 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

European Scientific Journal, *ESJ*

March 2023

European Scientific Institute, ESI

The content is peer reviewed

ESJ Humanities

March 2023 edition vol. 19, No. 8

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ISSN: 1857-7431 (Online)
ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print)

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

Generativity is a Core Value of the ESJ: A Decade of Growth

Erik Erikson (1902-1994) was one of the great psychologists of the 20th century[1]. He explored the nature of personal human identity. Originally named Erik Homberger after his adoptive father, Dr. Theodore Homberger, he re-imagined his identity and re-named himself Erik Erikson (literally Erik son of Erik). Ironically, he rejected his adoptive father's wish to become a physician, never obtained a college degree, pursued independent studies under Anna Freud, and then taught at Harvard Medical School after emigrating from Germany to the United States. Erickson visualized human psychosocial development as eight successive life-cycle challenges. Each challenge was framed as a struggle between two outcomes, one desirable and one undesirable. The first two early development challenges were 'trust' versus 'mistrust' followed by 'autonomy' versus 'shame.' Importantly, he held that we face the challenge of **generativity** versus **stagnation in middle life**. This challenge concerns the desire to give back to society and leave a mark on the world. It is about the transition from acquiring and accumulating to providing and mentoring.

Founded in 2010, the European Scientific Journal is just reaching young adulthood. Nonetheless, **generativity** is one of our core values. As a Journal, we reject stagnation and continue to evolve to meet the needs of our contributors, our reviewers, and the academic community. We seek to innovate to meet the challenges of open-access academic publishing. For us,

[1] Hopkins, J. R. (1995). Erik Homburger Erikson (1902–1994). *American Psychologist*, 50(9), 796-797. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.50.9.796

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

generativity has a special meaning. We acknowledge an obligation to give back to the academic community, which has supported us over the past decade and made our initial growth possible. As part of our commitment to generativity, we are re-doubling our efforts in several key areas. First, we are committed to keeping our article processing fees as low as possible to make the ESJ affordable to scholars from all countries. Second, we remain committed to fair and agile peer review and are making further changes to shorten the time between submission and publication of worthy contributions. Third, we are looking actively at ways to eliminate the article processing charges for scholars coming from low GDP countries through a system of subsidies. Fourth, we are examining ways to create and strengthen partnerships with various academic institutions that will mutually benefit those institutions and the ESJ. Finally, through our commitment to publishing excellence, we reaffirm our membership in an open-access academic publishing community that actively contributes to the vitality of scholarship worldwide.

Sincerely,

Daniel B. Hier, MD

European Scientific Journal (ESJ) Natural/Life/Medical Sciences

Editor in Chief

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March 2023 edition Vol.19, No.8
ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

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Aux Sources de la Pollution Urbaine : Le Contexte des Villes Européennes au Second Moyen Âge

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Doi:10.19044/esj.2023.v19n8p1

Submitted: 31 January 2023
Accepted: 08 March 2023
Published: 31 March 2023

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Cite As:
Paché G.(2023). *Aux Sources de la Pollution Urbaine : Le Contexte des Villes Européennes au Second Moyen Âge*. European Scientific Journal, ESJ, 19 (8), 1.
https://doi.org/10.19044/esj.2023.v19n8p1

Résumé

La question environnementale occupe une place de plus en plus importante dans les débats sociétaux, tout particulièrement en Europe. La place d'une ville durable y est désormais significative, en soulignant combien la pollution des espaces urbains dégrade la qualité de vie des citadins depuis plusieurs décennies. Tout se passe comme si la ville souillée par la pollution était une invention récente du capitalisme financier triomphant, dont les excès antiécologiques sont notamment soulignés par des activistes et des ONG. Or, la pollution urbaine a des origines très anciennes, comme l'indique l'article en se référant au second Moyen Âge en Europe. Les villes connaissent alors des conditions environnementales dramatiques, en lien avec le développement d'activités commerciales et industrielles, ainsi qu'une gestion catastrophique des déchets humains et animaux et des excréments, jetés dans des cours d'eau ou des fossés. Toutefois, les autorités politiques de l'époque prennent conscience des conséquences néfastes de la pollution de l'espace urbain et commencent à agir pour apporter des réponses au problème, en constituant ainsi les lointaines traces de l'interventionnisme public contemporain. L'article est de nature réflexive, avec pour objectif d'identifier dans un premier temps les sources de la pollution urbaine au Second Moyen Âge, puis dans un second temps, les actions conduites par les autorités politiques afin de les réduire sous la pression d'attitudes « environnementales » de la part des citadins.

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

Mots clés: Europe, Histoire, Moyen Âge, Pollution, Traces, Ville

The Sources of Urban Pollution: The Context of European Cities in the Late Middle Ages

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Abstract

The environmental issue is becoming increasingly important in societal debates, especially in Europe. The place of a sustainable city is now significant, underlining the extent to which the pollution of urban spaces has been degrading the quality of life of inhabitants for several decades. It is as if the city soiled by pollution were a recent invention of triumphant financial capitalism, whose anti-environmental excesses are highlighted by activists and NGOs. However, urban pollution has very ancient origins, as the article indicates by referring to the late Middle Ages in Europe. The cities then experienced dramatic environmental conditions, linked to the development of commercial and industrial activities, as well as catastrophic management of human and animal waste and excrement, thrown into waterways or ditches. However, the political authorities of the time became aware of the harmful consequences of the pollution of urban space. They began to act to provide answers to the problem, thus forming the distant traces of contemporary public interventionism. The article is reflexive in nature, with the objective of identifying, first, the sources of urban pollution in the late Middle Ages and, second, the actions taken by political authorities to reduce them under the pressure of "environmental" attitudes on the part of city inhabitants.

Keywords: Europe, History, Middle Ages, Pollution, Town, Traces

Introduction

Dans la culture populaire, l'ère médiévale est souvent présentée comme une époque où règne dans les villes européennes une pollution endémique, avec des individus ayant peu de connaissances sur les causes des maladies, et dont l'utilisation de produits chimiques dangereux mésestime totalement leurs conséquences dramatiques. Une vision plus mesurée semble toutefois nécessaire car si les habitants des villes médiévales n'ont évidemment aucune notion du changement climatique anthropique, ils pressentent les dangers sanitaires d'un cadre de vie dégradé sur le plan

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

environnemental. La pollution de l'air et de l'eau devient d'ailleurs progressivement une préoccupation de santé publique pour les autorités du second Moyen Âge, entre 1300 et 1500, qui comprennent que la « souillure » de l'espace urbain est causée par les miasmes provenant des carcasses animales en décomposition et des divers déchets et excréments s'accumulant dans les rues, les fossés et les cours d'eau, au point que certains n'hésitent pas à qualifier l'époque médiévale de triomphe des « temps excrémentaux » (Morrison, 2008). Un certain nombre d'ordonnances commencent néanmoins à encadrer l'assainissement public dans les villes européennes et connaissent un pic après la peste noire, au milieu du XIV^{e} siècle. L'un de leurs objectifs principaux est de limiter la propagation des miasmes afin, à son tour, de limiter la propagation des maladies et épargner la communauté des citadins.

Il serait toutefois trompeur de penser que l'action politique est à l'origine d'une rapide éradication de la pollution au cœur des villes du second Moyen Âge. Bien au contraire, celle-ci reste une constante liée au développement lent mais incontestable d'activités commerciales et industrielles dans l'espace urbain, notamment avec les fameux bouchers regroupés en de puissantes guildes, mais aussi des artisans qui manipulent des substances chimiques dont l'inhalation s'avère particulièrement dangereuse, tant pour eux que pour la population avoisinante. Plus grave encore, le traitement méthodique des déchets animaux et humains est quasiment inexistant, très loin des standards modernes de récupération et de recyclage. Dans la mesure où de nombreuses villes médiévales se développent à proximité et autour de rivières ou de grands fleuves navigables, ces derniers sont utilisés pour se débarrasser des déchets et excréments, en complément de fossés creusés le plus souvent à la hâte (Monnet, 1992). En bref, deux sources de pollution urbaine à l'ère médiévale peuvent être identifiées : d'une part, l'accumulation de déchets humains et animaux et d'excréments dans les cours d'eau et fossés des villes ; d'autre part, les problèmes sanitaires causés par les activités commerciales et industrielles.

L'objectif de l'article, de nature réflexive, est de proposer une exploration des racines de la pollution urbaine pendant l'ère médiévale en Europe en référence à une grille de lecture fondée sur une double entrée : (1) les origines commerciales et industrielles de la souillure subie par la ville ; et (2) l'action des autorités politiques pour y faire face compte tenu de la prise de conscience par les habitants de la dégradation de leur cadre de vie. Sur un plan méthodologique, nous nous appuyons sur une analyse de la littérature consacrée spécifiquement au traitement des questions environnementales à l'époque médiévale, non pas en procédant à une revue extensive mais en y identifiant des traces de conduites passées, dont le rendu est proposé notamment dans des articles de revues validés par des pairs à partir d'un rigoureux processus d'évaluation. En ce sens, il s'agit ici de s'inscrire dans la

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

filiation traditionnelle de contributions épistémologiques qui définissent l'histoire en tant que « *connaissance par traces* », autrement dit comme l'appréhension d'une série de faits scientifiquement interprétés par des chercheurs (Morsel, 2016). Pour cela, en suivant Seignobos (1901/2014, p. 15), la démarche doit être de nature duale : « Étudier le document pour déterminer quels ont été les faits particuliers passés dont le document est la trace ; après avoir établi ces faits, les grouper en une construction méthodique pour découvrir les rapports entre eux ». En bref, tout revient à une reconstruction du cours passé d'une succession d'évènements dans une pure logique de « *représentance* » chère à Ricoeur (2000).

L'intérêt de la grille de lecture à double entrée suggérée dans l'article est de mettre au jour une sorte d'effet-miroir avec les tendances les plus actuelles en matière de ville durable, dont plusieurs éléments clé ressemblent étrangement à la situation du second Moyen Âge. Il est entendu désormais qu'une ville durable cherche à réduire les impacts environnementaux de ses activités et promeut des modes de consommation et de production durables en fonction de ses propres conditions territoriales, sociales, économiques et culturelles. Par nature, il est entendu qu'une ville ne peut devenir durable que si ses habitants s'engagent à changer en profondeur leur attitude afin qu'elle soit moins néfaste pour l'environnement. En effet, il ne sert à rien de prendre des mesures politiques pour promouvoir une démarche environnementale, par exemple en matière de gestion des déchets, si les habitants eux-mêmes n'ont pas l'intention de réajuster leurs comportements pour contribuer activement à ladite démarche. Or, à travers le cas de l'époque médiévale et des actions conduites par ses autorités (locales et/ou nationales), il est possible d'identifier un changement d'état d'esprit qui signale de fortes convergences avec la vision moderne de la ville durable. Ceci confirme, si besoin était, l'importance d'un regard rétrospectif pour mieux saisir les enjeux environnementaux actuels en référence aux réalités de la ville souillée du Moyen Âge, aux origines autant commerciales qu'industrielles.

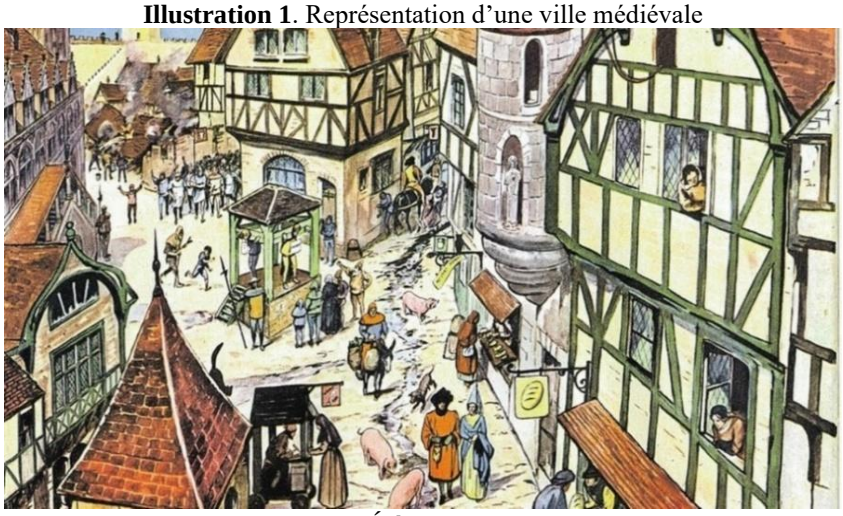
Traces / représentance de la ville souillée

Le second Moyen Âge en Europe, juste avant la Renaissance, est un moment historique important qui voit émerger d'importants regroupements humains au sein de villes dont la population se densifie, à la fois pour y vivre, pour y travailler et pour y consommer (voir l'Illustration 1). Braudel (1979) portera une attention particulière aux « structures du quotidien », l'un des piliers de la civilisation matérielle dont nous sommes les héritiers. L'expansion des activités commerciales, industrielles et physiologiques pose rapidement de redoutables problèmes d'assainissement, tout particulièrement au niveau du traitement des déchets humains et animaux, qui devient réellement problématique (Béguin, 2013). Jørgensen (2008, 2014), ayant

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

conduit de nombreuses recherches sur l'élimination des déchets dans les villes médiévales de Scandinavie et d'Europe du Nord, souligne que dans une ville du second Moyen Âge de 10 000 habitants, les habitants produisent environ 900 000 litres d'excréments et près de trois millions de litres d'urine par an, alors même que n'existe aucun système d'égouts souterrains ; les seaux d'excréments et d'urine sont simplement jetés par une fenêtre ou par la porte d'entrée. La vision des cloaques que constituent alors les villes, des « merderons » remplis « de marres et de bouillons », pour reprendre les mots imagés de Leguay (1999/2019) dans son analyse brillante du second Moyen Âge en France, est ainsi loin d'une approche parfois idéalisée, voire magnifiée, qu'en donnent certaines miniatures de l'époque.

Illustration 1. Représentation d'une ville médiévale



Source : *Les Échos*, 28 janvier 2014.

Circonstances aggravantes : aux déchets issus des activités humaines s'ajoutent des quantités importantes de fumier provenant du bétail élevé dans les villes, qu'il s'agisse de porcs, de chevaux, de vaches ou de volailles (Higounet-Nadal, 1975). Car les animaux aussi vivent dans les villes médiévales, produisent des excréments qui remplissent les rues et les cours d'eau, et provoquent même des accidents fatals, à l'image du prince Philippe, fils aîné du Roi Louis VI dit le Gros, renversé de cheval par un cochon vagabond en 1131 et mort des suites de sa chute (Pastoureau, 2012). En 1332, la chancellerie d'Édouard III adresse une lettre au Maire et aux échevins de York en vue de la réunion du parlement. Dans cette lettre, le Roi se plaint de l'odeur abominable qui règne dans ladite ville plus que dans toute autre, à cause du fumier, de l'engrais et des autres déchets et saletés avec lesquels les rues et les ruelles sont labourées. Il est vrai que dans la ville médiévale, chaque piéton marche jusqu'aux chevilles dans un mélange putride de boue humide, de poisson pourri, d'ordures, d'entrailles d'animaux et d'excréments (Perrigo,

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1971). En la matière, York se présente d'ailleurs comme l'une des villes les plus polluées de l'époque médiévale (King et Henderson, 2014). Année après année, par-delà la souillure infligée à leurs habitants, les déchets accumulés finissent par obstruer les cours d'eau qui traversent de nombreux espaces urbains, et constituent une menace réelle de débordement (Leguay, 1983).

Au Nord des murs de la ville de Londres se trouve par exemple une zone marécageuse surnommée « *The Moor* », traversée par la rivière Walbrook, désormais un cours d'eau souterrain. Cette zone marécageuse est célèbre au second Moyen Âge pour ses latrines publiques et pour l'atmosphère infectée qui s'en exhale, en mettant en danger la santé des habitants des environs. En 1415, la rivière Walbrook s'obstrue et elle n'est plus en capacité d'évacuer les excréments et l'urine issus des latrines publiques. Il en résulte une sorte de vague de fumier et de déchets déferlant dans la ville, au point que les maisons voisines deviennent rapidement inhabitables. De même, à Coventry, les habitants prennent la mauvaise habitude de déverser leurs déchets dans la rivière Sherbourne. En 1421, le conseil municipal déplore que la rivière soit arrêtée dans son cours à cause des immondices et des excréments que les habitants répandent dans le cours d'eau. Londres connaît un problème similaire avec la Tamise. En 1357, les autorités publiques de la ville interdisent à leurs citoyens d'y jeter toute sorte de déchets, sans aucun effet puisque dans les années 1370, la Tamise est tellement rétrécie que le passage des navires s'avère extêmement difficile.

Les travaux de Jørgensen (2008, 2014) permettent de conclure que la contamination des rivières est un problème majeur pour de nombreuses villes médiévales, et pas seulement au Royaume-Uni et en France. En Norvège, par exemple, en 1284, le Roi Eirik Magnusson interdit aux habitants de Bergen de déverser leurs ordures et leurs excréments sur les quais. Si le déversement des déchets directement dans les cours d'eau est un problème écologique majeur, le système de fossés souvent mis en place, à l'image des décharges sauvages du monde contemporain dans de nombreux pays, ne règle en rien ledit problème car les fossés étant creusés pour évacuer les eaux de pluie, leur contenu finit dans les cours d'eau. De ce point de vue, l'exemple de Trondheim est édifiant. Les fossés ne s'y déversent pas dans la rivière Nidelva, mais dans une zone marécageuse au beau milieu de la ville, dénommée Saurlid, ce qui signifie « endroit boueux ». Pendant tout le second Moyen Âge, c'est le lieu où aboutissent les déchets et les ordures des citadins, mais aussi ceux des artisans et des commerçants (Christophersen, 2023). Car il apparaît clairement que la ville médiévale est aussi souillée par des activités commerciales et industrielles qui commencent à se développer à rythme lent mais sûr, une situation comparable aujourd'hui – et très problématique – pour certains pays africains (Jérôme et Rokia, 2014 ; Zakilizou, 2016).

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Traces / réprésentance des origines commerciales

La présence des animaux au cœur de la ville médiévale s'explique évidemment par l'importance de nourrir la population urbaine. Les métiers de la bouche, tout particulièrement la boucherie, y trouvent une source d'approvisionnement de première importance pour conduire leur activité commerciale. Les bouchers sont considérés comme les premiers commerçants précapitalistes, et forment alors une caste spéciale de la bourgeoisie, regroupée dans le cadre de guildes (la première guilde remonte à 1272). Les guildes exigent des bouchers qu'ils maintiennent un haut niveau de propreté afin d'éviter l'apparition de maladies (Descamps, 2019). Elles permettent également de maximiser la quantité de viande pouvant être transformée, car une grande partie de celle-ci est réservée à la noblesse et aux riches propriétaires, sachant qu'il est illégal pour la classe paysanne de chasser sur les terres appartenant à l'aristocratie. La charte de Mirepoix, promulguée en 1303 en France, est un excellent exemple de la place accordée au commerce de la viande au second Moyen Âge. Le fait qu'elle soit signée en présence du seigneur de la ville, de notaires, de professeurs de droit, de fonctionnaires municipaux et de tous les bouchers de la ville prouve que le Roi Philippe IV est conscient des problèmes juridiques, économiques et politiques liés à l'alimentation.

Or, l'activité de la caste des bouchers impacte très fortement l'environnement de la ville médiévale (Ciecieznski, 2013). Les animaux morts et les restes de leur traitement posent un énorme problème sanitaire aux autorités politiques dans la mesure où, dès le XIV^{e} siècle, des traités scientifiques et médicinaux affirment que les odeurs pestilencielles et les senteurs émanant de la chair putréfiée corrompent l'air et propagent les maladie, tandis que l'eau mélangée au sang et aux poils des animaux abattus s'écoule dans les fossés ou à même la rue (Chew et Kellaway, 1973). Un traité espagnol sur la peste, rédigé en 1348 par Jacme d'Agramont, affirme que les villes les plus sales sont très exposées à la peste car la chair, le sang, les abats et les déchets des animaux morts provoquent une grande infection dans l'air (Nicoud, 2018). Dès la propagation de la peste noire, les boucheries deviennent la cible d'une série d'ordonnances visant à réduire la pollution qu'elles induisent. Ainsi, à Pistoia, en Italie, les ordonnances pour l'assainissement en temps de forte mortalité, publiées en 1348, interdisent aux boucheries d'ouvrir à proximité d'une taverne, d'un magasin, d'une étable ou d'un enclos. L'objectif de l'ordonnance est explicitement d'éloigner les hommes et les animaux des puanteurs délétères.

Il est vrai que les intestins et les têtes d'animaux devant être jetés quelque part, les bouchers se tournent le plus souvent vers les cours d'eau pour s'en débarrasser, puisque le système urbain les positionne comme élément clé de l'évacuation des immondices (Touati, 2000). Or, des cours d'eau pollués

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signifient une transmission de miasmes aéroportés. En 1380, une plainte déposée à Coventry indique que certains bouchers ne cessent de déverser des déchets animaux dans la rivière, à savoir des os, des peaux et des abats de bœufs, de porcs et de moutons, ce qui corrompt l'eau et infecte l'air. En 1371, une plainte envoyée à nouveau par le Roi Édouard III au Maire et aux échevins de Londres porte spécifiquement sur les problèmes de déchets des activités de boucherie : « Considérant que dernièrement, en raison de l'abattage de grands animaux dans la ville susmentionnée, dont le sang putréfié coule dans les rues et dont les entrailles sont jetées dans l'eau de la Tamise, l'air de la même ville a été grandement corrompu et infecté, ce qui a généré les pires abominations et puanteurs, et des maladies et de nombreuses autres affections ont frappé les personnes vivant dans la même ville » (*in* Jørgensen, 2013, p. 310).

Les moines ne sont pas épargnés et ils se plaignent sèchement que les habitants des villes ayant l'habitude de fréquenter leur église se retirent à cause de la puanteur ambiante. Ils craignent également que des maladies et autres maux ne résultent de cette souillure de la Nature, ce qui conduit le Roi Édouard III de décréter l'interdiction de répandre des déchets à proximité des monastères et abbayes. La puissante guilde des bouchers de Londres va résoudre ce problème « logistique » en se débarrassant des restes d'animaux dans un cimetière, mais aussi en les dispersant un peu partout dans l'espace urbain, quitte à attirer les chiens errants et les oiseaux affamés. D'autres villes connaissent des situations identiques, à l'image de York, dont le conseil municipal interdit dès 1371 aux bouchers de déverser leurs déchets dans la rivière qui passe près d'un monastère (Jørgensen, 2013). Résultat : les bouchers vont accumuler leurs déchets intestinaux tout près de leurs murs, et à un autre endroit de la rivière Ouse. On peut donc parler d'une récurrence problématique de la gestion *anti-environnementale* des déchets issus de l'activité commerciale au cœur des villes médiévales, mais qui est aggravée par la montée en puissance de l'activité industrielle.

Traces / représentance des origines industrielles

Au second Moyen Âge, certains des procédés de production les plus polluants concernent le tannage des peaux et le textile (Gimpel, 1975/2002). Le tannage des peaux d'animaux pour en faire du cuir nécessite de remplacer toute l'humidité de la peau par des tanins. Après avoir taillé les peaux, le tanneur rince la matière première dans un cours d'eau ou un puits local, puis il se débarrasse des poils jusqu'à la racine tout en conservant le grain, laisse pourrir les poils en les arrosant d'urine, en repliant les peaux côté poil et en les empilant dans un endroit chaud. Un deuxième lavage est organisé, à base de fiente de pigeon ou de crotte de chien, ce qui élimine le calcaire et rend le produit plus souple et plus flexible. Un troisième lavage à l'eau a enfin lieu, avant un ultime trempage dans une solution à base d'écorce de chêne ou de

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sapin. Après les avoir faites reposer environ un an, le tanneur vend les peaux à d'autres artisans, qui fournissent les produits finis aux acheteurs après les avoir travaillés. Aussi polluant que soit le processus, force est d'admettre que les tanneurs remplissent une fonction logistique importante puisqu'ils utilisent un sous-produit de l'abattage du bétail et le transforment en un matériau dont la population dépend en matière de chaussures, de selles et d'armures.

Le tannage médiéval est incontestablement une source de souillure pour l'espace urbain, dont le danger ne peut être sous-estimé. En effet, il dégage des gaz ammoniacaux nocifs, tandis que les produits chimiques usés et les sous-produits animaux sont fréquemment déversés dans les ruisseaux et les cours d'eau, les mêmes que la population utilise pour satisfaire ses besoins physiologiques. En bref, bien que les produits en cuir soient de qualité, ils sont fabriqués au prix d'une pollution majeure. Il en va au moins de même pour l'industrie textile. Contrairement à une fausse idée, les vêtements médiévaux ne sont pas ternes et ennuyeux. Au contraire, ils revêtent une grande variété de couleurs vives obtenues à partir de teintures végétales et minérales (Norris, 1999). Pour cela, il faut peigner la laine pour la rendre apte au tissage, puis éliminer la cire avec laquelle la laine est traitée en utilisant de l'urine. La décomposition de l'urine produit de l'ammoniac qui, combiné à la graisse de la laine, donne du savon par saponification. Pour certains types de matériaux comme le lin, le coton et la soie, le processus de finition est suivi d'un blanchiment fondé sur le trempage du textile dans du lait aigre et de la bouse de vache pendant des semaines. Enfin, la teinture proprement dite mobilise un fixateur pour l'empêcher de couler ; le plus courant des fixateurs est l'alun (sel double de sulfate d'aluminium hydraté). Lorsque le tissu teint est trempé dans l'alun, le liquide restant est répandu directement dans le cours d'eau le plus proche, ce qui en modifie le pH et empoisonne les personnes qui en boivent.

Ces deux sources principales de souillure de l'espace urbain sont loin d'être les seules au second Moyen Âge. Il est possible d'y ajouter la pollution au plomb, un matériau omniprésent à la fin de la période médiévale (Biron et Verità, 2022), et utilisé pour le glaçage des poteries, les toitures, les gouttières, les statues et les fenêtres. L'eau potable, en particulier dans les villes européennes du Moyen Âge, est souvent recueillie à partir des eaux de ruissellement des toits en plomb et stockée dans des réservoirs en plomb. Le plomb est même utilisé dans la nourriture : l'acétate de plomb, ou « sucre de plomb », est utilisé pour sucrer le vin, par exemple. Comme on le sait aujourd'hui, l'empoisonnement au plomb peut avoir de graves répercussions sur la santé sous forme de saturnisme, avec des problèmes de développement chez les enfants et une infertilité chez les adultes (Garnier, 2005). Les habitants des villes n'en n'ont manifestement pas conscience au second Moyen Âge, et ironiquement, cette forme de pollution a probablement affecté

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de manière disproportionnée les nobles et riches propriétaires compte tenu du prix élevé du plomb, notamment pour l'exécution raffinée de poteries.

Bien qu'il soit communément admis que le saturnisme ait pu jouer un rôle dans la chute de l'Empire romain (Gilfillan, 1965), son impact au second Moyen Âge fait encore l'objet de controverses. Toutefois, une recherche conduite par Rasmussen *et al.* (2015) sur 283 squelettes provenant de six cimetières au Danemark et en Allemagne, datant du Moyen Âge (entre 1000 et 1536), semble confirmer que les niveaux de plomb y sont particulièrement élevés. La recherche, qui combine des analyses chimiques et des techniques archéologiques, souligne également la présence importante de mercure, un autre métal lourd fortement polluant. Comme on le sait, le mercure a fasciné les alchimistes, dont le fameux Nicolas Flamel, car c'est le seul métal qui soit liquide à température ambiante. En plus d'être utilisé dans la vaine poursuite de la « pierre philosophale » qui offre l'immortalité (Milat, 2005), il est alors un ingrédient commun dans les médicaments, en particulier pour la syphilis, un traitement incroyablement nocif et inefficace qui persistera jusqu'au XIX^{e} siècle. À l'instar de l'extraction et de la manipulation du plomb, le raffinage du mercure est très dangereux puisque l'inhalation prolongée de ses vapeurs entraîne ce que les neurologues appellent l'éréthisme mercuriel, autrefois connu sous le nom de « maladie du chapelier fou » (Matthews David, 2015). Ses effets sont bien connus à l'époque médiévale chez les métallurgistes, qui présentent un comportement psychologiquement instable, voire suicidaire.

