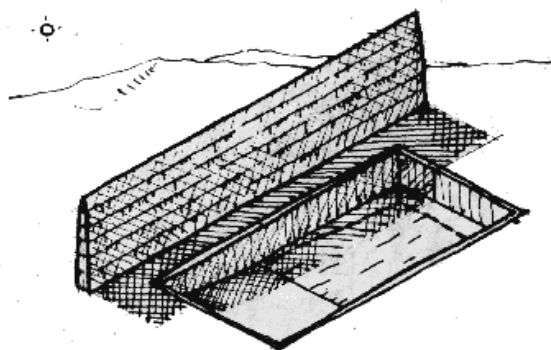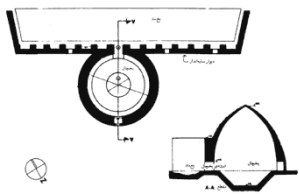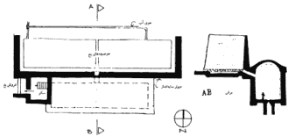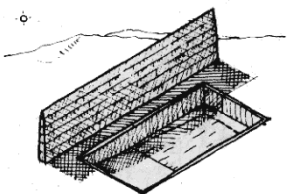
Figure 9. Different Pool Fridges in Iran (Ghobadian, 2007, p 138)

Table 1. Typology of ancient fridges

Typology	Domed Roof Fridges	Underground Fridges	Pool Fridges
General forms			
Figure			Destroyed
Location	Kerman, Isfahan, Yazd, Mashhad, Sabzivar and etc.	Tehran, Zanjan, Tabriz and etc.	Boushehr, Khozestan and etc.

4. Results and Conclusions

Until the second half of the 20th century, ancient fridges were a dominant way to keep nutrition from mildewing and have cool water for human comfort in hot seasons in Iran. Therefore, intelligent local architects by compatibly to climate constructed different types of fridges. Nowadays ancient fridge lost its importance for

some reasons such as development in technology, fast urbanization, and changes in living styles in Iran. However, structures built for fridges still beautify the landscape and create a fairy tale atmosphere at their regions. They are valuable components of Iranian vernacular architecture. Architecture of fridges shows the intelligent methods had used for insulating and preparing enough cold to reserving ice. As a result, this survey has established a basis for valuing these monuments. They are not only historically important, but due to their elegant profiles and the harmony of their internal spaces, could considered as tourist attractions in Iran.

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On Ups and Downs of Chinese Cultural Confidence

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Abstract

Chinese nationality has experienced ups and downs in its cultural confidence with the nation's rise and fall. China has become the world's second largest economy and its cultural confidence should be enhanced so that China's soft power will be strengthened too. Chinese cultural confidence can be restored by taking the following three measures: to improve cultural awareness, to understand and rethink traditional Chinese culture deeply and to deal with the relationship between Chinese culture and western culture properly.

Keywords: ups and downs, Chinese cultural confidence, Chinese cultural awareness

1. Introduction and Literature Review

China has surpassed Japan and become the world's second largest economy. Even during the international financial crisis, Chinese economy kept steady and fast growth despite a downturn of the world economy. Despite China's economic miracles outshining other countries and the remarkable cultural and ideological progress it has made, China faces unprecedented challenges in the field of culture. If China wants to grow up to be a real power and enhance its comprehensive competitiveness, its culture should be more influential, be accepted by the world, and gain the right of speech in the world culture. Nowadays, culture is an important part of the country's comprehensive competitiveness, and it is increasingly becoming a key source of national cohesion and creativity, and a key pillar for economic and social development. China is feeling the urgency of enhancing its soft power and cultural confidence is the key to improve a nation's cultural soft power. Unfortunately, Chinese nationality lacks cultural confidence due to various historical reasons. So the statement issued by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 17th CPC Central Committee, convened in Beijing on Oct.15 to 18, 2011, points out that "In order to construct a socialist cultural power, high cultural awareness and cultural confidence must be improved, civilized qualities of the whole nationality must be enhanced, and the nation's cultural soft power should be strengthened …." Obviously, enhancement of Chinese cultural confidence and cultural awareness is emphasized from the level of the nation's development.

Cultural confidence has been frequently mentioned in China in recent years. Shan Yun gave it a definition: "cultural confidence means a country, a nation and a political party fully confirming the value of their own culture and having a firm faith in the vitality of their own culture."(Yun, 2011:11）Cultural confidence is the key factor for China to realize the objective of a cultural soft power. Chengxiang Zhong holds that only cultural confidence can make China achieve cultural self-empowerment. (Zhong, 2011:49) In addition, many scholars put forward some proposals about how to improve Chinese cultural confidence. Zhenji Du argues that Chinese nationality can improve its cultural confidence only if it gets rid of both cultural inferiority and cultural arrogance. (Du, 2011:18) Jing Yang maintains that China must enhance its cultural confidence on the basis of cultural introspection in order to make Chinese culture more influential to the world. (Yang, 2010:132) In short, cultural confidence is a hot topic in China.

Cultural confidence is relative to cultural diffidence or cultural inferiority. Chinese nationality has experienced ups and downs in its cultural confidence with the nation's rise and fall. Fortunately, its cultural confidence has been recovering with China's economic development and improvement of people's living standard.

2. Ups and Downs of Chinese Cultural Confidence

2.1 From Cultural Self-esteem to Full Confidence in Culture

China, as one of the four ancient civilizations, was undoubtedly in a leading position in human history. By the 16th century, China had been a nation with strong comprehensive national strength, and its economic aggregate accounted for 23% of the world's total. (Xu, 2010:52)It had also been the center in the civilization of eastern Asia. Its Confucianism-oriented culture, which was formed based on the Han nationality, had been influencing the social progress of surrounding nations and regarded as the best culture in the world and superior to that of other minorities and other nationalities in the world. At that time, China deemed itself as a celestial empire and Chinese people were very self-confident in their culture and had a strong superiority complex. They believed that those uncivilized and savage nationalities should learn from them and pay respect to their country, which, in return for that, would regard them as tributaries and keep an eye on them as a special favor. In short, China considered itself as the center of the world civilization with its culture radiating around and bringing about gospel to the world.

2.2 From Cultural Confidence to Self-conceit

From the 16th to 18th century, China was in its summit of feudalism society and was in the leading position in many fields such as politics, philosophy, and science technology and so on. It not only enjoyed a high prestige in Asia, but also played an important role in the world. It had been spreading its culture, technology and various products to western countries. Chinese still considered Confucianism as the best culture. In addition, Chinese people's scanty knowledge about geography resulted in an illusion that China was the center of the world's civilization.

In 1583, an Italian missionary of Christianity named Matteo Ricci came to China to do his missionary work. However, China, as a big country with several thousand years of history, still had the self-conceited cultural psychology and its people, who were quite mature in their cultural psychology and had an antitheism tendency, showed little enthusiasm for that. Therefore, it was difficult for Christianity to take root in China at the very beginning. In order to do their missionary work efficiently, missionaries began to learn Chinese, take Chinese names, wear Chinese clothes, read Confucian classics and accept Confucian thoughts, which made Chinese people more conceited. In addition, they introduced advanced technology to attract Chinese, who were not quite familiar with them. Accordingly, western learning such as astronomy, calendar-study, mathematics, geography, physics, mechanical engineering, artillery-making technology and so on was spread in China.

Furthermore, western merchants who came to China to do business at the early stage were willing to act servilely or obsequiously in order to reap fabulous profits, which also strengthened Chinese arrogance to some extent. In the 16th and 17th centuries, merchants mainly came from small western countries such as Portugal, Spain and Netherlands, which were not the representatives of Industrial Revolution. Therefore, faced with China, comparatively a power at that time, these small countries were not strong enough to launch a war and they could not but give in. Therefore, it was not strange that Chinese people had strong superiority complex and were self-conceited at that time.

2.3 From Self-conceit to Loss of Confidence

Before the 16th century, the mainstream of culture spread was from the east to the west. However, since the middle and late of Ming Dynasty, the situation reversed dramatically. At that time, the economy in western countries developed rapidly and western culture was very active in the world with the Renaissance in Europe. Western culture began to spread to the east rapidly.

Before the Opium War, Chinese culture and western culture communicated with each other based on equality. That is to say, Chinese accepted western learning selectively and still kept Chinese superiority complex in its culture. But after the Opium War, some western countries, depending upon their powerful cannons, forced China to sign a series of unequal treaties of national betrayal and humiliation and opened many treaty ports, which brought about not only the threat of national subjugation, but also great impact on Chinese culture. At the same time, as a mighty culture, western culture marched into China directly and rapidly, which broke China's cultural autonomy and shattered its illusion of self-conceit. From then on, Chinese intellectuals accepted and introduced western learning passively with ignominious feeling. The unprecedented national humiliation made many intellectuals as Zexu Lin, Yuan Wei and Tao Wang and so on to dedicate themselves to the study of western culture. They translated and introduced the knowledge in natural science, social system, etc. They wrote articles to compare the superiority and inferiority of western and Chinese cultures and put forward such a slogan as "Learn advanced technologies from western countries in order to resist the invasion of the western powers" in

order to explore the way-out for China. They gradually lost confidence in traditional Chinese culture. Some officials launched westernization movement in 1860, by which Qing government utilized new technologies from western countries, established modern military industries, and civilian industries and set up a new navy and land army. The advocates of the westernization movement of the late Qing Dynasty believed that Chinese culture attached more importance to spirit rather than substance, which resulted in its lag in science and technology and that the best way-out was "Chinese learning for the essence, western learning for practical use", that is, traditional Chinese culture was the essential and what Chinese mainly learned from western learning was the advanced and practical technology. Then they set up a new type of schools to teach students western technology and established translation departments to translate western books and journals of technology. Though some achievements were realized, China's situation of accumulated poverty and weakness was not changed essentially. The Northern Fleet was completely annihilated during the war in Weihaiwei, which smashed the advocates' fantasy that the nation could be rich and the army could be strengthened by introducing western military affairs and technology. After that, these Chinese elites made deep introspection and realized that western countries were advanced not only in natural science and in technology, but also in social science such as social and political systems, laws, education and philosophy and so on.

Since then, from the Constitutional Reform and Modernization of 1898 to the Revolution of 1911, Chinese progressive intellectuals instead of missionaries became the main body of spreading western learning and their focus shifted from the physical level to the spiritual level. In addition to western advanced science and technology, they paid more attention to politics-centered humanity and social science and translated many western works in social science into Chinese, which indicated the changes of Chinese elites' viewpoint about western culture and also reflected the process of loss of Chinese cultural confidence.

2.4 From Insufficient Confidence to Cultural Inferiority

From the eve of May 4th Movement in 1919 to the foundation of People's Republic of China, many progressive intellectuals, who cared for the fate of China, realized deeply that traditional Chinese culture had much laggard and savage content. They believed that Chinese culture and western culture were different in essence, that is, the former represented decadence, lag, and the latter stood for civilization and progress, which indicated the complete denial of Chinese culture. Many intellectuals began to criticize China's national characteristics. During the May 4th Movement, Duxiu Chen, Xun Lu even made comprehensive criticism on traditional Chinese culture. At that time, almost all influential elites had the same or similar viewpoints about traditional Chinese culture. Even Shuming Liang, who had insisted on praising Chinese culture, had to temporize and pointed out more than ten shortcomings of traditional Chinese culture and national characteristics. They reached a consensus that traditional Chinese culture and national characteristics were the main impediments to prevent China from realizing modernization in due course.

They concluded that learning western technologies was not enough and the only way-out was to learn western culture, which could bring about deep changes in thoughts and make China realize modernization early. Some intellectuals, who were not satisfied with the government, argued that China had to be westernized and that the correct way for China to realize modernization was to construct a new political system and cultural system by resorting to western culture. Chinese people's confidence in their culture collapsed completely. They were not only against the dictatorial system of feudalism, but also cursed Confucian culture, which coexisted with the feudalism system. They even complained that China could not catch up with western countries in science and technology because of its inferior culture, which displayed that Chinese confidence in their culture was completely lost and resulted in cultural inferiority.

During the first 50 years of the 20th century, China was faced with foreign invasions and internal disorder. Internationally, two world wars broke out one after another and Japan launched an invasive war against China in 1937, which lasted for 7 years. At home, situation was not peaceful at all: the Revolution of 1911 overthrew the feudal dynasty, but warlordism appeared; the civil war between communist party and Kuomintang lasted for several years, which made China's social development nearly stagnate. The unstable situation threatened the central position of traditional Chinese culture, which had been marginalized gradually.

2.5 From Recovery of Cultural Confidence to Its Loss Once More

Chinese people's confidence in their culture began to recover after the foundation of New China in 1949. China made its own way by combining its own specific conditions with Marxism instead of total westernization. People began to realize that traditional Chinese culture had much essence and that the best way was to take the essence and discard the dregs. Zedong Mao pointed out that traditional Chinese culture should not be denied completely. Under the leadership of Zedong Mao, China made one victory after another, which enhanced people's confidence

in their culture. However, the Great Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976 gave a big blow to traditional Chinese culture and much of excellent traditional culture was rejected and deemed retroactive.

At the beginning of 1980s, China adopted reform and opening policies and opened its door initiatively. With opening to the world and the development of market economy, western values, catering culture and holiday culture had great impact on Chinese culture and even western culture was worshipped blindly in some fields. Many began to criticize traditional Chinese culture from new respects. Then a new wave of denying traditional culture and westernizing totally emerged again accordingly. The thought that all western things were better than Chinese counterparts spread quickly in China. The recovered confidence in culture fell to the bottom again in 1990s. At that time, many Chinese people felt honored to buy and consume foreign products. They prided themselves on their ability of speaking English, and their conversation was larded with some English words frequently on purpose. They imitated the western lifestyle. Western holidays, especially Christmas and Valentine's Day, were very popular with young people while traditional Chinese holidays were ignored. They knew more about western holidays than traditional holidays, which they were even reluctant to know about at all. They considered that celebrating western holidays was fashionable while celebrating traditional holidays was out of date. That is, they believed that everything western was better than Chinese counterpart was.

2.6 From Cultural Self-consciousness to Persistent Recovery of Confidence in Culture

China had been copying many things from western countries passively or initiatively for more than one hundred years, which resulted in the loss of Chinese cultural confidence. However, the situation has changed greatly with the prosperity of China since the 21st century. China has made great achievements since the 21st century whereas dilemmas of technology and spiritual crisis brought about by western modernity have become more and more evident. For instance, China hosted 2008 Beijing Olympic Games and Shanghai World Expo (2010) successfully, which greatly enhanced Chinese people's confidence in their culture. Besides, China has developed steadily despite the international financial crisis, which makes the world, especially the western countries look at it with quite different eyes. Some western scholars have begun to reconsider western modernity and think about the success China has made. They are curious about "Chinese model" and trying to find an answer from Chinese culture. They believe that many Chinese cultural elements such as thought of harmony between human and nature and synthetic thinking pattern can make some remedy to western culture. Many Chinese people are also conscious of the superiority of their own culture and confident that China can do what western countries can in Chinese model and even can do what western countries cannot in Chinese model. It is very important for Chinese people to have cultural self-consciousness, which stands for wakefulness of national spirit.

Sinology craze has emerged at home, which indicates that Chinese cultural confidence has recovered. The program named "Lecture Room" produced by CCTV, which is mainly concerned with traditional Chinese culture and Chinese history, has been popular with many Chinese people. Confucius Colleges or schools of Sinology have also been set up in many universities. In addition, a great project on the compiling of "Confucian Collection" and Confucian research was launched in 2004 with the help of Chinese ministry of education. Internationally, since the first Confucius College was established in Seoul, Korea, more than 200 Confucius Colleges have been set up around the world, which promotes Chinese craze and Chinese culture craze.

Nowadays, Chinese people can treat their own culture and western culture properly. On the one hand, they are proud of their own culture. On the other hand, they can accept some good points in western culture. The tolerance of other cultures embodies Chinese confidence in their own culture.

3. Favorable Conditions for China to Enhance Its Cultural Confidence

China has had favorable conditions to enhance its cultural confidence. First, China, as one of the four ancient civilizations, is the only existing civilization and it has a history of several thousands of years without interruption, which indicates the vitality of Chinese culture. It looks like an everlasting light and gives Chinese people confidence and pride in their culture. Chinese people are sure that new magnificence of culture will be made based on upholding excellent traditional Chinese culture. Secondly, Chinese culture has become an important part of the world culture, and any values in Chinese culture such as "One should treat others as one would like to be treated.", "self-discipline", "social commitment" etc., which reflect the essential necessities of human being, are accepted by people around the world. Thirdly, good economic conditions provide a solid foundation for China's reconstruction of cultural confidence because economic basis determines superstructure. China, which is now the world's second largest economy, has every confidence to bring its culture in line with its economic status. The great rejuvenation of Chinese nation surely entails the prosperity of Chinese culture, so every effort will be made to improve Chinese citizens' sense of identity and confidence in Chinese culture.

4. Measures to Be Taken in Restoring Chinese Cultural Confidence

4.1 To Improve Cultural Awareness

Cultural awareness is the basis and premise of cultural confidence and cultural confidence is the embodiment of cultural awareness. In 1997, Xiaotong Fei first put forward the notion of "cultural awareness". He holds that people in certain culture should have self-knowledge about their culture, that is, to know its origin, the process of its formation, its characteristics and development tendency and that they should be aware of its strengths and weaknesses and know how to carry forward strengths and overcome weaknesses. (Fei, 2005: 344) But many Chinese people know a little about their traditional Chinese culture, which results in the self-doubt and self-denial about their own culture. Their cultural awareness is not adequate due to some historical reasons. Therefore, they should be taught to know about more about their culture, especially about its strengths. In this way, their pride in their culture will be greatly aroused, which will enhance their cultural awareness and cultural confidence accordingly.

4.2 To Understand and Rethink Traditional Chinese Culture Deeply

Traditional Chinese culture should be understood and treated in a rational manner to strengthen Chinese people's cultural identity. As the collective memory of Chinese nationality, traditional Chinese culture is the soul of the nation. It is the precious spiritual wealth and treasure for Chinese nationality. It contains the spiritual pursuit and essential spiritual gene of Chinese nationality. However, it is the result created by past generations, which means that except for essence there must be something out of date and against the modern era. That is, there must be some dregs as well. Therefore, Chinese should study and rethink their traditional culture carefully and deeply so that they can inherit the essence of traditional culture and discard those points which are not in line with the present social development.