Traces / réprésentance de l'attitude des autorités

Avant toute chose, il est essentiel de noter que lors du second Moyen Âge, la compréhension de la maladie en général est héritée de l'Antiquité. On croit alors qu'un déséquilibre de la Nature peut créer des miasmes (ou un air putréfié invisible), en déclenchant une série de maladies plus ou moins létales. En bref, l'idée dominante est que les miasmes résultent de phénomènes naturels, à l'image des tremblements de terre ou de la foudre. D'autres sources sont toutefois signalées : la pourriture, les cadavres humains mal enterrés, les cadavres d'animaux et les eaux stagnantes. Les miasmes, du grec ancien μίασμα (« souillure »), peuvent être transmis par l'air, le sol, l'eau, et même par des objets. Selon la théorie miasmatique, en touchant un objet – ou une personne – porteur d'un miasme, les doigts en deviennent récepteurs et ils jouent alors le rôle de vecteur d'une diffusion rapide de l'infection, ce que la pandémie de Covid-19 nous rappellera avec force. Depuis l'Antiquité, il n'y a donc jamais eu de doute sur le fait que certaines maladies sont contagieuses, et le second Moyen Âge s'inscrit dans une telle filiation historique (Goulet et Thouez, 2004). De ce point de vue, l'existence d'un lien entre les déchets, la putréfaction et les problèmes de santé publique finit par s'imposer et incite

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fortement les autorités politiques à mettre en œuvre des mesures d'assainissement pour améliorer la qualité de l'eau et de l'air, ce qui peut aller jusqu'à la suppression de soues à cochons (autrement dit d'étables pour cochons) au nom de l'utilité publique, comme c'est le cas à Troyes en 1402 après un procès retentissant de plusieurs années (Rager, 2016).

De nombreuses sources historiques indiquent que plusieurs villes européennes prennent les choses en main, surtout vers la fin des années 1300 et au début des années 1400 (voir par exemple le cas de Lucca en Toscane, décrit avec précision par Geltner [2013]). Des taxes sont collectées pour financer les balayeurs de rues, tandis que les nettoyeurs de latrines ramassent les déchets humains à intervalles réguliers. Les excréments d'animaux et autres déchets doivent être transportés vers des décharges ou, du moins, dans un endroit situé en dehors de la ville, alors qu'au même moment, des lois sont promulguées pour imposer des amendes aux personnes polluant rivières ou fossés. Afin d'empêcher l'obstruction complète des fossés de Londres, les autorités politiques publient un grand nombre d'ordonnances publiques. Par exemple, le déversement des déchets directement dans les fossés est temporairement réservé aux personnes et institutions dont les maisons jouxtent les cours d'eau, et ils doivent payer deux shillings par an pour financer le nettoyage dudit cours d'eau. Comme cette mesure ne suffit pas, ou que les citadins ne respectent pas les règles, les autorités politiques interdisent en 1477 la construction de latrines au-dessus de tous les fossés de la ville et ordonnent la destruction de celles qui existent déjà (Sabine, 1934).

La question de l'élimination des déchets reste néanmoins posée, car les êtres humains et les animaux continuent à en produire, et peu d'alternatives au rejet des déchets dans les rues (voir l'Illustration 2, tirée de l'ouvrage de Pichtel [2014]), ainsi que dans les cours d'eau, sont proposées aux citadins. Certaines villes tentent de réguler les flux logistiques en établissant des règles qui concernent le moment où les bouchers – dont l'importance a été soulignée – doivent transporter leurs déchets, et la date limite quotidienne à laquelle les poissonniers doivent écailler leurs poissons dans la rue. Ces villes tentent même de faire en sorte que l'ensemble des artisans produisant des déchets sales soient relocalisés là où ils ne sont pas gênants pour la population. Christophersen (2023) s'est penché sur le changement d'attitude dans le contexte norvégien et, à partir d'une analyse archéologique approfondie, il a pu noter que les déchets humides et organiques dans les villes médiévales disparaissent rapidement au cours du second Moyen Âge, preuve d'un changement radical dans la localisation de nombreuses activités industrielles. Ainsi, les teinturiers, qui travaillent avec de l'urine, et les tanneurs, qui travaillent avec des excréments de poulet et des peaux d'animaux à moitié pourris, sont progressivement repoussés en dehors des villes, dans un espace que l'on dénomme aujourd'hui « péri-urbain ».

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Illustration 2. Vidage du pot de chambre à l'époque médiévale : un quasi-rituel exercé chaque jour aux yeux de tous

Source : Pichtel (2014).

L'élimination des activités polluantes au cœur des villes, élément central des mesures d'assainissement public, est initié dans d'autres pays. À Valence, en Espagne, les responsables de la ville créent en 1397 le bureau de la *malaropa*, chargé de collecter et d'éliminer les cadavres d'animaux (Agresta, 2020). Malheureusement, les employés ne sont pas tous assidus au travail, et en 1503, l'un d'entre eux est licencié parce qu'il « a si mal servi dans son office que toute la ville est pleine de chats, de chiens et de poulets morts ». À Londres, les bouchers de St. Nicholas Shambles jetant les déchets de boucherie directement dans la Tamise (Carr, 2008), le Maire et les échevins déclarent, en 1368, qu'à cause de cela « l'eau est corrompue et génère des odeurs fétides », ce qui permet d'obtenir du Roi Édouard III l'autorisation de déplacer l'activité d'abattage en dehors de la ville. Petit à petit, une véritable politique urbaine émerge avec un entretien régulier des rues et des voies pavées, même si ces dernières ne sont pas sans conséquence funeste : les rues secondaires sont alors utilisées intentionnellement comme égouts à ciel ouvert pour évacuer les eaux usées, incluant les matières fécales (Havlíček *et al.*, 2017). La Norvège est un cas intéressant puisque l'on trouve dès 1276 les traces d'une ordonnance sur les opérations de nettoyage dans le règlement municipal de Bergen. Elle stipule que le public doit garder les rues dégagées et libres de marchandises pendant les fêtes de Noël, et que la surface des rues

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doit être régulière. Le matériel archéologique accumulé indique que les règles sont alors systématisées et imposées à chaque propriété donnant sur la rue (Christophersen, 2023).

Traces / représentance de l'attitude des citadins

S'il faut reconnaître une volonté des autorités politiques de réduire les effets de la pollution dans l'espace urbain, un contexte singulier explique sans doute l'écho favorable qu'elle reçoit : les habitants des villes médiévales acceptent de moins en moins la souillure qui dégrade leur cadre de vie. La peste noire entre 1334 et 1353 frappe les esprits avec un nombre de morts en Europe d'environ 25 millions (à titre de comparaison, la grippe espagnole du début du XX^{e} siècle fait entre 50 et 100 millions de morts, et la pandémie de Covid-19 moins de 7 millions de morts début 2023) ; elle tue la moitié, et parfois plus, de la population des villes, comme le note Russell (1972) (voir l'Illustration 3), en conduisant à s'interroger sur les conditions sanitaires de propagation d'une épidémie. La manière de se débarrasser au mieux des déchets prend dès lors une importance cruciale et il est fort probable que les préoccupations liées à l'assainissement connaissent une avancée significative (Christophersen, 2023). Plus précisément, la compréhension des effets des déchets sur la santé et le bien-être des habitants des villes gagne du terrain, avec un lien de plus en plus accepté – et reconnu – entre les mauvaises odeurs, les miasmes et les maladies. La peste noire amène, sans aucun doute, à un changement d'état d'esprit, mais aussi des attitudes et des pratiques, comme le souligne l'ouvrage très documenté d'Aberth (2013). En bref, un grand pas va être fait pour qu'émerge dans une perspective médicale un *conservatio sanitatis* au service de la *conservatio civitatis* (Nicoud, 2001).

Pour Jørgensen (2008, 2014), il ne faut donc pas imaginer les villes médiévales comme d'immondes cloaques, même si le niveau de souillure n'a rien à voir avec ce que peuvent connaître les villes européennes d'aujourd'hui, selon une logique hygiéniste lui étant incomparable. La maladie commence à relever moins de la sphère privée (responsabilité individuelle) que de la sphère publique, avec une communauté qui doit apprendre à la gérer (responsabilité collective). Les nombreuses ordonnances sur la propreté de la ville indiquent que les autorités politiques ont pris acte du changement d'état d'esprit en créant un environnement sain. En bref, à partir de ses recherches conduites en Norvège, Jørgensen (2008, 2014) tord le cou à l'idée reçue selon laquelle les habitants des villes du second Moyen Âge sont ignorants, qu'ils ne se rendent pas compte qu'ils peuvent tomber malades par la faute d'un environnement dégradé, et qu'ils se contentent de se débarrasser de leurs déchets n'importe où. Selon elle, les plaintes peuvent être interprétées comme autant de signaux indiquant un progressif refus de vivre dans une porcherie, avec des égouts à ciel ouvert. Plus largement, face aux diverses menaces environnementales, la

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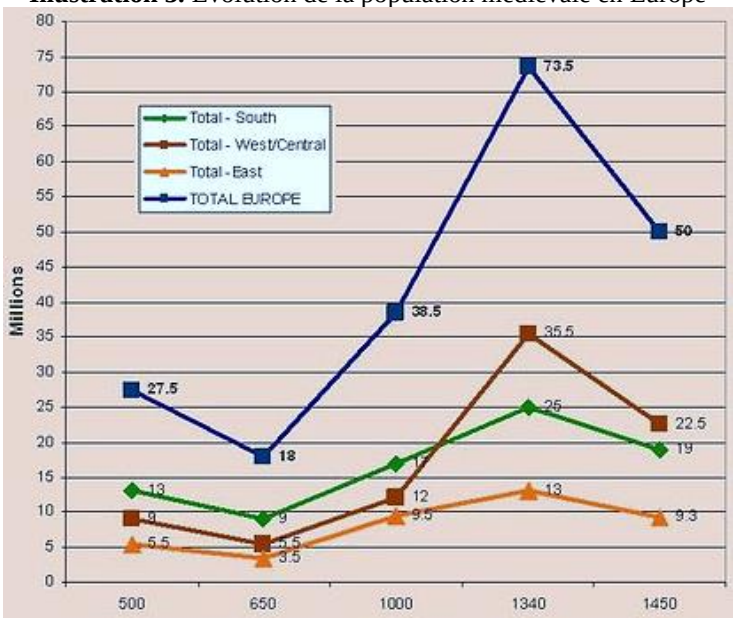
réponse de la société médiévale s'avère souvent beaucoup plus complexe et réfléchie qu'on ne l'imagine habituellement (Gerrard et Petley, 2013).

Illustration 3. Évolution de la population médiévale en Europe



Source : d'après Russell (1972).

C'est par conséquent l'émergence d'une nouvelle attitude qui peut être ici envisagée, ce qui rejoint la position prise par Brimblecombe (1976) dans un article portant sur la perception de la pollution de l'air en Angleterre lors du second Moyen Âge. Pour ce dernier, un tel refus d'accepter des conditions indignes de vie est particulièrement vivace au sein d'un groupe particulier de personnes ne craignant pas de faire preuve d'un franc-parler en matière de pollution perçue au cœur des villes médiévales : celui de leurs visiteurs plus ou moins illustres. À l'époque médiévale (mais plus encore aujourd'hui, grâce aux réseaux sociaux et aux sites d'évaluation en ligne), les personnes qui visitent des villes polluées n'hésitent pas à signaler bruyamment leur mécontentement, sans peur de subir des mesures de rétorsion, voire de violence physique, comme cela peut être le cas pour les résidents permanents issus du peuple. Brimblecombe (1976) note ainsi que la première plainte enregistrée au sujet de la pollution de l'air en Angleterre remonte à la visite de la Reine Aliénor à la fin du XIII^{e} siècle à Nottingham, tandis que la première action d'envergure menée à Londres en 1307 résulte d'une succession de plaintes formulées initialement par des nobles et des prélats de passage dans la ville, et particulièrement incommodés par ses effluves malodorantes.

De ce point de vue, on peut parler d'une parole qui va progressivement se « libérer », et marquer un tournant dans l'attitude vis-à-vis d'un espace urbain qui doit être plus respectueux possible de ses habitants, ces derniers

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formant une *communauté de vie*. Ceci est d'autant plus patent que la gestion collective au sein des villes est une pratique courante pour un certain nombre de domaines d'activité. Par exemple, il existe très souvent un pâturage sur lequel les citadins font paître ensemble leur bétail, tandis que les moulins à grains sont utilisés par tous. Le plus souvent, même les boulangeries et les marchés sont détenus et gérés de manière collective, se présentant finalement comme ce qu'il est habituel de dénommer aujourd'hui des « *communs* », autrement dit des ressources procurant à leurs utilisateurs des avantages tangibles, mais dont personne en particulier a légitimité d'en revendiquer l'usage exclusif, et encore moins immodéré (Orstrom, 2008). La concurrence telle que nous la connaissons n'existe pas *stricto sensu*, tandis que les prix et les salaires sont contrôlés en référence à des conceptions d'équité et de justice telles que pensées à l'époque médiévale.

Hyde (1973) propose une analyse serrée du contexte italien dont l'intérêt est de souligner combien les besoins fondamentaux des citadins se formalisent alors pas à pas et donnent lieu à la montée en puissance d'institutions politiques et juridiques ayant l'objectif de gérer au mieux les « *communs* », qui initient pour cela de meilleures conditions collectives de vie dans l'espace urbain. L'attitude des habitants des villes se transforme progressivement pour intégrer un *registre hygiéniste* s'appuyant sur la prise de conscience que le comportement individuel de chacun impacte le bien-être collectif de tous. C'est à la même conclusion que parvient Geltner (2019) à partir d'une étude approfondie de 118 villes du Nord et du centre de l'Italie. Il souligne l'existence de règles précises stipulant notamment qui doit nettoyer les rues et places d'une ville, ou encore les lieux de conservation ou de rejet des sous-produits de l'artisanat et autres déchets nauséabonds. Ceci rejoint finalement les conclusions de Diamond (2007) pour qui – après avoir conduit une exploration historique ambitieuse – les caractéristiques de l'environnement jouent un rôle capital dans les changements socioculturels, y compris comportementaux, que connaissent toutes les sociétés humaines.

Discussion

Depuis une vingtaine d'années, la question de la « ville durable » et des actions locales conduites pour « écologiser » les pratiques est largement abordée dans des travaux en sciences de gestion, en aménagement du territoire ou encore en géographie économique (Boateng, 2023). La métropolisation croissante conduit en effet une population de plus en plus nombreuse à vivre au sein d'espaces urbains confinés, dans des conditions environnementales pas toujours satisfaisantes. De multiples pollutions atmosphériques, liées aux déplacements des biens et des personnes, altèrent le cadre de vie, au point que certains observateurs considèrent que les villes sont devenues irrespirables, conséquence directe de dérèglements économiques, écologiques et sociaux

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s'étant manifestés après la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Le cinéma s'est d'ailleurs emparé de la figure de la ville devenue invivable dans le chef-d'œuvre d'anticipation de Richard Fleischer *Soleil Vert* (1973), adapté du roman de Harrison (1966/2008). Or, toute une génération de jeunes chercheurs en sciences de gestion ignore que, loin d'être une résultante du capitalisme financier triomphant du XX^{e} siècle, la pollution urbaine est déjà très présente dès le second Moyen Âge au sein des villes européennes. Ceci souligne qu'il est plus que jamais essentiel de se replonger dans l'histoire pour mieux comprendre les enjeux du monde actuel, au risque de « réinventer la roue » une fois encore.

Par-delà le retour vers un lointain passé parfois mythifié, il est intéressant d'indiquer combien des invariants semblent émerger, à sept siècles d'écart, pour construire une histoire de l'écologie entendue comme reflet d'une réalité sociétale (Segura Graíño, 2009). En effet, à l'instar des temps médiévaux, il faut reconnaître que de nombreuses voix s'élèvent aujourd'hui pour se plaindre d'une ville souillée par la faute de multiples activités économiques. Certes, l'industrie a déserté les villes d'Europe, mais le commerce y reste très présent, notamment avec la vente par Internet ou avec la distribution de proximité, deux formes commerciales qui exigent la mise en œuvre d'une imposante logistique urbaine dont les effets externes négatifs sont connus : encombrement de la voirie, congestion du trafic, pollution atmosphérique et sonore, etc. Face à de tels effets, les autorités politiques manifestent une volonté de changer les choses, comme en témoigne par exemple la mise en place de zones à faible émission (ZFE) dont l'objectif est de réduire l'impact environnemental des déplacements de biens et de personnes (Paché *et al.*, 2020) ; une tendance comparable est d'ailleurs identifiable en Afrique du Nord (Saoussen et Karim, 2021). La concordance avec l'interventionnisme des autorités politiques du second Moyen Âge pour éliminer les activités polluantes au cœur des villes ne peut nous échapper, et il est clair que la pression exercée désormais par une multiplicité de parties prenantes (riverains, ONG, activistes écologiques, etc.) n'est pas étrangère à cet interventionnisme… que d'aucuns pensent pourtant très récent.

Dès le début des années 1990, Rosen et Tarr (1994) ont milité pour une lecture historique de la relation entre ville et environnement en se plaçant dans une perspective de temps long. Pour ces auteurs, l'un des principaux objectifs est de mieux comprendre la réponse sociétale aux dégradations écologiques du cadre de vie des citadins, en relativisant l'originalité des évolutions contemporaines. De ce point de vue, sans doute doit-on interroger de manière plus mesurée l'histoire environnementale urbaine médiévale en identifiant à la fois la souillure subie par les citadins et les actions conduites pour les éliminer. Pendant de trop nombreuses années, comme le note Magnusson (2013), l'idée dominante est que toutes les villes médiévales ressemblent à de

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véritables cloaques, et ce stéréotype demeure courant dans la culture populaire européenne. Depuis plusieurs décennies, toutefois, des historiens remettent en question une telle caractérisation unidimensionnelle, notamment à partir des résultats de fouilles archéologiques au sein de divers espaces urbains. Il s'avère par conséquent important de se pencher sur ces travaux hétérodoxes afin de voir comment ils sont en capacité d'éclairer des pratiques actuelles et les inscrire dans une véritable trajectoire, plutôt que d'évoquer – à tort – une profonde rupture par rapport au passé. C'est en filigrane la conclusion de Te Brake (1975), il y a près de cinquante ans de cela, sur les racines de la pollution urbaine à Londres : la capacité des Hommes à manipuler et exploiter l'environnement est avérée depuis l'époque médiévale, avec des perturbations écologiques proportionnellement plus graves au fur et à mesure que la métropolisation gagne du terrain.

Une vision trop pessimiste ne doit toutefois pas l'emporter dans la mesure où, au second Moyen Âge, des considérations de recyclage et de réutilisation commencent à apparaître puis se diffuser dans le tissu économique et social, même si un regard distancié est indispensable. En effet, de véritables réseaux de gestion des déchets se constituent, fondés sur l'utilisation par certaines professions des sous-produits provenant d'autres professions (Davis *et al.*, 2021). À titre d'illustration, les bouchers médiévaux alimentent plus d'une vingtaine de fabricants différents : les cuirs et peaux d'animaux se destinent notamment aux tanneurs et aux écorcheurs locaux, qui fournissent ensuite les cordonniers et les selliers. Quant au suif, il est acheté par les fabricants de bougies et de savon. Il est ici possible d'une logique d'économie circulaire et de *reverse logistics* avant l'heure, ce que confirme Lee (2019) à partir de son analyse de l'industrie textile dans l'Angleterre médiévale. En effet, des touffes et déchets de laine, retirés avant le filage, sont générés en grande quantité, de même que des morceaux de fil de rebut après le tissage. Ces déchets sont alors utilisés pour le rembourrage et le matelassage des coussins et matelas, et pour la fabrication de casquettes er de chapeaux. Toutefois, il est impossible de parler d'un système organisé de réparation et de réutilisation car l'objectif est avant tout de tirer bénéfice de rebuts dans un monde où les matières premières sont relativement chères et logistiquement difficiles à obtenir (Casson et Welch, 2021), et les marges bénéficiaires restent étroites pour les artisans. Les déchets sont ainsi pour eux une source non négligeable de revenu, sans qu'il soit question de mieux gérer les risques environnementaux liés à leur rejet dans l'espace urbain.

Il revient aux chercheurs explorant les questions environnementales, notamment dans le champ des sciences de gestion, de ne pas oublier cette réalité historique. Elle a pour vertu de s'interroger sur la vision parfois idéologique de certaines pratiques et stratégies sans doute trop vite annoncées aujourd'hui comme la solution ultime à tous les maux d'une croissance

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urbaine inéluctable, en suggérant le retour à des configurations médiévales dont il n'est pas sûr qu'elles apportent toutes les garanties écologiques possibles. Parmi les discours actuels les plus médiatisés sur les « *chaînes de valeur urbaines* » (Andres *et al.*, 2023), il est possible de faire référence à celui relatif aux circuits courts, qui permettent à des agriculteurs de vendre leurs produits aux consommateurs dans des lieux de consommation intra-urbains tels que les marchés et les halles couvertes. Or, il serait maladroit d'oublier que d'autres types de circuits courts impliquent que les consommateurs se déplacent sur le lieu de production pour faire leurs achats (magasins à la ferme, ventes sur le bord de la route, systèmes ludiques de cueillette, etc.). Dans ce cas, en présence de véhicules à moteur thermique, les déplacements génèrent une pollution atmosphérique non négligeable et même s'il est impossible d'établir un comparatif précis avec la pollution urbaine au Moyen Âge, dans un contexte très différent au plan institutionnel, il serait totalement hasardeux d'en ignorer l'importance, surtout si l'on tient compte d'autres externalités négatives (Nsamzinshuti *et al.*, 2018). Au risque de reproduire des erreurs et déviances du passé et conforter la prophétie de Marx (1852/2014, p. 7) dans *Le 18 brumaire de L. Bonaparte* : « Hegel fait quelque part cette remarque que tous les grands événements et personnages historiques se répètent pour ainsi dire deux fois. Il a oublié d'ajouter : la première fois comme tragédie, la seconde fois comme farce ».

Conclusion

Le concept de pollution, même si son emploi n'apparaît qu'au XX^e^ siècle, est incontestablement un angle d'attaque pertinent pour comprendre le fonctionnement des sociétés du second Moyen Âge, dont les convictions religieuses les plus prégnantes restent fortement ancrées dans les idées de pureté et d'impureté, de sacré et de profane. Lors de l'époque médiévale, l'augmentation de la population urbaine en Europe ouvre la porte à la diffusion de bactéries et de maladies, telles que le choléra et la fièvre typhoïde. Si la bactérie *Yersinia Pestis*, transportée par les rats et propagée par les puces, déclenche la fameuse peste noire qui se propage rapidement, la raison est à trouver dans des conditions insalubres causées par l'accumulation de déchets et excréments humains et animaux, de même que la présence d'ordures dont les villes ont le plus grand mal à gérer l'évacuation. Au demeurant, les noms donnés à certaines rues, ruelles et autres passages témoignent d'une réalité très éloignée de l'image aseptisée parfois véhiculée de la ville médiévale où se croisent princes et princesses oisifs dans des habits soyeux. Ainsi, les rues Sale et Foireuse à Angoulême, les passages Merdeux et Merdière à Chartres et à Niort, ou encore l'impasse du Coaque (Cloaque) à Rouen, ne laissent planer aucune ambiguité sur l'intensité de la pollution urbaine qui sévit alors, alors même que la civilisation gréco-romaine a laissé

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un legs important : des voies dallées et bombées facilitant l'écoulement des eaux. Le laxisme des édiles médiévales, mais aussi l'indifférence des populations à leur environnement, conduira à un délitement progressif de l'espace urbain au fil des décennies, avant un salutaire sursaut.

Si l'exploration historique de traces présente un intérêt évident pour la connaissance, il serait malvenu de sous-estimer son importance pour la prise de décision dans une perspective managériale d'aujourd'hui. En effet, il ne faudrait pas imaginer que le second Moyen Âge en Europe est tellement lointain et singulier qu'il renvoie à un monde révolu dont les seules traces sont désormais de nature archéologique. Bien au contraire, les pratiques médiévales, et leurs conséquences, méritent une attention soutenue pour en décrypter les ressorts intimes, et mieux éclairer des pratiques contemporaines en matière d'organisation de l'espace urbain, tout particulièrement dans certains pays en voie de développement. Qui peut nier, en traversant les villes surpeuplées de certaines des contrées les plus pauvres de la planète, qu'y existe une gestion catastrophique des déchets humains et animaux et des excréments, encore jetés dans des cours d'eau ou des décharges à ciel ouvert ? En Afrique notamment, les déchets organiques attirent insectes et mouches, responsables de la propagation de gastroentérites, d'hépatites, de choléra et d'autres maladies transmises par voie fécale. Or, le présent article a permis de noter qu'un interventionnisme politique est à l'origine d'améliorations spectaculaires tout au long du second Moyen Âge, et qu'il est par conséquent possible d'envisager une action planifiée des autorités pour limiter les excès de la pollution urbaine issue de l'inconséquence des citadins et des dirigeants d'entreprises. En se penchant sur le passé, nul doute que nous disposerons de clés pour mieux agir sur le présent, et transformer positivement le futur.

Remerciements

L'auteur remercie chaleureusement Bruno Durand, de l'Université Paris Nanterre, et Sanni Babio, de l'Université de Parakou au Bénin, pour leurs suggestions et commentaires sur le contenu d'une première version de l'article, ainsi que Daniel Boudouin et Christian Morel, du cabinet Jonction Consulting, Jacques Colin, d'Aix-Marseille Université, et Falk Wagenhausen, de l'Université du Littoral Côte d'Opale, pour de multiples discussions stimulantes relatives aux enjeux et perspectives d'évolution de la logistique urbaine durable.

Conflits d'intérêt

L'auteur déclare n'avoir bénéficié d'aucun financement privé qui aurait pu directement ou indirectement influencer la conception originelle, la formalisation, la rédaction puis la révision finale du présent article.

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ESJ Humanities

Division, Persecution and Rearrangement - The AKP's Controversial Relationship with Turkish Civil Society

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Doi:10.19044/esj.2023.v19n8p25

Submitted: 04 February 2023
Accepted: 25 March 2023
Published: 31 March 2023

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Cite As:
Turkmen S. (2023). *Division, Persecution and Rearrangement - The AKP's Controversial Relationship with Turkish Civil Society*. European Scientific Journal, ESJ, 19 (8), 25. https://doi.org/10.19044/esj.2023.v19n8p25

Abstract

Turkish culture has always valued foundations, such as mosques, schools, public baths, free kitchens, and hospitals. However, much of this structure was abolished by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk after the proclamation of the republic in 1923. Turkish civil society was slowly reorganized following Western examples and had a second heyday under Turgut Ozal's liberal economic policy and media market liberalization. However, after the Justice and Development Party came to power in 2002, civil society in Turkey was significantly rearranged. This article discusses the conflicts and current situation of Turkish civil society, including the campaign against Amnesty International and the Open Society Foundation. Sources include renowned Turkish journalists and abundant literature in Turkish and English.

Keywords: Civil society, NGOs, Turkey, AKP, polarization

Introduction and historical background

In Turkey and before that in the Ottoman Empire, civil society has always been of great importance, especially foundations having centuries-long history. The proclamation of the republic in 1923 is also a serious rupture in this regard, as the founder of the state, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, pushed traditional civil society into the background and abolished the structures that had behind them fraternal communities associated with the Islamic religion. In the initial, one-party period of the republic, therefore, the non-governmental

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sphere slowly and hardly regenerated. In many cases, Western, European, or even American examples were used as the basis for the new organizations. Ideologically, too, liberal models and mindsets had a significant influence on reorganizing Turkish citizenship. Successive military coups have also failed to strengthen Turkish civil society during the multi-party era of the republic. The very well-known organizations, foundations and associations were mostly established or strengthened in the 1980s, a period that can be called the heroic age of Turkish civil courage. Following the 1980 military coup, a new constitution was adopted in Turkey. In addition to his liberal economic policy, Turgut Ozal, who came to power in the 1983 elections, became known for his conservative social policy. In this right-wing political mood, the new democratic system, which was gaining momentum, was able to provide a good environment for the rapid development of Turkish NGOs. One of the marked elements of the liberal economic policy was the privatization and the support of private enterprises, this line also prevailed in the field of media, and a number of private TV and radio stations were established. The resulting pluralistic media market has had a beneficial effect on private initiatives and the civil sphere. (Burak, 2021:64)

By the early 1990s, a thriving civil society could be found in Turkey. The fact that Turkey's foreign policy has also become more and more active has been a great boost for the organizations that focus mostly on charitable activities. Turkish aid organizations first showed their strength in the Balkan war and then became characteristic participants in charitable work in conflict zones around the world. In addition to foreign charitable activities, two domestic events also made a positive contribution to the development of Turkish NGOs in the 1990s. In 1996, an international meeting called the Global Habitat Conference was held in Istanbul, where Turkish civil activists were able to show their power to the world for the first time. And during the horrific 1999 earthquake in the eastern basin of the Marmara Sea, Turkish charities worked in a great way with non-governmental groups from abroad. These two events have put Turkish civil society on the world map. (Burak, 2021:65) The Turkish civil society has also benefited from the country's Euro-Atlantic integration. The 1999 Helsinki Summit and the so-called Copenhagen criteria to join the European Union point to the democratization and Europeanisation of Turkey. In the spirit of this democratization, the legal framework for civil organizations was also facilitated by Turkish legislation at the turn of the millennium. (Diez et al, 2005:7)

The Justice and Development Party (AKP), which came to power in 2002, took over at a time when politics could already build well on a stable civil society. These conservative, moderate Islamist civil society organizations have already played a role in the success of large-scale victories of moderate Islamists of the AKP. During the nearly two decades of governance of the

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AKP, a politically based divide has been consolidated in Turkish society, of which the civil sphere is no exception. AKP governments are counting on their loyal civilian partners not only to mobilize the electorate, but also to address serious social challenges such as the care for and integration of Syrian refugees, or the media coverage of the coronavirus, vaccination campaigns or the care for quarantined people. The AKP has significantly reshaped Turkish civil society. They declared some of the once loyal organizations enemies because they saw in them the perpetrators of the July 15, 2016 coup attempt. And at the ideological and political level, rival groups are increasingly opposed by the administration of Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

During the rule of the AKP, self-government was also characterized by a relative democratic deficit. Local charities were pushed into the power vacuum that sometimes appeared at the local level as early as the 2000s, and a lot of work was taken over from municipalities and village notary offices by the NGOs. At the same time, the AKP was able to successfully reframe the interpretation of this situation to the small town and village population by telling that all these services are done by the government, the government provided the opportunity for associations and foundations. As so many people in the countryside accepted this element of government communication, civil activism was able to increase the popularity of the ruling party even if it was precisely the political inertia that caused the situation that private individuals had to activate themselves. (Metin, 2011:195)

The best example of such a division and rearrangement of civil society is how fiercely Erdogan and the AKP government have been acting against civil society actors they do not like since 2016.

Growing conflicts between the Turkish government and civil society

AKP governments and Recep Tayyip Erdogan have repeatedly testified that they will use all their political clout to make certain NGOs and activists impossible. One of the most striking such cases occurred in 2017, when the Turkish delegation left one of the meetings of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) because a representative of the Journalists and Writers Foundation had the floor. According to the Turkish government, this organization is clearly linked to the religious leader Fetullah Gulen, whom the AKP cabinet associates with the 2016 coup attempt and whose community has been declared a terrorist organization by the name of FETO. The President of the Republic of Turkey sought to veto the participation of civil society activists close to Gulen at the OSCE Human Dimension Implementation Meeting in September 2018. (Tamklin, 2018)

Contrary to the fierce action of the AKP and Erdogan, Western and primarily American policymakers have already raised their voices in January 2018. U.S. Sens. Roger Wicker and Ben Cardin wrote to Assistant Secretary

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of State Wess Mitchell, asking the U.S. government to call on Erdogan to exercise restraint and do everything possible to get all NGOs that need it involved in the work of the OSCE. At the same time, Turkey has also found some allies that shared Ankara's position. Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan stood by the Turks not only for kinship and common strategic, geopolitical goals, but because Gulen's network also gained serious influence in their countries and became dangerous for the government. In this political context, Western actors feared Erdogan and did not necessarily dare to openly conflict with him because they feared that following a diplomatic blow, the Turkish government would impose severe restrictions on NGOs in Turkey. (Tamklin, 2018)

„Earlier studies note that the strong state has always been suspicious, if not hostile, towards civil society because it allowed the masses from the periphery to voice discontent and mobilize against the state authority." (Yabanci, 2019:289) The NGOs attacked by the Turkish government and Erdogan, whatever their peripheral situation in Turkish society, have a perceptible mobilization force due to their international background, so they can somewhat counterbalance the rigor of the political system and leadership.

At the end of 2020, Erdogan and the AKP saw the heightened threat of terrorism as a good excuse to further tighten regulations restricting the lives of NGOs. On December 27, 2020, the Turkish Grand National Assembly passed a law called Preventing Financing of Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, which provides extraordinary additional rights to the Minister of the Interior, who oversees foundations and associations. One paragraph, for example, states that if a foundation becomes involved in a suspicion of terrorist support, the interior minister can replace its leadership by government people who can act as quasi-trustees and have substantially free control over the organization's assets. (Unker, 2020)

Opposition parties and prominent NGOs such as the Human Rights Association, Amnesty International Turkey and the Federation of Women Associations of Turkey have drawn attention after the vote on the above law to the fact that since terrorist support is a very broad concept in Turkish law, very many organizations may disappear, their assets may be wasted. For example, Ozturk Turkdogan from the Human Rights Association explained that about 300,000 Turkish citizens are prosecuted under the Turkish Penal Code every year on charges of supporting terrorism, so it is very easy to get any Turkish NGO to be accused of cooperating with a terrorist organization. This is all the more true as Turkey has indeed been fighting an ideologically very colorful enemy for decades, with a number of active terrorist groups operating in Turkey, ranging from extremist Islamists (ISIS) to Kurdish separatists (PKK) to far-left militants (DHKP-C), and they also have some social base, too. At the same time, it is clear that this legislation was created

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only to make the government-critical civil sphere even more impossible and to transfer its assets to pro-government organizations. (Unker, 2020)

According to the opposition and government-critical civic groups, the law targets a well-defined group of civic organizations and activists. Women's rights activist Canan Gullu, for example, believes those most at risk are those who operate in Turkey as part of some liberal-oriented international networks. According to Gullu, groups fighting for refugee rights or supporting the LGBTQ community may even be stigmatized and discribed as traitors. Organizations working on gender equality are also plagued by Turkey's withdrawal from the Istanbul Convention, which in any case makes certain social groups more vulnerable. (Unker, 2020)

The new regulation also raises the risk of an increase in atrocities, arrests and imprisonment against prominent civilian leaders. This was already the situation in the pre-2020 period, for example in the case of Taner Kilic and Osman Kavala.

Prosecution of the Turkish branch of Amnesty International

Since 2016, two of the political and legal attacks on Turkish civil society have reached the stimulus threshold of the international community. In the so-called Buyukada lawsuit, the Turkish section of Amnesty International (AI) is being acted upon by the Turkish authorities. Buyukada, or “Big Island,” is one of Istanbul’s elegant neighborhoods, located in the Sea of Marmara, and is a part of the Princess Islands, which can be reached in about an hour’s boat ride from the city’s Asian center. The gathering, which took place in one of the hotels on the island, was carried out in 2017 by the Turkish branch of the international NGO, but the meeting was knocked down by special police units following an anonymous report. Eleven activists, including foreign nationals, were detained during the raid. Among those arrested were Taner Kilic, honorary president of the AI organization in Turkey, and almost the entire leadership of the group. Kilic and his associates were accused of collaborating with FETO, who planned the coup attempt according to the government, but at the same time, the accusations were already quite weak. Turkish and international publics were really shocked by the news that Kilic had been sentenced by the court to 6 years and 3 months in prison in July 2020, but the organization’s actual leaders, including President Idil Eser, had also been sentenced to two years in the first instance. (Simsek, 2020)

Andrew Gardner, an international expert at Amnesty International, wrote on Twitter against the charges and the court verdict that he cannot accept them. Gardner called the Turkish authorities' procedure outrageous and absurd. He expressed his view that repression was continuing in Turkey, but also added that AI would not stop fighting for human rights and would do

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everything in its power to secure the release of their Turkish staff.(Simsek, 2020) Gardner's statement was also reinforced by the fact that Amnesty International had been campaigning in the Buyukada case for three years at the time. An international signature-gathering action was conducted and an English-language document was prepared in which the allegations against Taner Kilic and AI were itemized.

Nothing proves better that politically motivated, created accusations were made against the defendants in the Buyukada lawsuit than the fact that in June 2021, a decision of the Turkish Constitutional Court invalidated the charges fabricated by the prosecution against AI's Turkish director, Idil Eser. This Supreme Judicial Forum has also ruled that Eser and one of his direct colleagues, Ozlem Dalkiran, are each required to pay 40,000 Turkish lira damages by the Turkish state. In essence, it turned out that everything that was brought against the Turkish Amnesty should be perfectly legal in a democratic system. The meeting itself took place in a hotel that is open to the public, meaning that the meeting can in no way be called a secret meeting. It is also absurd that AI leaders were set up as foreign spies by the Turkish political elite, the media and the prosecution, because although they could have done so, they did not consult in secret and there was nothing that was contrary to Turkish law. (Tahincioglu, 2021)

The decision of the Constitutional Court also ruled that AI leaders did not commit any crime by maintaining contact with Taner Kilic. In fact, Kilic downloaded an app on his cell phone called ByLock in 2014 that enabled him to send encrypted messages, which was really popular among Fetullah Gulen's followers. The prosecution could not prove against Kilic himself that he had used this app in connection with the coup attempt, and the court ruled that it was not a sin in itself to meet someone with ByLock on their device. (Tahincioglu, 2021)

If one looks for the political reasons behind the harassment of Amnesty International in Turkey, it can clearly seen that the AKP and Recep Tayyip Erdogan were probably infuriated by the AI campaign in which they sought to take action against the use of tear gas. During the suppression of the 2016 coup attempt and the ensuing state of emergency, Turkish law enforcement agencies deployed very large amounts of tear gas against oppositionists and government critics. Seeing this, Amnesty International was embarking on international sensitization and has even tried to put pressure on the South Korean government not to sell tear gas to the Turks. The Turkish government may have thought that with the international network behind it, AI was trying to obstruct the work of Turkish internal affairs agencies and colluding with FETO. (Tahincioglu, 2021)

Another campaign by Amnesty International that has received an interesting political response, was linked to the 2013 events in Gezi Park. In

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that year, localpatriots, environmentalists and oppositionists were protesting in defense of a popular promenade in the European part of Istanbul, they were the ones who were first hit by serious physical violence on the streets since the AKP came to power in 2002. The first crisis during Erdogan's leadership was this protracted series of protests, during which a certain H. Y. fell victim to police brutality. AI, along with two Turkish human rights NGOs, launched a campaign to explore the H. Y. case. By implication, the AKP and Erdogan may have been disturbed that civil activists were upset by such an old case, believed to be closed, that could put another focus on the AKP's first inconveniences. Officially, the court here did not complain that Amnesty was dealing with the H. Y. case, but that, based on an email, it was suspected that members of the organization were hiding important information from the authorities. They also wanted to weigh in on the fact that AI has an underground activity, wrre foreign agents and maybe even co-operating with FETO. (Tahincioglu, 2021) The events in the Gezi Park are a splash in the eyes of Erdogan and the AKP because it was the point in recent Turkish history that opposition-affiliated organizations sought a path towards each other and built a rudimentary network of action. After June 2013, political resistance subsided, but forms of cooperation emerged between left-wing and liberal NGOs, and that seriously disturbed the Islamists of the AKP. (Yalcin, 2015:90)

Osman Kavala's prosecution

The case of Osman Kavala's harassment by the Turkish authorities is also noticeably well linked to the 2013 events in Gezi Park. Kavala, a philanthropist who has been well known for a decade, has supported a number of issues with which he has been able to win the dislike of the AKP, but still only came to the forefront in 2013. As in the previous story, there was a well-defined international network, Amnesty International, so behind Kavala appears the George Soros-branded Open Society Foundaton, whose Kavala led its subsidiary in Turkey. The ongoing proceedings against Kavala show that Erdogan tries to reframe the events, and demonstrate that Soros -just like Gulen in 2016- tried to overthrow him in 2013. (Farooq, 2021)

Typically, Kavala was left free to operate for years. Moreover, he was not arrested immediately after the 2016 coup attempt, but only in October 2017. He was then detained for two years without even a real indictment being filed against him. Finally, in 2020, this civil activist was also released for a time. After he was arrested again, his case was merged with other persons' trial, so now he will be forced to stand in front of the court with 51 people. Kavala's case begins to resemble an extremely complex conspiracy theory, where neither Kavala but George Soros is the protagonist. Like other political leaders, such as Viktor Orban of Hungary, Erdogan likes to philosophize about

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Soros in his speeches and calls him the head of an international network that seeks to destabilize the global political status quo. (Farooq, 2021)

Kavala's case is receiving extraordinary attention from the international public, and Erdogan is also ready to engage in diplomatic conflicts in order to continue to crack down on his critical civil activists and networks. Erdogan has also expressed concerns about this process, including the European Union and the Council of Europe, of which Turkey is a member. (Farooq, 2021) Some Western countries, the 7 member states of the European Union, the United States, Canada and New Zealand have decided to try to make Erdogan aware of their own displeasure in a louder voice than European bodies. On October 18, 2021, the ambassadors of the 10 countries drafted a call asking the Turkish government to release Osman Kavala. Unspoken, this letter contained the threat that if Erdogan would not release Kavala, these countries could sever diplomatic relations with Turkey. The Turkish head of state, then returning from Africa, remarked quite haughtily that his country did not even need the "luxury" to agree with Western critics on this matter. He then threatened to ask the Foreign Minister to expel the 10 signatories from the country. Eventually, Erdogan was forced to back down, as the expulsion of Western diplomats could have put the Turkish leader in an extremely difficult position in terms of world politics and diplomacy. This is because a few days after the incident, an Erdogan-Biden summit was planned, before which it would have looked very unfortunate to ban the US ambassador from Turkey. (Sayin, 2021)

Kavala's release was not only promoted by the Western political elite and diplomatic corps because he was George Soros's Turkish man, but also because there were no objective legal arguments in favor of arresting and convicting the civilian activist. As early as November 2017, during the pre-trial detention proceedings, the Turkish court clarified that in the case of Kavala, there was no tangible evidence that he himself had been violent or had supported the violent takeover in either 2013 or 2016. The court also ruled that Kavala's detention was also against international law, as it was contrary to Turkey's commitments, the European Convention on Human Rights, which Turkey had also signed. (Turkut, 2020:291)

Experts well versed in the case agree that Kavala's detention is a preemptive blow on the part of the Turkish judiciary, and there is a clear political will behind it. They want to silence Kavala and the other outspoken civil activists like him. It can be very uncomfortable for the Turkish government that NGOs with an international background to start to analyze the human rights record of the Republic of Turkey. If violations leak from within the country, it can be detrimental to AKP policy in both ways. On the one hand, it is destroying Turkey's international reputation and, on the other, it can erode the AKP's already weakening electoral base. (Turkut, 2020:292)

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Changes in the landscape of Turkish civil society organizations

The membership of Turkish NGOs is low. It is common for the Turkish people to be reluctant to take part in such initiatives even today. Among other things, because they are afraid of retaliation such as that has befallen on the leaders of Amnesty International and the Open Society Foundation in Turkey. According to an international survey conducted between 2010 and 2014, Turks are among the most socially inactive peoples. 12% of the population is a member of an association or cooperates with foundations. Of the 65 countries studied, Turkey ranks 55th. (Sahin and Akboga, 2019:415)

Compared to the size of the country, civil society has still not reached its ideal size, but it can be said that its role in Turkish society is becoming increasingly important. According to a summary compiled by the Turkish Foundation for Life (Yasama Dair Vakfi) back in 2015, there were a total of 126,730 NGOs in Turkey that has more than 80 million inhabitants. Out of these organizations 108,712 were associations and 4,968 opted for the more traditional form of foundation. (Cicek, 2017:23) Following the 2016 coup attempt, their number declined, as many organizations were banned during the state of emergency, but new ones have since been created, often at the initiative of the government to replace the disbanded organizations. Five years after the Foundation for Life's investigation, in 2020, the Turkish Interior Ministry reported that there were 120,668 NGOs in the country, of which 5,774 were foundations. (Dogan and Genc, 2020: 129) This means that in five years there has been a slight decrease in the total number of organizations, but there is a significant increase in the number of foundations. In this, too, Islamic traditionalism is actually at work, as Islamic civilization has a millennial tradition of foundations. In the Middle Ages, both mosque and Quran schools functioned as a *vakif*, i.e. as a foundation.

The above detailed prosecution of civil activists and organizations, and other recent events and phenomena tend enormously to modify the situation of these 120.000 Turkish NGOs. A conservative-liberal or a religious-secular confrontation has been well perceived in Turkish society for decades. For some time now, this has been reflected in the system of non-governmental organizations. At the same time, this division has only been strengthened and will be strengthened by the ruling Justice and Development Party, which is doing its utmost to rearrange the terrain and favor civic initiatives close to the government.

It can be observed that Turkish NGOs today are organized along four characteristic strategic principles, and the Turkish state seeks to exploit them for its own purposes in each case. There are organizations that provide primarily charitable services that the state is unable or unwilling to give. For other groups, it is true that they want to introduce innovations into society. The third category includes those for whom the preservation and transmission

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of values and traditions is of paramount importance. While the fourth, in the present situation, perhaps the most important, their operating principle is legal protection. (Akinci, 2020:1843-1814)

In the case of the latter group, the ongoing coronavirus epidemic has best shown that the Turkish government not only wants to build on their activities, but also exploits them in its own way. From the advocacy organizations, the political elite has made communication channels that do not represent the interests of different social groups, but mediate and explain government policies and actions to these groups. From a policy perspective, the advantage of advocacy organizations is that they mostly deal with well-defined social groups, including minorities, and disadvantaged people. The AKP government did not seek out these associations and foundations during the epidemic, for example, to assess the needs of immigrant communities composed of millions of individuals in Turkey, but used advocates as a one-way channel to migrants of Syrian and other origins. As a result, 20% of Turkish refugee NGOs were already blowing a retreat during the first wave of the pandemic, and as they did not want to become a government tool, and they withdrew completely from the scene of the fight against COVID-19 in Turkey. (Akinci, 2020:1843-1814)

Turkish NGOs that have ultimately decided to take on the challenges of epidemic management are also reporting extreme pressure. Non-governmental groups received many expectations from two directions at once: society hoped they would operate as skillfully as possible, and the government viewed them as executors of state procedures. In addition to the double pressure, Turkish NGOs, especially associations and foundations working in the charitable sector and human rights defenders, have dwindled their financial resources, a situation exacerbated by the weakening of the Turkish and global economies. Due to financial reasons, about one third of the non-governmental organizations working in pandemic management were forced to liquidate or suspend their operations. This means that in the absence of government or foreign financial support, the Turkish civil sphere finds itself in increasingly difficult conditions. In these circumstances, it is also becoming increasingly difficult to maintain the pluralism and democracy of civil society. (Akinci, 2020:1845) During the COVID-19 pandemic, one Turkish civil umbrella organization, the Third Sector Foundation of Turkey (TUSEV), also conducted a survey of how civil society responded to the challenges posed by the epidemic. Based on the responses to their questionnaires, the situation could have been even more severe in 2020 than mentioned above. 43% of respondents stated that they had to cancel events, trainings and conferences already organized due to their additional costs. At the same time, 83% indicated that they had met with increased demands from the Turkish people, with so many more wanting to use their services. (Dogan and Genc, 2020:136)

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The relative weakening of the Turkish humanitarian civil sector is a serious loss for Turkish society as a whole and is also having a negative impact on the AKP government itself. As already mentioned, the rise of the Turkish civil sphere has been seriously helped by the emergence of Turkish charitable foundations in various conflict zones around the world since the first half of the 1990s. At first they were very active in the Balkan war, later in the Middle East, Africa and other parts of the world. Seeing these successes, the Turkish political leadership has also placed a number of international projects in the government structure within a government development agency, the Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA). Charitable and other assistance has become an important export and has contributed to the rapid improvement of Turkey's international image. AKP governments, with TIKA coordinating civic initiatives, had even more significant goals. In 2017, for example, the head of the organization, Serdar Cam, said that TIKA is also good at decentralizing an overly Western-centered global world. (Altunisik, 2019:2)

Building on the activism of charitable NGOs and the professionalism of TIKA, AKP governments are working to build a specific Turkish model in the field of humanitarian diplomacy. The AKP's policy in this regard is entirely in line with the party's ideology. It was already clear that even before the events in Gezi Park, it supported two groups in this regard: religious foundations and small and medium-sized businesses run by well-known Muslims. Abroad, with the help of these actors, they are not looking for government partners, but for local leaders and civic actors. As Turkish NGOs seem to be cooperating in this system with their foreign partners, they can portray these actions in a way that they have no political overtones and do not serve the Turkish government’s foreign policy goals. (Altunisik, 2019:3)

If one looks at the workings of TIKA and its affiliated NGOs, which are loyal to the Turkish government and mostly tied to Islamic culture, one can clearly see that this Turkish model is, indeed, an ideological one. TIKA's annual report for 2017 also states that the main motive for the organization's actions abroad is to promote the Ottoman and Islamic compassion approach. The otherwise secular Republic of Turkey carries out religious propaganda and activities aimed at converting non-Muslims in a perceptible way abroad. TIKA and the Turkish Islamic NGOs are involved in identity building on two levels. On the one hand, they seek to strengthen the world’s Muslim population in their faith and to promote Islam among non-Muslims through charitable actions. On the other hand, they also cover Turkey as they are consolidating the self-consciousness of the Turks as a Muslim nation. (Altunisik, 2019:4)

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Methodology

The purpose of this article is to provide a comprehensive overview of the state of civil society in Turkey, with a focus on the challenges facing civil society organizations in the country. To achieve this goal, a literature review was conducted that drew on a variety of sources, including academic articles, reports, and news articles.

The review takes a qualitative approach, using a thematic analysis to identify the key issues discussed in the literature. The themes that emerged from the analysis were organized into three main sections: the case of Osman Kavala, changes in the landscape of Turkish civil society organizations, and the polarization of Turkish civil society.

The first section of the article provides an overview of the case of Osman Kavala, a prominent civil activist who has been targeted by Turkish authorities. The section examines the circumstances surrounding his detention, and the broader political context that led to his arrest. It also discusses the international response to Kavala's detention, and the ways in which civil society organizations have mobilized to advocate for his release.

The second section of the article examines changes in the landscape of Turkish civil society organizations. It discusses the decline in membership of Turkish NGOs, and the reasons behind this trend. The section also explores the challenges that civil society organizations have faced during the COVID-19 pandemic, including financial pressures and difficulties in carrying out their work.

The third section of the article discusses the polarization of Turkish civil society, and the challenges facing civil society organizations that are critical of the Turkish government. It examines the ways in which the Turkish government has sought to co-opt civil society organizations, and the impact that this has had on the overall health of civil society in the country. The section also explores the ways in which civil society organizations have responded to these challenges, including through advocacy and resistance.

Overall, this literature review provides a comprehensive overview of the state of civil society in Turkey, and highlights the key challenges facing civil society organizations in the country. By drawing on a range of sources, the article provides a nuanced and detailed analysis of the issues at play, and offers insights into the ways in which civil society organizations are responding to these challenges.

Discussions

This article provides a comprehensive overview of the state of civil society in Turkey, including the challenges and struggles faced by civil activists and organizations. The article highlights the case of Osman Kavala, a well-known philanthropist who has been targeted by the Turkish authorities,

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as an example of the ongoing crackdown on critical civil activists and networks. The article also discusses the changes in the landscape of Turkish civil society organizations, including the decline in membership and the increasing importance of NGOs in Turkish society.

One of the most significant challenges facing civil society in Turkey is the polarization of society, which is also reflected in the civil sector. The article notes that there is a significant division within civil society, with some organizations being more critical of the state and government, while others are more loyal to the state and comply with its laws. This division often leads to conflicts and struggles within civil society.

Another challenge is the ease with which the government can control and manipulate NGOs through financial and other subsidies, leading to inequality in the distribution of resources and opportunities for organizations that share the ideology of the ruling party. This inequality has resulted in an Islamist vs. secular dichotomy dominating Turkish civil society.

The ongoing COVID-19 pandemic has also exacerbated the challenges facing civil society organizations in Turkey, including financial constraints and increased demand for their services. Many organizations have been forced to cancel events and even liquidate or suspend their operations due to the pandemic's economic impact. The government has also exploited NGOs' work during the pandemic, using them as communication channels to mediate government policies and actions to specific social groups.

Overall, the article highlights the importance of civil society in Turkish society and the challenges and struggles facing the sector. It also underscores the need for greater support and protection for civil activists and organizations to promote pluralism and democracy in Turkish civil society.

Conclusion or dealing with the polarization of the Turkish civil society

The division of Turkish society is also noticeable in civil society, for the reasons described above. In the literature this schism is found among the secular vs. found among the Turks. it is most often described as a conflict between Islamist positions, but a completely different approach emerges. According to this, Turkish NGOs can also be divided into two groups by differentiating between those who focus on their responsibilities and those who demand complete freedom from the government. In other words, the Turkish civil sphere has a loyal segment that respects the state in all circumstances, passes laws and strives to meet the expectations of the Justice and Development Party. The other group belongs to organizations that are more critical of the state, laws, and government, and want to conform to those they represent or serve. (Keyman et. al, 2017:22)

This division, which manifests itself among non-governmental organizations dependent on the state and fighting with the state, leads to a

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significant division within civil society and sometimes induces serious struggles. All major forms of conflict in Turkish society are manifested. Among other things, one can get a good idea of the ethnic conflict within the country. The largest minority, the Kurds is a source of conflict as organizations fighting for the enforcement of their rights, or even the against Kurdish separatism, divide the Turkish civil sphere at least as much as it is custumary in politics. (Keyman et. al, 2017:22)

The fragmentation and politicization of Turkish civil society is also characterized by the ease or difficulty with which an organization can obtain tax benefits provided by the state and the likelihood of it benefiting from state subsidies. Before the AKP came to power in 2002, the Human Rights and Freedoms Foundation (IHH), which has a committed Sunni Muslim identity, had never received any state support, nor did it receive the principle of the greatest concession. At the same time, today IHH is one of the government's favorite NGOs, taking advantage of the opportunities to operate a serious infrastructure. Obviously, it must also be acknowledged that they nevertheless do a very valuable charitable work in almost all of the countries of the World. (Keyman, et al., 2017:23)

A survey of NGOs working with women also showed why civil society activists believe Turkish President AKP and Recep Tayyip Erdogan have set up a system of inequality in Turkish civil society. The most frequently voiced reason among opinion leaders is that the Turkish political leadership wants to shape public opinion with the help of NGOs. The second most popular response was that so they desire to drown out opposition voices or validate their interests in eyes of EU. (Doyle, 2018:462)

To sum up what has been described so far, the AKP governments have basically divided the Turkish civil sphere at the level of opportunities. Preserving the secular nature of the republic on paper, the system of financial and other subsidies was reorganized so that it would benefit the organizations that share the ideology of the ruling party. In contrast, all Western-minded liberal organizations that are in sharp contrast to Erdogan's views are severely persecuted. This inequality seems in many cases to be such that an Islamist vs. secular dichotomy dominates Turkish civil society.

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ESJ Humanities

Foreign Capital in the Women's Press in Poland in 1989-2019 – Attempted Summary

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Doi:10.19044/esj.2023.v19n8p41

Submitted: 08 June 2022
Accepted: 25 March 2023
Published: 31 March 2023

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Cite As:
Dąbrowska-Cendrowska O. & Walkowiak N. (2023). *Foreign Capital in the Women's Press in Poland in 1989-2019 – Attempted Summary.* European Scientific Journal, ESJ, 19 (8), 41. https://doi.org/10.19044/esj.2023.v19n8p41

Abstract

Press companies with foreign capital have been functioning on the Polish media market since 1990. In the nineties, women's press was dominated by four media giants with German capital: Bauer Media, Burda Poland, G+J Poland, and Axel Springer Poland ('The Big German Four'), which were later joined by Edipresse Poland and Marquard Media. In the years between 2001 and 2016, mergers and acquisitions took place which led to a concentration of the press market. As a result, in 2019 Bauer Media became the definitive leader, systematically expanding its press range in the group of multi-thematic magazines. Despite taking action, neither Edipresse Polska nor Burda International was able to compete with the media giant. The aim of this article is to analyze changes in the segment of women's multi-thematic magazines which took place between 1989 and 2019. The research used the method of system analysis, a research approach used in social sciences, which considers the notion of a system and its analysis as crucial for the understanding of social phenomena. It was assumed that the women's press published in Poland is a part of the Polish media system. It is a closed sub-segment. Considering this multi-thematic magazine group as a whole without dividing it into subsegments, it is obvious that Bauer Media was the ultimate leader – owning 13 titles i.e. 56.5% of the available magazine range. The remaining 10 magazines (43.5%) were owned by Burda International (5), Marquard Media (2), Edipresse Polska (1), Agora S.A (1), and Wydawnictwo Zwierciadło (1). In the years 2018-2019, the media giant Bauer Media

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extended its magazine range and gained a monopoly in the advice and gossip magazine subsegment.