4.3 To Deal with the Relationship between Chinese Culture and Western Culture Properly

Culture is the wisdom of a specific nationality, which reflects the ways in which the nationality deals with things. Each culture has its own strengths, contributes to the world civilization in its unique way and is one part of common spiritual treasure for human being. In a world of high integration and economic globalization, no culture can isolate itself from others and prosper without interacting with other cultures. It is necessary to treat foreign cultures with tolerance and openness and learn from each other to make up for each other's deficiencies. A lesson drawn from Chinese history tells us that self-seclusion may make a nation lose an important opportunity of development. In fact, self-seclusion is the embodiment of cultural diffidence. Of course, another lesson from history should not be forgotten either: total westernization made China lose its cultural confidence completely. Therefore, the best way to treat western culture is to accept those that are useful for Chinese development and try to make them sinicized and localized. Only by taking in the essence of different cultures can Chinese culture be constructed as an advanced and modern one. Meanwhile, Chinese cultural confidence will be boosted in the process of communicating with other cultures.

5. Conclusion

Chinese nationality has created excellent culture with a long history. However, it has experienced ups and downs in cultural confidence due to various historical reasons. It is proven by the history that neither cultural conceit nor cultural inferiority is feasible. With the rapid economic development, Chinese nationality is gaining its cultural confidence. It is believed that Chinese nationality can surely add new splendor to Chinese culture based on inheriting and innovating its fine traditional culture. Faced with the impact and challenge brought about by western culture, Chinese nationality should be fully confident in its own culture and take in essence of western culture by making them localized and sinicized, which surely can make Chinese culture full of vitality and spread around the world.

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Investigating the Role and Importance of Persian Crown Jewels in Economic and Political Developments in Shah Abbas I Era (1587-1629)

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Abstract

From their early history, Persians have always been charmed by jewelry and whenever a powerful dynasty came to power, economy of the country would become more dynamic and a collection of the most precious gems and jewels would be accumulated. The glorious age of the Safavids was not an exception to this. In the reign of Shah Abbas as the greatest Safavid king, the importance of possessing a treasury full of jewels, gold and silver for king's own person made him expand his treasury and jewelry collection more than ever and use it in achieving other political ends during his reign. Using existing resources, this study aims to investigate the role and importance of crown jewels in the economic and political developments in the reign of Shah Abbas I. Library research method and comparison and analysis of existing resources, especially the original resources are used in this article. After necessary data are collected, they are organized and then analyzed and finally conclusions are drawn.

Keywords: crown jewels, Shah Abbas, the Safavid era

1. Introduction

From the beginning of their history, Persians have been living with various jewelries. The liveliness of the country and people's penchant for a luxurious and splendid living mingled with their high aesthetic feelings have always attracted Iranians to jewelries and gems.

Persians' national epic, The Shahnama, is replete with allusions and passages referring to various gems and jewelries which Persians had discovered and put to use:

همي كرد از او روشني خواستار	ز خارا گهر جست يك روزگار
چو ياقوت و بيجاده و سيم و زر	به چنگ آمدش چند گونه گهر

Once sought gems from granite, searched for light in it

Gems of many types he gained, such as ruby, topaz, and gold and silver

Using existing resources, this study aims to investigate the role and importance of crown jewels in the economic and political developments in the reign of Shah Abbas I. Using comments by different Iranian and European writers, we intend to show that aside from the known and determining internal and foreign factors, there were other factors such as crown jewels which played a significant role in the politics of the Safavid era.

Emerging of great and powerful empires and creation of magnificent and affluent courts in Persian history led to accumulation of rare and exquisite gems in Iranian treasuries. The glorious age of the Safavids was not an exception to this. The Safavid kings not only endeavored to preserve the jewelries handed down from the past, but also continued to purchase and acquire collections of gemstones, invaluable jewelries and gold and silver collections. They bought gems from India, the Ottoman Empire, Italy and France and brought them to Isfahan to be

used in unique artifacts. Crown jewels had different roles and positions according to the historical conditions of the time of each king's reign.

When Shah Abbas came to power in 1587, the situation in Iran was chaotic and the royal treasury had become almost empty due to the lavish generosities of Shah Abbas' father and predecessor, Sultan Mohammad, the emirs were busy fighting each other, and foreign forces had violated Iranian boundaries. Shah Abbas set upon resolving these problems. He first started to control the turbulent domestic situation and establish order and security throughout the country. Then he made some changes in the military forces and economic structure of the country. The primary stage of the king's movements was expelling foreign forces that had encroached Persian lands from east and west. The eastern part of the country was attacked by the Uzbeks and the western part by the Ottomans. However, mobilizing the army to defend the country required extensive financial resources which, as mentioned before, were not readily available since Shah Abbas had not inherited a rich treasury. Shortage of financial resources in the treasury of Shah Abbas was so critical that when he decided to invade the Uzbeks who had massacred and oppressed people in Khorasan and the Holy Shrine (The shrine of the Sixth Imam of the Shiites), he was compelled to give out orders to change the royal court dishes into coins.

2. Review and Analysis

2.1 Shah Abbas' Strategic Use of Gold and Jewelries

 Our information about Shah Abbas' using of crown jewelries for his political aims is limited to the writings of Oruj Beyk Bayat, one of the courtiers close to Shah Abbas. In his writings, Oruj Beyk writes about things that historians of Safavid era had avoided writing about because of the restrictions they had. Other contemporary historians preferred to be absolutely silent about the melting of the dishes. In any case, melting down the dishes and transforming them into coins was not a pleasant topic for the historians to write about. And the reason why Oruj Beyk dares to write about this topic is that he had left Iran and its court years before. Therefore, it is highly probable that other instances of changing silverware and gold dishes into coins have occurred about which historians preferred to be silent.

About this act of the Shah, Oruj Beyk explains that when Shah Abbas decided to change his capital city from Qazvin to Isfahan, he heard about the crimes the Uzbeks had done in Khorasan and decided to draw his army to Khorasan, but the treasury was almost empty and mobilizing an army for war was difficult without money. Changing silverware into coins was the solution Shah Abbas had found for this problem. Shah Abbas who was resolute in his decision to move his army into Khorasan, ordered Ishik Aqasi (court affairs supervisor) three times to deliver court dishes to the treasury. But Aqasi repeatedly defied king's order contending that 900,000 Dukas had been spent on the dishes and it would all be wasted. In response, Shah Abbas said, "My father, Sultan Mohammad has said many times that paying sufficient payments before fortune aids us has always led to victory." The king was able to recruit eighty thousand horsemen by melting crown dishes (Bayat, 256 & 257, 1388).

Knowing that possessing a rich treasury could be very helpful in carrying out his plans, Shah Abbas tried to add up to the treasury. Although foreign and Iranian sources have acknowledged the king's simple appearance and clothing, they have written much about the magnificence of his treasury. Shah Abbas was so plain in his appearance and clothing that unlike other kings he was immediately recognized among his commanders and courtiers. If he was seen to be wearing silk garments or aigrette on his Qizilbash crown or on his special hat it was considered uncustomary and his entourage would be surprised (Falsafi, p. 16, 1344, V. 2). Shah Abbas' golden-hilt sword and its leather sheath were the only valuable items he often carried on him (Shirley, p. 150, 1387).

Shah Abbas was aware that for accumulating wealth and using it nothing could be more helpful to the government in critical times than gold and silver; therefore, he did not care for jewelries. He knew that in times of crisis, changing jewelries into coins for dealing with critical situations was difficult and they cannot be used as easily as gold and silver. Thus, Shah Abbas preferred collecting gold and silver to jewelries about which Pietro Della Valle writes, "… [Shah Abbas] is not even interested in jewels. When a European merchant offered him to buy some jewels, Shah Abbas sent him a few guns and some bullets along with the message that 'these are my jewels!" (Falsafi, p. 21, v. 4, 1353). With the same belief, when the precious diamond which was stolen from the treasury of the Holy Shrine after the invasion of Uzbeks was returned to the Shrine, Shah Abbas ordered the diamond to be sold and buy some lands for the Holy Shrine (Holy Shrine Document Archive, document no. 44609/01; Eskandar Beyk Turkman, p. 610, v.2, 1382).

Contrarily, however, Shah Abbas was an avid collector of gold and silver. Itinerary writers have written various things about Shah Abbas' fondness for gold. One of these itineraries reports that Shah Abbas I showed interest in the coins the English had minted using minting machine. Better than the high quality minting of the coins, it was their imprint which interested him because he had presumably mistaken the figure of Saint George on the coins

with that of Imam Ali. The president of the company offered the king 50 coins as a welcoming gesture. But this tribute had a reverse result for the coins were silver and Shah Abbas stated, "it appears that the English government is so miserly that it cannot afford 50 gold coins." In another instance, the English presented Shah Abbas with a grandfather clock which was tested by the treasurer in order to determine and register its karat and weight, but it was found to be gilded and Shah Abbas was offended when he heard about it. The clock was returned straightaway and the English were forced to embellish the clock with golden legs and enamel and present it to Shah Abbas (Tavernier, pp. 481 & 482, 1369).

In this period, there were no cost-effective gold and silver mines in Iran. The available gold and silver were imported via foreign trading. Gold was imported in exchange for products such as silk. Russia was one of the resources of this expensive metal for Iran. The same positive trade balance between Iran and the Ottoman Empire existed between the government and Moscow. In exchange for the goods they purchased, Russians provided export goods such as fur, ironware and some amount of ingot. However, the major portion of these silver and gold ingots and coins were traded to India through Persian Gulf. The main reason for the transfer of big amounts of gold and silver to India was because the largest part of Iran's trading was with the Indian subcontinent. The Safavid government did not produce sufficient export goods to be able to balance the huge amount of spices and goods imported from India. One political representative from the Safavid court in Isfahan describes this situation along these lines: Iran was like an enormous caravansary with two gates; one was the Ottoman side from which European money was transferred to Iran and the other gate was Gombarun port (Bandar Abbas) in the Persian Gulf which was the channel through which money was exported to India (Rudolf, pp. 56-58 & 63, 1387).

Since minting gold coins in Iran was almost stopped in the middle period of Shah Abbas' reign and no coins were minted till the last decade before the fall of Isfahan during the reign of Shah Sultan Hussein, it was assumed that gold had no important role in the commercial life of the Safavid age. This assumption is rooted in the observations of tourists like Tavernier and Chardin who had wrongly concluded that gold coin was not the currency in Iran and was not available in Safavid markets. Contrary to this enduring belief, not only did gold play an important role in the international transactions, but it also had a high place in the commercial life of the later Safavid era. Although Iranian gold coins were often minted in special situations and were mostly used in the king's accession ceremonies, they circulated extensively in monetary system for they were among the items which were used to be given as gifts (a custom which included large amounts of money) and they were highly demanded by those who intended to go on Hajj or pilgrimages to Shiite shrines in Iraq. Gold was in fact considered as the counterbalance for silver and as an item beyond a mere mercantile object. Gold was extensively used in this period for market regulation and capital saving (Especially in form of Duka coins). Though not Iranian, the gold under discussion has had a very important role in the commercial life of the Safavid era (Ibid, pp. 53, 54 & 88).

2.2 Shah Abbas' Tactics for Preserving the Treasury

Shah Abbas, understanding that marinating gold as capital can help him in critical political and economic situations, took different measures to preserve gold in Iran. In order to prevent gold from being transferred abroad, Shah Abbas ordained some regulations: merchants and travelers had to pay taxes for the gold and silver they carried with them abroad and if they refrained from asserting the amount they carried, the gold and silver detected would be entirely confiscated (Tavernier, p. 138, 1369). As a large amount of money was transferred abroad through Hajj and Holy Shrines (in Iraq) pilgrims Shah Abbas determined to prevent this by transforming Mashhad (an Eastern city of Iran in which there is the burial ground of Imam Reza) into a major Shiite pilgrimage center. Hence, he spent plenty of money on the decorations of the Holy Shrine of Imam Reza in Mashhad (Tavernier, pp. 163 & 515; Sanson, p. 201, 1346). These expenditures both indicated the Shah's religiousness and his devotion to the Holy Shrine of the eight Shiite Imam and resulted in thriving of Mashhad and thereby fulfilling Shah's commitment in preventing the flowing of money abroad. Therefore, Shah Abbas spent some of the crown jewels and gold on the ornamentation of the Shrine. These rehabilitations seemed to be necessary more than ever after the looting invasion of the Shrine by the Uzbeks (Eskandar Beyk Turkaman, v. 1, p. 413, 1382).

When Shah Abbas arrived in Mashhad and the Holy Shrine after the invasion and looting of the Uzbeks, he found the Shrine ransacked and disorganized with no jewelries and gold and silver ornamentations remaining (Eskandar Beyk Turkaman, p. 568, 1382). He therefore ordered ornate, gold and silver cressets, exquisite chandeliers, Kermani carpets and necessary dishes to be transferred to the shrine (Ibid, v. 2, p. 578). He also ordered the Holy Shrine's dome which had been gilded during the reign of Shah Tahmasp to be completed and a pair of doors decorated with precious gemstones was mounted in the Shrine. In addition, Shah Abbas honored the mausoleums of his ancestors in Ardabil with gifts such jewels and gold from the royal treasury including the gold and silver tombs of Sayyed Jebrail in Ardabil (Husseini Astarabadi, p. 134, 1364; Eskandar Beyk Turkaman, v. 2, p. 1110, 1382; Molla Jalal-udin Monajjem, p. 424, 1366).

Although it may be assumed that the gold and silver donated to these places were not used by the governments because of the holiness of such places, evidence show that governments would not refrain from exploiting the riches of such places in times of crisis. One proof of this claim is using the savings of the Holy Shrines of Imam Reza and Hazrat-e Ma'suma in Qom for army preparations against the Afghans in the last years of Shah Sultan Hussein's reign.

Another way of saving gold and silver under the direct authority of the king was transforming the existing coins, gold and silver into the dishes usable by the court. Shah Abbas changed a large part of them into dishes and objects such as lighting devices and horse saddles and fittings. In this way, they could be used both as an economic support and as a way to increase the magnificence and greatness of the court. These dishes were used at all occasions and they were not exclusively for special occasions so that the Shah carried them with him in his hunting and long journeys and even in war. The reason for sticking to these dishes was in their very value for the king could use them immediately in critical circumstances. Shah Abbas' passion for increasing his gold inventory is highlighted by the report of a Frenchman who states that people were given money to submit their Dukats to the royal mint where coins were changed into gold dishes: "It was clear that Abbas preferred big golden dishes to tiny coins for it was easier in this way to prevent losing the gold stored in the treasury." (Rudolf, p. 65, 1387). Thomas Herbert also mentions an interesting point in his itinerary and writes that if a golden dish is offered to Shah Abbas as a king, it would be more warmly received if the dish is heavier because he values weight more than the craftsmanship in the dish (Herbert, p. 244, 1928).

Thanks to the numerous foreign itineraries, there is much information about the golden and silver dishes of Shah Abbas' court. According to these itineraries, the majority of the Shah's dishes were gold. All the king's guests were served with the same dishes regardless of their position and rank. These gold and silver dishes included, tray, serving dish cover, wine cups and jug, bowl and finger bowl, flowerpots, etc and other golden and silver utilities such as candlesticks, flambeaux, censer, etc (Molla Jalal-udin Monajjem, p. 442, 1366; Figueroa, pp. 258, 269, 272 & 338, 1363; Della Valle, pp. 176, 178 & 188, 1384). Della Valle asserts that not much delicacy and craftsmanship is used in making Shah Abbas' dishes. Apparently, Della Valla was not aware of Shah Abbas' purpose from making those dishes. Della Valle describes a big golden tub used for keeping wine bottles cool and estimates its price to be twenty thousand gold coins. He also writes about small golden wine cups which were deliberately made heavy (Della Valle, p. 274, 1384).

Some of the Shah's dishes were ornate with gold body ornamented with precious gemstones. These ornate dishes included wine jugs and cups which were ornamented with diamond, ruby, emerald, and turquoise (Ibid, pp. 270 & 273, 1384; Figueroa, 333, 1363). In his itinerary, Shirley estimates the gold and ornate dishes Shah Abbas had carried with him on his trip to the north of Iran to be twenty million liras (Shirley, pp. 149 & 150, 1387).

With his prudence, Shah Abbas took other measures to avoid dispersion and wasting of the wealth and treasury he had acquired during his reign. Thus, in the twenty first year of his leadership he decided to amortize all his movable and immovable properties. These properties which were part inherited and part acquired were valued at around one hundred thousand tomans (Eskandar Beyk Turkaman, v.2, p. 1110, 1382). Shah Abbas had declared that all his properties even his two rings were amortized providing that they be spent on religion and government according to his will (Ibid, v. 2, p. 761). Shah Abbas dedicated his movable properties to different places. He bequeathed his Arabic, juridical, and religious books to the library of the Holy Shrine and sent his Persian books and chinaware to the mausoleum of Sheikh Safy-udin Ardabili, but the destiny of his jewelries, inlaid, gold and silver dishes is unclear. Alam Aray-e Abbasi mentions only Shah Abbas' crown jewels and gold materials and adds, "a purpose is ordained for each one." (Ibid, v. 2, p. 761). But two other sources on the Safavid age, namely Ghesas-ul Khaqani and Tarikh-e Sultani shed more light on the tenor of the deed of endowment in detail and maintain that Shah Abbas endowed all his jewelries, ornate articles and silverware to the Holy Shrine of Imam Ali to be used in building four ornate domes to be placed on the tomb. And about his gold items it was said that when he visits the Holy Shrine, he would personally endow them to be installed in the dome. Ghesas-ul Khaqani in a different version with that of Tarikh-e Sultani contends that the king endowed all his gold and copper items to the mausoleum of Sheikh Safy-udin in Ardabil (Vali Qoli Shamlu, v. 1, p. 194, 1371). Nevertheless, this is not mentioned in any other sources. In the endowment of jewelries it was emphasized that "…if the presiding king touches one single jewelry item or one grain from the gold and silver, it is tantamount to drinking the blood of the Imam." (Ibid, v. 1. p. 194; Husseini Astarabadi, p. 38, 1364). In the same year (1608), Shah Abbas broke some of his ornate daggers and saddles and sent their garnets, rubies, emeralds and other gemstones with Mirza Mohammad, his vizier in Isfahan, to Ali Qoli Khan to be used in building Imam Ali's casket after required gold was procured (Molla Jalal-udin Monajjem, p. 342, 1366; Sa'ad, Bita, p. 204).

In a letter Shah Abbas wrote to Shah Salim of India, it becomes clear that building the casket of Imam Ali was done with the jewelries Shah Abbas had sent. But due to some unknown reasons, the clergy decided to sell the casket and its jewelries and spend the profits on the religious expenditures of the Shrine. Since Shah Abbas was informed that Shah Salim was eager to buy those jewelries, he notified him that he could dispatch a representative to buy them (Navaii, Shah Abbas' Documents and Correspondences, v. 3, pp. 402 & 403, 1366).

Shah Salim had requested another garnet beside these garnets. This garnet on which names of the ancestors of Shah Salim were incised was among the royal treasury jewelries which Shah Abbas had sent to Najaf. Since this jewel had been bequeathed along with other jewelries to the Shrine, removing it from the shrine required religious authorization. Therefore, after obtaining the clergies' permission, the jewel was put in a precious box and sent to Shah Salim (Falsafi, v. 87, 1344).

The present report is the only one which gives information about the transfer of a part of Shah Abbas' main jewelry to the Shrine of Imam Ali. But no source reports about Shah Abbas' gilding of the dome of Imam Ali's shrine or his endowment of his crown dishes to that place. In the list prepared from Imam Ali's treasury in Nasir-udin Shah's trip to the Holy Shrines in Iraq, 4 gold sconces are mentioned which were gifted by Shah Abbas to the treasury of Imam Ali's Shrine (Nasir-udin Shah, p. 249, 1372).

Apparently, mentioning that Shah Abbas' gold articles and ornate items were bequeathed to the Shrine of Imam Ali was merely for the sake of maintaining the wholeness of the treasury rather than actually transferring them to Najaf. In this way, Shah Abbas could prevent the scattering of his treasury to be transferred generation to generation to the next kings in Safavid dynasty. From other parts of this deed of endowment it is can be inferred that it has been written with the purpose to develop royal lands and properties and add up to and preserve the treasury (Husseini Astar Abadi, p. 138, 1363). The deed of endowment was trusted to the Shah himself according to the content of the deed (Vali Qoli Shamlu, v. 1, p. 196, 1371).

2.3 Jewelry Sources for the Abbasi Treasury

Crown jewels in the period of Shah Abbas were collected from various sources. As in the past, the major part of the jewels came from internal and external tributes. The amount of these foreign gifts had considerably increased because of Shah Abbas' political position and his relationship with foreign trade companies. Some part of the inventory of the treasuries was collected from war spoils. But the substantial part of Shah Abbas' jewelries and riches became available through purchases inside the country or by the Shah's middlemen from abroad (Jesuit Fathers Documents, p. 87, 1383). Jewelry trade thrived under the security Shah Abbas established in the country.

Among the many sources which contributed to the accumulation of in-kind and in-cash reserves of the royal treasury were gifts and tributes sent to the Safavid Shah by the kings and leaders of foreign countries. The gifts exchanged accounted for some part of the items going in and out of the treasury.

The custom of receiving a gift was so important in Iran that when a king received a tribute he exhibited in public (Della Valle, p. 185, 1384). Through this exhibition, the Shah showed both the respect representatives of foreign countries had toward the Persian court and embarrassed those representatives who had sent trifle gifts to the court.

Shah Abbas tried to look indifferent when he received gifts especially gold and jewelry. Italian traveler, Della Valle, writing about this habit of Shah Abbas states that the Shah ignored jewelries, gold and silverware and exquisite textiles in appearance, but inwardly he became overjoyed when he received such items and if he was not really interested in war and hunting gears he pretended to be interested in order to make people believe him to be so (Della Valle, p. 187, 1384). But contrary to this habit of the king, court agents were ordained "to hand out every piece of gold and precious item to every person…" so that items would be better exhibited (Falsafi, v. 3, p. 276, 1344).

Being aware of the importance of gifts for Shah Abbas, representatives of foreign nations tried to offer invaluable gifts including precious items such as gold and jewelries to the Shah.

Among other gifts offered by Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa sent by King Philip III of Spain, there were gold and jewelries which included some gold items and silverware, crystals and other precious jewelries (Figueroa's Itinerary, pp. 262 & 263, 1363; Della Valle, pp. 248 & 249; 1384).

In the age of Shah Abbas, the most exquisite gifts were exchanged between Persian and Indian governments. The main part of those gifts consisted of precious gemstones, inlaid items and ornate weapons (Della Valle, pp. 340 & 341, 1384). The considerable amount of jewelries exchanged between the two countries well indicates that jewelries acted as an important instrument in their political relations for showing respect and friendship to the other party. Most of the exchanges occurred between Shah Abbas and Shah Salim (Shah Abbas' Documents and Correspondences, p. 388, 1366). Even in the case of the conquest of Kandahar (a city which was the cause of

dispute between the two nations), Shah Abbas, in order to prevent further antagonisms between the two courts, ordered two big keys be made out of pure gold from the royal treasury with the word of Kandahar inscribed on one key and the word of Iran on the other one. Then, he sent both keys as a sign of friendship to Shah Salim's court (Husseini Astar Abadi, p. 219, 1364).

Great chiefs and governors of different Iranian states had to send souvenirs, tributes and gifts to the king every year in different occasions such as Noruz or other national holidays, when the king had achieved a great victory or when he had honored them with a robe or other gifts.

Shah Abbas often exhibited the gifts great Iranian governors and commanders had sent to him in the presence of the Indian, Ottoman or European ambassadors and messengers to show them the wealth and power of his subordinates and their respect, affection and submission to his own person. Even if the tribute sent by governors was not worthy enough, he would secretly add something precious to it from the royal treasury to make it flaunt in front of foreigners. Giving presents was the panacea of all problems and oftentimes when a governor or commander became victim to the wrath of the Shah, they would mollify him by offering some cash or jewelries (Falsafi, v. 4, pp. 284 & 288, 1344).Therefore, each governor tried to present the king with a more precious gift than the next one. Among the gifts by governors, gifts from Imamqoli Khan, the governor in chief of Fars were among the most expensive. In 1619, he sent gifts to Shah Abbas which included six or seven camel loads of trunks full of precious gemstones (Falsafi, v. 4, p. 285, 1344).

In his description of Imamqoli Khan's presents, Thomas Herbert writes, "…these presents included fifty casks full of pure gold, seventy two casks full of silver and silver coins equal to 465000 Florens which had been loaded on fifty precious valuable camels…in return, the king sent him fifty beautiful Arab horses, 6 suites of exquisite jackets and an ornate sword" (Herbert, p. 226, 1928).

As reported in Herbert's itinerary, in response to the presents he received, the Shah in order to show his favor, sent jewelries along with robes. These jewelries included ornate sword, dagger inlaid with gems, ornate saddle and harness, aigrette decorated with gems, and inlaid dishes among other presents which were given from the collection of crown jewelries. Numerous instances of such grants are observed in the sources related to the period of Shah Abbas (Molla Jalal-udin Monajjam, pp. 223 & 299, 1366; Eskandar Beyk Turkaman, v. 2, pp. 68, 706 & 781, 1382; Qazi Ahmad-al Husseini-al Qomi, v. 2, p. 887, 1383; Vali Qoli Shamlu, v. 1, p. 324, 1371). These gifts were sometimes granted to poets to whom Shah Abbas gave gold equal to their weight (Eskandar Beyk Turkaman, v. 2, p. 516, 1382).

Another source which added up to the inventory of the royal treasury in Shah Abbas' period was war spoils. One fifth of the spoils belonged to the king. A large part of these spoils included gold and jewelries. For instance, one of the spoils which had come into the hands of Shah Abbas from the treasury of Lar Sultan "was one piece of crown ornamented with pearl and ruby known as Keykhosrowian Crown which they had inherited from their ancestors" (Ibid, v. 2, pp. 618 & 705, 1382; Figueroa, p. 95, 1363; Molla Jalal-udin Monajjem, p. 297, 1366).

3. Conclusion

To sum all of the points above, Shah Abbas tried, because of the importance of crown jewels in domestic and foreign politics and economy, to add up to the treasury in various ways and attempted to maintain and protect the treasury so that it could saved as a political and economic support for his successors.

Crown jewels were used in foreign relations in different forms. The typical usage was exchange of gifts as an instrument of showing friendship between Iran and other nations. In domestic context, governors and emirs tried to win the favor of the king by presenting him with jewelries and precious items. In return, the king tried to gain popularity by endowing crown jewels to religious places and his subordinates.

In general, we may conclude that aside from the known and determining internal and foreign factors, there were other factors such as crown jewels which played a significant role, although they have been less noticed by researchers.

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Supervision of Undergraduate Final Year's Project Requirement in Nigerian Universities – The Way out of the Wood

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Abstract

The study investigated the supervision of undergraduates' degree projects in Nigerian universities following the general allegation that the present day projects do not contribute to any knowledge because students copy past work and project supervisors do not have time for supervision. The population of the study was 27 federal Nigerian universities. A random sample of 9 federal Nigerian universities (33.3%) was used for the study. The instrument used in gathering the data was the questionnaire designed by the researcher titled Students' Project Management Inventory (SPMI). The validity of the instrument was done by both experts in educational administration and planning. Test-retest method was used to ascertain the reliability of the instrument. A Z-Test and common percent were the statistics used to analyze the data. The major finding was that the increased population of degree students with decreased number of supervisors have made it difficult to have good supervision of projects. Based on this finding, it is recommended that degree project requirement should be optional or elective and not compulsory.

Keywords: supervision, projects, undergraduates, Nigeria, universities

1. Introduction

A project is one of the requirements for any undergraduate student to graduate from any Nigerian university. It is usually carried out during the student's final year in the university. At the penultimate year in the university, student takes a required course called Research Method. This paves the way for the student's project at the final year. Project is seen as a student's Master Piece. It gives the student the opportunity of looking into various problems in his or her area of specialization and following scientific method to systematically proffer solution to the problem. The student carries out research for further learning and development. According to Stanford University update on the net (2011), students carry out research although it might be difficult to satisfy themselves immensely. It offers students the opportunity to participate in creating a brand new idea and do a significant piece of work with lasting impact.

In the past, students carried out researches with interest, concentration, enthusiasm, and joy. The success of a student producing an original work used to be a well acclaimed success to the supervisor, the department, the faculty, the university and the public at large. The management of the students' projects was not as difficult as it is today. This is because in those days, students were more matured, more inquisitive, student population was low, students had so much interest to learn, students were comfortable both in provision of accommodation and proper feeding. Lecturers were very serious minded, highly respected, conscious of the students' progress, presented themselves as good role models and would never engage in any unethical practices like examination malpractice, blocking and inflation of marks.

According to Egborge (2002), the technological development of any nation can only be achieved through research and not through importation and transfer of foreign technology. He lamented that Nigerian government's confidence in foreigners who must be paid in hard currency to carry out researches for her in the midst of qualified Nigerian lecturers has been a big devourer to Nigerian foreign exchange. He mentioned among other things that lack of up to date equipment, inadequate basic infrastructure, inadequate fund etc. as some of the things disheartening and frustrating in carrying out researches in Nigerian universities.

In carrying out a project, students have the responsibilities to satisfy. These are to maintain regular contact with their supervisor, to be religious with their time management, to formulate the problem before asking for supervisor's contribution, to monitor their project progress and to be self-motivated and be able to work independently. The supervisors who are also the project assessors also have the responsibilities of making themselves available to the students for consultation, provide advice and guidance to the students and evaluate the students' projects in terms of quality and quantity.

The management and assessment of final year project degree requirement seem not to be properly organized. Some staff handling projects do not seem to be knowledgeable of what they are expected to do. The new lecturers to the departments seem not to be properly oriented in the supervision of students' projects before students are allocated to them to supervise. Jawitz, Shay and Moore (2002) advised that the level of support given to the students determines to a greater extent the quality of the output.

Today, the story of students' quest for further knowledge and development seem to be different. The students are poorly accommodated – a room housed only a student in the past, today the same room houses 6-9 students. Many students eat only once a day which they call 0-0-1. This means no breakfast, no lunch but eats only supper. Libraries are inadequate. With the new information communication technology (ICT), researches should be easier but it is not so in Nigerian universities because of the epileptic power supply. According to Ifedili (2002), 45% of students go to university only for certification and not for knowledge. This is because of the situations in the universities. University lecturers have been embarking on one strike after another for the federal government to improve on the infrastructures in the existing universities rather than embarking on new ones. The strike actions achieved little or no change. Lecturers carry heavy work-load. They have to carry out researches which are the major criteria for promotion. Many lecturers are saddled with administrative work in addition to their primary assignment. The students' population continues to increase yearly with so many final year students assigned to a lecturer for their projects. In fact, in addition to Masters and Doctor of Philosophy students, a lecturer has, about 40-50 final year undergraduate project students to supervise in many faculties eg social sciences, education, arts etc.. This makes it impossible for the lecturers to supervise the degree projects as they should. The students seem to see project requirement as a step that must be taken in order to graduate. Many students do not seem to be interested in carrying out the research. Many go to other universities and copy an old project which his supervisor may not be able to dictate because of work-load. Some students just photocopy an old project and put their names at the covers. Some pay some mercenaries to write for them etc. In fact the present situation with project writing in many faculties is very upsetting for anyone who has education at heart.

The researcher wonders why the degree students must write projects knowing very well that the situation at the university makes it impossible to have genuine projects done. Why not leave projects for just the Masters and Doctor of Philosophy students as it is done in some developed nations like the United States of America so that the lecturers can at least supervise the post graduate students well and there will be satisfying outcome. However, if the writing of projects must continue, there must be a surgical change in the organization and management of degree students' projects' writing. A handful of degree projects from the researcher's experience showed repetition of some topics. Even when the topic is banned, some students rephrased them to be accepted but end up with same write up and findings.

1.1 Statement of the Problems

The importance of writing degree projects in Nigerian universities as a requirement for graduation seems to be whirling out of control. The students are becoming uninterested because of load of problems facing them in the universities e.g poor feeding, poor accommodation, epileptic power supply, over stressed lecturers, inadequate library, inadequate infrastructural facilities etc. Many unethical things are done by students to fulfill this requirement. There is an allegation that some students copy old projects. Some just photocopy old projects and type the name page to reflect theirs and submit to their supervisors who may not be able to detect the problem due to heavy workload. Some employ mercenaries to produce the work for them. Some download from the internet a completed work and put their names as the authors. This is one of the reasons why the quality of education is falling. This situation in the universities does not augur well for the progress in education. There is need to investigate these allegations and if they are true, a way forward would be suggested so that education will continue to be proactive instead of retroactive.

1.2 Research Questions

From the statement of problem above, the following research questions are raised to guide the study: -

    1. Is project a necessary requirement for degree graduation?

2. Do the students' projects really contribute to knowledge?

3. Are students enthusiastic in writing the projects?

4. Are the supervisors interested in supervising these projects?

5. Do the students carry out the projects by themselves?

6. Mention some students' unethical practices in project writing?

7. Mention some supervisors' unethical practices in project writing?

1.3 Hypotheses

The following hypotheses are formulated from the research questions; -

HO1 There will be no significant difference between male and female academic staff responses on the importance of project as a requirement for degree graduation.

HO2 There will be no significant difference in the responses of academic staff based on the years of experience as to the importance of project as a requirement for degree graduation.

HO3 There will be no significant different in the responses of academic staff based on sex as to students' attitude towards degree project.

1.4 Significant of the Study

This study is an important study which will benefit many especially Nigeria which is a developing nation. The government will benefit by knowing that the universities are not wasting their time on unproductive projects but seriously researching on areas which will help the country to meet the global standard. There will be better time utilization and goal setting with regards to projects in the universities. The university will plan better and will achieve positive results. The lecturers will be better organized and productive when they are aware of the need to be more dedicated and also have less students allocated to them for better project supervision. The students will be more focused and serious with their projects when there is public awareness of the importance of projects. The students will aim to put in their best and produce acclaimed work which may win them fame and awards.

2. Methodology

The research design used was ex post-facto. The design deals with the collection of two sets of data from a group of subjects with an attempt to determine the subsequent relationship between those sets of data. The population of the study was all the faculties in 27 federal Nigerian universities. A random sample of 9 federal Nigerian universities (33.3%) was used for the study. Five faculties were randomly selected to participate in the study. These were Social Science, Arts, Science, medicine and engineering. From each university, a stratified random sampling method was used to select 20 male and 20 female academic staff to participate in the study. A total 1800 (900 male and 900 female) academic staff participated in the study.

The instrument used in gathering the data was the questionnaire designed by the researcher titled Students' Project Management Inventory (SPMI). The questionnaire was made up of two parts: Part A was based on respondents' personal data while Part B contained fifteen questions bothering on public awareness of importance of final year projects, willingness of students to carry out projects, considered unique relationship between the supervisor and the project students, barrier to effective project supervision, unethical practices by the students and supervisors, management's efforts to alleviate the workload of the supervisors, whether the students' projects contribute to existing knowledge, etc. The questionnaire was augmented by oral interview. The validity of the instrument was done by both experts in educational administration and planning. The Test-retest method was used to ascertain the reliability of the instrument. A Z-Test and common percentage were the statistics used to analyze the data. The scores were rated in such a way that the score of 0-1.0 =very poor, 1.01- 2.0=poor, 2.01-3.0= fair, 3.01-3.35=good and 3.5-4.0=excellent.

3. Results

Answers to Research Questions are on Table 1

Table 1. Answer to research questions

Questions	Yes	No	Total
1. Is project a necessary requirement for degree graduation?	62%	38%	100%
2. Do the students' projects really contribute to	55%	45%	100%

knowledge?			
3. Are students enthusiastic to write projects?	52%	48%	100%
4.Are the supervisors interested in supervising these projects	79%	21%	100%
5. Do students carry out the projects by themselves?	67%	33%	100%
6. Mention some students' unethical practices in project writing?	Plagiarizing, blocking, paying someone to carry out the project, bribery etc.		
7. Mention some supervisors' unethical practices in project writing?	Not often available, sexual harassment, taking bribe, delay in reading the projects etc.		

3.1 Testing of Hypotheses

HO1 The first null hypothesis which states that there will be no significant difference between male and female academic staff responses, on the importance of project as a requirement for degree graduation was tested with the data collected from the questionnaire. The result is on Table 2.