Keywords: Women's press, segmentation, foreign capital, ownership concentration

Introduction

The development of information and communication technologies has led to changes not only in many aspects of public life but also in traditional media i.e. press, radio, and television. Publishers of women's press have also had to adjust to these new operating conditions and have introduced new forms of contact with their readers.

The nineties saw foreign publishers investing; deliberate over the place of foreign capital in Polish press (including women's press); Polish-language copies of Western magazines; a growing number of titles; unbelievable print sales revenue etc. For women's press, 2001-2010 was a time of capital concentration, increased market segmentation, price dumping, magazine freebies, and the evolution of the luxury magazine subsegment. From 2011 onwards, we can also observe publishers' growing interest in social media. Thus, appeared the first attempts to create magazine profiles on Facebook, investment in e-publishing, and women's networking sites which unite several periodicals from the same publisher. The sites were linked by topic (e.g. parenting, fashion, celebrity gossip) or the affiliation of the title to a specific subsegment of women's press (advice, lifestyle).

The subject of this research is women's press in Poland during the years 1989-2019, namely, an attempt to summarize the three decades of the existence of this media sector in the Polish market. It is important to note that researchers are aware of the lack of wider analyses regarding women's press. McRobbie (1997)maintains that research on women's press has never been at the forefront of media studies. Consequently, there is no comprehensive approach to this issue. Similar observations are found in one of the articles of Menéndez (2013): 'periodicals dedicated to women (usually known as *women's press*), have aroused little interest as a subject for research, despite their long history and undeniable importance to the publishing market'. For media research expert Bussy-Génevois (1996), the study of women's press is important because 'one cannot analyse the press and its history without taking into account [...] women's magazines, which allow access to information on the history of civilisation; habits, customs, and everyday life'.

The time frame under analysis has been precisely defined. The first date is indisputable. After political changes in Poland which began in 1989, the first colour-printed women's magazines owned by Polish publishers -

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'Twój Styl' and 'Poradnik Domowy' - , debuted on the Polish market. The years 1991-1994 are marked by the expansion of foreign corporations, mainly those with German assets. As a result, Polish readers were presented with, amongst others: 'Tina', 'Pani Domu', 'Claudia' etc. The second date is related to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic which has had a considerable effect on media markets around the world. As the pandemic broke out in early 2020, the authors of this article decided to end the analysis following the last full year prior. This paper is a summary of 30 years of women's press in Poland.

The aim of this article is to present the changes in the segment of multi-thematic women's magazines that took place between 1989 and 2019. An effort was made to define the semantic boundaries between women's press and press dedicated to women; with the former being the sole focus of this investigation. Based on the systematic analysis, and taking into account the development of women's magazines as well as ownership changes, the involvement of foreign media companies in the Polish press market is also characterised.

Establishing definitions – literature review

The labels 'women's press' and 'women's magazines' are used interchangeably in the literature on the subject. 'Press' and 'magazines' can be clearly defined, and there is little doubt about their parameters. The boundaries of 'women's', on the other hand, are wider and more blurred; its usage is more intuitive. For example, there are magazines dedicated to women, but not necessarily written exclusively by women (Sullerot, 1996). The position of 'editor-in-chief' is often held by a man. Menéndez (2013) states that 'it is generally assumed that women's magazines are those which have a mainly female readership'. Nevertheless, in her opinion, this assumption does not provide a sufficiently detailed definition. While using the term 'women's press', we should bear in mind that in developed and saturated media markets – like the UK market – it is used to describe various types of periodicals. This wide range from weeklies (incl. fashion – 'Look', celebrity 'Heat' or real-life 'Pick Me Up') to glossies (lifestyle 'She', fashion 'Vogue', hobby 'House and Garden') undergoes a constant evolution towards a hybrid category (Ytre-Arne, 2011).

Cultural and media studies have analysed women's press on multiple occasions. In the modern world, it is difficult to separate research on culture from that on media. Media culture contributes to the creation of a common culture shared by the majority of individuals around the world. This happens because media culture provides the materials needed to create personal identity – thanks to which individuals become a part of the media community. Kellner (2001) believes that this form of culture can be defined as an industrial

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culture organised on the basis of mass production and intended for a wide audience that follows conventional formulas and codes. According to researchers, the media, including the press, mirrors the condition of modern society, indicating its problems, as well as the situation of women (Irimescu, 2015). It is also a form of control, exercised by the ruling class in order to impose an established vision of social order, values and morality upon everyone else (Śpiewak, 1997). Storey (2009) maintains that 'from the start, women's magazines were conceived as practical guides enabling women to survive in patriarchal society'. Most continue to serve this function even today, by combining entertainment content with useful advice on everyday aspects of domestic life.

Encyklopedia wiedzy o prasie (1976) defines women's press as 'a group of periodicals, mainly weekly magazines, whose profiles are created according to the reading needs and social position of women. Therefore, aside from journalistic articles, reportages, columns, literary work – and also in some magazines, general press releases (political and other), their content consists mainly of sections or columns devoted to fashion, housekeeping, parenting, family matters'. Further we read: 'an important quality of Polish women's press is the persistent drive to enhance the knowledge (especially practical knowledge) and cultural level of women, in addition to constant improvement in the engagement and position of women in social and professional life'.

Since the emergence of this definition, the situation of women's press has changed significantly, and not only in Poland (Ruff, 2012). The increasing popularity of online media, and consequent disruption of publishing industry business models, led publishers of women's magazines to search for new publishing methods. Their goal is to create the most effective distribution channels for their content.

Słownik terminologii medialnej (2006) contains neither the terms 'women's press' nor 'women's magazines'. It directs readers back to the comprehensive term 'czasopiśmiennictwo' (in free translation 'print media') by which general information periodicals, owing to the multitude of publicized information and particular needs of the readers, are divided into subgroups according to various criteria. Publications are sorted by audience: there are universal periodicals, magazines for children, young people, women, men, the elderly, the disabled, those living in the countryside, and others. A reference to women's press can also be found under the description for 'magazine'. It reads: '[...] magazines focus on entertainment. They are an important element of leisure time. Except for universal magazines which are declining, magazines for children (educational function); young people (predominated by youth culture); women (predominated by advisory content – fashion, beauty, health, household) are flourishing [...]. Hermes (1995) agrees that

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women's press is read primarily for pleasure, 'to kill time. Women who took part in one study explain that they reach out for women's magazines when they have nothing to do, or when they are less busy with other activities, mainly related to running a household.

Sokół (1995), referring to the definition of women's press in *Encyklopedia wiedzy o prasie*, states: 'this definition leaves a lot to be desired because it does not define what the women's press is; it does not reflect on its distinctiveness in publishing and writing; it does not adequately reflect the individual periods of historical development of women's press. It is too generic and biased'. After analysing publications for women in the years 1945-1995, she proposed that this press segment be defined as 'a group of periodical publications dedicated to women as indicated in the title or subtitle, programme, content, the way of presenting the topic, structure and linguistic form. Such press is edited in terms of women's interests based on their age, level of education, social origin, living and working environment, role and place in family and society. Based on the content, usually they are multi-thematic publications, close to the form of a magazine' (Sokół, 1995). According to Surugiu (2012), periodicals for women are mainly monthly, bi-weekly or weekly consumer magazines in which high quality materials regarding women's traditional interests (i.e. beauty, fashion, health, psychology, relationships, children's education, cooking) are published. The presentation of the particular content differs depending on the target group to which the magazine is being addressed. Trzop (2005) adds: 'in terms of content, women's magazines have various characters: family-oriented, feminist, entertainment, tabloid ('prasa serca' – in free translation 'romance magazines'), and magazines for successful women'. Hermes (1995) accurately states that 'the repertoire of practical knowledge legitimizes them as a group of professional magazines for housewives [...] recipes, advice on stain removal or opening tightly closed jars are shown as handy and valuable. These activities are presented as if they were the only everyday tasks'. The ideal reader of women's press is a pragmatic, practical woman, well versed in solving the current issues of everyday life.

Hinojosa (2005) suggests that 'women's magazines' should be differentiated from periodicals dedicated to women. The former, according to the researcher, are about women and fall into two areas: sex and femininity. For the latter, women are the target audience; their interests can be varied and not necessarily related to family, love, or taking care of external appearance.

Taking into account the above reflections, it can be agreed that women's press consists of multi-thematic magazines which are divided into categories corresponding to women's interests. Press addressed to women most often comprises high-circulation periodicals dedicated to one leading

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subject, created with women in mind and read mainly by them. TV-guides, celebrity-gossip and true story magazines are also included in this group.

Methodology

As mentioned in the introduction, the research used the systems analysis method. This method was chosen both because of its importance in the social sciences and its usefulness for studying the system as a closed whole. The notion of system and its analysis are therefore crucial for understanding social phenomena. It has been assumed that the women's press is, on the one hand, a social phenomenon and, on the other, a part of the Polish media system. In other words, it is one of the segments of the media system.

In order to examine changes on the Polish women's press market in the years 1989-2019, the most important publishers of women's magazines were selected for the analysis. The following premises were taken into account:

- number of women's magazines published by a single publisher;
- period of their existence on the Polish media market;
- number of copies sold;
- capital concentration ratios.

The in-depth research was carried out on advice and gossip magazines, monthly advice magazines and women's luxury magazines.

Women's press publishers in Poland and their multi-thematic magazines - results

Corporations with foreign capital have been the leading publishers of women's press in the years 1990-2019. During the period of press transformation, the presence of foreign capital in Polish media became a significant issue (Oniszczuk, 1997; Adamczyk, 1998; Bajka 1994; Bajka 1995; Flankowska, 2002). The first envoys of foreign press groups had already appeared in Poland by the late eighties. However, at that time the law did not allow them to publish their press in Poland. Thanks to political changes, legal changes became possible. The Round Table Agreement, supported by the subsequent amendment of the Press Law Act in June 1989, resulted in the creation of thousands of new press titles. Under this law, every Polish citizen of age with no criminal record was able to become a publisher. Foreign publishers could also exercise this right with permission from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was easily obtainable. Unregulated legal policy regarding foreign capital in the Polish press market brought about an invasion of giant Western publishing groups, and the creation of many new titles in Poland (Bajka, 2004). It is clear that wealthy countries (or their corporations and press businesses to be precise) were investing in foreign markets. Poland found itself on their radar. Media moguls like Silvio Berlusconi, Axel Springer, H. Bauer, David Chase, Rupert Murdoch, Robert Hersant, Jörg Marquard, Nicola Grauso, and Bertelsman appeared, and did not stop at print

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publishing. With time, the emergence of private commercial televisions, radio stations and new information and communication technologies became their new objects of interest.

In the years 1990-2019, the key publishers of women's press were the development trend-setting businesses with German and Swiss assets. The three decades of their existence in the Polish market were not homogeneous. In the early nineties, Burda International, Bauer Media, Axel Springer (from 2009 renamed to Ringier Axel Springer Polska) and Gruner + Jahr Polska began a period of intense activity. In the mid-nineties, they were joined by Edipresse Polska and Marquard Media Polska. The Polish women's press market became saturated following dynamic investments from 1990 to 1997. Magazine circulation – as well as sales – was on a decline, which forced publishers to lower prices, add numerous freebies and create promotions for periodicals in other magazines which belonged to the large media companies.

At the end of the 20th century (specifically, the years 1997-2000) there was a fall in the circulation numbers and a decline in the women's press readership rates. The hierarchy in each magazine segment crystallized, and clear leaders emerged. At this time, leading publishers i.e. Bauer Media, Edipresse, and Burda International strengthened their positions, whilst Axel Springer Polska gradually withdrew from the market. Investment in new titles resulted in an extended range of licenced lifestyle magazines i.e. 'Cosmopolitan', 'Marie Claire', 'She', 'Votre Beaute' (Filas 1999). However, only one of the abovementioned titles was published in 2019 ('Cosmopolitan') and its final issue was planned for December of the same year.

The years 2001-2014 were a time of market concentration through mergers and acquisitions amongst publishers; and growing segmentation (Dąbrowska-Cendrowska, 2015). The primary purpose of existence and main function of media companies are to generate profits and multiply the owners' fortunes; their business activities aim to maximise growth and bring in satisfactory revenue (Pierścionek, 1996; Sudarsanam, 1998). Accordingly, media businesses can survive for long periods and achieve their goals providing they grow consistently, and continually adjust to the changing environment. One method to adjust to the changing media market in Poland (also influenced by new technology) was to merge companies. During this time, Bauer Media acquired Wydawnictwo Prasowe 'Twój Styl' and Phoenix Media; Burda Media absorbed Hachette Filipacchi Polska and G+J Polska; and Axel Springer Polska bought out Infor Biznes. Bauer Media and Burda Media International's transactions will be thoroughly discussed later in this chapter. Along with Edipresse Polska, they became the main publishers of women's press in the second decade of the 21st century.

It is worth taking a closer look at Axel Springer Polska, whose investment in weekly opinion magazine 'Newsweek' in 2001, and in the daily

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newspaper 'Fakt' two years later, precipitated a distinct course of development. Researchers of women's press consider 2007 an important year; Axel Springer Polska and Marquard Media Polska carried out an exchange transaction – the former aimed to strengthen their position amongst Polish publishers, the latter to unify its publication range. Industry rumours about the withdrawal of Axel Springer Polska from the women's press market became fact. Springer exchanged four profitable titles: 'Olivia', 'Pani Domu', 'Sekrety Serca' and 'Cienie i Blaski' for the sports journal 'Przegląd Sportowy'. Starting with 'Przegląd Sportowy' and the other sport's title 'Tempo', Marquard Media Polska successively released from their portfolio periodicals which did not match luxury magazines aimed at either women or men, such as 'Playboy', 'Shape', 'Cosmopolitan', 'CKM, etc.

Acting consistently, Axel Springer Polska and the holding company Infor signed an agreement at the beginning of June 2009, creating a joint business venture. Springer acquired 49% of shares in Infor Biznes, bringing in its own title 'Dziennik. Polska Europa Świat' and the online news service Dziennik.pl. The aim of this merger was to jointly publish (from Autumn 2009) the new daily newspaper 'Dziennik Gazeta Prawna' (Mielczarek 2012). As intended, the new periodical combined the high-quality content of both 'Dziennik. Polska Europa Świat' and 'Gazeta Prawna'. The first focused on politics, culture and sport whereas the second – topics related to economy, taxes and law. The wider subject range was intended to increase the attractiveness of the newspaper to readers and advertisers alike. This merger seems to have been influenced by the unsatisfactory positions of the separate papers in the daily press market.

In March 2010, Axel Springer Polska changed its name to Ringer Axel Springer. This was due to a merger which happened in Germany between Swiss company Ringer AG from Zurich and Axel Springer AG from Berlin. Anna Gancarz-Luboń from Springer's head office admitted that whilst the agreement was signed, the general direction of the company's development was also laid out, with its aim of further expansion in Eastern Europe and investment in digital media.

During 2015-2019, the three leading publishers Bauer Media, Edipresse Polska and Burda International appeared to reinforce their market positions. However, transactions from 2018 and 2019 i.e. the closure of 'InStyle', 'Cosmopolitan', 'Joy'; takeover by Bauer Media of Marquard Media's advice magazines and the Swiss publisher's withdrawal from the women's press segment, clearly show that the leader in terms of sales, number of titles and profits was Bauer Media.

Analysis of changes in the women's press market in Poland 1990-2019, clearly shows that it was a period of upheaval and transformation. It should be emphasised that in 1996, both foreign and Polish publishers were

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involved in this press segment. In 1990, Polish company Wydawnictwo Prasowe 'Twój Styl' launched the first luxury magazine on the Polish market – 'Twój Styl'. This title became the unquestionable leader amongst women's luxury magazines. In addition, the publishing house released 'Filipinka' – a magazine addressed to teenage girls. Prószyński i S-ka, who published the very popular magazine 'Poradnik Domowy', was also successful. As a result of progressive market concentration, both of these women's titles became the property of Bauer Media.

In 2006, there were 11 publishers on the women's press market who shared 100 titles between them (Bauer Media Polska - 27, Phoenix Press – 18, Edipresse Polska – 16, Axel Springer – 10, Gruner + Jahr Polska – 8, Agora S.A. – 6, Burda Media Polska – 6, Marquard Media Polska – 2, Hachette Filipacchi Polska - 2, Prószyński Sp. Z o.o – 2, ZPR – 2, Zwierciadło Sp. Z o.o – 1). Ten years later, there were 7 players left publishing the same number of magazines (Bauer Media Polska - 51, Edipresse Polska – 23, Burda International – 10, Agora S.A. – 9, Marquard Media Polska – 5, Zwierciadło Sp. Z o.o – 1, ZPR – 1). After analysing the data available, it can be concluded that in early 2020 there were 6 publishers left on the market. Marquard Media has closed its titles. Burda International, Edipresse Polska and Agora S.A have slimmed down their range of publications. Only Bauer Media Polska, taking over Edipresse's titles, has extended its portfolio.

In her analysis of the economy of media companies, Dzierżyńska-Mielczarek (2018) observes that it is very difficult to assess the level of concentration in the individual media segments due to 'multiplicity of stratification factors and various classification systems of magazines'. The media research expert emphasizes: 'when considering the entire magazine market and analysing shares of the biggest publishers in global circulation, it can be concluded that none of them have achieved a dominant position, and the market of this type of magazine has not been showing the typical characteristics of concentration. In the years 2005-2015, the concentration ratio (CR4) did not exceed 50%, but almost every third magazine was published by Bauer' (Dzierzyńska-Mielczarek, 2018). Analysis of data from the table below indicates that the market shares of this media giant were more than twice as high as those of its competitors combined. Table 1. presents the concentration ratio in the magazine market.

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Table 1. Concentration ratio in the magazine market (CR4 and HHI) and global market shares by circulation

Rok	Shares in the global market by circulation						CR4	HHI
	Bauer	**Edipresse**	**G+J**	**Burda**	**RASP**	**Phoenix**		
2005	28,9	4,6	7,8	X*	6,5	X*	47,8	959,5
2010	30,6	5,2	2,8	3,3	X*	X*	41,9	982,1
2015	31,0	3,5	X*	2,7	X*	2,2	39,4	984,7

* The publisher was not in a group of four leading firms in a given year.
Source: Dzierżyńska-Mielczarek (2018)

We must agree with Dzierżyńska-Mielczarek, who maintains that the magazine market should undergo a careful segmentation, and that concentration levels should be analysed individually in each segment and subsegment. This approach is necessitated, to a large extent, by the variety of content of individual periodicals and diversity of readership groups (Dzierżyńska-Mielczarek, 2018). Analysis of the press in individual subsegments shows that after changes which happened in 2016-2019, Bauer gained a monopoly not only in the group of entertainment, gossip and TV magazines, but also in the advice magazine segment.

The multi-thematic magazines (the academic literature also refers to this term as 'general magazines') on the Polish press market can also be defined as classic periodicals for women that cover a wide range of topics from a circle of women's interests (Sokół, 1995). Due to formal and content-related features, as well as differently defined target groups, these magazines can be divided into three press subsegments.

The first subsegment comprises magazines from the 'bottom of the range' i.e. advice and gossip magazines (Dąbrowska-Cendrowska, 2016). This group includes 'Przyjaciółka', 'Tina', 'Naj', 'Pani Domu', 'Cała Ty', '100 Rad' and 'Poradnik 50+'. The second subsegment contains 'mid-range' lifestyle advice magazines 'Świat Kobiety', 'Kobieta i Życie', 'Olivia', 'Claudia', 'Dobre Rady', 'Poradnik Domowy'. These two subsegments of women's press are connected by the clearly demarcated theme of advice. The third subsegment – the 'top of the line' – consists of luxury magazines: 'Twój Styl', 'Pani', 'Zwierciadło', 'Elle', 'Wysokie Obcasy. Extra', 'Uroda Życia', 'Joy', 'Cosmopolitan', 'Glamour', 'In Style', 'Well'. The last one was closed in November 2018. In December 2019 there were a total of 24 multi-thematic magazines published by six media companies. These magazines addressed the same topics, with content including (but not limited to) health, relationships, children, fashion, beauty, food, culture and lifestyle. The presentation of their content was tailored to the needs and expectations of the potential – carefully profiled – reader.

Throughout 1989-2019 advice magazines for women were also composed of two press subsegments. The first is the aforementioned advice

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and gossip subsegment – which in 2019 consisted of the seven titles: 'Przyjaciółka', 'Tina', 'Pani Domu', 'Naj', 'Cała Ty', '100 Rad' and 'Poradnik 50+'. The first four periodicals were published by foreign companies in the years 1992-1995, and up until 2013 had competed for readers and advertising revenue (Dąbrowska-Cendrowska, 2009). In 2013 these magazines were joined by 'Cała Ty', and in 2017 by '100 Rad' and 'Poradnik 50+' addressed to older female readers. (Table 2).

Table 2. Advice and gossip magazines

No.	**Title**	**Starting year**	**Publishers**	**Editor-in-Chief in 2019**
1.	'Tina'	1992	Bauer Media	Joanna Rajpert-Kuźnicka
2.	'Pani Domu'	1994 2007 2009 2019	Axel Springer Marquard Media Edipresse Polska Bauer Media	Joanna Rajpert-Kuźnicka
3.	'Naj'	1994 2012	G+J Polska Bauer Media	Urszula Zubczyńska
4.	'Przyjaciółka'	1995 2019	Edipresse Polska Bauer Media	Urszula Zubczyńska
5.	'Cała Ty'	2013 2013	Phoenix Press Bauer Media	Edyta Brodka
6.	'100 Rad'	2017	Bauer Media	Joanna Kadej-Krzyczkowska
7.	'Poradnik 50+'	2017	Bauer Media	Joanna Kadej-Krzyczkowska

Source: Own research

The second subsegment comprised monthly advice magazines: 'Świat Kobiety', 'Kobieta i Życie', 'Olivia', 'Claudia', 'Dobre Rady' and 'Poradnik Domowy'. In 1998 'Women' and 'Gracja' made an attempt to join, but disappeared from the press market in under a year. Most advice magazine titles offered various freebies, extras or special editions, generally related to food, fashion and beauty.

Some important changes within the group of advice magazines happened in July 2019. Edipresse Polska sold the three advice magazines in its portfolio ('Przyjaciółka', 'Pani Domu' and 'Poradnik Domowy') to Bauer Media. As stated by the CEO of Edipresse Polska, Alicja Modzelewska-Warec, the company planned to focus on the development of internet services and build new sources of income within the e-commerce marketplace based on its strongest digitalized brands, including: Wizaz.pl, Polki.pl, Viva.pl, Party.pl, Flesz.pl, UrodaŻycia.pl, Mamotoja.pl and Niania.pl.

Meanwhile, Bauer Media extended its advice magazine range to 11 titles. At that time, only 'Claudia' and 'Dobre Rady' were owned by Burda International. Buying out the three abovementioned magazines from Edipresse Polska was part of the global publishing strategy of the Bauer Group. This

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media giant with German assets systematically and consistently developed this press sector, becoming the main publisher of advice magazines for women in Poland. The Chairman of Wydawnictwo Bauer, Tomasz Namysł, adds 'we are pleased to enrich our advice magazine portfolio with new profitable and well-positioned titles. Thanks to consistent and thoughtful investment in our press titles, including advice magazines, we manage to maintain our position as the biggest magazine publisher, thus proving that printed press in Poland is still doing very well' (wirtualne media, 2019). (Table 3).

Table 3. Monthly advice magazines

No.	Title	Starting year	Publishers	Editor-in-chief in 2019
1.	'Poradnik Domowy'	1990 2002 2013 2019	Prószyński i sp. Agora SA Edipresse Polska Bauer Media	Urszula Zubczyńska
2.	'Claudia'	1993 2013	G+J Polska Burda International	Agnieszka Wierzbicka
3.	'Olivia'	1994 2007 2012	Axel Springer Marquard Media Polska Bauer Media	Ewa Kustroń-Zaniewska
4.	'Dobre Rady'	1995	Burda International	Agnieszka Wierzbicka
5.	'Świat Kobiety'	1993 2005	Bauer Media	Ewa Kustroń-Zaniewska
6.	'Kobieta i Życie'	2008	Bauer Media	Ewa Kustroń-Zaniewska

Source: Own research

During 1989-2019, the Polish media market saw five publishers invest in the luxury magazine segment, with varying degrees of success. They included both foreign (with German and Swiss capital) and Polish companies. It should be highlighted that the history of luxury magazines in Poland began with the debut of 'Twój Styl', which set the standard for this press subsegment. The target audience of these magazines were mainly wealthy or middle-class, well-educated women with a variety of interests; those who value their own development, and strive to succeed in both private and professional spheres. Usually, they live in big or mid-sized cities and have the financial resources to fulfil their dreams and satisfy a wide range of needs. Press research experts claim that luxury magazines shape specific social attitudes, norms and habits, as well as personal and professional lifestyles (Mielczarek, 2007; Zierkiewicz 2008).

From 1990 to 2019, the women's luxury magazine segment consisted of 11 periodicals – which changed publishers. In 2019, Burda International and Bauer Media had three titles each. 'In Style', 'Glamour' and 'Elle' belonged to the former, and 'Twój Styl', 'Pani' and 'Well' to the latter.

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Marquard Media Polska published two titles: 'Cosmopolitan' and 'Joy'. Whereas, Agora Sp. z o.o. ('Wysokie Obcasy Extra'), Wydawnictwo Zwierciadło ('Zwierciadło') and Edipresse Polska ('Urodę Życia') had one title each. (Table 4).

Table 4. Women's luxury magazines

No.	Title	Starting year	Publisher	Editor-in-chief in 2019
1	'Twój Styl'	1990 2002	Wydawnictwo Prasowe 'Twój Styl' Bauer Media	Jacek Schmidt
2	'Pani'	1991 1999 2002 2003 2005	Dziennikarska Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 'KiŻ' Polski Dom Wydawniczy Edipresse Polska, Agencja Wydawniczo-Reklamowa 'Wprost'2 Bauer Media	Monika Stukonis
3	'Zwierciadło'	1991 1998 2001	Uniprojekt, Imper Poland Wydawnictwo Zwierciadło Sp. z o.o.	Paulina Stolarek-Marat
4	'Elle'	1994 1996 2006	Wydawnictwo Prasowe 'Twój Styl' Hachette Filipacchi Burda International	Marta Drożdż
5.	'Cosmopolitan'	1997 2019	Marquard Media Polska Closure of the magazine	Joanna Mroczkowska
6.	'Glamour'	2003 2013	G+J Polska Burda International	Katarzyna Dąbrowska
7.	'Joy'	2006	Marquard Media Polska	Martyna Zagórska
8.	'In Style'	2008 2018	Burda International Closure of the magazine	Anna Zejdler-Ibisz
9.	'Wysokie Obcasy Extra'	2010	Agora SA	Aleksandra Klich,
10.	'Uroda Życia'	2014	Edipresse Polska	Sylwia Niemczyk-Opońska
11.	'Well'	2017 2018	Bauer Media Closure of the magazine	Magdalena Jaros-Szmidt

Source: Own research

Conclusion

At present, women's press in Poland, and worldwide, finds itself in an interesting situation. On one hand, we observe media giants continuing to sell traditional magazines, although copy sales results are on the decline. On the other, they attempt to invest in online publications, as well as various types of internet services aimed at women. Such engagement is also seen amongst publishers investing in the Polish press market. Bauer Media extended its range of publications; buying titles out from other publishers, and consistently

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concentrating on advice magazines and bringing advice columns into themed magazines. Edipresse Polska somewhat changed direction, targeting younger female readers and offering them internet services whose titles do not always refer to well-known magazines.