Table 2. Test of significant difference in the responses of male and female academic staff on the importance of project for degree requirement

Statistics	Males	Females	Calculated Z-Value	Table Value
Number	900	900		
Mean	2.76	2.79	1.50	1.96
SD	0.45	0.38		

From Table 2, the calculated Z-Value at 0.05-Confidence Level, is 1.50 while the Table Value is 1.96, the null hypothesis that there will be no significant difference between male and female academic staff responses, on the importance of project as a requirement for degree graduation is therefore accepted. Both male and female staff averagely agreed that the degree project was necessary. The male staff average rating was 2.76 as opposed to their female counterparts. This means that both had fair rating for the importance of project as a requirement for graduation. There is variation in their average responses but the variation was found to be insignificant. Out of 62% (1116) of respondents who agreed that project requirement was important, 51.08% (570) were males while 48.92% (546) were females. Thirty-eight percent of the respondents agreed that project as a requirement for first degree certification was not necessary.

HO2 The second null hypothesis that states that there will be no significant difference in the responses of academic staff based on years of experience as to the importance of project as a requirement for degree graduation was analyzed from the data collected from the questionnaire and the result on Table 3.

Table 3. Test of significant difference in the responses of academic staff based on years of experience as to the need for degree project requirement

Statistics	Less than 10 Years	10 Years and above	Calculated Z–Value	Table Value
Statistics	1191	609		
Number	2.84	2.67	7.39	1.96
SD	0.48	0.41		

From Table 3, the calculated Z-Value at 0.05 Confidence Level is 7.39 while the Table value is 1.96.The null hypothesis that states that there will be no significant difference in the responses of academic staff based on years of experience as to the importance of project as a requirement for degree graduation is therefore rejected. This means that years' experience affected the responses of the participants. The average response for less experienced staff was 2.84 while their counterparts who were experienced had 2.67. Although rating-wise, both

can be said to be fair in their ratings, however, there is a significant difference in their responses When randomly interviewed, 85% of the interviewed respondents emphasized the need for universities to higher candidates with post graduate certificates. According to them, the present culture of recruiting many first degree candidates leaves the problem of inadequate supervisors unsolved. This is because the first degree holders neither teach nor supervise projects. There is also poor orientation of staff as mentioned by inexperienced supervisors

HO3 The third null hypothesis that states that there will be no significant different in the responses of academic staff based on sex as to students' attitude towards degree project was tested and analyzed as it is on Table 4.

Table 4. Test of significant difference in the responses of male and female academic staff based on sex on the attitude of students towards degree project

Statistics	Males	Females	Calculated Z-Value	Table Value
Number	900	900		
Mean	1.85	1.81	2.11	1.96
SD	0.42	0.37		

From Table 4, the calculated Z-Value at 0.05-Confidennce Level is 2.11 while the Table Value is 1.96. The null hypothesis that states that there will be no significant different in the responses of academic staff based on sex as to students' attitude towards degree project is therefore rejected. The average score fore mqles was 1.85 while their female counterparts was 1.81. Both male and female academic staff agreed that students' attitude towards projects was poor. However, statistically, there is a significant difference in their responses. The general consensus was that students were not interested in writing projects.

3.2 Discussions

From the data analysis, 62% of the respondents agreed that project writing was necessary a first degree requirement However, 38% of the respondents were of the opinion that project writing as a requirement for first degree was not necessary. When people who felt that project was not necessary were further interviewed, 78% of them agreed that the number of students to a supervisor was an average of 45 students. They further emphasized that since projects were individually written, there was no way quality assurance could be maintained. These respondents according to questionnaire were academic staff in the faculties of education, social sciences and art. The remaining 22% emphasized on inadequate equipment and poor infrastructural facilities as the main issues militating against project writing as a degree requirement. Sex of the respondents did not show any significant differences but years of experience showed that there was significant difference. Respondents with ten years and above experience agreed that project writing was necessary more than the people with less years of experience.

The attitude of students towards project writing was rated by both male and female respondents to be poor. Fifty-two percent of respondents however agreed that students were interested in writing projects while 79% of respondents agreed that supervisors were interested in supervising projects. There is still hope to have good project writing but the organization and management seems to be the major problem for achieving the goal of project writing.

Many unethical practices were mentioned like plagiarism, paying someone to carry out the project, bribery, supervisors not often available, supervisor's delay in reading the projects for further corrections, sexual harassment by some supervisors etc. These unethical practices although they are unacceptable, if the project writing is properly organized would be minimized. Nigeria is a developing nature and the contribution to knowledge of projects is very vital. If only 55% of the respondents agreed that students' projects contribute to knowledge, then there is a problem somewhere that made 45% of respondents to have a contrary view. This also will tell some supervisors that they are not doing their work well in choosing researchable topics. There is hope, however, that the project will be structured and organized in future in a manner that students' projects will produce better results.

4. Conclusion

From the research findings, it is obvious that students were not interested in writing projects due to some conditions in the university that make project writing difficult. Although 79% of the supervisors were willing to supervise the project, the willingness is not backed by adequate time to be given to the students' project supervision due to workload. Poor orientation of inexperienced supervisor made some supervisors not to follow

guidelines. The individual project method seems not to be suitable to some faculties because of the population. Faculties of social sciences, arts and education – the humanities had high student/supervisor ratio than sciences. This makes the present project writing more stressful in humanities than in sciences although the sciences have the problems of inadequate research equipments and poor power supply.

5. Recommendations

- Conferences, seminars and workshops should be organized for both nthe academic staff and students to create awareness on the importance projects.
- Lecturers workload should be reduced to enable them supervise their students well.
- Employment of individuals with only first degree should be limited to minimum while more people with postgraduate certification should be employed. This is because the first degree holders neither teach nor supervise projects.
- Supervisors should have designated hours for students' projects placed on their office doors so that their students can have access to them.
- Better infrastructural facilities should be put in place. There is no way ICT can work properly with epileptic power supply.
- Equipments should be made available to students.
- Libraries should be updated to meet the global standard.
- Better accommodation should be provided for the students.
- Loans should be made available for poor students for better feeding. The loan can be repaired after graduation.
- In the faculties with high students/supervisor ratio, group projects are recommended. The group however cannot be more than two.
- Good time management should be religiously guarded by both the students and the supervisors.
- Supervisors should help the students in choosing their project topics. The present culture of students presenting their supervisors with three topics to choose one should be discouraged.
- New staff to the departments should be properly oriented into good project supervision.
- Assessment of project should not be done by the student's supervisor. It is hereby recommended that the supervisor and another staff in the department should independently assess the student. The average score would be the student's score. This will prevent students from being unfairly assessed.
- Project deadline should be observed. One week grace is recommended. Payment of levy is recommended for late project submission.
- In the faculties where there are many postgraduate students carrying out their projects and the final year degree students are many but few supervisors, it is recommended that projects should not be a requirement for final year degree students but can be made elective.

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Iran and Its Boundaries in Challenging with Foreign Relation (1789 - 1836)

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Abstract

From ancient times, Iran's boundaries were formed by Iranian kings' struggles. From that time, an imagination about these boundaries was formed in Iranian minds and has been continued until now. So, one of the important duties of Iranian kings was to expand Iran's boundaries to that of ancient times. The aim of this research is to investigate Iran's relations with European countries and the role of these relations in forming the Iran's boundaries from 1789 to 1828. In this research, a descriptive-analytic method is used. The findings of this research show that in Qajar dynasty, Agha Muhammad Khan and Fath Ali shah made some great attempts to expand Iran's boundaries to that of ancient times in order to, through which, can legitimate their rule on Iran. These actions made Iran to enter European countries' politics widely. Russia advanced in Caucasus and the Britain entered Iran's affairs widely to protect its realms in India, and France set a relationship with Iran in order to access India. Entrance of the unknowledgeable Iranians in international politics led to Iranian amazement, and European countries' interference in forming the Iran's boundaries, and, step by step, Iran lost some of its parts.

Keywords: Iran, Agha Muhammad Khan, Fath Ali shah, Iran's boundaries, international politics

1. Introduction

During their long history, Iranians have had a lucid imagination from Iran's boundaries, and always expected from their kings to expand Iran's boundaries to its real limitations; therefore, that was one of the most important duties of Iranian kings in Iranian minds, and was one of the factors of Iranian king's success and their popularity among people. In Iran's Islamic era, the Safavid dynasty could expand Iran's boundaries to its ancient limitations. Then, Agha Muhammad Khan made great attempts to, restoration Iran's boundaries and, to do so; he had to encounter with Russians but his early death prevented him from a severe challenge with them. His Successor, Fath Ali Shah paid much attention to expand Iran's boundaries to Khurasan and Caucasus, and his attempts made him to fight with Russians, but, because of being less powerful than them, he had to ask for help from France and, then, the Britain. Iran's geographical position on the borders of Russia, India and the Persian Gulf turned her into a natural target in the political struggle between France and Britain early in the 19th century and that between Russia and Britain throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. Political and strategic interests were of primary concern to both Britain and Russia. Britain was mainly covered with preserving the formal independence and integrity of Iran in order to defend the Indian empire. This required her to retain control of the Persian Gulf, to keep all other powers out of it, and to safeguard southern and eastern Iran. Russia deprived Iran of her Transcaucasia territories in the first half of 19th century. Both Britain and Russia were striving to exercise as much influence as possible on the Qajar rulers in order to gain support for their actions in Iran and to repel their rivals. Qajar's unawareness to International politics in these relations and their trust to Europeans, Iranians bore lots of loses. Europeans' interference in Iran's affairs and their avarice led to separation of some parts of Iran. Until now, no serious research has been done about Qajar's attempts for restoration of Iran's boundaries and the role of European countries in separation of Iran's parts in early years of Qajar dynasty; therefore, the lack of research in this area was the incentive of this study. Using a descriptive- analytic method, this research is to investigate Iran's relations with European countries and their interference in forming Iran's boundaries in early years of Qajar dynasty.

2. Agha Muhammad Khan and Iran Boundaries

Iran had a long tradition and background as a great empire ruled by a King of Kings and the important task of the early Qajar kings, having restored internal security, was to recover the border areas and restore the empire to the preceding Safavid limits. Aga Muhammad Khan (ruled 1789- 1797), founder of the Qajar dynasty, had begun by invading Georgia and Khurasan and Iran borders, continued to be directed towards these two areas.   With this, he sought to legitimize his rule as the Iranian King.

To achieve this goal, in the spring of 1795, he assembled a force and went to Azerbaijan, intending to conquer the country between the rivers Aras and Kura, formerly under Safavid control. This region comprised a number of independent khanates, much had happened in Georgia since the fall of the Safavids**.** Russian and Iranian relations were interconnected with their politics in the Caucasus in the late of 18th century and in the first half of 19th. Russia's main ally in the Caucasus was Christian Georgia, which was seeking Russia's protection from the Muslim Iranians and Ottomans. Catherine II viewed Georgia as an essential part of her Asian politics because in provided a vital strategic base for operations against Iran and Ottoman Empire. Recently, on 24 July 1783, Erekle (Heraclius), the ruler of Kartli and Kakheti (the central core of the Georgian kingdom) and Catherine II of Russia had signed the Treaty of Georgievsk which made Georgia a Russian protectorate. In it, Erekle specifically renounced Georgia's former dependence upon Iran, while another article of the Treaty allowed the stationing of Russian troops in Georgia for mutual defense against Iran and Ottomans (Avery, Hambly, & Melville, 2008).

Agha Muhammad Khan cannot have been ignorant of events in Georgia, or unaware of Russia's threatening presence beyond the Caucasus. His suspicions had been aroused by recent Russian activity in both Gilan and Astarabad. This may explain part of the hostility he felt towards the ruler of Georgia, although while the Zands were still undefeated he had remained ostensibly amicable. In 1786, soon after the death of Ali Murad Khan Zand, he received an envoy from Erekle, and offered the latter sovereignty over Azerbaijan, not then in his possession, if Erekle could obtain Russian backing for him in his conflict with the Zands. Five years later, his conquest of Azerbaijan in 1791 raised apprehensions in Tiflis, and Erekle had applied to Saint Petersburg for assistance, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Georgievsk, although without result, since the Russian government was preoccupied elsewhere. As soon as Erekle heard of Agha Muhammad Khan's plans for a summer campaign across the Aras in 1795, he sent an urgent request to Saint Petersburg for Russian aid. None was given, however, largely on the advice of General Ivan Gudovich, the commander of the Caucasian line, who did not take the threat seriously (Rustam al-Hukama, 2001) .

Meanwhile, Agha Muhammad Khan had left Shusha and advanced on Ganja, where the ruler, Javad Khan, submitted. From there, he sent a threatening letter to Erekle. He reminded him that, under the Safavids, Georgia had been a part of Iran and demanded Erekle's immediate submission, assuring him that if he came to pay homage, he would be confirmed as Vali. Agha Muhammad Khan declared that "Shah Esmaeil Safavi ruled over the province of Georgia. When in the days of the deceased king we were engaged in conquering the provinces of Iran, we did not proceed to this region. As most of the provinces of Iran have come into our possession now, you must, according to ancient law, consider Georgia part of the empire and appear before our majesty. You have to confirm your obedience; then you may remain in the possession of your governorship. If you do not do this, you will be treated as the others" (fasai, 2004).

Erekle reject Agha Muhammd Khans request, so reaffirm his allegiance to Russia and summon all the troops he could muster to Tiflis. With this Agha Muhammad Khan came up to Tiflis 10 September 1795 and a decisive engagement took place outside Tiflis. The battle lasted a whole day (Malcolm, 1815: 284). Eventually the Georgians had suffered heavy casualties and had retreated into the citadel of Tiflis. Later, what remained of the Vali's army, and those inhabitants of Tiflis who could, abandoned the city. Tiflis was sacked, and after the devastation and massacre, 15,000 Georgian slaves, mostly women and children, were deported to Iran (Al- Saruii, 1992).

Agha Muhammad Khan remained nine days in the vicinity of Tiflis. His victory proclaimed the restoration of Iranian military power in a region formerly under Safavid domination. Georgia had been punished and Russia's prestige damaged. But Agha Muhammad Khan did not stay to consolidate his victory. He turned back and marched down the valley of the Kura and, having ravaged the Khanate of Shirvan, established his winter quarters in the Mughan steppe **(**Avery, Hambly, & Melville, 2008).

Agha Muhammad Khan had hitherto refused the title of Shah, on the grounds that Iran was not entirely subject to his authority. Now, the Qajar chieftains and officers of state came and pressed him to take the title of Shah before marching on Mashhad and bringing the former Safavid province of Khurasan, as far as the Amu-Darya River, under his protection. In agreeing to their petition, Agha Muhammad Khan said, "If, according to your

desire, I put the crown on my head, this will cause you, in the beginning, toil and hardship, as I take no pleasure in bearing the title of king as long as I am not one of the greatest kings of Iran. This petition will not be granted but by toil and fatigue"(fasai, 2004). Agha Muhammad Khan intended to make his coronation ceremony an act of legitimating. Following the Safavid custom, the sword of Shah Ismaeil Safavi was suspended from the roof of the tomb-chamber of Shaikh Safi at the shrine of Ardabil on the eve of the coronation, while prayers were offered for the new Shah's welfare (Malkolm, 1815).

Shortly afterwards, the Shah and his army was headed to Khurasan. This territory, untouched by the earlier struggles among the Zand and Qajar rivals, had formerly been protected by the Durrani ruler, Ahmad Shah, but after his death in 1773, his successors preferred to concentrate their attention upon their Indian borderlands. In the late decades of the 18th century, Khurasan was in a state of near anarchy. In Mashhad, the authority of Shahrukh, Nadir Shah's grandson, was hardly more than nominal. Outside Mashhad, the surrounding countryside was held by various independent chieftains. Across this vast expanse, tribal warfare, the plundering of caravans and cattle and slave-raiding were endemic. The newly-crowned Agha Muhammad Shah advanced into Khurasan by way of Gurgan, halting in Astarabad to punish the Goklen Turkmens who had been raiding in that province (Fraser, 1825).

He then left for Mashhad, while local khans, recognizing the impossibility of resistance, hastened to submit. All these chieftains were forced to hand over hostages, who were sent to Tehran. As Agha Muhammad Shah approached Mashhad, Shahrukh came to the Qajar camp, accompanied by one of his sons. The next day, Agha Muhammad Shah entered Mashhad on foot (as Shah Abbas I had been accustomed to do) as a pilgrim to the shrine of Imam Riza, weeping and kissing the earth. For the next twenty-three days, he continued his pilgrimage, seemingly oblivious of affairs of state. Then a change came over him. Orders were given for the exhumation of Nadir Shah's remains, which were reburied with those of Karim Khan Zand in Tehran; Shahrukh was compelled to surrender any jewels formerly belonging to Nadir Shah (Hidayat, 2001). Shahrukh and his family were then sent to Mazandaran. Shahrukh himself died on the way, at Damghan. He was sixty-three, and had ruled Khurasan, in name at least, for forty-six years. The Shah had arrived in Mashhad in May 1796. He seems to have spent some time there, settling the affairs of Khurasan. It is possible that he contemplated advancing against Herat, then an appendage of the Durrani kingdom, but formerly a Safavid province and traditional residence of the Safavid Valiahd. He may also have contemplated an expedition against Bukhara, to avenge the Mangit usurper Shah Murad's treatment of the Qajars of Marv. He sent an emissary to Bukhara, addressed not to Shah Murad, but to Abul-Ghazi Khan, last ruler of the dispossessed Janid dynasty, demanding the return of Iranian slaves held in Bukhara. Shah Murad is said to have replied insultingly, but to have assembled the Iranian captives in Bukhara so that they should be ready, if necessary, to be returned to Iran. Agha Muhammad Shah is also supposed to have proposed at this time a combined attack on Bukhara to Timur Shah Durrani (Hidayat, 2001).

In the event, news of developments in the north-west called for immediate action. Catherine II, eager to extend Russia's hegemony beyond the Caucasus, and having a pretext in the Shah's treatment of her client, Erekle, had sent an expedition into the south-eastern Caucasus, under the command of Count Valerian Zubov. Its goal was to annex the Kura-Aras region and penalize the Aga Muhammd. Zubov first occupied Darband and Baku, the districts of Salyan and Talish, and then Shamakhi and Ganja. In this rime, the death of Catherine in November 1796, and the accession of Paul I, opposed to his mother's Caucasian policies, led to the expedition's recall (Sipihr, 1998).

Meanwhile, the Shah had returned to Tehran, ordering the military commanders to assemble there with their contingents the following spring. Agha Muhammad Shah apparently contemplated an extended campaign to punish the Russians. In June 1797, the Shah left Tehran, intending to march through Azerbaijan to Qarabagh, Shirvan and Georgia, but in camp at Sultaniya, the news of Zubov's recall arrived. This led to a change of plan. It was less urgent to punish Georgia and Russia, and the Shah decided to deal first with the recalcitrant Ibrahim Khan of Qarabagh, who had recently become a Russian protege. The royal army therefore moved towards Shusha. At Adinabazar, there appeared a delegation of notables from Shusha, announcing that Ibrahim Khan and his family had fled into Daghistan, and inviting the Shah to take possession of their city. In response to this unanticipated good fortune, he entered Shusha. He remained there three days until, disturbed one evening by a quarrel between two servants in his private quarters, he ordered their immediate execution and then postpone their execution until the following morning, to avoid shedding blood on a Friday. He foolishly allowed the condemned men to continue attending him until he fell asleep, when they, joined by a third servant, stabbed him to death, on 16 June 1797**.** (Dunbuli, 2004)

Agha Muhammad Khan's attempts for keeping sovereignty of Iran on Caucasus were faced with resistance of the local Khans and Russia. He was killed for the sake of restoration of Iran's ancient boundaries, but the Russians' avarice for surrounding this region and the attempts of their Khans for independence never stopped.

3. Fath Ali Shah in Challenging with European's

In 1789, Fath Ali Shah (ruled 1797-1834) crowned and could suppress his domestic rivals successfully (sipihr, 1998). The first moves of his were in the east. In 1799 he advanced to Mashhad but stopped there when he learned that the Afghan ruler, Zaman Shah, had marched to Herat. In 1802 the Iranians were in Mashhad again where they consolidated their hold and three years later they attacked Herat. Internal troubles in Afghanistan prevented aid from reaching the Afghan governor there, and after a Iranian victory at Ghurian, he ceded that border fortress to Iran and agreed to pay tribute for Heart (Elphinstone, 1815; Watson, 1866). Iranians was prevented from following up this success however, because war had broken out with Russia.

In 1801, Georgia was annexed to Russia. Emperor Alexander I (ruled 1801-1825) appointed Prince Tsitsianov as commander-in-chief in the Caucasus, whose directive was to impose Russian rule on the Caucasian territories adjacent to Georgia. Some Khanates submitted; others became victims of military conquest. After Prince Tsitsianov captured the city of Ganja and appeared before the city of Erevan, the first Russo-Iranian war broke out. The Iranian army was led by Abbas Mirza, heir of Fath Ali Shah and Governor of Azerbaijan (baddely, 1908).

This war lasted nine years, during which time Iran first became involved in European diplomacy. Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 and the Afghan Zaman Shah's repeated wars in the Punjab aroused British fears for their possessions in India (Dunbuli, 2004).

Iran was seen by Britain as a potential check on both these threats and a mission was sent to Iran from India in 1801. But when Zaman Shah was deposed and Britain made peace with Napoleon, these feelers were not followed through. Napoleon on the other hand saw a way to get at both Britain and Russia through Iran. In 1807 Fath Ali Shah signed a treaty with Napoleon and welcomed a French military mission. When Napoleon made peace with Russia later that year however, the French pulled out and British interest in Iran revived. Britain signed a treaty with Iran in 1812 and reaffirmed it in 1814 (Sykes, 1915). The chief contexts of this treaty were that:

1) Iran would prevent any European army that attempted to invade India by way of Iran or Central Asia.

2) The defensive articles (3 & 4) would apply only in cases where the outside power was the aggressor (the only difference between the 1812 and 1814 treaties, this article was added to give the British a loophole).

3) Britain would aid Iran with either troops from India or a yearly subsidy in the event Iran became involved in a war with any European power.

4) This aid would be given even if Britain was at peace with the European power.

5) Iran would attack Afghanistan if the latter was at war with Britain.

6) Britain would not interfere in any war between Iran and Afghanistan. (Sipihr, 1998; Aitchison, 1865)

But the treaties signed with France and Britain proved to be fruitless. The defeat of Napoleon allowed to Russia to concentrate more resources on Caucasian front: the Battle of Aslanduz marked the final defeat of Iran, and the Treaty of Gulistan was signed in 1813. By the terms of treaty Iran lost most of her possessions, including Ganjeh, Darband, Baku and Georgia, gave up her right to maintain a navy on the Caspian, which thereby became the Russian lake (Kazemzadeh, 1968). The provisions concerning the border lines were vague and soon led to a new conflict.

During the first Russo-Iranian war, when the Iran first began to attract the sustained attention of European imperialism and colonialism, Abbas Mirza with the help of his minister Qa'im Magam, began a protracted experiment with army modernization. Thus in the Iran, nizam-i jadid (new order) regiments sprang up, sometimes on the ruins of older military formations, sometimes alongside them. Fath Ali Shah and Abbas Mirza embarked on army reform in a desperate effort to strengthen their defensive capacity, and to resist growing European hegemony and direct or indirect control by imitating European methods of military organization and warfare. Iranian politics invited European officers, sometimes as individuals, sometimes as formal missions, to assist with building a modern army. With the help of these officers, Iranian rulers thus sought to appropriate the secrets of European power. These early attempts at military modernization were partly driven by shock at successive defeats by Russian powers and by the Russian conquests of Iranian territory in Caucasus and the consequent extension of infidel control over Muslim populations. Fath Ali Shah hoped to equip his dynasty with a coercive weapon capable of quelling domestic opposition and maintaining borders of Iran against the enemies.

But his protracted struggles to build up forces capable of defending their realms from external attack so that in following says largely failed (Keddie, 1981).

Iran's activities in the east had been curtailed while fighting Russia. The occasion of a major revolt by tribal chiefs in Khurasan in 1811 was used by the Afghans to retake Ghurian and stop paying tribute for Herat. Other revolts followed the unsuccessful war with Russia and it was not until 1816 that another effort could be made to advance the eastern frontiers. In that year the governor of Mashhad advanced on Herat but this time the Afghans were able to send a substantial army from their capital of Kabul to the scene. There was a battle in which both sides claimed victory but the Iranians did not get Heart (Ferrier, 1858; Watson, 1866).

During the 1820's Fath Ali Shah was occupied with war along the Ottomans border, and more seriously, a second war with Russia. Two Russian missions to Iran, on led by General Ermolov in 1817, the other by Prince Menshikov in 1826 failed to ease the tensions between Iran and Russia. Iran was dissatisfied with the settlement of 1813 in the Caucasus and in 1826, after the initial outbreak of fighting; a massive Iranian invasion threw back the Russian forces. Russia recovered swiftly however, and in the following year, Iran with only a minority of well-drilled and modernized forces was soon defeated (Sipihr, 1998) the Treaty of Turkmanchai, signed in 1928 was destined to regulate Russo-Persian relations until 1917. In addition to lands yielded under the Treaty of Gulistan had now to cede to Russian the khanates of Erevan Nakhichevan. Iran also had to pay Russia the considerable indemnity of 20 million rubles. (Shirazi, 2002)

During the war, Iran had appealed to the Britain for aid under the terms of the 1814 treaty. Britain however, trying to reach an accommodation with Russia, chose to see Iran as the aggressor and refused to extend any aid (Kelly, 1968). The British then negotiated a release from their obligation to aid the Iranians in return for a sum of money that Iran desperately needed to pay the first installment of the Russian indemnity (Watson, 1866). Thus, the effort of Fath Ali shah and his son, Abbas Mirza to exploit the rivalries between the European powers in order to regain the lost dominions of Safavid failed.

Efforts to regain the Caucasus ended with crushing defeats at the hands of the Russians. Even in the east where there was less opposition, the Qajars could make little headway. But far from giving up, after 1828 the Qajars would try even harder to recover the east to make up for what was lost forever in the west.

4. Conclusion

Agha Muhammad Khan and Fath Ali Shah made some great attempts to expand Iran's boundaries to that of ancient and Safavid times. Agha Muhammad Khan was so successful in doing so and in his time, the Russia's influence could not prevent him from fulfilling this wish. His swift action in Caucasus led to Russia's inaction. But his early death did not allow him experience serious relations and struggles with Russia and other European countries. Fath Ali Shah's attempts for supremacy on Caucasus and encountering with Russians (who wanted to attach Caucasus to their country) began the fights between Iran and Russia. In this time, Iran had to play a role in international politics unwontedly. Continuing Britain dominance on India in counter with the avarice of Iran, France, Russia and Afghans, so the Britain was involved in Iran's politics actively. Fulfilling the Napoleon Bonaparte's wish for attacking to India via Iran, France sent a delegation to Iran. European countries' entrance to Iran's politics baffled the unaware Qajars to international relations, and its fruit was adapting an unclear policy toward these relations so that, unknowing their goals and purposes, they ask for help from France and the Britain. The result of these unequal relations was that, because of their interference and Russia's power and Qajar weakness, some parts of Iran were separated.

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Quality Learning Environments: Design-Studio Classroom

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Abstract

Design education requires a specific setting that facilitates teaching/learning activities including lecturing, demonstrating, and practicing. The design-studio is the place of design teaching/learning activities and where students/students and students/instructor interaction occur. Proper interior design improves not only the function of such learning environment but also the confidence of its users involved in the teaching/learning process. This study finds impetus in the lack of research data relative to the design of the design-studio classroom, most crucial space in design and architectural education. The purpose of the study is to examine the design-studio classroom environment and to determine, by the perception of its users, to which level this specific environment assures users' needs and objectives. A survey was developed and distributed to a purposive sample of design and architecture educators. Ninety four responds were collected. The results of the study support the stability of earlier findings that the physical environment has a direct impact on the satisfaction of the space users. The findings suggest that lighting, noise, glare, air quality, temperature, seats comfort and possibilities of arrangement are all essential environmental features in the achievement of an appropriate pedagogic environment. Likewise, it was found that designated workstations are important part of the teaching/learning process of design. It also emerges from this study that lighting is the most important feature.

Keywords: design-studio, design education, interior design, learning environment

1. Introduction and Purpose

It is becoming more evident that learning environments such as schools and universities are less equipped to fulfill students and instructors pedagogic needs than other environments (Lyons, 2001). More often than not, learning environments are uninteresting and uninviting (Kennedy & Agron, 2004). Research findings suggest, however, that a high quality interior design improves not only the function of a learning environment but also the confidence of its users involved in the teaching/learning process (Webber, Marini, & Abraham, 2000).

The interior design of spaces such as offices, dining halls, libraries, auditoriums, and classrooms should satisfy the minimum requirements of making these spaces more functional, healthier, and more enjoyable. Students and instructors suffer from interior problems of classrooms such as inadequate lighting, noise, glare, poor air quality, inappropriate temperature, uncomfortable seats and inflexible seating arrangement (Rydeen, 2003). The classroom is the most important area in a school. It is an environment that includes various aspects such as psychological, cultural, social, and physical. It is where students and teachers spend a large amount of their time and, hence, it is an environment that is assumed to promote a reasonable level of concentration in learning activities such as discussing, reading, drafting, drawing, writing, and practicing. Designers ought to pay enough attention to environmental aspects when designing classroom environments. They should create a human-centered environment that supports teaching/learning processes and enhances students' and instructors' performance (Rydeen, 2003).

Classrooms vary in size and function, depending on what teaching/learning activities are intended. Lecture-based teaching/learning activities, for instance, may require a different setting than other demonstration-based activities. Interior design teaching/learning activities, which may include lecturing, demonstrating, and practicing, require a specific setting that should be designed to facilitate such activities. The design-studio

classroom is the most crucial space in interior design and architectural education; such space facilitates learning and social activities and influence student's interests and curiosity (Smith, 2011; Demirbas & Demirkan, 2000). Such learning environment has been described as a place where students carry out their projects while administered by their instructors (Lackney, 1999). Its space could fit up to twenty students interacting with each other; each has his/her own drafting table, tools, and other educational belongings. Demirbas & Demirkan also pointed out that the design-studio classroom could be (a) a learning environment that facilitates interior design teaching/learning processes during regular class hours; (b) a learning environment that enables interior design students to work on their own project in their spare of time; and (c) a learning environment that could serve both concepts at the same time; students could work on their own projects while others are enjoying a class. Interior design students may spend much of their time in such classroom environments; therefore, these classrooms should facilitate such objectives and provide conditions supportive of these multiple activities.

The purpose of the study is to examine the design-studio classroom environment, and to determine, by the perception of its users, to which level this specific environment assures users' needs and objectives.

2. Significance of the Study

As the ultimate purpose of this study is to create a typical design-studio classroom environment that satisfies the users' needs, this study will assist others who are coping with these specific learning environments such as researchers, interior designers, facility managers, policy makers, and architects. Outcomes of the study will contribute to improving such environments in use today, and will provide basic guidelines for designing future ones, as well. This study will also benefit design and architecture educators in their teaching processes; it will enable them to employ various teaching methods and instructions. In addition, design and architecture students will have a better environment for learning, one that would enable both individual and group learning, use various learning resources, and even allow users to enjoy learning times.

3. Research Questions

Learning environments vary in size and type depending on the function and type of learning anticipated, including discussion, meeting, training, seminar, workshop, or project work. The design-studio classroom is a learning environment that should support design teaching/learning activities both during and outside of class hours. Such activities may include collaborative learning, problem-solving, lecturing, team-work, and one-on-one teaching activities. Designers need to determine the function and teaching mode of each environment in order to provide a supportive design (Webber et al., 2000).

Specifically, this study attempts to study the importance of the designated design-studio workstation in a typical design studio-classroom setting. This will be achieved through the examination of the physical interior elements (i.e., space layout, color, lighting, hearing, furnishing, and seating arrangement) as pertaining to the workstation and its correlation to the overall composition of the design studio-classroom and its consequences on the pedagogic performance.   To do so, the following three research questions will be addressed:

   1)   How important is to have a designated design-studio workstations in the design programs?

   2)   What are the factors, both positive and negative, and characteristics of the design-studio classroom environments that are most important for teaching/learning process of design?

   3)   How do design and architecture educators use the design-studio classroom environment in their teaching procedures?

4. Literature Review

The impact of design on human life was examined generally in several previous studies. Evans & McCoy (1998) indicated that to attain a well designed environment that fits well with human needs, it is important for designers to understand how a physical environment impacts its users. The built environment affects human behavior either negatively or positively (Sommer, 1969; Altman, 1970). As pointed out by Demirbas &. Denirkan (2000), learning environments are assumed to be more useful for the educational purposes if they are designed to meet user's needs; it is the place where creativity begin. As a consequence, there are several aspects of the classroom environment that may affect teaching-learning activity. One example is the effect of physical surroundings (Webber et al., 2000).

The classroom is a place where the teaching/learning process occurs, where students and instructors spend extended time and formulate social/academic interactions. Such interactions occur within the physical context of interior elements such as furniture, color, light, temperature, and space. In fact, surrounding elements may not merely create a pleasant atmosphere; they also facilitate a particular behavior and affect students' performance

and satisfaction (Bitner, 1992). According to Clitheroe, Stokols, & Zmuidzinas (1998); these elements would either be supportive or unsupportive of students'/instructors' performance. For instance, fixed seats may not always enable group discussion if they are fastened to the floor. In contrast, movable seats will be more supportive for interaction in the classroom and, therefore, may increase academic performance (Webber et al., 2000). When the physical surroundings of an environment fulfill the users' needs and support their activities, a synomorphic relationship arises between users and such surroundings (Wicker, 1984). The concept of synomorphy, according to Wicker, represents a "good-fit" between a thing and its container. A well-fit between a physical environment and its users occurs when everyone in such setting is comfortable, as once a classroom environment accomplishes its function by being appropriate both physically and psychologically for the number of students.

Physical and psychological human dimensions are important to bear in mind at this stage in order to address various patterns and needs of the users. In general, when a user is not fully satisfied with a specific environment, physically or psychologically, he/she tends to search for proper conditions (Lang, Burnette, Moleski & Vachon, 1974). As human beings are socially interconnected, they usually tend to search for elements that are supportive of social interaction. Students need to connect with each other in the classroom, both socially and academically. Therefore, it is important to create supportive space layouts to ensure various interaction patterns among users. For example, supportive space layouts with flexible seating arrangements enable different patterns of interaction, connect people with each other, and facilitate collaboration and team-work (Sommer, 1967; Mehrabian & Diamod, 1971). Unsupportive layouts, however, decrease such connection and interaction. Spaces that discourage interaction patterns are considered dull, empty, huge, and meaningless (Sommer, 1967). One example of such a notion is a back-to-back seating arrangement which prohibits team-work and collaborative learning in classroom environments (Osmond, 1959; Douglas & Giffort, 2001). Yet, seating arrangement in design-studio classroom is considered supportive when interaction among students/students and students/instructors is encouraged and collaborative learning is ensured.

Teaching/learning style plays a major role in shaping the classroom space layout. As indicated by Webber et al. (2000), a particular teaching style may require a specific setting. In this case, flexibility in seating arrangement to facilitate teaching methods, learning objectives, and diverse learning abilities will be essential.

Educational institutions ought to consider the importance of learning environments and their impact on the teaching/learning process; they should provide appropriate and supportive physical settings. The way the classroom is designed, according to Herman Miller, Inc., (1994), affects students' inspiration, concentration, behavior, well being, and performance. Well-planned learning environments, in this regard the design-studio classroom, with flexible and comfortable furniture, appropriate lighting and temperature will positively support teaching/learning experience (Douglas & Robert, 2001; Webber et al., 2000).

Students and instructors spend extended periods of their time in classrooms; in fact interior design students and instructors may spend longer time in the design-studio classroom. Students and instructors should, therefore, feel comfortable and satisfied. Demirbas & Demirkan (2000) pointed out that living procedure should be assured in such learning environments especially when students use it in their spare time. Design-studio classroom, they add, should serve as a pedagogical means that provides comfort and enjoyment.

5. Methodology

A survey was developed and distributed to a purposive sample of design and architecture educators. The survey instrument included 13 questions designed to address the three main research questions. Two of the survey questions provided background information about the participants, while the rest of the questions addressed their perceptions regarding studio classroom environments.

Because this study inquire about the perceptions of design and architecture educators who are actively involved with matters pertinent to the teaching of design in Jordan, the researchers decided to use a convenience purposive sample. The sample consisted of the members of the Design and Architecture Association in Jordan and others interested and professionals in the design field.