The multi-thematic magazine group on the Polish press market consisted of 23 periodicals, which represented three levels (top, mid and bottom range). Considering this group as a whole without dividing it into subsegments, it is obvious that Bauer Media was the ultimate leader – owning 13 titles i.e. 56.5% of the available magazine range. The remaining 10 magazines (43.5%) were owned by Burda International (5), Marquard Media (2), Edipresse Polska (1), Agora S.A (1) and Wydawnictwo Zwierciadło (1). In the years 2018-2019, the media giant Bauer Media extended its magazine range and gained monopoly in the advice and gossip magazine subsegment (7 titles and 100% of that bottom range). It also strengthened its position with mid-range advice magazines, owning 4 titles and 66.6% of the magazines from this subsegment. Burda International owned the remaining 2 titles (33.4%). The situation in the luxury magazine subsegment (the top range) was more diverse as more publishers were involved in this group. In total there were 10 periodicals published by Burda International (3), Bauer Media (2) Marquard Media (2), Edipresse Polska (1), Agora S.A. (1) and Wydawnictwo Zwierciadło (1).

This research shows that Bauer Media became the leading publisher of bottom and mid-range magazines – i.e. magazines which provide advice. Such magazines informed readers on how to master everyday life, how to deal with the household duties arising from the social roles ascribed to women, and at the same time have a perfect body, neat and tidy house, well-behaved children and ideal marriage. In 2019, after the purchase of three titles (‘Przyjaciółka’, ‘Poradnik Domowy’, ‘Pani Domu’) from Edipresse Polska, Bauer Media became the owner of 11 periodicals. Seven of them belonged to the advice and gossip subsegment. Four of them were monthly advice magazines. The media giant strengthened its position in this group, recognizing the potential of older female readers. Undoubtedly, whilst copy sale results decrease and online versions of magazines lack popularity, focusing attention on readers who, for various reasons, are accustomed to conventional periodicals, may, in the short run, bring benefits. It is important to note that in recent years Bauer Media has not cancelled any of its titles – quite the opposite – it extended its magazine range by acquiring titles which already existed on the market. Therefore, the company did not incur the substantial costs of launching a new and completely unknown brand.

The rich world of women's press presented in this article, including various themed magazines and their range of content; changes in publishing house ownership; and the dynamic development of digital media, reveal the

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need for systematic research on this segment of media. Comparative analyses conducted between entire segments as parts of the media market, comparison of the discourse within individual titles, and magazine monographs would improve our knowledge of women's press, and thus of society and its changes.

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ESJ Humanities

Power Struggle in August Strindberg's *The Father:* A Foucauldian Analysis

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Doi:10.19044/esj.2023.v19n8p58

Submitted: 20 July 2020
Accepted: 08 March 2023
Published: 31 March 2023

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Cite As:
Safaa F.(2023). *Power Struggle in August Strindberg's The Father: A Foucauldian Analysis*. European Scientific Journal, ESJ, 19 (8), 58. https://doi.org/10.19044/esj.2023.v19n8p58

Abstract

The bulk of critical works on August Strindberg's The Father use biographical material and Strindberg's misogyny to assert the struggle between the sexes in The Captain's tragic victimization by his domineering wife, Laura, while a few other works have presented the play as a dramaturgy of struggle for power between an aristocratic man and his bourgeoisie wife. Following Foucault's approach on power, this paper argues that although both Laura and The Captain actively participate in exercising power using discourses and knowledge, it is ultimately Laura's manipulation of these two strategies along with allegation of insanity that give her the upper hand and guarantee her ascension to sovereignty in the household.

Keywords: Knowledge, discourses, power, madness, legal, economic

Introduction

Onto the stage in his own home he makes his first appearance—haughty and ingenious—only to be led out in a straitjacket in the span of three acts, stripped of power by his wife, Laura. It is The Captain in August Strindberg's masterpiece, *The Father*. Published in 1884, the play is centered on the discord emanating from the course that Bertha, the daughter, is to take for her future career. In the aftermath of this, and exacerbated by earlier debates about domestic and monetary issues, the household turns to a sort of battlefield.

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

In fact, the play has sparked much controversy and set aflame contention between two camps of critics concerning the innocence of the male protagonist. Resting preeminently on the foundation of Strindberg's contempt towards emancipated women and, in the words of K.M. Newton (2008), his antagonism towards Henrik Ibsen "whom he called 'the Norwegian blue stocky' and accused of supporting the feminist cause" (p.111), the majority of critics champion The Captain as a sinless man of science subdued by his diabolical wife, Laura. This again is ascertained by correspondence between Frederick Nietszche and Strindberg, where the former hailed the play for its portrayal of women and presentation of love "with war as its means and the deathly hatred of the sexes as its fundamental law . . . expressed in such a splendid fashion" (cited in Brustein, 1991, p. 101). Against this stream goes the reading of The Captain's conduct as that of an arrogant aristocrat whose strife to vindicate his power in the household fails as Laura wreaks havoc in his attempts.

Both of these readings, however, leave open a gap regarding the means used by The Captain and Laura to keep firm grip on power position. This paper will therefore explore the ways Foucauldian power, knowledge, discourses and madness play role in this hideous war to attain dominance.

Review of Literature

The early critical works on August Strindberg's *The Father* have predominantly regarded it as the tragedy of The Captain who has been ruthlessly victimized by his domineering male-like wife, Laura, thus reflecting the playwright's own misogyny—a trait so notoriously known about Strindberg. Nonetheless, more recent investigation of the play has shifted to classifying the action in *The Father* as dramaturgy of socio-political struggle running on domestic level between decaying aristocracy, represented by The Captain, on one hand and aspiring bourgeoisie, enacted by Laura, on the other.

Primarily, the critics' tendency to read *The Father* in light of the battle of the sexes is biography- based and female- antagonistic. Of the influential works adopting this approach is Robert Brustein's *The Theatre of Revolt* (1991). Brustein is so overt concerning the intermingling of Strindberg's life and works that he claims that the Swedish dramatist's "misogyny" (p.97) and "struggle in . . . mind between the male and female" play a decisive role in the pathway that his career takes (p.99). Thus, Brustein is adamant about The Captain representing Strindberg himself, for he maintains that "Strindberg's identification with his central characters is so explicit that it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the author or the character is speaking" (p.104). Due to this, the play is seen as incarnation of Strindberg's enmity towards the feminine sex. This male-female war is adopted by Karlsson (2009), who sees Laura as "femme fatale" (p.10) and considers the play a ground for "vengeance"

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

by the "supposedly weaker sex" (p.9). The case being so, Laura has often been offered to the audience as incarnation of evil—the counterpart of the devil. Emulating this, Brustein (1991) states that *The Father* is an "object lesson to sanguine husbands, urging them to revolt against their domineering wives" (p.107). This, again, owes much to biographical material expounding Strindberg's failing marital experience, particularly with his wife, Siri Von Essen. It is fundamentally because of such an approach that Newton (2008) describes Laura as "a manipulative schemer determined to destroy her husband" (p. 111). Brustein (1991) also sees The Captain as a "victim" who falls to Laura's "treachery", adding that the play draws lines "between intellectual freethinking men and irrational superstitious malevolent women" (p.110) whose actions match the term "quackery" (p.109). Stressing The Captain's innocence, Brustein states that "he is . . . persecuted—not only by Laura but by every woman in the house" (p.110). Consequently, he categorizes the play as "the tragedy of a freethinker" and a "Romantic" (p.107). Nevertheless, such biography-founded, male-biased interpretation fails to see that it is not only Laura who is trying to manipulate, but also The Captain himself is a dictator trying to subjugate his wife and assert his absolute power, and that both of them are exercising power.

In accordance with the aforementioned gap, one can see a divergence in reading of *The Father* presented by Krasner (2012), who integrates politics by pointing out that Strindberg's plays dramatize "the decay of the aristocracy and the rise of the bourgeoisie" (p.37). Interestingly, Krasner (2012) sees The Captain himself as having hand in his own destruction due to his obstinate persistence to secure a position of "royalty" where "monarchy" has in fact ended. Hence, Krasner locates The Captain's fall under the category of an "aristocrat's disintegration" (p.86), which is obviously far from acquitting this military figure. Likewise, Szlaczer (2011), states that *The Father* dramatizes "a shift in the societal power structure represented by the late nineteenth century bourgeoisie" (p.72). It is precisely this that motivates Krasner (2012) to regard The Captain's "breakdown" not as an outcome of Laura's witchcraft or Satanic manipulation, but rather as output processed by several agents altogether, of which he cites The Captain's "faith in strict codes of moral conduct" and "patriarchy" (p.88). Therefore, it is not only Laura who seeks power and victimizes The Captain. Rather, The Captain's own attempt at positioning himself as the rightful one to control Bertha, his daughter, has in fact been a point that incriminates him. Similarly, Fahlgren (2009) notes that the play dramatizes "fight about power . . . to define the laws of society and control financial matters" (p.26). Subsequently, Fahlgren reads Laura's actions as resembling those of her husband's in using the same tools "to exercise power" (p.27). However, such approaches of the play still fall short of exploring the ways through which the protagonists exercise this power.

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To wrap up, various analyses have limited *The Father* within the boundaries of an innocent male victimized by his monstrous wife, whilst other critical works propound the viability of investigating the play from socio-political perspective of exercising power between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. Despite that, there seems to be a deficit of clues as to the means manipulated by the two characters to exercise power and secure sovereignty. In so far as this is true, the paper at hand will attempt to investigate these means, which seem to match Michel Foucault's concepts of power, knowledge, discourses and madness.

Methodology

Inasmuch as *The Father* seems a platform for exercising power between the Captain and Laura, this paper will rely on Michel Foucault's concepts of power, knowledge, discourses, and madness in the nineteenth century in order to examine Laura's success at goading the Captain to insanity, thus ascending the social ladder as a bourgeoisie.

A fervid advocate of human freedom, the French historian, philosopher and literary critic, Michel Foucault is regarded as one of the most influential figures in literary theory. Investigating historical material in a variety of books, Foucault has attempted to study the relationship between power, knowledge and insanity. Bressler (2011) presents the Foucauldian notion that history is a form of power. In fact, Foucault has done extensive studies on this latter notion. One of his main arguments in *Power/Knowledge* is of power being a "right" that can be owned, transferred or even usurped "through a legal act or through some act that establishes a right" (Foucault, 1980, p.88). In the course of *The Father*, and conspicuously so, both the Captain and Laura compete to have the upper hand at a legal right to control their daughter, Bertha. The Captain boasts of his legal right, and Laura attempts to reach at a point where she can strip him of this right through proving him insane.

Furthermore, in *Power/Knowledge,* Foucault presents arching concepts in direct connection with exercising power. Cuddon (2013) postulates that, according to Foucault, "knowledge and power are joined together through discourse" (p.556), so one is apt to observe a symbiotic relationship overlapping power, knowledge and discourse. By definition, Guerin et al. (2005) affirm that discourses are "accepted ways of thinking, writing, and speaking – and practices that embody, exercise, and amount to power" (p. 276). In fact, throughout the play, ownership of knowledge shifts from The Captain to Laura. Consequently, the use of dominant discourses transfers from the husband to his wife, resulting in the change of the person in whose hands power resides.

Concomitantly, Foucault in *Power/Knowledge* contends that, historically, power is not an independent entity, for its "raison d'être . . . is to

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be found in the economy" (p.89). As such, power struggle according to Foucault is initiated so as to safeguard an individual's economic interest. The moment the latter clashes with another person's economic goals, individuals start a war. Taking this into account is a must since the dialectic of power between The Captain and Laura in *The Father* rests on economic roots, essentially due to who the breadwinner in the house is and how to run the money in the domestic circle.

Many a time, however, the alliance of discourses and knowledge may not suffice to subdue an opponent. This is precisely where Foucault's work on madness intertwines—particularly his historical investigation in *Madness and Civilization*. Whilst Foucault (1988) asserts that the allegation of madness has ever and anon been adopted to "exclude . . . those whose transgressions risk compromising the social order" (269), he further notes that, at the end of the eighteenth century, the family "played a decisive part" to distinguish between "madness and reason" (p.253). This whole network matches the action in *The Father* at once as Laura manipulates her right to judge the Captain's unreason, thus estranging him in his own house.

Foucault also specifies the generics against which modern insanity is categorized. In *History of Madness*, he states that insanity "expresses itself visibly through signs such as error, fantasy, illusion, and vain language devoid of meaningful content" (p.173). This remarkably befits the Captain's behavior in the second act of the play. Harmonizing with the means used by the bourgeoisie to ascend to power, Foucault also argues that madness is the "paradoxical condition of the continuation of the bourgeoisie order" (p.379). Hence, the juxtaposition between disorder (the mad) and order (the bourgeoisie), guarantees the survival of the bourgeois, quite a conspicuous stratagem embraced by Laura to overthrow her aristocratic husband.

In a nutshell, power—enacted at the levels of knowledge, discourses and alleged madness—appears as an active player in the realm of *The Father*. Through exquisitely manipulating all these apparatuses, Laura does finally secure the sovereignty position she has aspired to as a bourgeois, a pivotal claim in the framework of Foucault's approach.

Discussion and Analysis

Expounding Foucault's notion of power, Sara Mills (2003) states that it is a performed strategy, and that power relations may exist in "family relations" (p. 35). In *The Father*, these power relations are exercised by both Laura and The Captain, as evident when the former asks, "What has all this life and death struggle been about except power?" (Strindberg, 1958, p. 56). Clearly then, this exercise of power is maintained by the ownership of knowledge, and there is shift of power positions between The Captain and Laura pertaining to acquisition or loss of knowledge. The shift in knowledge

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per se, as the play demonstrates, necessitates the shift in using dominant discourses from The Captain to Laura to assert power, yet it is by substantiating The Captain's insanity that the bourgeoisie Laura ends up victorious.

To begin with, in her "Theosophy as Catalyst: Strindberg's Theater of the Self and Other", Szalczer (2011) contends that knowledge is the medium through which The Captain exercises power, for he "[represents] institutionalized power based on knowledge" (p.113). The Captain is evidently the powerful figure at the opening of the play, emerging on the stage as a personage highly aware of his legal privilege—being the ruler of the household. This status, he is totally cognizant, is guaranteed by the Napoleonic Code, which, Blanc-Jouvan (2004) affirms, came into light in 1804 (p.1) and was the established code of law in the whole of Europe for a long time. At this point in the play, The Captain tells Laura that she is at disadvantage concerning the educational course their daughter, Bertha, will take. As a result, he informs Laura that "[b]y law [a woman] surrenders all her rights and possessions to her husband" (Strindberg, 1958, p. 32). Such a standpoint harmonizes with Foucault's analysis noted in *Power/Knowledge* that the "legal codes of Europe" begin "with the Napoleonic Code" (p.105). This preliminary position of power is fostered by a different kind of knowledge—the scientific. In fact, being a scientist himself, The Captain realizes his supreme rank, and this sees its outcome in subjugating others, for he "wanted to redeem [his honor] by some noble action—some achievement, some discovery", so he "immersed [himself] in science" (p.59). With the progress of action, however, he starts to lose grip on knowledge, and his power undergoes a process of undermining. Basically, addressing Laura when he turns skeptical regarding the fact of his being Bertha's father, he anticipates his own downfall by accusing Laura that she has "gnawed and gnawed at [his will] so that soon it will slip its cogs and then the whole works will whirr to a standstill" (p. 54). In just a few pages, he admits his defeat and begs for mercy by saying, "I implore you, as a wounded man begs for the death-blow—tell me everything" (p. 57). Therefore, the deficit of knowledge concerning his fatherhood seems to have paved the way for his being overthrown by his wife.

With Laura, the case is the reverse of The Captain's. She is apparently the subjugated at the starting point of the play. However, Szalczer (2011) maintains that she gradually gains "strength through the appropriation of knowledge" (p. 113). In accordance, Laura exercises power so that she ultimately appears as the one in control. While she is subordinate to The Captain at first due to lack of awareness concerning the means by which she may use power, she proceeds to exploit forms of knowledge she acquires further on. First, upon realizing that no man can be sure concerning who the father of his own child is, she manipulates this knowledge to drag The Captain

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to an inferior position by pouring the henbane of doubt into his ears. Besides, Laura succeeds at gathering information about her husband's scientific attempts and his obsession in reading to twist facts. This she uses in order to persuade The Doctor that the ventures of The Captain are fantastical and subsequently shift power to be her own. Particularly, Laura describes to The Doctor the "whole crates of books" that her husband buys but "never reads". She also refers to The Captain's attempt to look at other planets using a "microscope" (Strindberg, 1958, p. 35). Ultimately, it appears that her knowledge concerning symptoms of insanity and how they may be evoked in a patient gives her the upper hand. Indeed, Laura elicits this information from The Doctor who asks her to "avoid bringing up any topic that is likely to affect the patient strongly" because it "may easily turn to obsessions or monomania" (p. 36). When she knows of him that "an insane person loses his civil and family rights" (p. 46), the means to subjugate becomes accessible to Laura, assisting her to drive The Captain to insanity and to drain his power.

This alternating ownership of knowledge serves as stepping stone to the shifting use of dominant discourses between the protagonists in an attempt to subdue one another. Cuddon (2013) expounds the relationship between power and knowledge by stating that "knowledge gives one power to make valid or invalid truth claims about specific 'subjects' as well as to control what can be said about them" (p. 556). Mills (2003) further argues that discourse refers to "all statements, the rules whereby those statements are formed and the processes whereby those statements are circulated and other statements are excluded" (p. 62). Thus, these discourses, quite evidently employed in *The Father*, are mainly apparent through exploiting terms in various disciplines and using forceful language along with a few acts and practices that The Captain and Laura manipulate.

It is The Captain who commences this manipulation of discourses. He proceeds to make use of sensual and visual discourses even as the play is just opening. The audience is at once aware of his show of power, where he displays military items in the domestic sphere. In *The Father*, the audience first notice the weapon on the wall and the hanger with the Captain's uniform. The Captain is also aware of legal discourses of the time, particularly on the level of the family, where he refers to the Napoleonic Code that regards the father as the head in the domestic sphere. This is particularly why he thinks highly of his position as he says "I'll have no one – woman or child – encroaching on my rights" (Strindberg, 1958, p. 42). Such a position is reminiscent of the description of The Captain as a "bully" (Krasner, 2012, p.89). In keeping with this, The Captain employs economic discourses by stating that "[o]nce you've sold your goods, you can't expect to have them back *and* keep the money" (Strindberg, 1985, p. 32). With the Captain, scientific discourses play an active role as well. Through this, he appears to

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control both Laura and Bertha. To illustrate, one may note his reference to medical and psychological discourses, for he contends while addressing The Pastor, Laura's brother, that "she sometimes flies into such a rage that I'm really afraid she might be ill" (p. 28). Moreover, The Captain relies on his mathematical awareness to secure a position of control about where Bertha should live, so he tells Laura that a compromise between them would mathematically mean that she stayed at the railway station, half-way between the two different places chosen by the father and the mother.

All the while that he manipulates such discourses, The Captain safeguards his rank through forceful words and rhetorical language, albeit with skill less than Laura's. For instance, he is sarcastic towards Laura, as the previous example illustrates. In addition, his use of a simile about the women in the house to describe his plight to The Pastor is a means to win Laura's brother over to his camp, for he says "It's like going into a cage full of tigers" (Strindberg, 1985, p.27). More obviously, his use of the words "enemy" (p. 39), "ignorant" and "conceited" (p. 43) to categorize Laura and the women supporting her is conducive to positioning himself as the one in need for help so as to remain in power. Therefore, throughout the play, The Captain is actively involved in the race for power; he is by far guilty for participating in the struggle to control Bertha's future.

Even as the case is so with the male protagonist, it is Laura who asserts her power by noticeably exquisite manipulation of the same discourses her husband uses. Herself apparently at legal disadvantage, Laura gradually uses legal discourses to communicate her acquisition of a higher power position. Particularly, she tells The Captain that if Bertha were proved not to be his daughter, he would "have no more rights" (p. 43). Conspicuously, she confirms her ascension to power by legally referring to The Captain's confession to The Doctor that he is insane, so he is no more entitled to rule the household as the "breadwinner" (p. 60). Again, she dominates the scene as she speaks of her knowledge on the economic and military levels: "I've sent a message to the Colonel, and now I'm trying to look into the household accounts" (p. 62). Nevertheless, it is through medical discourses that Laura's ascension to power is harvested. Conversing with The Doctor, she uses terms that confirm her position, for she states of her husband that "his mind wandered", "he has such wild fancies", and that they have to stop any further "outbreaks" of his (p. 47).

Added to that, the audience notices the discursive aspect that Laura's behavior and speech entail. For instance, her skill at maneuvering stands out while pretending that she sympathizes with her husband's case, for, in Act 1, she takes out her handkerchief to suggest that she is crying. This way she may sway The Doctor to her side. The same applies to her pretension of crying in Act 2, as The Doctor recognizes that The Captain is starting to be violent.

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It remains that Laura is, in terms of language, more capable of manipulating others. Thus, she bears as arms the strategy of insinuating, by which The Captain is challenged and becomes "vulnerable" (Fahlgren, 2009, p. 28). Hence, she succeeds at exacerbating her husband's psychological deterioration by hinting at the possibility of her being "unfaithful" (Strindberg, 1985, p. 33). Likewise, while conversing with The Captain, she argues concerning responsibility and deploys the stratagem of positioning, using such dynamic words as "ridiculous" to categorize her husband's actions of frenzy and the term "superior enemy" (p. 44) to describe herself. The case being so, she asserts to him that she is the one in power. Furthermore, she is aware that hiding facts or omitting details during conversations – a stratagem Mills (2003) calls "exclusion" – is quite important in discourse so as to control addressees (p. 54). That is essentially why, in Act 1, she hides from The Doctor the fact of her husband being in the house so as to have time to talk with the former and attract him to her own camp. Besides, Laura experiments with irony in her retorts against The Captain as means of showing her own superiority, for she calls him and her brother "my lords" (p. 31), with the intention of challenging her husband's so-called superiority. Compounding this strategy is the female protagonist's effective use of rhetorical questions to earn other characters' support – precisely that of The Doctor's – where she asks, "Then is it reasonable for a man to see through a microscope what's happening on another planet?" (p. 35). In the same context, she relies on repetition of the word "microscope" (Strindberg, 1.35), for example, as means of hinting at The Captain's divergence from reason and the subsequently descent from power. It is through the aforementioned discursive practices that Laura's rise from an earlier position of an inferior bourgeoisie against her aristocratic husband is validated.

Be it as it may, Laura ensures her ascension by winning the whole household to her side and having them coerce with her to subdue The Captain. Consequently, she is fain to annihilate this enemy by adopting a quintessential scheme that Foucault attributes to the bourgeoisie— allegation of madness. Foucault (1988) notes that such a strategy was used by the bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century to get rid of the undesirables, "those whose transgressions risk compromising the social order" (p. 269). Thus, through her insinuations and discourses, Laura manages to call to the foreground some symptoms of madness identified by Foucault. First, she speaks to The Doctor of her husband's "mania" (Strindberg, 1985, p. 35) and his "most extraordinary fancy" (p. 47). There also appears persistent plunging into paranoia in The Captain's treatment of Laura and other characters, including all the women in the house, and even The Doctor himself, whom he calls a "telephone, relaying all [the women's] chatter" (p. 66). In fact, Laura herself provokes him to be suspicious by her insinuations. Gradually, she goads him to violence as he

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hurls a lamp at her at the end of Act Two. This condition aggravates as he, talking to Bertha, explodes to frenzy and describes himself as an animal, for he says, "I'm a cannibal, and I want to eat you" (p. 69). Then, he takes a revolver, which is an indication of turning uncontrollably inclined to murder. Foucault (2006) refers to this in *History of Madness,* where he shows how "madness is demonstrated in violence, wild gestures, and occasionally murderous acts" (p. 525). Inasmuch as The Captain fits into this category, Laura ultimately justifies that he is insane and earns the approval of The Doctor so as to lead him to an asylum, which Foucault categorizes in *Madness and Civilization* as a place that "eliminates irregularities" (p.258). Only then does Laura proclaim her sovereignty as being legally entitled to control Bertha. Exhilarated, she addresses the young lady, "My child—my own child!" (Strindberg, 1985, p. 74)

Conclusion

Thus adopting Foucauldian analysis, the discussion has shown that none of the two protagonists in *The Father* is innocent as concerns power struggle. Both The Captain and Laura enact a cross-exercise of power that manipulates knowledge and discourses as demonstrated by Foucault. This struggle ends with the triumph of the woman who manipulates the two apparatuses more skillfully and aggravates The Captain's psychological degeneration. It has also been shown in the course of the discussion that Laura's ability to confirm The Captain's insanity befits the Foucauldian interpretation of madness as a means of exclusion of those not desired by the society. Inevitably, then, the paper has proven, based on Foucault's principles, the Laura has succeeded at ascension to power by gaining the upper hand at discourses, knowledge, and madness. The action thus dramatized, the curtain is ultimately drawn on the overthrowing of an aristocrat by allegation of madness, and the crowning of the bourgeoisie as domestic sovereign.

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ESJ Humanities

Contact de Langues dans le Roman Marocain Contemporain : Représentation et Réception Augmentée en Classe du Français au Cycle d'Ingénieurs

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Doi:10.19044/esj.2023.v19n8p69

Submitted: 21 January 2023
Accepted: 20 February 2023
Published: 31 March 2023

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Cite As:
Salmi A. (2023). *Contact de Langues dans le Roman Marocain Contemporain : Représentation et Réception Augmentée en Classe du Français au Cycle d'Ingénieurs*. European Scientific Journal, ESJ, 19 (8), 69. https://doi.org/10.19044/esj.2023.v19n8p69

Résumé

En littérature, la langue ne peut être réduite à la fonction communicative. Souvent orchestrée sur une trame anthropologique complexe, la fonction de représentation esthétisée de la réalité socio-culturelle y est un enjeu vital. Le contact de langues en est un aspect éloquent qui se trouve justement investi dans la production de romanciers marocains contemporains. D'un point de vue didactique, la question du plurilinguisme se pose également aux apprenants qui doivent aujourd'hui composer avec sa présence effective à l'école comme dans l'univers numérique. Cette contribution s'inscrit dans la perspective praxéologique de la didactique littéraire. Issu d'une expérimentation hybride, l'article entend éclairer la question du contact des langues telle qu'elle est envisagée par deux écrivains marocains contemporains et tente d'optimiser son exploitation pédagogique en classe du français auprès des étudiants inscrits au cycle d'ingénieurs. Après la lecture comparée de quelques extraits romanesques et le travail sur les matrices conceptuelles élaborées à partir de l'analyse du discours, l'analyse quantitative effectuée par le recours à l'application lexicométrique AnaText portant sur les productions écrites d'un groupe d'apprenants permet de confirmer l'amélioration substantielle de leur compétence rédactionnelle. Nous pouvons dès lors recommander l'intégration de la composante littéraire en classe de français des formation techniques supérieures qui privilégient le mode hybride

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

en enseignement-apprentissage.

Mots-clés: Didactique littéraire, contact de langues, expérimentation, français au cycle d'ingénieurs, compétence rédactionnelle

Language Contact in the Contemporary Moroccan Novel : Representation and Increased Reception in Class of French in the Engineering Cycle

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Abstract

In literature, language cannot be reduced to the communicative function. Often orchestrated on a complex anthropological framework, the task of aestheticized representation of socio-cultural reality is a vital issue. The contact of languages is an eloquent aspect which is precisely invested in the production of contemporary Moroccan novelists. From a didactic point of view, the question of plurilingualism also arises for learners who must now deal with its effective presence at school as well as in the digital world. This contribution is part of the praxeological perspective of literary didactics. Resulting from a hybrid experiment, the article intends to shed light on the question of language contact as it is envisaged by two contemporary Moroccan writers; moreover, it tries to optimize its pedagogical use in the French virtual classroom with students enrolled in the engineering programme. After the comparative reading of some novel extracts and the work on the conceptual matrices elaborated from the speech analysis, the quantitative analysis carried out by the recourse to the lexicometric application AnaText which relates to the written productions of an experimental group of learners confirms the substantial improvement in the students' writing skills. We can therefore recommend the integration of the literary component in the French class of higher technical training which favors the hybrid mode in teaching-learning.