The survey was sent to 500 participants and was conducted as an online questionnaire emailed to all members via their e-mail addresses. There were 85 participants who didn't participate in the survey because of undelivered messages. Only 94 out of 415 of the participants responded, 86 of the respondents answered all questions. The responses of the remaining eight members were not considered because they missed some of the critical questions.

Survey questions were developed carefully to address the main questions of the study. Firstly, to address the importance of the design-studio workstations, part of the survey questions examined its availability and the number of workstations assigned in each program. Secondly, to address characteristics and features of the design-studio environment, participants were asked to rank the interior environmental features based on the importance. In addition, participants were asked to indicate other interior features that influence the process of teaching/learning interior design. Finally, to examine how design educators use the design-studio in their teaching process, they were asked to indicate their preference of communication strategies to deliver design information. In addition, they were asked to indicate their preference over tools to be used in the design-studio, such as hand drafting and computers.

6. Findings

Findings of the study indicated that 40.7% of the design programs in Jordan already have designated studio workstations. While 55.8% don't have any, 60.5% of them are planning to make designated workstations available in the future and 30% of the participants said that they do not have any plan to do so in the future. The majority of the design programs that have designated studio workstations provide workstations for every student in their program, 3 programs provide it only for graduate students, 5 programs provide it for seniors, and 7 programs provide it for both seniors and juniors (see Table 1).

Table 1. Implementing designated studio workstations in interior design programs in Jordan

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	every student in the program	27	31.4	31.4	31.4
	graduate student only	3	3.5	3.5	34.9
	senior student only	5	5.8	5.8	40.7
	senior and junior	6	7.0	7.0	47.7
	none	45	52.3	52.3	100.0
	Total	86	100.0	100.0	

Numbers of designated studio workstations in design programs vary; the majority of these programs (30.2%) indicated that they have more than 6 workstations, 27.9% provide 1-3 workstations. Only 5 programs provide 4-6 workstations (see Table 2).

Table 2. The availability of designated studio workstations in interior design programs in Jordan

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1-3	24	27.9	43.6	43.6
	4-6	5	5.8	9.1	52.7
	more than 6	26	30.2	47.3	100.0
	Total	55	64.0	100.0	
Missing	System	31	36.0		
Total		86	100.0		

The number of students enrolled in design studio sections also varies; most of the programs (48.8%) have 16-20 design students enrolled for each section; 26.7% of design programs have 10-15 students in each section; 16.3% of programs have 21-25 students in each section, while only 4 programs have large sections, more than 25 students in each (see Table 3).

Table 3. Students' enrollment in interior design programs in Jordan

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	under 10	3	3.5	3.5	3.5

10-15	23	26.7	26.7	30.2
16-20	42	48.8	48.8	79.1
21-25	14	16.3	16.3	95.3
more than 25	4	4.7	4.7	100.0
Total	86	100.0	100.0	

Having a designated design-studio workstation in design programs is very important; the majority of respondents indicated that it is highly desirable to students learning. In addition, 36% of respondents said it is desirable to have designated workstations in design programs. Only 2 respondents believe that it is merely somewhat desirable (Table 4).

Table 4. The importance of designated studio workstations in the interior design programs in Jordan

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	highly desirable	43	50.0	50.0	50.0
	desirable	31	36.0	36.0	86.0
	neutral	10	11.6	11.6	97.7
	somewhat undesirable	2	2.3	2.3	100.0
	Total	86	100.0	100.0	

Teaching design may differ from teaching other areas; it may require specific communication strategies, such as "telling" and "demonstrating". Design educators may prefer a specific communication strategy that he/she considers it as a powerful one. This study indicated that only two educators prefer the telling strategy, while seven instructors prefer demonstrating technique. Clearly, the majority of design instructors who participated in this study prefer both strategies; 75.6% indicated that they use telling and demonstrating in their teaching. 14% of participants prefer other strategies than telling and demonstrating such as investigating, inquiring, drawing, team-projects, guiding, listening, seeing, and confirmation (see Table 5).

Table 5. Preferences among methods of teaching interior design in interior design programs in Jordan

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	telling	2	2.3	2.3	2.3
	demonstrating	7	8.1	8.1	10.5
	both telling and demonstrating	65	75.6	75.6	86.0
	9	12	14.0	14.0	100.0
	Total	86	100.0	100.0	

Interior environmental features vary in promoting design teaching/learning activities; they either promote or inhibit teaching/learning process. The participants were asked to rank the importance of specific interior environmental features (furniture, flexibility of furniture arrangement, color, lighting, and temperature) in the design-studio classroom. Responses indicated that lighting is the most important interior feature of the design-studio environment; 30.2% of the respondents have selected it as "very important". Furniture and flexibility of furniture arrangement were ranked in the level after lighting. 24.4% of respondents selected those two features as the most important. Temperature was selected as "very important" by 16.3% of the participants, while only 7% of the respondents selected the color feature as a very important feature. Lighting in design-studio classroom was the most important feature among other participants of this study. Findings of the study show that 36% of the respondents selected lighting as very important one (see Tables 6).

Table 6. The importance of lighting in design-studio classroom

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Highly Desirable	26	30.2	30.2	30.2
	Desirable	31	36.0	36.0	66.3
	Neutral	17	19.8	19.8	86.0
	Somewhat desirable	7	8.1	8.1	94.2
	Undesirable	5	5.8	5.8	100.0
	Total	86	100.0	100.0	

Furniture was in the second place; 33.7% said that it is very important. Flexibility was in the third place since 20.9% respondents selected it.14% of the respondents was ranked temperature as very important. Color was the less to be selected as very important; only 2.3 believe it is a very important feature of the design-studio classroom.

Ranking such features as "unimportant" was as follows: color was believed to be the unimportant feature of the design-studio classroom; 59.3% of the respondents indicated that. 11.6% are equally ranked both arrangement flexibility and temperature in the second place. While 5.8% ranked lighting to be in the third place, only 2.3% of the respondents believed that furniture is unimportant feature.

The most ranked feature as "somewhat important" one was temperature; selected by 32.6% of the participants. 24.4% believed that color is fairly important, while flexibility was in the third place. Finally, furniture and lighting were believed to be somewhat important by 10.5% and 8.1% of the participants. Tables 7, 8, 9, and 10 illustrate the importance of furniture, arrangement flexibility, temperature, and color in design-studio classroom environment.

Table 7. The importance of furniture in design-studio classroom

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Highly Desirable	21	24.4	24.4	24.4
	Desirable	29	33.7	33.7	58.1
	Neutral	25	29.1	29.1	87.2
	Somewhat desirable	9	10.5	10.5	97.7
	Undesirable	2	2.3	2.3	100.0
	Total	86	100.0	100.0	

Table 8. The importance of arrangement flexibility in design-studio classroom

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Highly Desirable	21	24.4	24.4	24.4
	Desirable	18	20.9	20.9	45.3
	Neutral	19	22.1	22.1	67.4
	Somewhat desirable	18	20.9	20.9	88.4
	Undesirable	10	11.6	11.6	100.0
	Total	86	100.0	100.0	

Table 9. The importance of temperature in design-studio classroom

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Highly Desirable	14	16.3	16.3	16.3
	Desirable	12	14.0	14.0	30.2
	Neutral	22	25.6	25.6	55.8

Somewhat desirable	28	32.6	32.6	88.4
Undesirable	10	11.6	11.6	100.0
Total	86	100.0	100.0	

Table 10. The importance of color in design-studio classroom

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Highly Desirable	6	7.0	7.0	7.0
	Desirable	2	2.3	2.3	9.3
	Neutral	6	7.0	7.0	16.3
	Somewhat desirable	21	24.4	24.4	40.7
	Undesirable	51	59.3	59.3	100.0
	Total	86	100.0	100.0	

Participants were asked to supply other critical features they valued to promote design teaching/learning process. As stated by respondents, these features included integration of digital technology (e.g., computers and relevant software, printers, TV/V, projection, wireless internet communication), audio-visual equipment, good access to workstations, good acoustics and acoustical privacy, smart-boards, whiteboards and display boards, display areas and stimulating art and design works, ample spaces, access to resource library and interior finish materials, connection to other studios like architecture and art, ergonomic seating, personalization of space, music, safety, privacy, water fountains, couches, natural light, storage space for each station, and enabling teamwork and hands-on-activities.

Respondents were also asked to supply features they thought detracting from the environment indicated features that inhibit design teaching/learning process. These are: improper equipment, shortage of workstations, improper room shape and inadequate workspace, lack of storage spaces, layout of workstations which inhibits attention to instructors, bad acoustics, inadequate ambient conditions such as lighting and temperature, lack of control over environmental elements as temperature and light, lack of natural light and nature view, lack of internet access, lack of computers, plotters and printers, lack of proper technology, non-functioning furniture and inflexibility of furniture arrangement, workstations inadequate size, poor sightlines, lack of circulation hierarchy, computer monitors interfering with viewing, noise, high panels, glare, inadequate HVAC, lack of proximity to resource library/samples, lack of privacy, lack of acoustical privacy, lack of space to sit side-by-side with students, lack of space for informal discussion, lack of visual aesthetics, lack of places to keep personal effects, lack of ownership of the environment, unsuitable workstation for both hand drafting and computer, access to space after class hours, and inaccessibility to workstations.

For better teaching/learning outcomes, the design-studio classroom should be designed carefully; an ideal environment that is to be used by design students may include hand drafting and/or computer capabilities and others, as well. This study indicated that 86% of the respondents believe that the ideal design-studio classroom should enable both drafting and computer capabilities.

Only one respondent preferred hand drafting capability solely. 11.6% of the respondents indicated that Workstations should facilitate all modes of design communication such as model building/cutting area, assembling material samples, reading, accessing references, drawing, and CAD.

7. Discussion

The aim of this study was to examine the configuration of the design-studio classroom environment in Jordan in order to design a typical one that is more effective. The researchers believe that findings of the study provide reasonable answers to the main research questions.

(1) How important is to have a designated design-studio workstations in design programs in Jordan?

Regarding the importance of designated design workstations, saliently the designated design workstations are very important to design programs in Jordan. Findings of the study indicated that almost 50% of the design programs already have designated work stations for their students and they will continue to have it in the future. Also, 60% of programs currently not providing such workstations are planning to provide them for their students. This study considers that designated workstations are important part of the teaching/learning process of

interior design. In addition, findings of the study suggest that designated workstations should be provided for all students in all levels; such workstations were believed to be supportive of teaching/learning design.

(2) What are the characteristics and factors of the design-studio classroom environments that are most important for teaching/learning process of design in Jordan?

This study suggests that all interior environmental features assumed by the researchers to influence teaching/learning process, are important to be considered in design-studio classroom. Each feature has different level of impact. It emerges from this study that lighting is the most important feature. It may be true that because the process of learning design dealing with lines, shapes, and colors, require proper lighting. It is assumed by this study that a design-studio classroom requires specific furniture such as drafting table and stools. And thus, such furniture should be useful and comfortable, as well. Drafting tables may accommodate storage spaces and proper space for a computer. Stools also need to be comfortable, adjustable, and movable. Flexibility of arranging furniture in design-studio classroom is essential; student may need to rearrange their tables in different ways to facilitate both self-study and team-project, and assist other levels of interaction as well. Based on the findings of the study, furniture and flexibility of arranging furniture are very important features of the design-studio classroom; it support teaching/learning process. Color of the design-studio classroom is not an important issue based on the findings of this study.

(3) How do design educators use the design-studio classroom environment in their teaching procedures?

Regarding the configuration of design-studio classroom environment, this study suggests that such environment should facilitate various teaching methods. The findings indicate that design educators use both telling and demonstrating teaching methods. This may be true because, in order to learn design process, students need to be taught both basic theory and application foundations and to apply such basics by sketching and so forth. Educators use traditional lecturing to deliver theoretical information and one-to-one teaching to guide students through these processes. In order to accomplish such teaching objectives, the study suggests that design-studio classroom should support different teaching methods and enable various patterns of interaction.

8. Implications

The purpose of the study was to examine the design-studio classroom environment, particularly designated workstations, its importance, its characteristics, its effect on teaching/learning, and its usage among design educators. Workstations should be assigned for all students in design programs and should facilitate learning, not only during class hours, but also in students' spare time as well. Findings suggest that such workstations are very important for the process of teaching/learning design; students will have a suitable place to work on their own projects, while they may not find an alike in their homes. These workstations should be designed carefully in order to be useful and effective for the users, hence, designers need to pay enough attention to what should be incorporated with it for a more supportive learning environment. There should be specific furniture such as drafting tables and stools.

Drafting tables should be proper to have room for computers and computer screens. Furthermore, drafting tables, stools, and storages should be flexible to rearrange. They should be movable, adjustable, and comfortable. In addition, design-studio workstations should accommodate enough storage spaces and pleasant to make it more functional and enjoyable. In addition, as indicated by participants, the design-studio classroom should enable technology tools such as the internet and data show. It should also accommodate other facilities such as TV/VDT, printers and plotters, display areas, resource library, and access to interior finish materials.

Designers, facility managers, and policy makers of such learning environments, should consider interior environmental features that affect design teaching/learning process. Proper lighting sources, for instance, will make such environment more effective. As findings of this study suggest lighting is the most important aspect of the design-studio classroom, designers should consider both quantity and quality of lighting source to be used, in addition to its locations in the interior space.

Also, another interior environmental feature is temperature. It should be considered cautiously when designing classroom environments. This study shows that temperature could affect design teaching/learning process, therefore, design-studio classroom should accommodate both heating and cooling systems. Besides, control over temperature in such environments is essential.

9. Limitations of the Study

Findings will direct researchers' attention to formulate a superior inquiry regarding the design-studio classroom environment. Therefore, a purposeful sample of design educators was thought to be proper at this stage. Findings of this study may not be generalizable enough to all educators of design programs in Jordan. In addition,

important information could be obtained from larger group of educators and from students, designers, facility managers, and policy makers, as well.

Online survey is a very effective method nowadays; distributing the survey is faster and data analysis is more accurate. For uncontrollable reasons, some surveys did not reach selected participants and others could not open it. Participants who answered all questions were only 86; therefore, the researchers believe that more respondents would be more effective and more generalizable for the body of design educators.

10. Conclusion

The impact of physical learning environment is a very important issue; need to be considered cautiously at the beginning stage of the designing process. Not only interior designers, but also educators, facility managers, and stake holders should pay enough attention to what contribute to make such environment more effective and useful. Users of the learning environment should be involved in the designing process; those who are intended to occupy them and whether to suffer or have the benefit of them.

Design-studio classroom environment is a sole environment; designed to facilitate design and architectural education; it is the most usable environment in such disciplines. Design educators and students spend much of their time in the design-studio; both theoretical and practical teaching/learning processes are accommodated in such an environment. Previous studies, (Demirbas & Demirkan, 2000), indicated the importance of having designated design-studio workstations. Findings of this study verify that such workstations are very important to be offered for all levels of design students. Consistent with previous studies (sommer, 1967; Webber et al., 2000; Webber et al., 2000; Douglas & Robert, 2001) on physical classroom environments, findings of this study support that physical environmental features have direct impacts on students and educators satisfaction, hence, they should be considered carefully. Lighting and temperature are very important features of the design-studio classroom interior environment that should take precedence in the design process. Interior features of the design-studio classroom should be carefully handled. Furniture should be suitable, movable, adjustable, and flexible. Storage spaces should be enough and reachable by all design students.

Not only traditional hand drafting methods are implemented in the design-studio classroom; but also the computer usage is increasingly becoming a common tool.   Consequently, an effective environment should be created carefully to facilitate teaching/learning process and to support its users' performance as well. The design-studio classroom should be functional, comfortable, and enjoyable. This study corroborates Demirbas & Demirkan (2000) in their description of the design-studio classroom that should support various teaching/learning methods and pleasant working conditions need to be provided.

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The Mass Media Reportage of Crimes and Terrorists Activities: The Nigerian Experience

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Abstract

The new mass media technologies now make information processing and distribution more accessible to people globally. Marshall Mcluhan's "global village" has given birth to a "global palour". However, perpetrators of crimes now bask on the philosophy of communication media practitioners that people have the right to know what is happening within and outside their environment. This stance is rapidly dismantling, in an amazing fashion, the hitherto accorded respect for media ethics. Neil Postman, a New York media analyst, describes the creator of technology as the list judge of its consequences, especially with regards to the technology of the media. True, every communication medium is potent with the possibility of occasioning other consequences not directly intended by it. This paper, therefore, attempts to bring to the fore the way communication media are inadvertently promoting crimes and terrorist activities globally. It is the stand of this paper that a global overhaul of mass communication media is needed for balance reportage that would bring about global and meaningful developments of human and material resources under an atmosphere of peace and mutual tolerance.

Keywords: Nigeria, mass media, reportage, crimes, terrorism

1. Introduction

The coverage of crime has always been a complex issue for the media and in this era of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) the coverage of terrorist's activities has become an even greater concern. Undoubtedly, the global nature of our new communication technologies has brought about easy and quick access to information. Both peace lovers and perpetrators of evil activities are caught in this inevitable wed of information packaging and dissemination. Adora (2010) commenting on the worrisome nature of terrorism globally has this to say:

> … We live in a world of strife, violence and wars. Despite the untiring effort of individuals, groups, organizations and countries all over the world to promote peaceful co-existence among men and women, our generation is still being threatened by the ravage of terrorism. Indeed, the phenomenon of terrorism today is something that is most disturbing and calls for renewed counter terrorism approaches (p. 103).

Critically, the positive and negative effects of the many messages the mass media send out about crime and terrorism on daily basis to consumers are not often given top priority. What seems to matter to mass media practitioners is to write or broadcast the latest happenings under the philosophy that the people have the right to know what is happening within and outside their environment. Looking at this stance of the media practitioners closely one is provoked to ask these questions. How are the mass media practitioners or gatekeepers sure that what the "global public" wants is given to it in terms of information distribution? How are they sure that their audiences like the way and manner criminal and terrorists activities are enthroned on the media podium of Agenda – Setting theory?   How often do mass media practitioners applaud or celebrate on daily basis promoters of universal peace, and remarkable meaningful developments, especially in the less developed nations of the world?

The main concern of this paper is to highlight how the mass media, especially electronic media, have inadvertently contributed to the escalation of crimes and terrorists activities. Particular reference is on Nigeria in this paper while leaning on global events of terrorism.

2. Theoretical Framework

For a better discussion on the topic of this paper two theories have been chosen. They are: (i) Agenda–Setting and (ii) Uses and Gratifications theories. Their main view points are briefly highlighted because of the limited scope of the paper.

2.1 Agenda – Setting Theory

This theory is credited to two researchers Donald Shaw and Maxwell McCombs in the 1970s who studied people's reactions to election campaigns through the media (1972, p. 176). In this theory "it is assumed that the more attention the media give to a topic, the greater is the importance attributed to it by the news audience" (McQuail, 2010, p.548). This simply put means that if the media give much air-time or space (in a repetitive manner) to an issue or event it is seen by information consumers as very important (Baran, 200, p. 327). This theory is significant in this paper because terrorists and international criminals know the power of the mass media and therefore use them to their advantage by committing destructive activities or crimes which the media have to report. In this respect the media need the terrorists and the terrorists need the media to reach out to the public.

2.2 Uses and Gratifications Theory

In the views of McQuail (2010) the main thrust of this theory is that audience members have certain needs or drives that are satisfied by using varied media sources. And this is a version of "individualist functional theory" and that of "active audience theory" which has been used in the study of media effects on users. The question is not what media do to their scattered audiences but how they (consumers) made use of the media. This theory is appropriate in this study because both terrorists and non – terrorists audiences often seek to satisfy their various needs. The terrorists are pleased to hear or view their destructive activities being aired or relayed by the media. By this their ideologies are also disseminated to the public. Non-terrorist audiences fill that the media have to tell them or inform them of what is happening in their environment. It follows, therefore, that terrorists, criminals and ordinary audience need the media to satisfy their needs, and the effects can be positive and negative (Hoffman, 2007, p. 306).

3. The Concept of Terrorism

The word "terrorism" is subject to many definitions and as such there is no universal agreed meaning. What in some quarters perceive as terrorism may be regarded in other quarters as political or religious freedom fighters who want to be heard and solutions found to their agitations. This paper therefore limits itself to the definition given by the United Nation's (UN) office for Drugs and Crime Prevention. It states in 1992 that terrorism is (Adora 2010, p.103):

> An anxiety – inspiring method of repeted violent action, employed by (Semi) Clandestine individuals, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby – in contrasts to assassination, the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. (International Terrorism/Security |Research 1-3).

Equally, this paper also takes cognizance of the African Union's (AU) conception of terrorism. It defines it (Oyeniyi, 2010) in article 1 (3) as:

> Any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a state party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause serious injury or death to any person, any number or group of persons or causes or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage… (p. 3).

The article goes further to say that the action of the terrorist must be a calculated or intended to:

a. Intimidate, put in fear, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act or to adopt or abandon a particular standpoint or to act according to certain principles; or

b. Disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or to create a public emergency or;

c. Create general insurrection in a state.

Bearing in mind the above definitions one would be right to say that the world is presently riddled with many terrorist activities. There seems to be no day passed without graphic reports of terrorists destructive activities globally. Most countries of the world are daily designing strategies to curb the intrinsic menace of terrorism. Critically, man's inhumanity to man seems to be on the increase as man advances in science and technology. Instruments of our civilization are now being used to destroy the products and resources of our developments. Terrorism which we consider as man's inhumanity to man started many years age or should we say it is as old as mankind (Adora, 2010). Wikipedia Encyclopedia (1 – 10) gave some account of the emergence and activities of terrorism in some countries. With reference to African Continent every country in it has directly or indirectly experienced the activities of terrorists. Oyeniyi (2010) talking about terrorism in African states:

> …terrorism has had a long history in Africa. From the Sherifian dynasty of the Alawites and Filali in Morocco to the Regencies of Algeria, Tunisa and Libya under the effecte Suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey, the Berber-Arab population of North Africa experienced one form of terrorism after another, even before the colonial rule. The French invasion of Algeria in 1830, the establishment of French rule in Morocco in the 1900s and their occupation of Tunisia in 1880 were all characterized by one terrorist acts after another (p. 1).

Oyeniyi equally maintained that countries of East Africa, South Africa, and West and Central Africa have experienced various levels of terrorism (p.1). The attention of the world was drawn to Nigeria when a 23 year old Nigerian Farouk Abdulmuttalab attempted to bomb an airline in the United States of America December 2009. Nigeria was then looked upon as one of the "terrorist nations" by America and some other nations. Though Nigeria's name was later removed from the list of terrorist nations after strong diplomatic meetings, the facts at our hands now with *Boko Haram (Islamic religious sect)* series of bombings have put back Nigeria's name. Both national and international media are now making series of headlines on *Boko Haram's* terrorist activities (Ibrahim, 2011, pp.14-20).

3.1 Public Right to Information Principle

The mass media are regarded as the "Fourth Estate of the Realm". It goes to show the important place the press or the mass media occupy in the world affairs. It is the basic duty of the media to inform, educate and entertain the public. Under these basic functions media practitioners now strongly believe that the people have the right to know what is happening around them. This principle has opened the gates to all sorts of information distribution to the public not minding their negative effects on the public. The new information technologies now enable media practitioners (journalists) relay events from any part of the globe as they are unfolding. The raw nature of the events, including terrorist activities, is sent down to many homes. Live broadcast is now the hallmark of television industry solidly aided by new mass media technologies. The 9/11 terrorists attack in United State, the recent killing of Osama Bin Laden by US special force and the *Boko Haram* bombing of Police Headquarters in Abuja, Nigeria on 16 June, 2011 are just few examples. The negative effects violent events have on television viewers no longer mean anything to media practitioners. Media ethics seem not to matter anymore, but sensationalism does fueled by the competitive nature of media houses today.

Commenting on media ethics Mc Quail (2010) says:

> … media can and should be held to account for the quality, means and consequences of their publishing activities to society in general and/or to other interests that may be affected. This brings accountability into potential conflict with freedom (p.562).

Surely, the media have to perform their surveillance duty by giving us information we need to live, and warn us about dangers to our state of living. They (media) are supposed to be the watch-dogs of the society (Hoffmann, 2007). However, the media's dysfunction with regards to crime and terrorism make people think that the world is unsafe to live in. This is because most people believe that what the media present to them is absolute truth. The pictures about events in the world presented by mass media are therefore seen as authentic. Because of the powerful nature of new media of information many political leaders lean heavily on them afraid to control their excesses. Such leaders and media products consumer now comfortably hide under the spiral of silence theory (Noelle-Neumann, 1984). These must not be allowed to continue. Something positive has to be done. The mass media practitioners should not in the name of democracy and freedom of the press throw media ethics to the dust bin. Coverage of crimes and terrorists activities needs high level of decency and discipline.

3.2 Terrorism and Sensationalism

Terrorists have varied ideologies which they want to implement. These ideologies could be political, religious, ethnic and so on. But one thing that is common to them is sensationalism. They want as many people as possible

to know about their existence and their ideologies. To this end they carry out massive havoc that would attract media attention, or send out continuous threats to the public through the media. The reportage of such terrorists events or strategies would inevitably cause some panic among the immediate target audience and fear in the minds of those far away. The point we are projecting here is vividly captured in these words of Boaz (2000):

> Terrorists are not necessarily interested in the deaths of three, or thirty – or even of three thousand – people. Rather, they allow the imagination of the target population to do their work for them. In fact, it is conceivable that the terrorists could attain their aims without carrying out a single attack; the desired panic could be produced by the continuous broadcast of threats and declarations – by radio and TV interviews, videos and all the familiar methods of psychological warfare (http://www.terror.gen.tr/English/USA articles. pp. 1-17).

The faceless "leaders" of *Boko Haram* recently sent messages to some media houses in Nigeria listing the names of highly placed personalities that they would kill. The broadcast of such names has sent some fears in the minds of those concerned and the general public. The questions that come to one's mind are: Why broadcast such names? Are the Nigerian media not indirectly promoting the activities of this terrorists group? We subscribe to the views of Nacos (2000) that:

> With massive news coverage the terrorist act would resemble the proverbial tree falling in the forest: if no one learned of an incident, it would be as if it had not occurred (p.175).

The kidnapping situation in Nigeria has become a worrisome issue because of the way the criminal gangs are using the media to put fears in the minds of the public. Media coverage of their various kidnapping episodes give the desired sensational posture. Through the mass media the kidnappers know the efforts the law enforcement agents are making to smoke them out from their hideouts. No doubt, such information would make the criminals to redesign their strategies and locations – thereby putting victims in precarious situation which sometimes can lead to their death or serious harm.

3.3 Terrorists and Media Relationship

The relationship between the media and terrorists has been very cordial in this era of globalization being propelled by new media of communication. As we alluded to earlier terrorists are very much aware of the tremendous strength of the media. They (terrorists) are conscious of the formidable amplification that media reportage adds to any event or issue – relatively small scale violence witnessed by many can have effects greater than large scale violence witnessed only by few. Indeed, many terrorist activities provide mass media practitioners with the dramatic features of a news- worthy story. The terrorists acts, one would say, are nothing publicity is all. In the views of Schmid and de Graat (1982) the media are not simply gatekeepers, neutral or complicit with either state or terrorists, but rather are active agents in the process of the construction of information. The symbolic relationship between the mass media and terrorists is greater in the developed countries than in the less developed ones.

Furthermore, it is quite interesting to know that many outputs of media coverage of terrorism seem suggestive. Terrorists activities are often labeled in a positive manner; while terrorism actors are "terrorists", "saboteurs," and "murderer", in the victim country, they may be "freedom fighter", "liberation movement members", "separatists", or "nationalists" in the foreign media. Locker (2003, p. 2) gave some examples of Terrorist and Counter-Terrorist labels and nomenclature for the same things:

Table 1. Terrorist and counter-terrorist labels and nomenclature for the same things

1	Criminal - Revolutionary	9	Threat - Warning
2	Terrorist - Guerrilla	10	Aggression - Preventive Counter Strike
3	Murderer - Freedom fighter	11	Assassin - Avenger
4	Gang - Army	12	Propaganda - Communiqué
5	Subversive element - Liberator	13	Extremist Fanatic - Dedicated Anti- Imperialist
6	Blood Bath - Purge	14	Attacks - Operation
7	Lunatic - Martyr	15	Hired Killer - Example of Revolutionary
8	Mercenary - Soldier	16	Murder - Revolutionary Justice.

In this respect, terrorists do benefit from what Merton (1949) calls "status conferral function". His view is that:

> The audience of mass media apparently subscribe to the circular belief that if you really matter, you will be at the focus of mass attention and if you are at the focus then surely you are really matter (pp. 95-118).

Most terrorists worldwide today value modern media of communication very highly because through them their ideologies and the results of their deadly attacks are communicated to the public locally and internationally. These make the terrorists popular and feared. And the media are happy to relay terrorists events to the public, because they consider them newsworthy. BBC, CNN, Al Jazeera, Press TV, NTAI , Channels and many other media organizations (including print) on daily basis write and broadcast terrorists activities. Prime time and Front headlines are often given to crimes and terrorists events under Agenda – Setting platform. Is a false world not being created by our mass media in this era of globalization by overloading the public with crimes and terrorists activities? This question is answered in part by the work of George Gerbner on TV portrayal of violent programmes (Hanson, 2005):

- Violent programming pushes aside other ways of portraying conflict.
- Violent programming deprives viewers of other choices.
- Violent programming facilitates the victim mentality.
- Violent programming discourages production of alternative programming (p.260).

We tend to agree with the above stated points summarized from George Gerbner's research work. We think that the media should not write or broadcast detailed aspects of terrorists and criminal activities, especially the ones that would lead to psychological problems for viewers. The media we believe can exist without terrorism. That is to say that the media do not need terrorists to carry out their duty of information dissemination. But the terrorists would not exist in the minds of many if the media do not give them coverage. Presently terrorists are having a "good-day" because of the undue publicity given to them. Most terrorists often play on the psychology of media practitioners by carefully planning attacks that would compare them to cover and disseminate globally. Nacos (2000) is worth quoting here when he observed that:

> Since the most gruesome and deadly incidents receive the greatest volume of reporting, media critics have charged that terrorists resort to progressively bloodier violence to satisfy the media's appetite for shocking news (p. 176).

In the bid for media to look for newsworthy stories they "should be mindful of their ethical codes". This seems to be what the silent majority of media consumers tend to be saying. The high rate of competition among modern media also gives legitimacy to terrorists acts. In order to get a wider audience and advertisement high rate most media today directly and indirectly fan the embers of terrorism, and thereby jeopardizing law enforcement agents, and stakeholders plans to combat terrorism from various angles. In fact, sometimes some journalists and broadcasters disseminate vital information from governments, and security agents on how, where and when to deal with particular terrorist groups. When such information gets to the terrorists they re-plan their strategies and cause more havoc on people and property. The recent *Boko Haram* Islamic sect suicide attack on Police Headquarters in Abuja on June 11, 2011 is an example. Some of the Nigerian media reported on many occasions how the Inspector General of Police (IGP) said he was prepared to deal rootlessly with *Boko Haram* group. The group (*Boko Haram*) carried out the suicide bomb attack to show the Inspector General of Police (IGP) that his security strategies were porous. He was not on "top of the situation" as he often claimed to be (Abu 2011, p.7). The most recent of the attack of the Boko Haram sect is the bombing of the UN house in Abuja, Nigeria on the 28th of August, 2011.

Ockrent's (2006, p.75) comments firmly capture our argument presented above. He notes that:

> All the news networks are very competitive, and their treatment of news is more and more like that of tabloids. (…) Moreover, speed is of the essence. We are no longer bewildered to see an event on the screen before we know what has actually happened. The development of headlines news helps terrorism have an immediate impact upon a vast number of people.

The mass media no doubt have a larger public than terrorists. The media cannot exist without the said public that looks onto them for proper information dissemination that would lead to national security and meaningful developments. It is a pity that the wide coverage given to terrorists events by the media is not given to peace-builders, conflict resolution bodies and developmental feats in less developed countries.

3.4 National Development and Security

Human beings are highly endowed with the capability for development. Each decade gives birth to new developments so as to make the world a peaceful and enjoyable place for all. Sad enough, human beings themselves occasionally bring about massive destructions of what it took many years to build. By this act of barbarism mankind tends to slow down the wheel of progress. Indeed, "globalization in its many forms is as a result of mankind's efforts to develop the world positively, and conquer nature's multiple challenges" (Iyere 2006, p. 380).

No nation worth its salt can execute meaningful projects in an atmosphere devoid of peace. Peace and security of lives bring about developments. Any nation whose national security is poor would always be greeted with volumes of conflicts that would divert the government's attention from carrying out developmental policies and their execution. Many countries today are faced with criminal and terrorists activities leading to heavy human casualties and destruction of natural resources. Many people would not like to invest or do business with a country noted for terrorists attacks or conflicts. For example one would not like to carry out reasonable business or go on vacation to places like Iraq, Yemen, Morocco, Dubai, Tunisia, Libya, Afghanistan, Syria, Guinea, Norway and so on to list just a few. The reason being that these places are riddled with crises leading to killings and massive destruction of natural resources. The governments of such places have no time to devote their energy for constructive developments that would lift the living standard of the people. With particular reference to Nigeria, the Niger-Delta crisis seriously affected the economy of the nation. Most of the oil wells or industries did not function as expected and as such Nigeria could not export enough crude oil which we greatly depend on. However, with the introduction of amnesty for the militant groups peace has returned to the area, and export rate of the crude oil is now high. Furthermore, the *Boko Haram* group, based in Borno State, is causing havoc almost on daily basis in the nation's capital Abuja and many parts of the States in the north (Ibrahim, 2011). Meaningful developments in such areas are put on hold. Attention is now diverted to finding solutions to the *Boko Haram* saga. The national security is really at stake with this terrorists group that hates western education. Commenting on *Boko Haram* the former President Olusegun Obasanjo (2011) states:

> The nation requires adequate information on the activities of the *Boko Haram* sect, the motive behind their actions, and their sponsors before the problem could be effectively tackled. We must not take this for granted as the lives of majority of Nigerians are on the risk (p.5).

The views of Obasanjo and others should be taken seriously by the Federal Government, because if adequate measures are not formulated foreign investors would not do business with Nigeria. Surely, we need foreign investors in our States and National developments. A peaceful atmosphere needs to be created for developments to take place. Because of corruption rooted in our national fabric money meant for security are not properly utilized. As a result criminals are having the needed liberty to operate in most parts of our country today. Political thugs, kidnappers, and armed robbers have planted themselves firmly on Nigerian soil. The more the Nigerian media report their activities the more they perpetrate their evil acts. Condemning these evil acts on the pages of news papers and on television is not enough – pragmatic steps have to be taken to reduce the menace to low ebb.

4. Conclusion

In this paper we have looked at the global phenomenon of terrorism and the inadvertent role of the mass media in its promotion thereby jeopardizing national security. It is our stand that the media can exist without undue coverage of terrorists devastating activities. But without the mass media's coverage terrorism would not exist in the minds of many people as it is today under the canopy of "Agenda-Setting and Framing". We thus advocate that less coverage should be given to terrorists inhuman activities which often make people think that the world is no longer safe to live in. Media coverage, among other things, should focus more on developmental feats, peace makers, and conflict-peace resolution bodies. We firmly believe that no meaningful developments can see the light of day in a society devoid of transparency, unity, equity, love and human dignity.

5. Recommendations

We present here some recommendations based on our above discussion.

- Media practitioners should constantly bear in mind their professional ethics under the umbrella of media code of conduct. This would help check-mate unnecessary coverage of criminal and terrorists activities.

- As watch-dogs (the Fourth Estate of the realm) of the society mass media practitioners should promote transparent democratic governance and bring to the public view of political and religious leaders who fan the embers of criminal and terrorist destructive activities.

- Well trained journalists on crime coverage should be the ones allowed to do so. Such journalists by their training would know what are ethically and psychologically proper to disseminate to the public.

- Journalists should as a matter of national security not write or broadcast unguided utterances of security agents with regards to logistical plans to root out criminals and terrorists from our civilized society. The Wiki- leak's publication of secret documents of some governments some time ago has generated bad blood among many countries in the world. The publication really put national security at risk and seriously affected international relations.

- Our media practitioners as a matter of agenda-setting should promote the basic doctrines of love, peace, universal brotherhood, freedom, justice, human rights, patience, tolerance, equity and non-violence. Where all these are enthroned national security and the development of human and material resources would be the order of the day.