Keywords: Literary didactics, language contact, experimentation, French in the engineering cycle, writing skills

Introduction

La trame littéraire est souvent taxée de complexité culturelle et anthropologique lorsqu'il est question de représenter le monde et la vie des humains. Aussi, certains enseignants de langues vivantes recourent aux

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

supports dits authentiques jugés plus accessibles. C'est le cas du français au Maroc qui, tout en étant officiellement une langue étrangère, demeure toutefois privilégié en tant qu'outil et objet d'enseignement-apprentissage dans les filières scientifiques et techniques de l'université marocaine.

En réalité, nous constatons un immense paradoxe puisque les étudiants de cette langue quittent subitement le « tout littéraire » du cycle secondaire qualifiant et des Classes Préparatoires aux Grandes Ecoles (CPGE) pour se retrouver dans le « tout fonctionnel » des établissements techniques et des facultés scientifiques. Il s'ensuit que la représentation que les apprenants construisent dans ces filières vis-à-vis de la chose littéraire est généralement négative : un mélange de perplexité et de rejet.

Il est donc vital de tenter d'agir sur cette conception afin d'éviter la déperdition des compétences déjà acquises en réintroduisant les supports littéraires en classe de langue française du cycle d'ingénieurs et en expérimentant de nouvelles approches, celles notamment qui intègre l'univers et les outils numériques.

Par ailleurs, nous estimons que le roman marocain contemporain, qui adopte souvent une intrigue accessible sans renoncer à la représentation de réalités complexes fidèles aux enjeux du pays, offre des extraits et des situations qui méritent une réflexion didactique soutenue et une exploitation pédagogique adéquate. La sollicitation est d'autant plus persistante que l'une des problématiques privilégiées dans ces œuvres est justement le contact des langues ; ce qui est tout à fait légitime eu égard au contexte socioculturel et au système éducatif national marqué par le plurilinguisme à la fois concret et institutionnel. Cette question se pose évidemment aux apprenants qui y sont confrontés de manière effective en classe et dans l'univers numérique mais pas nécessairement lors de leurs lectures de la fiction littéraire.

C'est la raison pour laquelle notre contribution est une réflexion émanant d'une expérimentation didactique effectuée en classe de français et culture francophone dans une grande école d'ingénieurs. Elle a porté sur l'exploration en mode hybride de quelques scènes de classe qui mettent en jeu la rencontre des langues dans le roman marocain très contemporain mais aussi sur la production écrite de biographies langagières, notion centrale en didactique intégrée des langues et cultures qui investit le sujet-apprenant à la fois lecteur et scripteur.

Il est précisément question d'envisager dans quelle mesure la classe virtuelle permet de reconfigurer la lecture du support romanesque qui traite du contact des langues en un tremplin innovant d'optimisation didactique des représentations singulières, favorisant in fine la maitrise du français langue étrangère ainsi qu'une meilleure appropriation de la culture nationale.

Concrètement, il s'agit de tenter d'apporter des éléments de réponse à deux interrogations :

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Quels outils et quelles stratégies peut-on emprunter à l'univers digital afin d'enrichir la réception effective d'extraits de fiction romanesque qui mettent en scène le contact de langues ?

En quoi le numérique pourrait-il faciliter une lecture immersive qui articule les représentations individuelles des apprenants autour des langues aux conceptions des écrivains, plus élaborées et mieux formulées en termes d'expériences réfléchies et transmissibles ?

1. Des langues en contact : expériences de deux écrivains marocains

Avant d'aller plus loin, il convient d'apporter quelques précisions concernant les concepts-clés retenus. Dans la perspective adoptée, la représentation, que les didacticiens contemporains nomment également conception, est définie comme « un système de connaissance qu'un sujet mobilise spontanément face à une question ou un problème, que ceux-ci aient ou non fait l'objet d'un apprentissage » (Reuter et al., 2007).

Etant plutôt personnelles, évolutives et parfois incohérentes, les représentations n'accèdent pas certainement au statut scientifique. Nous estimons néanmoins que leur exploitation didactique peut se révéler précieuse. Concernant le contact de langues, ce concept correspond à une rencontre réelle ou virtuelle plus ou moins conscientisée de deux ou plusieurs langues dans un contexte défini. Enfin, la réception augmentée signifie que c'est moins la réalité elle-même qui est en jeu que la perception qu'on en fait, ce qui correspond mieux à l'horizon littéraire mais aussi à l'univers virtuel du numérique.

Dans le cadre général de la recherche dont est issu cet article, nous avons mené un travail conséquent sur un corpus plus large composé de six écrivains marocains de langue française. Néanmoins, pour des raisons liées aux contraintes d'un article de recherche, nous nous limitons dans cette contribution à deux auteurs, en l'occurrence Abdellah Baïda et Driss Ksikes.

En effet, dans leurs œuvres respectives, la question du contact des langues est centrale et elle est investie aussi bien en création littéraire qu'en réflexion théorique. Afin de rendre compte de leurs expériences, nous avons exploité un bon nombre d'essais et d'articles critiques de ces mêmes écrivains pour l'élaboration de matrices conceptuelles synthétiques. Nous avons également mobilisé et confronté deux œuvres romanesques publiées la même année 2014, respectivement *Le dernier salto et L'homme descend du silence*.

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1.1. Matrices conceptuelles élaborées

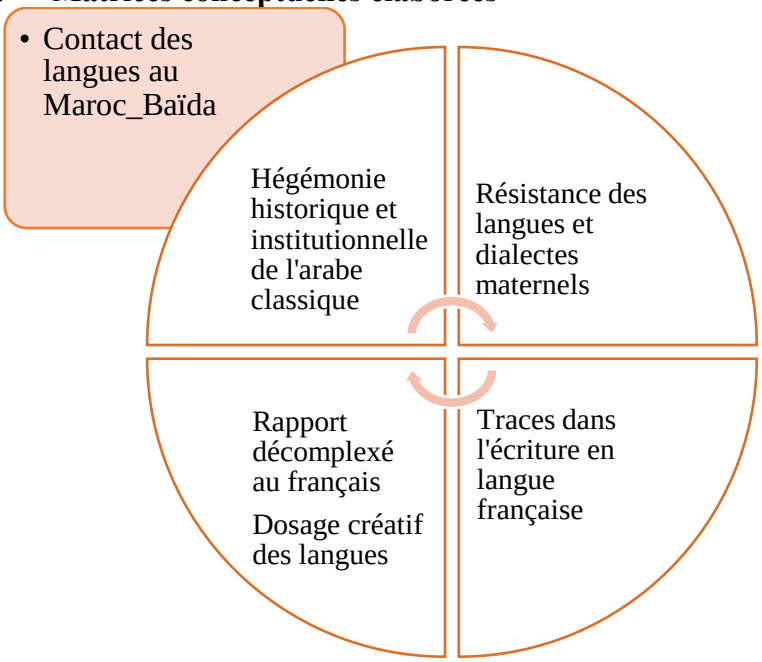

Figure 1

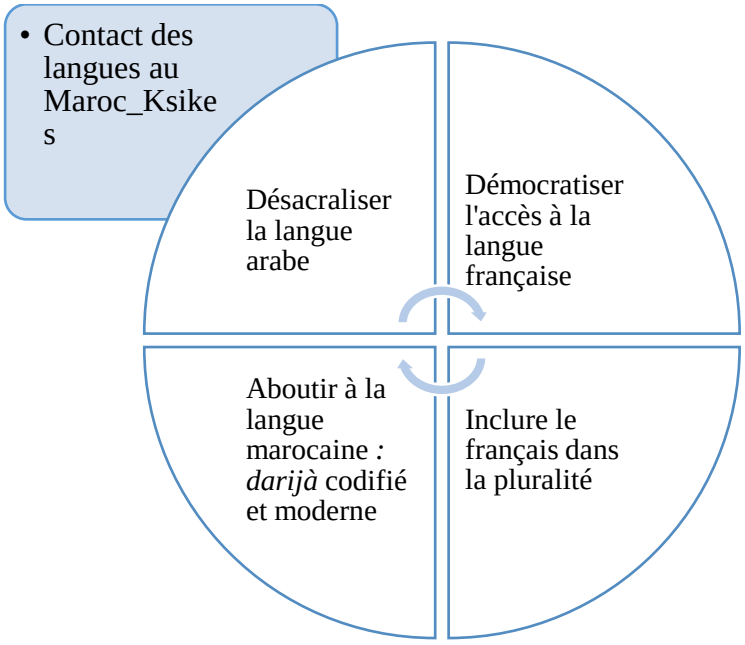

Figure 2

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1.2. Lecture comparée de deux scènes de classe de langues

Le choix de confronter deux récits de fiction romanesque ne relève pas uniquement de leur ancrage temporel et référentiel similaire mais surtout du fait qu'ils permettent de concrétiser les conceptogrammes construits et de joindre la dimension esthétique à l'enjeu didactique de la représentation des scènes de classes de langues. Nous avons donc entre les mains deux projets concordants d'expériences imagées où le rapport singulier aux langues se trouve enrichi et augmenté par l'écriture de l'autofiction stylisée. On lira ainsi simultanément dans la quatrième de couverture des deux œuvres :

« Le dernier instant d'une vie est aussi idéal pour revisiter un pan du passé (…). La vie d'un rêveur peut être celle de toute une société en mutation » (*Le dernier salto*).

« (…) Croire à cette vague promesse, qu'une fiction née face à la mer pouvait redonner vie à celui qui l'enfante » (*L'homme descend du silence*).

A l'instar de la vraie vie, le rapport à la langue ne peut être exclusivement linéaire. Dans *Le dernier salto*, l'enfance, qui correspond au premier contact avec la langue de l'autre, est mieux appréciée depuis l'âge de maturité, celui notamment de l'écriture. Aussi, le véritable fil conducteur n'est pas la chronologie de l'histoire mais le paradigme du salto, le mouvement symphonique qui cristallise différents aspects de la vie humaine au cœur de laquelle l'expérience des langues est fondamentale. De même, dans *L'homme descend du silence*, le narrateur précise que le véritable repère est non pas une date mais le temps de l'écriture qui fait que l'expérience d'une vie comme celle des langues est nécessairement un récit à recomposer. Du coup, la bonne question à se poser est la suivante : « De quand datent tes premiers écrits ? » (p. 11).

Une fois le projet d'écriture délimité, deux scènes de classe s'installent et constituent à nos yeux des épisodes du contact de langues hautement significatifs. Le point d'amorçage est d'établir les limites du monolinguisme dans un système éducatif issu du contexte social marocain marqué par le bilinguisme concret. Dans les deux récits, la figure du maître d'école unilingue est érigée en contre-modèle qui démontre l'impasse d'une parole à la fois redondante et impuissante. On lira ainsi dans *L'homme descend du silence* :

« Il ressassait tout le temps la même fable (…) que toute l'humanité est née en Arabie (…) -*Iqrae,* lis*,* insiste-t-il*,* le bâton bien dressé ». (pp. 13-14).

Le problème n'est pas ici que le maître en question soit enseignant d'arabe mais que le discours univoque conçu par ce dernier autour du mythe du péché originel vide ce texte fondateur de sa dimension symbolique et de sa signification universelle et plurielle par un rattachement forcé, exclusif et ridicule à la terre d'Arabie. L'impact ne se fit pas attendre et il est d'abord

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sous forme d'un traumatisme déstabilisateur pour le jeune écolier : « En l'écoutant, j'avais du mal à trouver ma place, à m'installer, à m'imaginer chez moi, ici, si loin de la terre d'Arabie ». (p.14).

Or, contre toute attente, le choc subi aboutit à une sorte de silence salvateur qui lui-même se transmue en une révélation, celle de la naissance d'un écrivain. Plus tard, le narrateur se décidera à écrire dans une langue autre, faute de ne pouvoir le faire dans sa propre langue qui fera vraiment corps avec la société[1]. La revanche symbolique est alors assurée par l'écriture qui désacralise la langue arabe classique et démystifie son gourou : le maître de la pensée tautologique, celui qui prône la lecture de « l'unique texte venu du désert d'avant et de la civilisation d'après », est celui-là même qui « rappelait la même fable quand il s'apprêtait à pincer le pubis de jeunes filles pubères » (p. 14).

Il est significatif de retrouver quasiment le même cheminement dans *Le dernier salto.* Dans l'épisode nommé « La rentrée », le petit Mohammed est lui aussi écolier et s'apprête à vivre l'expérience de son premier contact avec l'arabe, langue envisagée ici comme étrangère puisque son idiome natif est l'amazighe et que son entourage était jusqu'ici monolingue : « Le moment où une autre langue vient se superposer à la langue dite maternelle » (p. 13). On assiste alors à une scène de classe où l'enseignant d'arabe classique peine à enseigner à ses élèves le premier mot par le biais d'une prestation orale encore une fois répétitive et inconsistante.

Comme chez Ksikes, la figure imposante du maître est là devant des élèves qui ne font que subir l'intrusion brutale de la langue arabe dans leur milieu amazighophone. Non seulement que ce « fquih moderne accoutré étrangement » semble sacralisé en étant représenté comme « quasiment un prophète », mais il est également l'unique dépositaire de la parole : « Une fois en classe, l'instituteur parlait, parlait et puis parlait » (p. 16). Face à lui, les petits apprenants sont réduits au silence. Néanmoins, la revanche symbolique ne tarde pas à se mettre en place par une sorte de compassion enfantine marquée par l'humour subtil : face à sa mère qui « lui demanda comment était l'école, l'enfant perplexe ne savait que répondre puis finit par avouer que le maître ne savait pas parler mais qu'il faisait des efforts et qu'il ne fallait surtout pas s'inquiéter » (p. 19). L'écriture humoristique permet d'ailleurs de dédramatiser progressivement la scène d'apprentissage du premier mot à enseigner en langue arabe « *dajaja* » jusqu'au dénouement final : « Ni Mohammed, ni ses camarades ne pouvaient soupçonner que la poule, *tafoulousst* en amazighe, pouvait s'appeler autrement » (p. 20).

[1] Ce projet de langue qui fait corps avec la société marocaine a déjà fait le vœu de certains écrivains tel Edmond Amran El Maleh (2001) ou encore Fouad Laroui (2010).

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En réalité, en filigrane de cette scène classique du premier jour d'école et de ce ton enjoué, se dévoilent des questions didactiques et pédagogiques plus sérieuses. La première est contenue dans cette interrogation faussement naïve que le narrateur introduit en style libre afin de mieux souligner son partage : « Et puis, pourquoi apprendre les langues des autres, les Arabes et les Français, qu'il n'utiliserait probablement jamais ?! Pourquoi leurs enfants n'apprenaient-ils pas la langue de Mohammed ? ». A l'évidence, cette question rhétorique pointe du doigt la mise à l'écart injustifiée du principe pédagogique aujourd'hui attesté, celui de la nécessité de démarrer les apprentissages dans la langue maternelle des apprenants avant de se décider à introduire progressivement des langues étrangères dans le cursus scolaire.

En second lieu, la problématique épineuse du bilinguisme et de l'éducation bilingue est ici suggérée et on pourrait la reformuler de cette façon : qu'est ce qui se passe dans la tête d'un enfant monolingue lorsqu'une nouvelle langue s'invite dans son univers ? Et puis, quelles approches adopter pour faciliter sa réception ? Dans cette scène, quelques éléments donnent à réfléchir. Ainsi, on constate que la réaction des apprenants en manque de préparation à une langue inconnue évolue du rejet à la compassion, du confort de la culture locale (*Ahwach*) au défi de la nouvelle « abstraction » introduite et enfin de l'incompréhension désarmante à l'intercompréhension en langues plurielles, salvatrice mais hélas tardive (*Tafoulousst=dajaja=* poule[2]). Evidemment, les tentatives du maître n'ont pas manqué mais furent aussitôt tournées en échec et en dérision à cause de leur mauvaise mise en œuvre contextuelle : la répétition n'a plus sa vertu pédagogique, l'introduction maladroite du dessin pour joindre la chose au mot n'a pas fonctionné et la musicalité de la segmentation syllabique avait du mal à franchir le pas du local pour espérer assurer une quelconque transition didactique vers la langue et la culture de l'autre.

En somme, dans ces deux scènes de classe que nous venons d'analyser, une réalité de l'enseignement actuel des langues au Maroc est révélée : on est encore loin de l'école bilingue car on continue à superposer deux monolinguismes au lieu d'adopter une véritable didactique du bilinguisme qui articule efficacement les acquis en langue et culture maternelles aux besoins des apprentissages ultérieurs en langues étrangères. Et c'est cette approche qui serait susceptible de résorber les contradictions et apaiser les tensions des représentations que provoque souvent l'introduction d'une nouvelle langue. Comme on ne sort pas indemne de l'exposition à une langue étrangère, la langue maternelle laisse à fortiori des traces indélébiles qu'il serait vain de chercher à occulter. Il est même judicieux de tenter d'en tirer profit.

[2] Cette formule simple que les petits écoliers apprécient tardivement aurait économisé beaucoup d'effort et de chagrin au maître d'arabe s'il avait pensé à l'introduire dans son cours au lieu de s'accrocher à l'approche unilingue.

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Et c'est exactement ce que tente de réaliser Leïla avec ses élèves mutiques dans cette autre scène de classe du récit de ksikes[3]. Passionnée de théâtre et reconvertie à l'éducation en tant que conteuse pour enfants, l'éducatrice est également présentée comme jouissant d'un « langage minimaliste » qui s'oppose foncièrement à la parole redondante du maître monolingue. Dans sa prestation didactique bilingue, elle propose en français *Mowgli*, « conte préféré des enfants », et en arabe *Hay Ibn Yaqdan,* cet autre conte non moins séduisant issu de la littérature arabe classique et dont la matrice et la morale sont quasiment identiques au premier : réinventer l'humain. Ensuite, la conteuse laisse aux petits la liberté de s'exprimer dans la langue de leur choix et « recomposer les mots à leur guise ».

Le résultat est que l'apprentissage s'enclenche avec une implication effective de tous. A notre grand bonheur, nous assistons dans cette scène à un cercle vertueux qui fait passer ces apprenants en situation difficile de l'état de la « parole coupée » à celui de la « parole libératrice » par le truchement subtil d'un « avant-parole ». Autrement dit, il s'agit pour la jeune pédagogue de faire « le chemin inverse » - un avatar de la classe inversée en pédagogie contemporaine ? - afin de remonter la pente du « silence social pesant au silence poétique virginal ». Le cheminement est bien salvateur et c'est alors une scène où la langue réussit à faire corps avec la parole libérée et du coup côtoie merveilleusement le langage et touche à ses immenses possibilités d'expression et de signification.

Qu'advient-il de Mohammed, le jeune héros du *dernier salto* dont nous avons déjà considéré le difficile contact initial avec l'école et avec la langue de l'autre ? Est-il condamné à subir ce premier échec tout au long de sa vie ou plutôt à en faire quelque chose de singulier ?

Notons tout d'abord qu'il ne s'agit pas ici d'une deuxième scène de classe classique qui, à l'instar du récit de Ksikes, viendrait se démarquer de la première et la dépasser, mais d'un nouveau salto qui correspond à la naissance symbolique de l'écrivain en herbe. Déclenché par le « Silence de Grand-père », le processus d'initiation à l'écriture trouve sa concrétisation dans « Le vertige des mots ». Bien évidemment, c'est pour nous l'occasion d'examiner le nouveau rapport aux langues qui va s'installer.

Là encore, l'apprentissage vertueux s'enclenche : il est à la fois affaire de parole juste, de mots adéquats et tout au départ de silence signifiant. Celui de Grand-père est justement qualifié de « hautement éloquent, par-delà toutes les langues »[4] et le narrateur, à la suite de Beckett, n'hésite pas à le placer au niveau de sa véritable langue maternelle. L'impact de Grand-père sur son neveu est double. D'un côté, il le subjuguait par « toutes sortes de récits »

[3] *L'homme descend du silence*, *Op.cit*., pp. 42-45
[4] *Le dernier salto, Op.cit*., p. 21.

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parfois mélangés et dont les moments de silence, de l'aveu même de l'enfant, sont les plus appréciés puisqu'ils lui offraient l'occasion de « savourer des milliers de scénarios »[5].

D'un autre côté, Grand-père se transmue en l'objet d'une autre histoire dont le sujet est cette fois-ci Mora, embaucheur des ouvriers indigènes sous le protectorat français au Maroc. La scène du recrutement est particulièrement importante dans ce sens qu'elle donne à voir dans la vraie vie certains moments où le partage de la même langue n'est plus nécessaire : « Lui ne connaissait pas l'amazighe et eux ne parlaient pas français. Disons directement que Mora n'avait pas besoin de *logos*. Tout se passait en silence »[6]. En réalité, c'est la langue du corps qui s'installe à la place des mots, celle du signe ou du symbole qui suggère une lecture qui ne se trompe pas. Plus besoin de traducteur ni d'interprète : les paumes de Grand-père « s'étalaient devant ses yeux telles des palmes ou des cladodes. Deux pages pleines s'offraient à l'autre dans sa langue natale » et presque aussitôt le candidat « passa dans le camp des recrutés »[7].

Il semble que c'est l'exposition au silence signifiant dans l'école de la vie, l'initiant à une nouvelle dimension du langage, qui va éclore la passion de l'écriture auprès du jeune prodige. Néanmoins, l'impact de l'instruction est tout aussi palpable qui fait « qu'après quelques années de scolarité », l'enfant baigne dans un plurilinguisme précoce et joyeux : « Mohammed voguait dans les mots de diverses langues. Il arriva non seulement à maitriser l'arabe mais également certains idiomes étrangers »[8]. L'amour des mots achèvera la trilogie nécessaire au passage à l'acte d'écrire. On assiste dès lors à un récit didactique offrant le schéma du parcours global d'apprentissage de l'écriture où l'apprenti passe du copiste au calligraphe et bien plus tard de l'écrivant à l'écrivain.[9] Bien évidemment, le chemin est laborieux et même périlleux mais, au regard de l'effet final escompté, l'expérience vaut certainement la peine.

En bref, si dans *L'homme descend du silence* les enfants réussissent à libérer leur parole et sortir de leur mutisme social, l'enfant du *dernier salto* arrive doucement à libérer son potentiel de création et à accéder à la liberté par le truchement de l'écriture. Dans les deux cas, le contact de la deuxième langue, après avoir été un obstacle à l'apprentissage et une fois supporté par une véritable approche bilingue, devient par la suite une opportunité inespérée d'épanouissement.

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[5] *Ibid*., p. 24.
[6] *Ibid*., p. 25
[7] *Ibid*., p. 26
[8] *Ibid*., p. 31
[9] Nous empruntons cette précieuse distinction à la fois terminologique et conceptuelle à Roland Barthes, *Essais critiques*, 1964.

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L'ultime intérêt de ces deux extraits que nous venons d'analyser est qu'ils mettent en scène non seulement la représentation des langues en contact mais également leur réception virtuelle par les sujets-apprenants. Afin d'optimiser empiriquement le potentiel didactique issu de l'analyse comparée de ces passages romanesques et des matrices conceptuelles, nous exposerons dans la deuxième partie le compte-rendu d'une expérimentation que nous avons menée en mode hybride.

2. Vers une réception augmentée en classe hybride

L'expérimentation didactique en question a eu lieu dans une classe de langue de la première année d'une grande école marocaine d'ingénieurs et avait ciblé un groupe de 20 étudiants. Ces derniers sont majoritairement issus des Classes Préparatoires aux Grandes Ecoles (CPGE) où la part de la composante littéraire était certes significative mais généralement envisagée selon une approche formaliste et structuraliste.

2.1. Déroulement et modalités de l'expérimentation didactique

Le point de départ de la première étape était de produire à distance une brève biographie langagière portant essentiellement sur la représentation personnelle autour des langues acquises et le rapport spécifique au français. Nous avons formulé la consigne comme suit :

« Rédigez en une quinzaine de lignes votre biographie langagière. Remontez dans votre mémoire afin de retracer le récit de votre expérience des langues aujourd'hui acquises. Mettez notamment l'accent sur votre premier contact avec le français. Enfin, commentez brièvement votre perception du phénomène du bilinguisme/plurilinguisme qui caractérise l'école et la société marocaine ».

Par la suite, les productions écrites téléversées sur la plateforme *Teams* ont été analysées à l'aide de l'application lexicométrique *AnaText* dont nous donnons à voir un exemple dans la capture d'écran ci-dessous. L'appréciation a été complétée par une interprétation qualitative et le résultat concernant chaque production a été partagé avec les étudiants participants.

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Capture 1_*AnaText*

Lemmes spécifiques

Copy CSV Excel PDF Print
Show 10 entries Search:
Copy CSV Excel PDF Print
Show 10 entries Search:

Rang	Lemme	Fréquence	CorpusRef (par million)	LogLike (spécificité)
1	langue	9	95.77	81.876
2	arabe	4	32.87	38.398
3	français	5	259.965	29.715
4	professeur	3	90.965	21.001
5	situer	2	25.125	17.495
6	sous-titrer	1	0.19	17.201
7	berbère	1	0.875	14.081
8	baccalauréat	1	1.065	13.685
9	expérience	2	67.16	13.592
10	année	3	332.69	13.398

Showing 1 to 10 of 10 entries First Previous Next Last
Showing 1 to 10 of 12 entries First Previous Next Last

***Figure 3**_Aperçu de l'analyse des lemmes spécifiques de la production initiale du participant 1*

Dans la deuxième étape, les extraits romanesques mobilisés dans la première partie de cet article ont été étudiés en présentiel selon une approche stratégique qui intègre les représentations et les structures textuelles produites par les participants. Par la suite, les matrices des deux écrivains marocains retenus, Ksikes et Baïda, ont été introduites et leur outillage conceptuel vulgarisé et commenté collectivement.

Dans la troisième et dernière phase de l'expérimentions, les participants ont été invités à reprendre leurs productions initiales et tenter de les améliorer et les enrichir en fonction des contenus introduits et des compétences renforcées. Enfin, nous avons procédé à la reconduite de l'analyse lexicométrique, l'appréciation qualitative des nouvelles productions et la comparaison des résultats obtenus. Nous en donnons ci-dessous deux exemples partiels sous forme de captures d'écran.