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The Explanatory Comparison of Religious Policies in Central Governments of Safavid and Qajar Dynasties (1521.1925-AD)

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Abstract

The attempt is made in this article to analyze and compare the religious policies of the two Safavid and Qajar dynasties' governments with respect to Sunnite sect. In these eras the related policies differed although the official religion of both regimes was Shiism: The Safavid central government's confronting policies against Sunnite, the Sunnite elites' long-term appointments to high state ranks by Qajar Kings and these policies were more consistent in Qajar than Safavid era. Here the approaches of both the dynasties are categorized in four parameters: confronting, excommunication, discrimination and moderation. In Safavid era the first three parameters were more apparent while the fourth parameter is more evident in Qajar era.

Keywords: Sunnite, central government, Safavid, Qajar

1. Introduction

Here the attempt is made to compare the Safavid and Qajar dynasties' religious policies regarding Sunnite sect. The main question here is addressed as: During the ruling of Safavid and Qajar dynasties what was their central governments' attitude towards the Sunnite sect?

The hypothesis here emphasizes on the fact that both dynasties accepted the Shiism as being an official sect of the state while adopting different approaches and methods towards Sunnism. These differences revolve on the following three axis: during Safavid ruling the tendency of government is more confronting in principle and practice towards the Sunnite sect while in Qajar era the central government restrains its conduct regarding religious confrontations; during Qajar ruling the Sunnite sect elite occupied high long-term official possissions in the court and the proportionate religion policy sustainability in Qajar era compared to Safavid is distinctive.

In Safavid era the presence of Sunnitee officials in the central government is two-fold: first, the era before Shah Abbas era when Kurdish Sunnite officials presence in the central government is evident and their number reaches its peak during the short-lived Shah Ismail the second's ruling; the second covers the beginning of Shah-Abbas the first's era to the end of Safavid era where the Sunnite officials presence was low in the government.

During the Qajar era that had the experiences of, Afshar and Zand dynasties specially Nadir Shah Afshar's religious revisionist policies, the persistence on Shiites slogans was evident while the sensitivity towards Sonnies was not as tense as Safavid era and less concern is directed towards Sonnies elite presence in the government. In this respect the proportional sustainability of Qajar era can be considered as an outstanding trait.

Another obvious difference in Qajar and Safavid was the reformist approach of the Qajar governance towards Safavid methods in their interaction with the Sunnitees. In Qajar era the harsh interaction among the authorities was not outstanding in some Shiite ceremonial events disregarding the Sunnite faith is not promoted by the government but measures were adopted to restrict any insult towards Sunnite sect. Despite all these the bitter look towards the Sunnites, something inherited from Safavid era, is evident among the mass of the people.

Unlike Safavid in Qajar era, a Sunnite government official could openly reveal his religion, even at the highest levels; Aziz Khan Mukri is a sample, a Kurdish official who kept office for a long time.

2. Approaches

The stablishment of Safavid dynasty and the legitimacy of Shiite sect coincided. At this point the Shiite faith is not spread enough to cover the whole country and the ruling dynasty faced problems in promoting Shiite even having human resources, management, and clergies etc. at its disposal.

The political conditions of the region consisted of two Sunnite, the Ottoman Empire in the west and Uzbeks in the east, in a sense exposing the Shiite Safavid to a risk.

The Sunnite issue, regarding the formation of Qajar dynasty is different from that of Safavid. On one hand, Qajar accepted Shiite and on the other hand, the changes and reforms on religion by Nadir Shah Afshar who emphasized on fine tuning of some religious policies of Safavid era. The majority of the population had a tendency towards Shiism. In addition, the regional and global political condition had changed a lot and presence of powers like Russia, Brittain and France in the region and the proportional loss of Ottoman power, the greatest Sunnite State, paved the way for political and military correspondence.

It seems natural that the government approaches in this era was pregnant with differences; the historical evidences would be presented and discussed as we progress.

2.1 The Confronting Approach

The approach adopted by Safavid Kings against the Sunnites was confronting. The historical facts and records (NavidShirazi, 1991: p 42. Qomi,1985,vol.1: p 113) reflect this approach, which was intensified during Shah Ismail the second's ruling period and after Shah Abbas the first it lost intensity to a degree. The Safavid had accepted Shiite as the national official religion and the rulers adopted the promotion of this sect by force and confrontation policies against Sunnites; moreover, at the beginning of their ruling the Safavid Kings tried to convert Sunnites to Shiite. One of the outstanding religious conflicts was the Sarakhs war between Abbas Mirza and some Sunnite Turkaman tribes where Abbas Mirza won. (Hidayat, 2002, vol.9: p 1989)

Regarding Afghanistan the religious differences are more evident. In this region the confrontation between the central government of Iran with the people of Ghandehar (Itizad al-saltaneh, 1992: p 471) and the confrontation during concurrence of Herat by Muhammad Shah Qajar's (Jahangir Mirza, 2006: p 257) showed high caliber confrontation of the Sunnite population of both cities against Qajar forces and exhibit the intensity of religious policies implementation. The Qajar era is significantly different in this respect.

2.2 The Excommunication Approach

This approach was apparent to the state authorities and was focused on in internal and external dimensions of Safavid governance. In this respect the Shiite and Sunnite sects considered themselves as the righteous and the other the null and void. In all the official correspondence between Iran and Ottoman Empire and Uzbak Kings this issue is highlighted. The neighboring Sunnite states considered the Safavid regime as a evidence of blasphemy and raging a war against the Safavid would be called a "Jihad against the opposers of religion" (Navaei, 1972: p 314).

An anti-Sunnism idea was prevalent in Safavid court in the same period. According to Shiism any sect outside the Shiite realm was considered non-Muslim and to them Sunnite believe was "the legions of null and void" (Husayni, 2001: p 179).

This conflict reaches its peak in some segments of Shah Tahmasb and Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda's ruling according to mutual communiqué between Iran and Ottoman (Navaei, 1972: p 37). According to Safavid all sects other than Shiite are outride Islam framework to a degree that the city of Istanbul was called the city of "null and void" by Shiites. (Navaei, 1972: p 234)

In the Qajar era the samples of excommunication approach are rare and ignorable (Hidayat, 2002, vol.9: p 7763) so not many documents are found.

2.3 The Discrimination Approach

In parallel to the elimination policy, Safavid governance practiced discrimination in order to influence the decision making process regarding religious sects' faith. This attitude was evident through advantages provided to Shiites like discount in taxes, facilitating official needs etc. (Sadeqi, 1948: p 292), providing preferred educational and recreational facilities to Shiite neighborhoods, something that was nonexistence for the Sunnite(Turkman,1960, vol.1: p 123). A distinct evidence in this respect is one of Shah Abbas the first's decree on attesting the property endowment where in the document the following expression is expressed for three times "receivers of these properties must be of orthodox Shiite sect"(Shamloo,1993,vol.1: p 190). Conversion to

Shiite was a measure taken by some Sunnite provisional governors where they would become subject to discounts on taxes and judicial convictions. (Turkman, 1960, vol.2: p 470,502).

2.4 Moderation Approach

Some elements of moderation that were less hardline approach in Safavid era can be observed that were interpreted specified with as an acceptance approach: i.e both Shiites and Sunnites are Muslim and religious policies should be adopted as being common in both sectarian beliefs (Navai, 1975, vol.2: p 206). Here the forces of the both sectors, at least in theory can fight against, nonbelievers and follow Jihad for God. Purity and single orientation replaced hate to a point that a high ranking Sunnite official in Safavid court wished to serve in Ottomans Army against non believers and with the "victory to Islam Army and down with the null and void army" prayer he went to Mashhad and every one in Iran prayed for the Sunnite warrior to concur the enemy (Navaei, 1988, vol.3: p 215).

Tahmasb the first rejected entering war with Ottoman Empire and justified this action emphasizing that Muslims sectors should not engage them in war and it is not a Godly act. This response is another fact supporting the "purity and single orientation" concept (Husayni, 2001: p 121).

This concept is reflected and highlighted in the mutual religious differences treaties where repudiation of either of the sects is strictly disallowed. Sultan Murad the third, applied for a conditional peace based on restriction of cursing prophet's companions and Caliph's and abolition of repudiation and Safavid court takes advantage of deductive reasoning rather than anathematizing.(Navai,1975,vol.2: p 105 , 109)

It is possible that the Safavid King influenced by some political issues, in certain stages had recognized he should kind of ignore the sectarian conflicts and focus on axial concepts of Islam that would unify Ottoman Empire and Iran under Islam realm.

It seems that in Sfavied Governance the relations with Sunnite states the principle approach was based on anathematizing and confrontation and the accord was only in certain areas on conditional bases.

In Qajar era the moderation approach was more prevalent. The King himself established casual relation with the Sunnite's elite families and respected them. He also took a Kurdish Sunnite Sheikh's daughter as his wife. Abass Mirza Molkara is one of the King's sons from this wife. Muhamad Shah was influenced by this wife and respected the Sunnite Sheikhes and gave them annual presents (Mulkara, 1977: p 17).

It is recorded that the King, on his trip to Khurasan paid homage to Sheikh Ahmad Jam Jendepil's tomb (Hidayat, 2002, vol.10: p 8211). In this era some behavioral modifications were observed and a reduction in conflict is noticed. Due to agreement with Ottoman state the Iranian Shiites gained more freedom outside Iran. According to Itimad al-saltaneh any state ran through religious hardliners is ran by ignorant; therefore, the state is trying to correct such approaches since religious fanaticism has negative effect on Islam in general. He also has pointed out that Nasir ud-Din Shah ordered the hardliner religious leaders to control the publications and prevent any statement that would be considered offensive to Sunnism (Itimad al-saltaneh,1985,vol.1: p 177); Hidayat has pointed to the same issue and the negative consequences there for Islam, if not controlled or prevented. (Hidayat, 2002, vol.10: p 8740)

These are the samples of the critical behaviors' comparisons between Safavid and Qajar eras at least at the elite level and a calmer period is sensed under Qajar era. In Safavid era anti-Sunnite movements were promoted by the state while in Qajar era the movement was demoted. Of course, outside the elite circle at the lower stratum the conflict flame was not extinguished among ordinary believers. According to (Wills, 1988: p 281) a foreign observer, there existed some religious ceremonies organized by Shiites that offended the Sunnites.

3. Sunnite Appointed Officials in the Government

This phenomenon is Safavid era consists of two periods.

3.1 The First Period, from Beginning of Safavid Era to Shah Abbas the First

Here Sunnite elite officials in the central government is observed with posts like governor of Gilan, Sharaf-Khan Bedlisi during Shah Tahmasb's ruling (Qomi, 1985, vol.1: p 477). During the short period of Shah Ismail the second this trend almost reached its peak, where Mirza Makhdum, the sage, was appointed to premiership (Turkman, 1960, vol.1: p 148) and Sharaf Khan Bedlisi in the same period was promoted to the state trustee (Bedlisi, 1995 : p 581).

It appears that the presence of Sunnite elite at some levels of Safavid era during Shah Tahmasb the first was influential (Qazvini, 1999: p 81). Here it should be mentioned that in the daily court life the seat setting was such

that the Sunnite elite had to be placed at the end of the table that indicate of lower ranking. (Falsafi,1993 ,vol.3: p p1260)

The ambiguity exists that whether the rulers by knowing the appointees being of Sunnite sect still agreed with their position in the system or not and what indicated the glass ceiling in the Sunnite elite's promotion? Could it be assumed that in general the Sunnites.

At the beginning of Safavid era and official recognition of Shiism by the state, it was not spread all over the country and the state did not have enough missionaries and skilled politicians in order to free itself from Sunnite elite; therefore it had to cope with the Sunnite statesmen. This was particular to the Shah Ismail the first and Shah Tahmasb eras and as mentioned above the Sunnite elite presence cannot be related to the requirements of the Safavid regime.

Three concepts are addressed towards religious tendency and practicality regarding Shah Ismail the second: First his tutor was of Sunnite sect (Navai, 1974: p 137) and he wanted to promote Sunnism although he pretended to be a Shiite (Falsafi, 1993, vol.2: p 49). Second, his twenty years imprisonment had a negative effect on his emotions and he wanted to convert to Sunnism (Hinz, 1993: p 113). Third, he had a tendency towards religions in general and the extreme behaviors towards Sunnism by the government did not fit his believes and political format. Due to this fact he is called "the first and the last liberal King of Safavied era regarding religion" and this in a sense promoted dissatisfaction about himself from different influential levels in government such as Qizilbash and Shiite elite (Parsadoust, 2003: p 159).

Promoting some of the competent elite who were in seclusion due to their being of Sunnite sect and demotion and dismissal of some Shiite elite that caused their migration are the concrete evidence of what he did with respect to religion.

3.2 The Second Period, after Shah Abbas the First to the End of Safavied Era

In this period the attempt is made to replace the Sunnite governors with Shiite and reduce the number of Sunnite elite in the top ranks of the government. He did allow Ahmad Khan Ardalan to marry his sister with the condition to promote him the governor of Kurdistan. Halukhan, Ahmad khan Ardalan's father who governed Kurdistan was a Sunnite became worried of the decision made by the king, by reasoning that the Shiism could be promoted through his son in Kurdistan (Babani, 1999: p 44).

  Another fact among many is that the Kurdish Donboli tribe who resided in Khuy since Shah Tahmasb's ruling era converted to Shiism in Shah Abbas the first's era (Riahi, 1994: p 130).

Some researchers are of the opinion that the religious policy of Safavid dynasty regarding provincial governments was based on converting the Sunnite local governors to Shiite whether by will or force (Born, 1997: p 143). Of course this approach could be mostly assigned to Shah Abbas the first's era since a significant difference was noticed in his character, political power and planning and executive skills in that of the same among the Kings that followed him.

After his era the presence of Sunnite elite at the government top ranks was very low. Only during Shah Sultan Husayn in 1715-AD, one Sunnite elite named Fath Ali Khan Dagestani occupied a ministers' position (Husaynikhatunabadi, 1974: p 569). His skills and strategies are verified by the historians (Marashi, 1984: p 30), but the fact that he was Sunnite provoked the courtiers and the King's attitude against him to a point that he was stripped off his duties and punished by being accused of planning espionage against the Shah, a false accusation (Marashi, 1984: p 49). His presence in Safavid court was sincere with no propaganda on Sunnite sect. His abilities and knowledge in management was high, something that his friends and enemies admit and this honesty led to competition and jealousy in the court against him. This is another indication that as Safavid era approached its end, the system became more sensitive towards the Sunnite political elite to a degree that even carrying Sunnite label meant dismissal from the court.

In Qajar era more Sunnites were appointed to different offices at state and provincial level. Due to lack of proper knowledge about the appointee, sometimes the Sunnite official in charge would cause serious problems for the system. In 1841-AD, Haji Khan Shaki a very prejudice Sunnite statesman was appointed to govern Khuzistan province. He entered a conflict with the Shiite residents and this led to a battle that many were killed and many fled to Ottoman (Itizad al-saltaneh, 1992: p 529). On the other hand there was Aziz Khan Mukri who past his life in Qajar court occupying different posts like provincial leader, minister of war and minister of foreign affairs. He carried his Sunnite faith and everyone knew that. In general during Qajar ruling the strong prejudice views against domestic Sunnites and Sunnite states neighboring Iran had diminished, of course scattered conflicts among the population was inevitable. In a sense the central government was trying to prevent any conflict in this

regard. Back then about seven percent of the population in Iran were of Sunnite faith who lived in strategic regions-west, North-West, south and east of Iran (pulak, 1983: p 240), although proportionally more Sunnite statesmen were occupied in the state.

4. Managing Sunnite Populated Regions and the Expansion of Sunnites' Protests

The haphazard policies adopted for Sunnite regions management at the end of Safavid era is a negative point to a degree that the appointee's strict behavior with other religious minorities such as Shafeiis (Qazi,2001: p 38) would end up in domestic tribal uprising and migration (Savery,1997: p 69). Records show that the Kurd elite had asked the state to send Kurd governors of Ardalan tribe because in Kurdistan this tribe was a majority (Qazi, 2001: p 39). A similar conflict was recorded in the same period with the same conditions in Qandahar region. This sensitive bounder region was assigned to Gorgin Khan a man with not so good background in governing (Nasiri, 1995: p 273). His appointment was a failure because he not only did not control the potential regional conflicts but discouraged the enthusiasm of fighting the Qizilbash army and contributed to that army's collapse according to the discerning historian's records. Consequently, the Sunnite Afghans' hatred towards Qizilbash stirred up and the central government became so confused that when Mirveis issued a complaint, it was not only dealt with justice but caused his imprisonment and death treat since the policy makers imprudently emphasized on his exit from the system (Marashi, 1984: p 3 & 15).

Mirveis eventually set up to Hejaz. There he reported the Sunnite Afghans' condition to the Sunnite elite complaining that non-Arab Kings are the enemies of the companions of Prophet and are heretics, he also complained about the endless encroaching and the cursing the triad companions of the Prophet. Here he was able to obtain the religious decree on holy war and the lawfulness of taking spoils and shading blood of the heretics (krosinsky, 1985: p 23) along with the necessary religious legitimacy measures in the future (Savory, 1997: p 243).

At the end of Safavid era the religious conflicts reached their climax among which the Shirwan confrontations where numerous Sunnite and Shiite believers were killed (Leckhart, 1990: p 148), the four year crisis in Baluch region and Turkamans uprising in Estarabad (Nasiri, 1995: p 205 & 243), and the slavery of thousands of Shiite of both genders by the Uzbaks (Marashi, 1984: p 23) are the outstanding ones. kandahar conflict tops these all, and it can be a warning singe in shaping up of political, social turmoil based on religion tone.

5. Conclusion

From the historical indications presented in this study it could be deduced that in both the Safavid and Qajar eras although the legitimacy of the governance was based on Shiite sects teachings and had to be promoted and expanded by both the dynasties, the differences in implementing the promotion plans regarding the constraints towards Sunnites is obviously observable at the state level.

In Safavid era the general approach regarding conversion of Sunnites to Shiite was of confrontation except the short leaved ruling period of Shah Ismail the second.

In Qajar era the religious policies was more stable regarding Sunnites and the general approach was of moderation.

Comparing these two eras shows that the harsh restrictions imposed by Safavid on Sunnites are diminished in Qajar era and Sunnite elite occupies important posts in the government, ever though they admitted on their being Sunnites, unlike Safavid era.

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