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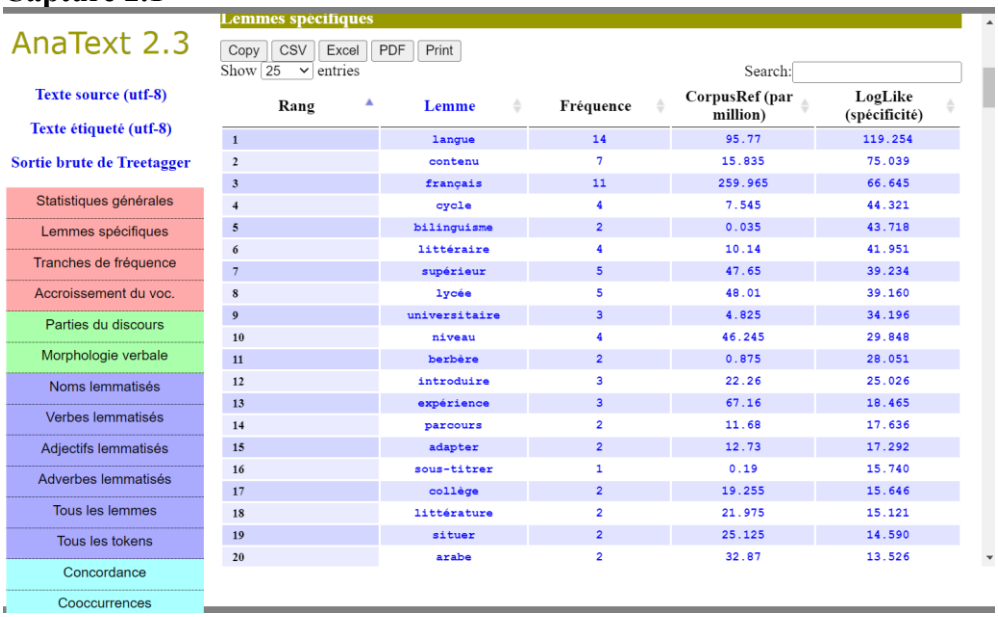
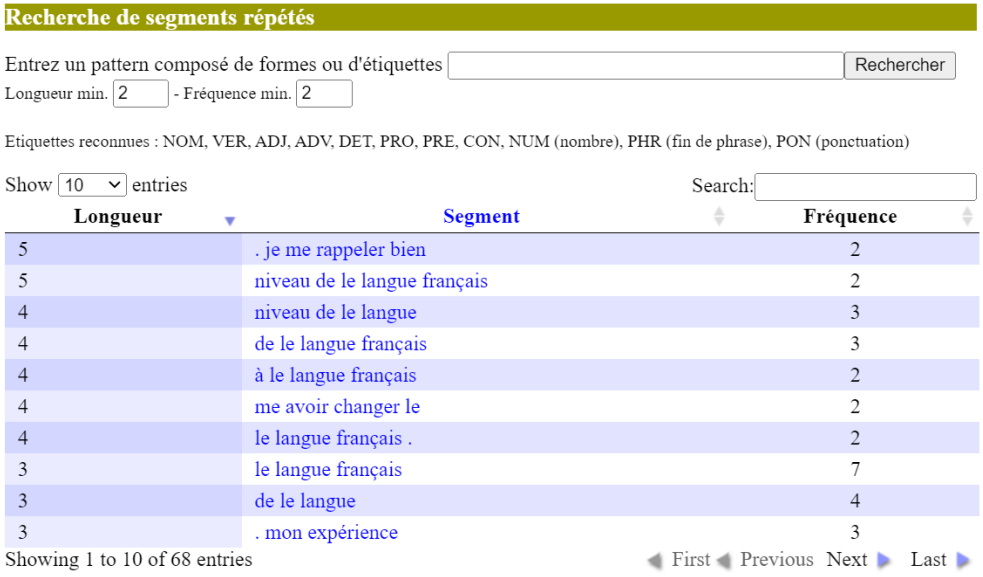
Capture 2.1



Rang	Lemme	Fréquence	CorpusRef (par million)	LogLike (spécificité)
1	langue	14	95.77	119.254
2	contenu	7	15.835	75.039
3	français	11	259.965	66.645
4	cycle	4	7.545	44.321
5	bilinguisme	2	0.035	43.718
6	littéraire	4	10.14	41.951
7	supérieur	5	47.65	39.234
8	lycée	5	48.01	39.160
9	universitaire	3	4.825	34.196
10	niveau	4	46.245	29.848
11	berbère	2	0.875	28.051
12	introduire	3	22.26	25.026
13	expérience	3	67.16	18.465
14	parcours	2	11.68	17.636
15	adapter	2	12.73	17.292
16	sous-titrer	1	0.19	15.740
17	collège	2	19.255	15.646
18	littérature	2	21.975	15.121
19	situer	2	25.125	14.590
20	arabe	2	32.87	13.526

***Figure 4**_Aperçu de l'analyse des lemmes spécifiques de la réécriture du participant1*

Capture 2.2



Longueur	Segment	Fréquence
5	. je me rappeler bien	2
5	niveau de le langue français	2
4	niveau de le langue	3
4	de le langue français	3
4	à le langue français	2
4	me avoir changer le	2
4	le langue français .	2
3	le langue français	7
3	de le langue	4
3	. mon expérience	3

***Figure 5**_Aperçu de l'analyse des segments répétés de la réécriture du participant 1*

2.2. Résultats et discussion

- Le choix d'envisager comme point de départ les productions spontanées, rédigées bien avant de proposer la lecture des passages

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

romanesques et mobiliser les matrices conceptuelles, a suscité de la motivation auprès des étudiants : on assiste dès lors à une espèce de classe inversée saluée aujourd'hui par les tenants de la pédagogie active en particulier dans le domaine de l'enseignement hybride.

- La confrontation des réécritures aux productions initiales permet de constater une nette amélioration au niveau de l'enrichissement lexical et de la précision conceptuelle. Il en est de même de l'affinement des représentations autour des langues et de l'émergence d'une meilleure conscience métalinguistique et réflexive.
  A titre d'exemple, la comparaison de la capture 1 d'une part et des captures 2.1 et 2.2 de l'autre part, qui ne concernent que les productions d'un seul participant, permet de constater dans 2.1 de nouvelles occurrences lexicales précieuses : les concepts tels que « le bilinguisme » * 2 et « le contenu littéraire » *7 sont dorénavant articulés à la conscience du sujet-apprenant exposé à plusieurs langues (français *12, arabe *2 et berbère *2). De même, nous observons une présence de la fonction critique au sein même du récit comme le montre le concept du « parcours d'apprentissage »*2 et celui « d'adaptation au contexte » *2. Dans la capture 2.2 consacrée aux segments répétés, les deux expressions dominantes « mon expérience » et « le niveau de langue » permettent d'apprécier le recadrement réflexif opéré par le sujet-scripteur : on passe du récit biographique spontané à l'enjeu d'amélioration de maitrise de la langue. Cependant, l'absence du terme « culture » ou d'une expression équivalente dans les productions de ce même participant est peut-être un signe de l'image encore floue que certains étudiants se font de ce concept et de son articulation souhaitée à la langue et à la littérature.
- Même si l'essentiel du travail avait porté sur l'écrit, l'oral a été également boosté notamment dans les séances en présentiel où l'analyse des textes et le commentaire des matrices avaient lieu. Ce constat démontre par ailleurs que le mode distanciel est insuffisant dans l'apprentissage des langues étrangères et que le dispositif hybride est dès lors recommandé.
- La production de la biographie langagière et son téléversement sur la plateforme *Teams* ainsi que l'introduction de l'outil numérique *AnaText* et son application aux productions ont suscité beaucoup d'engouement auprès des étudiants participants. Aussi, à l'annonce d'un nouveau prolongement de l'expérimentation sous forme d'écriture cette fois-ci collaborative utilisant une autre application digitale (*pad.educ*), la réponse par l'affirmative était unanime. L'intérêt de ce prolongement que nous envisageons volontiers est de mutualiser les acquis et favoriser l'échange et l'appréciation par les pairs.

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

- Par ailleurs, une autre démarche possible pour la collecte des représentations et leur mutualisation instantanée consisterait à utiliser un outil accessible comme *Woclap* pour créer des nuages de mots. Il est également possible d'aller plus loin en termes de précision de la visualisation conceptuelle en proposant un corollaire quantitatif qui transforme le nuage de mots en nuage de points à l'aide d'un programme comme *K-Means* proposé par l'application Orange Data Mining.

Conclusion

Les représentations singulières autour des langues, souvent dénigrées en tant que systèmes non scientifiques et obstacles à l'apprentissage, peuvent se révéler paradoxalement fructueuses en didactique littéraire. Aussi, en passant de la lecture à la production, la conception enrichie par l'interprétation, doublée par la réception empirique et soutenue par le numérique, prouve que le roman marocain contemporain, aussi référentiel soit-il, ne peut être réduit à une cartographie de la réalité et qu'il offre des pistes didactiques intéressantes à même d'œuvrer pour une meilleure maitrise du français et de la culture plurielle sous-jacente. C'est que son statut officiel de langue étrangère ne peut occulter son poids réel et son influence conséquente en éducation et en société.

Par ailleurs, le digital une fois considéré en tant que milieu virtuel ouvert à l'imagination créative au lieu d'un simple outil se rapproche davantage de l'univers fictionnel : tous les deux peuvent dissimuler une complexité de langage et une profondeur d'abstraction et de signification au-delà de l'apparence faussement simpliste des fonctionnalités techniques et du récit romanesque linéaire. La didactique intégrée des langues et cultures devrait approfondir constamment cette voie prometteuse et contribuer ainsi à lutter contre l'image persistante d'une littérature technophobe.

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 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

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ESJ Humanities

The Language of Propaganda in Governance: The Nigerian Situation

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Doi:10.19044/esj.2023.v19n8p85

Submitted: 22 August 2022
Accepted: 17 March 2023
Published: 31 March 2023

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Cite As:
Nwosu-Okoli I. & Anyachonkeya N. (2023). *The Language of Propaganda in Governance: The Nigerian Situation.* European Scientific Journal, ESJ, 19 (8), 85.
https://doi.org/10.19044/esj.2023.v19n8p85

Résumé

Language is a unique gift to humanity by the Omniscient God. By means of language, we build or end a relationship, forge alliance, build bridges of unity and cooperation among peoples and groups. By means of language, also, we find a viable instrument to achieve participation and exclusion in political and diplomatic maneuvering. Formal or informal discourse may be achieved through vocal utterance, written medium or even paralinguistic features. Language, in effect, plays inestimable role in all aspects of life. This paper, in a special way, examines the impact of language in governance. Since English is Nigeria's official language, the essay has, by purposeful random sampling, chosen the meta language of English, of all the myriads of languages spoken in Nigeria, to engage our discourse and to ascertain the impact of language in governance. Again, since charity, they say, begins at home (but should not end there), the essay has chosen Nigeria to query the impact of the English language in (political) governance. The paper upholds the platitude which holds that much is expected from the one to whom much is given. In view of this, the study asserts that political governance in Nigeria is hard work for the fact that Nigeria is a conglomerate of peoples, national groups and tongues yoked together by the Lugardian amalgamation of January 1, 1914.

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

The salient index that wields the fragile nation state together is diversity, amidst mutual suspicion among the diverse ethnic groups. The essay uses literary or library research to probe into the recesses of language and language theories for recommending to the political leaders in governance how they should manage language so that our beloved nation is not set ablaze as a result of language mismanagement.

Keywords: Language, Ethnic groups, Communication, Propaganda, Governance

Introduction

Fully aware of correctness and appropriateness as well as cooperative principle, the political leader saddled with the weighty task of governance *must* appreciate the fact that in nation-building, everybody is important, no matter how highly or lowly placed, and as such, carries everyone along through his idiolect especially when it comes to political maneuvering in governance; we need one another; it is song of cooperation for the egalitarian society and true Federalism to thrive and blossom. Nigeria is the largest Black nation on earth and giant of Africa, but is sadly beset with numerous challenges that threaten its unity and national cohesion. In the light of the above, the political leader, beginning from the Councilor, Local Government Chairman, the Honourable member of the State House of Assembly, the Honourable member of the Federal House of Representatives, the Distinguished Senator of the Federal Republic, the Honourable member of State and Federal Executive Council or the learned gentleman of the Judiciary, *must be* wary of his pronouncements, in the guise of propaganda while serving God and humanity. Right diction is likely to heal a wound, build a State or nation, contribute immensely in national integration, while wrong diction could overheat the polity and probably wreck the unity of the country, especially in moments of conflict management or crises (Anyachonkeya, 2017).

From ideation stage or intrapersonal communication, we begin to fashion our thoughts in readiness for interpersonal communication. In interpersonal communication, we use the spoken, written and paralinguistic features. The ideation stage manifests itself in interpersonal communication, even in our actions and pronouncements. How we share dividends of democracy is a linguistic matter. So, even when a leader has not said anything but we observe how he treats his subjects or the manner in which he relates with other citizens from diverse ethnic lines is an eloquent testimony of his language. In this essay, we will x-ray pronouncements of leaders and how they relate with others as well as their disposition in sharing national treasure as

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

they exemplify linguistic evidence, which exerts reasonable impact on governance.

We will evaluate excerpts of literature to ascertain language style and usage of political leaders so as to find out how they have managed language and what impact such has in their governance of the masses or electorate. The issues involved revolve around conflict versus conflict management and resolution. This study attempts to query the concept of conflict and conflict management as well as linguistic theories with which our political leaders should familiarized themselves with in order to build cohesion and national integration in a heterogeneous Nigeria.

This paper, by its nature, is not unaware of other leaders in governance; it recognizes other leaders such as those in the ecclesiastics, family heads, community leaders and all others. However, the essay focuses on political leaders of our contemporary Nigeria, who naturally fit into our discourse.

Conflict in Governance

Before we deliberate on conflict in governance, an examination of the term *conflict* and its shades is necessary as the knowledge of which will illuminate our discourse.

Conflict is clash of interests, literally speaking. Schwarz, the editor the *Chambers Dictionary* (1995:359), defines conflict as unfortunate coincidence or opposition; violent collision; struggle, contest, war, etc.; a mental or emotional struggle. From a literary vista, conflict is the struggle which grows out of the interplay of two opposing forces in a plot (Anyachonkeya, 2004:499). From these definitions, we infer that conflict takes place where one, two or more persons are involved over competing divergent interests. When the competing interests occur within a person, we refer to it as intrapersonal conflict. There is internal warfare going on within the individual and the internal judge is the person's conscience, an intricate psychological construct. When the competing conflicts occur between two or more persons, it is interpersonal conflict. Conflict can also take place between an individual and his society, in which case it is man versus society. Where the individual emerges victorious, like the case of Jesus Christ, he is a crusader; in a situation where the individual lacks the power to emerge victorious, he may succumb as a result of overwhelming odds beyond his compass. The conflict can occur between a person and cosmic or the supernatural forces. In this circumstance, the individual gets involved in supernatural combat; and more often than not ends up defeated.

In addition to intrapersonal and interpersonal conflicts, this work also identifies other shades of conflict, which include: Conflict between individuals and groups; intra group conflicts; intergroup and inter organizational conflicts.

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Intra group conflict exists among the members of a group. We talk about intergroup and inter organizational conflict when the conflict exists between groups and organizations, simultaneously. When it is inter organizational conflict, the conflict exists among organizations (Anyachonkeya and Anyachonkeya, 2018:532).

The political leader of whatever cadre encounters these facets of conflict in governance. In whichever variant, language is at the epicenter. His style of language and diction, which, of course, includes his action and inaction, are also part of linguistic experience, determines his success or failure in governance. For instance, the turbulence that has characterized Nigerian leadership, for several years now, is an indication that our leaders have not been able to use the right language style; they have not been diplomatic enough to ensure that violence-prone language is not allowed a place in their leadership. The absence of the peace-prone language, therefore, exposes the country and her citizenry to the experiences that overheat the polity. This work hereby examines some publications with a view to unveiling the actions and pronouncements as well as inaction of our leaders in political governance, which have had adverse impact on the volatile population of Nigeria. Meanwhile, let us examine this subtask under propaganda and political maneuvering in governance.

Propaganda and Political Maneuvering in Governance

Language of political governance is often characterized by propaganda, especially where the political leader strives to convince his populace to adopt a certain point of view. He adopts this linguistic posture at times in conflict management. Of course, there must be crises which necessitate such language style and usage. Maybe we have to devote some attention to the term *propaganda* and find out how best a political leader may harness from the gains of propaganda without becoming selfish.

Propaganda

Propaganda, as language of political governance, is of 17th century origin. It has a pleasant beginning; however, with the passage of time it comes to acquire some controversial connotations, reveals *The New Webster's Dictionary of the English Language* (1994" 801). For instance, "propaganda" has its roots in Latin, when "Pope Gregory XV, (1554-1623)," in 1622 constituted a group of Roman Catholic cardinals known and called *The Congregation de Propagation Fide,* meaning *The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.* This body is called *Propaganda,* in the short form; the Committee of the Holy Sea is charged with the responsibility of supervising foreign missions, adds *The Webster's*. As time passed, the word becomes synonymous with any attempt or effort to spread a belief. Thus,

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propaganda, in its acquired connotation, becomes a kind of linguistic instrument exploited to convince and persuade people into action. Therefore, Warriner and Griffith (1965: 403) state:

> When an organized group, government, an institution, (or) a business concern embarks upon a program to win over the public, the ideas and arguments it uses in its favor is called propaganda. So, we refer to political propaganda, Russian propaganda, labor propaganda, advertisement propaganda, etc.

With this acquired connotative meaning, individuals, governments, nongovernmental organizations, etc., engage in one form of propaganda or the other, the intent of which may be selfish or altruistic; but it must involve some modicum of persuasion, enticement with a view to winning their audience to toe their line of thought. For instance, Chaturvedi's *Academics Dictionary of Political Science* (2006: 252) observes:

> There exists a large variety of groups carrying on propaganda in favour of one thing or another. Sometimes, their methods are open and straightforward, sometimes hidden and dubious. According to Walter Lippmann, the most significant revolution in modern times is the revolution that is taking place in the art of creating constraint among the governed. Within the life of the new generation now in control of affairs, persuasion has become a conscious art and a regular organ of popular government.

As already hinted, propaganda is of two kinds, namely, *positive* or *beneficial* propaganda and *negative* or *detrimental* propaganda, which is usually motivated by selfish interest. A government, for example, who says: "The People Benefit as the Nation Privatizes" may be involved in negative or detrimental propaganda; such government is likely to have some hidden agenda. The possibility is that the government that embarks on this propaganda may be poised to privatize a public utility against which members of the populace protest. On the other hand, the government that sensitizes its citizenry in the following, constructively, for instance: "The Federal Ministry of Health warns that cigarette smokers are likely to die young" is engaged in a beneficial or positive propaganda.

The political leader should be sincere in his use of propaganda and avoid being selfish. More often than not, negative propaganda dwells on

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bending the rules of logic. By its nature, propaganda encourages short circuit rational thought and it does this by agitating the emotions, by exploiting insecurities, by capitalizing on the ambiguity of language, and by bending the rules of logic. Negative propagandists do so to achieve their whim by employing outright lies; they make generalizations, call names and play on the emotions of their audience as well as employ slogans and symbols. On this note, Mark Twain says of (selfish) propaganda: "A lie can travel half way around the world while the truth is putting on its shoes." Similarly, Adolf Hitler cited in Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania. (2008), asserts that: "By clever and persevering use of propaganda, even heaven can be represented as hell to the people, and conversely the most wretched life represented as paradise."In the light of these revelations, the political leader, who hopes to leave a legacy and who wants his memory to be happy must distance himself from selfish propaganda as its impact on governance has a lot of adverse effects.

Closely associated with propaganda in governance is *negotiation* in conflict situation. A careful management of negotiation helps the political leader to watch his language if he must govern his people as a servant-leader.

Negotiation

Of course, negotiation is a veritable instrument in political governance. We cannot broker peace between two or among disputants without using negotiation in bargaining. Therefore, negotiation, according to Chaturvedi (2006: 208), is a way of

> settling a dispute where each party has to express what it desires and makes an attempt to get as much as possible, but each party is obliged, also, to make concessions to the other party or parties. In international disputes, negotiations have to be the first step. This has been made obligatory by the UN Charter, prior to any intervention by the Security Council.

There cannot be a successful truce reached when using negotiation without concessions between or among the parties in dispute. Concession means compromise; you come closer; the other party comes closer, implying foregoing certain interests, and that is concession in action. The language of negotiation should be characterized by friendliness and trust. There should be no deceit. The impact of this will be peace, mutual trust, peaceful existence and development (Anyachonkeya, 2016).

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Instances of Pronouncements and Actions That Militate against Good Governance

When negotiating, the disputants in conflict seek to make an agreement by establishing a temporary truce or even a lasting compromise. Put differently, we allude to *modus vivendi.* There is a serious problem with any leadership that lacks trust or through whose pronouncements and actions, one can deduce falsehood and fraudulence. Incidentally many political leaders make utterances that do not promote unity and national integration. The present Nigerian society is, unfortunately though, marked by malicious pronouncements, which is evident in all kinds of hate speech and fake news. For instance, *The Authority* newspaper of Friday, September 2, 2016, pages 1-4, carries this headline story: Obasanjo, YarAdua, (and) Jonathan Caused Economic Mess - *APC.* The paper then says:

> Amidst public state of the economy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari which has been officially confirmed to be in recession, the ruling All Progressive Congress (APC) has said that its hands are clean. The party rather asked Nigerians to blame the current economic mess on former President Olusegun Obasanjo, the late Umaru Yar Adua and Goodluck Jonathan, whom it accused of plundering the country's resources for 16 years.

Any form of linguistic hostility, especially in a situation where a government refuses to work hard towards fixing a dwindling economy and rather resorts to pointing accusing fingers on past political administrations, is quite unacceptable in the language of governance. As though in reaction to the above stated linguistic misrepresentation, Balarabe Musa, former Governor of Old Kaduna State, issues a warning entitled Hunger in the Land: Don't Wait for Masses Revolt against Your Government. His warning is hereby summarized:

> Nigerian masses may soon rise against the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari if the current economic hardship in the country is not addressed immediately.(He warned) that there is nothing that pushes people to revolt against government than hunger, pointing out that the primary responsibility of government is the welfare of the people and this

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> Buhari government must not shy away from it (*Saturday sun* September 3, 2016:1,4,5,6).

A more alarming and security-threatening publication is carried by *Daily sun* of Wednesday, December, 28, 2016, page 8. The headline article is Anxiety in Presidency, Security over 2019 Polls. An excerpt of the article says:

> THERE is growing concern in the Presidency and security circle over alleged moves and utterances of key politicians believed to be nursing presidential ambition in 2019. The development, a source in the Department of State Security (DSS) revealed, is considered a huge problem because the country is likely to be on fire if the unnamed politicians are allowed to continue in the direction they are going. With the way things are unfolding the (SSS) weigh politicians as being more dangerous than Boko Haram. Nigeria is being shattered by myriad of crises and then we read of this potential bomb, as it were. The language of the clandestine political mongers and jobbers, we do not know, is capable of destabilizing the country that at the moment is like the drunken giant that walks with the limbs of a mosquito. Both language of the newspaper reportage and the clandestine activities of pseudo-patriots of Nigeria portends calamity for the much stressed nation that is confronted with litany of challenges.

The language of governance, when misused, has dangerous impact on reconciliation and **on** healing the wounds of the dastardly pogrom. In the contemporary Nigerian society, such misuse of language has created a lot of unnecessary problems for the nation. For instance, on the 6th June, 2017, a group of Northern Nigerians announced, with impunity, that Nigerians from the Igbo tribe are given a month to quit the Northern part of the country. The announcement is captioned: THE KADUNA DECLARATION, BEING A JOINT POSITION PAPER ISSUED BY THE AREWA CITIZENS ACTION FOR CHANGE, AREWA YOUTH CONSULTATIVE FORUM, AREWA YOUTH DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION, AREWA STUDENTS FORUM AND NORTHERN EMANCIPATION NETWORK ON THE IGBO PERSISTENCE FOR SECESSION. A summary of the lengthy text reads:

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> From today, June 6, 2017 (when this proclamation is signed), the North, a critical player in the Nigerian project, hereby declares that it will no longer be disposed to coexisting with the Igbos and shall take definite steps to end the partnership by pulling out of the current federal arrangement The North hereby openly calls on the authorities and other national and international stakeholders to acknowledge this declaration by taking steps to facilitate the final dissolution of this hopeless union that has never been convenient to any of the parties. In conclusion, we are hereby placing the Nigerian authorities and the entire nation on notice that from the 1st October, 2017, we shall commence the implementation of visible actions to prove to the whole world that we are no longer part of any federal union with the Igbos.Finally, all authorities, individuals or groups are hereby advised against attempting to undermine this declaration by insisting on this union with the Igbos, who have thus far proved to be an unnecessary baggage carried too far and for too long.

The declaration, above, triggered off many of such hostile announcements from other ethnic groups of the country against the Northern Nigerians a situation which breeds disharmony among citizens of the same country. Though the Northern Nigerians end up no longer insisting on carrying out the already pronounced and documented threat, there has been series of threats and counter threats issued by one ethnic or religious group to some other(s).

At this point, we want to pause and investigate the linguistic appurtenance of governance under the headings:; the role of correctness and appropriateness and the role of cooperative principle.

Correctness and Appropriateness in Governance

Correctness and appropriateness hinge on certain variables in language usage which predicate on the language variety to use in sociolinguistic experience. In this circumstance, we cannot just say that a particular language variety is good or bad without considering those variables.

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Before we examine those relevant variables, let us isolate the term *correctness*, a component of the duo in speech act before we apply the term in governance.

Correctness, according to Cuddon (2013: 159), refers to:

> adherence and conformity with rules, convention and decorum. Adherence and conformity to rules still revolve around the variables that must come into the picture before we infer that any language variety is good or unacceptable. It is still along this linguistic tangent that Wales (2001:88) reasons that the notions of ACCEPTABILITY and APPROPRITENESS are important, and adds that ill-formed utterances may be tolerated in certain contexts, or considered APPROPRIATE to a SITUATION or FUNCTION.

The linguistic variables which Cuddon and Walles allude to are *situation, audience* and *purpose* which determine the idiolect or variety a speaker or writer may exploit. Using the English language for illustration Anyachonkeya (2004: 52) observes that we cannot say that there is any form of English that is best. He explains:

> (T)here is no such thing as good English in the abstract or in isolation of *situation, audience* and *purpose* which will predicate why we do write. Under these (variables), correctness and appropriateness hinge. As a matter of fact, it is dialect or register that determines correctness and appropriateness.

The political leader in governance should screen his language while administering the needs of his people in the process of even disbursement of the dividends of democracy. We now address another linguistic theory which the political leader should be aware of.

Cooperative Principle in Governance

Language is at the front burner in political governance and conflict resolution. We do not play with language, for it can boomerang. The leader or opinion moulder should internalize speech act semantics and Co-operative principle. The conversational rules are pivoted on the *conversational maxims* as enunciated by Paul Grice (1975), quoted in Yule, in his Cooperative Principle. Failure to apply the rules of these maxims can result in communication breakdown or overheating the polity. Besides, the political

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elite must not overlook the principles of the maxims; he should not say or publish what he believes to be false, and a matter for which he lacks adequate evidence. The principles are *quantity, quality, relevance* and *manner,* the details of which are as follows:

Maxim of Quantity

1. Make your contribution to the conversation as informative as necessary.
2. Do not make your contribution to the conversation more informative than
   necessary.

Maxim of Quality

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Maxim of Relation

1. Say only things that are relevant.

Maxim of Manner

1. Avoid obscurity of expression.
2. Avoid ambiguity.
3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary wordiness).
4. Be orderly (qtd. in Yule 2004: 145).

Therefore, a re-reading of the excerpt cited below and which has been quoted at the outset shows that the mouthpiece of APC Federal Government errs in the Maxims of Quantity, Quality, Relation and Manner.

> Amidst public state of the economy under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari which has been officially confirmed to be in recession, the ruling All Progressive Congress (APC) has said that its hands are clean. The party rather asked Nigerians to blame the current economic mess on former President Olusegun Obasanjo, the late Umaru Yar Adua and Goodluck Jonathan, whom it accused of plundering the country's resources for 16 years.

From this re-reading, we notice that the speaker has said that which he believes to be false; has said that for which he lacks adequate evidence; failed to say only the things that are relevant; has not been brief and has not been orderly. Also a careful reading of *The Authority* newspaper of Friday, September 2,

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2016, pages 1-4, reveals that the mouthpiece not only vagrantly violates Grice's Cooperative Principle but also begs the question. Were this source aware of the nitty-gritty of this linguistic theory of speech act semantics, he would have done a rethink during ideation stage before rushing to press for the public to consume unsuitable language for governance. Indeed, were we to equally scrutinize the pronouncements of the political leaders we will find out that a great many of them fell short of expectations in line with the dictates of Cooperative Principle. In sum, political leaders should carry their subjects along by not making sensitive comments that run counter to correctness and appropriateness as well as the language theory under consideration.

Implication of Findings

This subheading seeks to ascertain the impact of language of governance on the case of fragile and volatile Nigeria, vis-à-vis, its unity, diversity, ethnicity, linguistic divergence, ethnic mistrust, challenges etc. against the backdrop of the ill pronouncements of the political dramatis personae. We will further query some literatures, already cited, to find out the views of opinion moulders, political leaders, past and present, in order to determine the genuineness of their patriotism when weighed against their utterances in political governance. There is no household that has no leaking roof. Nigeria is no exception especially a unique household that was founded by mercenary Imperial Government, a household whose members are like members of a joint family and whose members are not of the same siblings, but half brothers and sisters and cousins, more or less. With the scenic picture of this family so painted, Onwumah (2013: 252) graphically levels charges against Nigeria in the manner and posture of a High court Judge as follows:

> The charges are many; Count One: Nigeria is a mere geographical expression. Count Two: She is a political contraption. Count Three: She is a land of irreconcilable contradictions. That is the case against Nigeria, a land of over 200 ethnic nationalities, forced into a union by the British in 1914.

Onwumah (2013) has certainly not exhausted the charges which are more than what he has counted. This study is also careful not to dwell on them so that the authors may not appear biased and pessimistic. Going further, we present an elaboration of these charges as corroborated by high profile Nigerian political juggernauts of the 1st Republic, after we pause and speculate on the prospects of Nigeria as an indissoluble entity as well as reflect also on the impact of political governance for such a complex household. The political stalwarts of the 1st Republic are Sir Ahumadu Bello, the Saduana of Sokoto;

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Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa; Isa Kaita; Mallam Baba Garuba, and others. Alhaji Ahumadu Bello declares in his book, *My Life* (135), quoted in Ojukwu (1969: 147):

> The Colonial master who ruled Nigeria introduced a system of unitary government not for the present or future unity or well-being of all the indigenes of the country but for his own administrative convenience. Lord Lugard and his amalgamation were far from popular amongst us at that time.

This highly respected political heavyweight is not done; Ojukwu reports that the self-government motion in the Central Legislature in March of 1953 prompts the late nationalist leader to reply this way:

> It is true that we politicians delight in talking loosely about unity of Nigeria. What is now called Nigeria consisted of large and small communities all of which were different in their outlooks and beliefs. The advent of the British and the Western education has not materially altered the situation and these many and varied communities have not knit themselves into composite unit. In 1914, the North and South were amalgamated though the administration of the two sections (is) distinctly different. Since then, no serious attempt has been made by the British or by the people themselves to come together and each section has looked upon the other with suspicion and misgiving.

Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa adds his voice to share the Saduana's pessimism, as quoted in Ojukwu (1969: 147). The Prime Minister states:

> Since the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern Provinces in 1914, Nigeria has existed as one country only on paper. It is still far from being united. The country is inhabited by peoples and tribes who speak different languages, who have different religions, different customs, and traditions and entirely different historical backgrounds in their way of life, and who have also attained different stages

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> of development. We do not want our southern neighbours to interfere in our development

The highly respected and admired Premier says further: "There were agitations in favour of secession; we should set up on our own; we should cease to have anything more to do with the Southern people; we should take our own way. I must say it looked very tempting."

We are not in a hurry to dismiss Onwumah's charges: "The charges against Nigeria are many." Those charges are linguistic paraphernalia incompatible with language of governance.

We can see, from the foregoing, that the impact of language in governance is enormous. When it is properly managed it yields good results; but when mismanaged, the outcome can be lethal. That is why the political leader should *shine his eyes*, to use colloquial parlance, as he makes pronouncements to avoid setting woodland afire as a result language misuse. Our utterance the moment it leaves our mouth, we no longer have control over it.

The essay recalls that the salient index that wields the fragile nation state together is *diversity*, amidst mutual suspicion among the diverse ethnic groups. Nigeria, no matter its leadership posture, sadly, is beset with numerous challenges that threaten its unity and national cohesion.

Conclusion

Language plays inestimable role in all aspects of life. That is why this paper has examined the impact of language in governance. This investigation has shown that by means of language we build or end a relationship, forge alliance, build bridges of unity and cooperation among peoples and groups. Since English is Nigeria's official language, the essay has, by purposeful random sampling, chose the meta language of English, of all the myriads of languages spoken in Nigeria, to engage our discourse and to ascertain the impact of language in governance. The study focuses on Nigeria, our country, to query the impact of (the English) language in (political) governance.

In view of the incontrovertible role language plays in governance, the paper upholds the platitude which holds that he who much is given much is expected of him. So, the study asserts that political governance in Nigeria is hard work; reason being that Nigeria is a conglomerate of peoples, national groups and tongues yoked together by the Lugardian amalgamation of January 1914. The essay observes that the salient index that wields the fragile nation state together is *diversity*, amidst mutual suspicion among the diverse ethnic groups. Nigeria, unfortunately, is beset with numerous challenges that threaten its unity and corporate existence. In the light of the above, the political leaders, of whatever calling or name, *must be* wary of his pronouncements, in the guise of propaganda while serving God and humanity.

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Right diction is likely to heal a wound, build a State or nation, contribute immensely in national integration, while wrong diction could overheat the polity and probably wreck the unity of the country especially in moments of conflict management or crises.

Fully aware of correctness and appropriateness as well as Cooperative Principle, the political leader saddled with the weighty task of governance *must* appreciate the fact that in nation-building everybody is important, no matter how highly or lowly placed and so carries everyone along through his idiolect especially when it comes to political maneuvering in governing; we need each other; it is song of cooperation for the egalitarian society and true Federalism to thrive and blossom.

Recommendations

The political leader should be meticulous in language usage to avoid dividing his subjects rather than uniting them through unguarded utterance.

Right language of governance is hard work; the political leader should strive to cultivate the etiquette of good speech through reading and practice.

The political leader should acquaint himself with the language theory of Grices Cooperative Principle familiarize himself with correctness and appropriateness in language use.

He should bear in mind that his actions and thoughts while in governance are all linguistic experiences. Therefore, the political leader should bear in mind that public service and political office appointments are all linguistic actions under which he may be judged either as unbiased, detribalized or otherwise. In effect, his appointments should be guided by merit as well as distribution of dividends of democracy.

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ESJ Humanities

La Campagne du Boycott 2018 au Maroc Comme Forme de Solidarité et d'Expression d'Indignation

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Doi:10.19044/esj.2023.v19n8p101

Submitted: 10 February 2023
Accepted: 22 March 2023
Published: 31 March 2023

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Cite As:
Imane B.Y. & Jamal K.(2023). *La Campagne du Boycott 2018 au Maroc Comme Forme de Solidarité et d'Expression d'Indignation*. European Scientific Journal, ESJ, 19 (8), 101. https://doi.org/10.19044/esj.2023.v19n8p101

Résumé

A l'ère digitale, où les individus se trouvent entre deux rives, l'une réelle et l'autre virtuelle, les mécanismes de programmation informatique s'introduisent de plus en plus dans leurs quotidiens et les invitent constamment à prendre part à plusieurs événements sociaux, économiques, politiques etc. Cette participation peut prendre différentes formes, allant du virtuel à l'implication effective, et de la simple réaction et protestation individuelle à l'organisation de mouvements sociaux dont l'impact n'est pas négligeable. En effet, la hausse des prix, la marginalisation et les inégalités sont quelques facteurs à l'origine de la campagne de boycott au Maroc en 2018 des produits des pompes à essence Afriquia, les bouteilles d'eau minéral Sidi Ali et Centrale Laitière. Ces entreprises monopolisent et dominent leurs marchés respectifs. Le mouvement a réussi à mobiliser les masses dans le pays afin de dénoncer les inégalités de la répartition des richesses et exprimer leur refus de se soumettre aux milliardaires. Il s'agit dans cet article de comprendre les facteurs qui ont réussi à mobiliser les différents acteurs à boycotter ainsi que déceler les liens qui les ont unis tout au long de la campagne. On a pu relever, à travers un travail de collecte de commentaires/posts/vidéos en ligne liés à la campagne du boycott 2018 ainsi que la conduite de quinze entretiens approfondis (boycotteurs, créateurs de groupes FB) et d'une vingtaine de conversations avec des épiciers et des serveurs de cafés, plusieurs formes de

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

solidarités que l'on pourrait classer comme étant : solidarité par indignation, solidarité par conviction et solidarité par intérêt économique et social.

Mots-clés: Maroc ; boycott ; frustrations sociales ; indignité ; réseaux sociaux

The Moroccan Boycott Campaign in 2018 as a Form of Solidarity and Expression of Indignation

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Abstract

In the digital age, where individuals find themselves between two shores, one real and the other virtual, computer programming mechanisms are increasingly being introduced into their daily lives and constantly inviting them to take part in various social, economic, political events, etc. This participation can take different forms, ranging from virtual involvement to effective involvement, and from simple individual reaction and protest to the organization of social movements whose impact is not negligible. Indeed, rising prices, marginalization, and inequalities are some of the factors behind the boycott campaign in Morocco in 2018 against Afriquia gas station products, Sidi Ali mineral water bottles, and Centrale Laitière. These companies monopolize and dominate their respective markets. The movement succeeded in mobilizing the masses in the country to denounce the inequalities in the distribution of wealth and express their refusal to submit to billionaires. This article aims to understand the factors that succeeded in mobilizing the different actors to boycott, as well as to uncover the bonds that united them throughout the campaign. Through a collection of online comments/posts/videos related to the 2018 boycott campaign, as well as conducting fifteen in-depth interviews (boycotters, FB group creators) and around twenty conversations with grocers and café servers, several forms of solidarity were identified, which could be classified as: solidarity through indignation, solidarity through conviction, and solidarity through economic and social interest.

Keywords: Morocco; boycott; social frustrations; indignation; social media

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1. Introduction

Dans un monde arabe en tumulte suite aux conséquences du printemps arabe, plusieurs pays ont traversé différentes situations d'instabilité à différents degrés. Le Maroc en n'a pas échappé puisque son historique protestataire demeure non-négligeable : années de plombs, les protestations des années 1990, période de peur des autorités et d'arrêt d'actions protestataires, le mouvement du 20 Février (M20F) inspiré par le printemps arabe, et enfin Hirak Rif et Jerada (Benayad, 2018). Benayad (2018) explique que le boycott de 2018 peut être considéré comme une extension de ces mouvements. L'impact de cette campagne est significatif car elle a encouragé la mobilisation de milliers de personnes qui sont devenues conscientes de leur pouvoir en tant que masse contre la minorité qui règne, pour ainsi lever leurs voix et crier leurs revendications. Hausse des prix, marginalisation et inégalités sont quelques facteurs ayant poussé la naissance de cette forme protestataire.

En ce qui concerne notre recherche, nous empruntons la définition du boycott avancée par Tautmann (2004) et Benayad (2018) selon qui les boycotteurs font face à plusieurs déceptions et frustrations cumulées à cause des affrontements liés à des mouvements passés. Ils veulent vociférer leurs insatisfactions par rapport aux situations qu'ils vivent. Cela nous permettra de mettre en avant les intérêts des acteurs pour mieux comprendre les solidarités qui se sont développées dans leurs rangs. On a choisi d'étudier la campagne du boycott qui a eu lieu au Maroc en 2018 contre trois marques principales : Sidi Ali, Afriquia et Centrale Danone[1]. Il s'agit dans cet article de comprendre les facteurs qui ont réussi à mobiliser les différents acteurs à boycotter ainsi que déceler les liens qui les ont unis tout au long de la campagne. Pour e faire, nous avons commencé par formuler les hypothèses qui suivent :

Hypothèses :

- Les intérêts personnels des boycotteurs les incitent à militer.
- Les boycotteurs se sentent unis et solidaires contre un ennemi commun.

1.2 Méthodologie

A ce stade, il est essentiel de se munir de "*moyens d'informations suffisants pour analyser les motivations qui ont inspiré l'action*" (Boudon, 1984, page 41). Donc, on a adopté une démarche individualiste pour voir de près les perceptions ainsi que la rationalité des différents acteurs. En usant de la méthodologie qualitative, on a mené quinze entretiens approfondis sur le boycott avec des consommateurs de différentes catégories sociales. Ensuite,

[1] Sidi Ali : marque d'eau minerale, Afriquia : Stations de carburant, Centrale Danone : produits laitiers

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20 conversations avec des gérants de cafés qui ont duré une dizaine de minutes chacune, vu qu'ils étaient occupés et interrompus à chaque fois par les serveurs ou les clients. Quelques-uns d'entre eux m'ont accordé un peu de temps par courtoisie et d'autres se sont contentés de refuser sous prétexte de manque de temps. Finalement, une vingtaine de conversations ont été menés avec des épiciers de différents quartiers de Casablanca pour tenter d'inclure différentes tranches sociales. Ces conversations ont duré entre 15 et 20 minutes chacune. Le guide d'entretien a évolué au fur et à mesure du progrès du travail de terrain puisque plusieurs nouveaux éléments ont été évoqués par les différents acteurs, et nous avons jugé important de les inclure afin de les investiguer davantage. A l'issue du terrain, nous avons analysé le contenu des entretiens après les avoir retranscrits. Ensuite, nous avons utilisé la méthode d'analyse thématique dans le but de relever les thèmes communs et les étudier de près. On a également appliqué le principe de la saturation de l'information qui indique que la saturation est atteinte lorsque le chercheur rassemble des données au point de la réplication ou de redondance (Marshall et al., 2013)

S'ajoute à cela une analyse de contenu sur les réseaux sociaux Youtube et Facebook. Nous nous sommes basés sur des pages et chaînes qui étaient populaires pour leurs posts relatifs à l'incitation au boycott, ou du moins ce qui en reste. Plusieurs groupes, pages et vidéos ont été supprimées après que la campagne s'est peu à peu éteinte. Le besoin étant de voir de près les commentaires représentant les réactions des utilisateurs internet et tenter de comprendre leurs motivations, frustrations et leurs causes défendues.

L'article s'organise en deux parties. Dans un premier temps, nous présentons une revue de la littérature qui dresse la compréhension du boycott dans un contexte théorique général puis spécifique au contexte marocain. Dans un deuxième temps, nous présentons les résultats de l'analyse des entretiens avec les différentes parties. Cette partie s'intéresse aux différentes solidarités développées entre les différents boycotteurs que nous avons qualifées de : solidarité par indignation, solidarité par conviction économique et politique, solidarité par intérêt économique et social.

1.3 Revue de littérature

Le boycott est défini comme un moyen de contestation avec lequel des individus refusent d'engager ou de garder des relations avec une certaine entité (gouvernement, organisation, entreprise, etc.) pour tenter de changer certaines politiques en vigueur ou pour montrer leur mécontentement envers les positions adoptées par cette entité dans différentes situations (Abentak & Machkouri , 2019). Plusieurs études se sont concentrées sur l'impact du boycott sur l'économie, notamment les enjeux et défis auxquels les entreprises doivent faire face et la communication de crise (Abentak & Machkouri , 2019). D'autres se sont penchés sur la typologie des boycotts (Amirault-Thebault M.,

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2020, Nystrom & Vendramin, 2014). Il y a également des études qui examinent les valeurs défendues ainsi que les stratégies adoptées par le gouvernement et les entreprises (Abentak & Machkouri , 2019), des études qui expliquent le boycott comme un moyen de protestation pacifique (Qotbi, 2019), et d'autres qui avancent que c'est un moyen d'expression d'indignation ou de contestation des conditions de vie jugées insatisfaisantes (Benayad, 2018).

Afin d'illustrer l'évolution historique de la pratique du boycott, Nystrom & Vendramin (2014) expliquent que le boycott était populaire au début parmi les syndicats, les ONG et les partis politiques dans le but de lutter contre les différentes oppressions et revendiquer leurs droits. Au cours du 20ème siècle, ces actions militantes se sont organisées dans le cadre de plus de revendications touchant divers domaines afin de contester le statu quo notamment les droits des minorités (mouvement des droits civiques aux Etats-Unis, le boycott du sel britannique initié par Ghandi) et les questions relatives à l'écologie (Affaire Greenspace contre Shell -Brent Spar-). Dans un contexte de consommation, Friedman définit le boycott de consommation comme une tentative entamée par un ou plusieurs individus afin de réaliser certains objectifs en incitant les consommateurs à s'abstenir d'acheter certains produits sur le marché (Klein et al. 2004). Dans ce sens, le boycott peut être compris comme étant l'acte du refus d'achat qui met la pression sur l'adversaire afin de le pousser à faire quelque chose ou à abandonner une autre.

De ce fait, Klein et al. (2004) suggèrent que les boycotts représentent une source de pouvoir pour les consommateurs et un mécanisme de contrôle social des entreprises et donc une implication dans les politiques publiques. Trautmann (2004, page 47) explique que « *par le boycott, les individus retrouvent un pouvoir confisqué et ont le sentiment « d'agir où ça fait mal »*. Cet acte de contestation permet de faire entendre la voix des boycotteurs pour qui la situation d'actualité est perçue comme étant insatisfaisante et dépasse alors la dimension économique de simple 'refus d'achat'. Force est de constater qu'il y a plusieurs liens sociaux qui se créent dans ce type de contextes.

Pour expliquer les liens sociaux développés lors de la campagne que nous étudions, nous mobilisons plusieurs théories notamment l'identité collective se manifestant à travers le hashtag «nous sommes boycotteurs » (Qotbi, 2019) , l'attitude d'imitation quand la majorité s'engage dans un certain comportement (Bordier, 1988), la cause défendue dépasse l'individu tout au long de l'événement exceptionnel (dans notre cas tout au long de la campagne) (Durkheim, 1996), et enfin l'identité sociale selon laquelle Goffman (1956) affirme que l'individu agit de sorte à projeter une certaine image de lui-même et jouer un rôle social selon le contexte où il se trouve dans le but de s'intégrer dans la société et atteindre ses objectifs personnels.

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Dans le même sens que Trautmann, Benayad (2018) examine le boycott de 2018 qui a influencé la scène politico-socio-économique marocaine, en le lisant face à une série de frustrations provoquées par les mouvements précédents. Il tente aussi d'explorer les voies par lesquelles le mouvement en est venu à être une tentative du peuple pour exprimer leur voix alors que le *Makhzen*[2] l'avait forcé à être sans voix pendant des années (Daadaoui, 2011).

2. Le Boycott au Maroc : idéologie, et expression d'indignation

Très peu d'études ont été faites sur les boycotts au Maroc avant la campagne de 2018. Nous nous sommes donc appuyés sur des articles de presse qui ont abordé les appels au boycott avant 2018 notamment : la campagne contre Israel (BDS), boycott encouragé par A. Benkirane, le boycott des campagnes électorales, et le boycott des produits de Centrale Danone, Afriquia et Sidi Ali en 2018.

En commençant par le volet idéologique à caractère religieux, le site Aujourd'hui.ma (2020) rapporte que le mouvement du BDS (Boycott, désinvestissement et sanctions) a été encouragé par l'AMSLP (Association marocain de soutien à la lutte palestinienne) auprès des dirigeants arabes lors du quatorzième sommet arabe à Beyrouth en 2002 dans le but de lutter pour la libération des territoires palestiniens, le droit au retour des réfugiés ainsi que l'égalité des citoyens arabes et Israéliens. Dans ce cadre, Lesiteinfo.com (2016) explique que les membres du BDS au Maroc se sont déplacés chez les commerçants de dattes afin de leur expliquer la nécessité de boycotter les dattes provenant d'Israël. Plusieurs grossistes et détaillants se sont alignés et ont boycotté le produit[3].

En 2014, le gouvernement dirigé par le chef du Parti de Justice et Développement (PJD) A. Benkirane avait supprimé la subvention de la caisse de compensation aux hydrocarbures (Arnaud, 2014). Le budget de la subvention a été graduellement réduit de 2.15DH/L le 16 janvier 2014 pour atteindre 0.80DHS/L le 16 octobre 2014 (Cour des Comptes, 2014). En conséquence, plusieurs produits de base ont vu leurs prix augmenter et ont impacté les plus démunis. Dans un discours à Agourray (petite ville dans la région de Fès-Meknès), Benkirane déclare que les gens se plaignaient de la hausse des prix des yaourts Danone et qu'il avait vu un appel au boycott sur YouTube dans ce sens. Alors il affirme qu'il boycottera la marque pour une période de 10 jours en encourageant les gens à fabriquer du yaourt caillé à la

[2] Le Makhzen représente une alliance informelle entre le monarque, ses conseillers, des hommes d'affaires sélectionnés, des bureaucrates de haut rang, le système de sécurité (militaire et policier) et des chefs tribaux loyalistes. (Hissouf, 2016)

[3] Les membres du BDS ont avancé plusieurs arguments : ces dates sont modifiées génétiquement et peuvent nuire à la santé des consommateurs en plus du fait qu'une partie du profit généré par les ventes sert à financer l'armée israélienne.

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maison (Berrada, 2020). Cependant, ces campagnes n'ont pas réussi à atteindre l'ampleur de celle de 2018.

S'ajoute à cela le boycott des campagnes électorales. Selon la MIPA[4] (Masbah, 2020), en plus des sondés qui ont boycotté la campagne de 2016, plusieurs des sondés qui ont voté lors des dernières élections étaient déçus et comptent boycotter durant les prochaines élections. En conséquence, 64% des sondés déclarent leur intention de boycotter les prochaines élections à cause du taux élevé du manque de confiance envers les figures politiques (Masbah & Aourraz, 2021). Ce volet dénonce l'importance du contexte politique dans la naissance ou non d'un mouvement protestataire.

En effet, selon Benayad, le contexte politique et social a changé progressivement depuis les années de plombs, passant par les années 1990, jusqu'au mouvement du 20 Février (M20F), Hirak Rif et Jerada (Benayad, 2018). Le boycott de 2018, à son avis, peut être considéré comme une extension de ces mouvements. En effet, les Marocains ont traversé un historique protestataire riche causé par l'instabilité, la corruption et le manque de transparence dans les affaires politiques. Ces mouvements ont été réprimés par les autorités du *Makhzen* lors de chaque affrontement. L'activisme cette fois est décrit par Benayad comme '*soft'* car il s'attaquait aux familles riches proches du *Makhzen*. La voix du peuple portait l'esprit du M20F puisque le boycott s'attaquait à ceux qui entouraient le roi et pas le roi lui-même. Les marocains protestent à travers leurs choix de consommation sans faire directement face aux autorités afin de revendiquer : réduction des prix, montrer leur indignation par rapport au fait qu'ils soient traités d'écervelés, et qu'ils soient pris pour des stupides (شعب لمداويخ، استحمار الشعب) (peuple écervelé, peuple considéré comme étant stupide). Le mouvement a tenté de renforcer la voix du peuple (qui s'éteint suite aux violences des autorités), et d'affirmer sa position en tant qu'acteurs dans la société.

En conséquence, des milliers de marocains ont adhéré au boycott de certaines marques pour mettre à l'épreuve l'économie politique du pays en usant de l'anonymat des réseaux sociaux. On parle des produits des pompes à essence Afriquia (Akhenouch, ministre de l'Agriculture), les bouteilles d'eau minérale Sidi Ali (Meriem Bensaleh ancienne présidente de la CGEM), Centrale Laitière (filiale de Danone). Ces entreprises, qui sont décrites par Lotfi (2018) comme étant les "*patrons de sa Majesté*", monopolisent et dominent leurs marchés respectifs. Selon un rapport d'Al Jazeera publié en 2018 (Masbah, 2018), ces entreprises étaient dominantes en contrôlant plus de 50% des parts du marché avec leurs produits ce qui leur permettait d'imposer les prix surtout que le rôle du Conseil de la Concurrence a été suspendu depuis 2013 (le roi n'avait pas désigné de nouveau directeur). Le mouvement a réussi

[4] *Moroccan Institute for Policy Analysis*

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

à mobiliser les masses dans le pays afin de dénoncer les inégalités de la répartition des richesses et exprimer leur refus de se soumettre aux milliardaires. De plus, les boycotteurs ont évoqué les résultats du rapport divulgué par le parlement en août 2018, qui montrait une augmentation des marges de bénéfice gagnées par les distributeurs de carburant depuis la libéralisation des prix en 2015 avec une estimation d'un gain de 17 milliards de dirhams de plus que ce qu'il gagnait avant l'abolition des subventions sur le carburant (Berrada, 2018).

3. Résultats et discussion

Il semble que le boycott ait commencé comme étant un mouvement spontané et de source anonyme, principalement sur Facebook, Whatsapp, Twitter à travers des hashtags tels que : « Laissez-le tourner, non à la cherté » (خليه يريب، لا للغلاء), afin de contester la cherté de la vie qui ne va pas en parallèle avec le pouvoir d'achat de la majorité de la population. Cette campagne de boycott est donc une manière d'exprimer un mécontentement social et politique (Benayad, 2018) ainsi qu'un instrument d'atteindre plusieurs revendications (Nystrom et Vendramin, 2014). Les interviewés de notre enquête ont affirmé que leur décision du non-achat était pour eux le moyen de faire savoir au gouvernement ainsi qu'aux grandes entreprises qu'ils ont leur mot à dire, qu'ils forment la majorité et qu'ils peuvent changer la donne une fois unis. Cela dit, la rationalité différait selon les intérêts et motivations des acteurs : on parle d'indignation, des difficultés économiques et politiques et des intérêts économique et social.

3.1 Solidarité par indignation

Comme nous l'avons évoqué au début, le boycott a émergé suite à plusieurs années de frustration, de lutte, d'oppression et de confrontations avec les autorités. Il a été l'occasion de contester de manière 'soft' sans avoir à courir le risque d'affronter les forces de l'ordre. On rappelle qu'on a relevé ces formes de solidarités en analysant les données de notre enquête qualitative relative aux boycotteurs. Dans cette section, nous allons élucider la solidarité par indignation qui a tenu à cœur la majorité des acteurs que nous avons rencontrés.

L'indignation fait partie essentielle du mot '*hogra'* qui est porteur de plusieurs connotations dont l'oppression, l'humiliation par les autorités, les inégalités desquelles souffrent la population et la corruption (Suárez-Collado, 2017). Dans ce sens, on entend Karim parler :

« *Ce pays est plein de Hogra, si tu veux un travail tu as besoin d'un piston, si tu veux être instruit tu as besoin d'argent, si tu veux parler, les murs t'entendront et t'enverront en prison. Je boycott ces riches car ils sont derrière notre misère* » (Karim, 24 ans).

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Karim est un étudiant d'origine Amazigh, (région du *Souss*), et qui a dû franchir beaucoup d'obstacles, notamment sa langue maternelle, afin d'avoir une chance d'étudier et de comprendre ce qui se passe autour de lui. Il a parlé de la pauvreté de laquelle souffre les gens de sa région, la marginalisation, le manque d'infrastructures et la précarité dans lesquels vivent les gens de la région. Pour Karim, le boycott n'est pas qu'économique mais il vient dénoncer les inégalités et l'indignation du peuple. Il ajoute :

« *Les pauvres n'ont aucune chance de monter l'échelle sociale. Tu as un vendeur ambulant qui vend des légumes : une fois le* مقدم */Moqadem (autorité locale) le voit sur son chemin, il se permet de lui confisquer toute sa marchandise y compris sa charrette si ce 'pauvre' n'accepte pas de lui filer un pot-de-vin. N'est-ce pas la hogra* ? » (Karim, 24ans)

Souvent, même dans les grandes villes, les vendeurs ambulants se voient confisquer leurs marchandises par les autorités. Certes, ils exposent ce qu'ils ont à vendre dans l'espace public et finissent alors par déranger la circulation mais plusieurs citoyens voient ça comme une forme d'injustice envers les classes démunies.

Dans la même perspective, Fatima Zahra qui est téléconseillère affirme : «*en plus de ces marques, je boycotte les supermarchés aussi car ils ont envahi les villes et ont dominé les petites épiceries qui ne veulent que subvenir aux besoins de leurs familles ailleurs* » (Fatima zahra 29ans). Elle souligne que les supermarchés représentent également cette incarnation du puissant qui piétine le plus faible sans tenir compte de ses conditions en le laissant face à un sentiment d'indignation qui rendra la vie difficile à sa famille. Ceci d'une part.

D'autre part, l'indignation s'est aussi manifestée suite à des événements comme celui du ministre de l'Economie et des Finances, Mohamed Boussaid, qui a traité les boycotteurs de '*mdawikh'* (étourdis, écervelés). Cela n'a fait qu'augmenter la colère des citoyens et les inciter davantage à boycotter. Laila, femme au foyer âgée de 46 ans m'a expliqué avec beaucoup d'émotions :

« Je te jure je ne me souciais guère du boycott, pour moi c'était comme une tendance, mais dès que ma copine m'a envoyé la vidéo du ministre sur WhatsApp j'étais hors de moi ! La vidéo d'ailleurs avait un commentaire portant le hashtag du boycott avec le logo rouge. J'ai incité mon mari aussi à boycotter, on était hors de nous, ''écervelés' non mais il est fou ! »(Laila, 46 ans).

L'attitude du ministre a engendré une vague de colère sur les réseaux sociaux qui ont multiplié les incitations et encouragements pour agir afin de 'faire mal' aux riches et aux décideurs.

« *Je suis une citoyenne marocaine et une patriote dans l'âme, et je ne suis ni partisane ni membre de parti politique. Mais après que le ministre ait*

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qualifié les Marocains d'étourdis/écervelés et ait décrit certains comme étant des traîtres et des troupeaux et d'autres comme des affamés… Ma fierté et dignité n'accepteront jamais cela. Même si le prix baisse pour atteindre 1dh, ou qu'ils m'offrent une bouteille d'eau minérale avec du lait gratuit, je jure devant Dieu Tout Puissant que ces produits n'entreront pas mon estomac, pas pendant un mois, comme le prétendent les boycotteurs, mais toute la vie. Il faut revenir à notre origine et à la culture et au raffinement de nos ancêtres en buvant d'un jar d'argile. Alors, arrêtez de nous exploiter et de jouer avec nous.» (Elkhlifi, 2018)

Cette utilisatrice de Facebook défend sa fierté qui a été touchée par le fait d'être désignée d'étourdie. Le boycott ne cherche plus à diminuer les prix mais il va au-delà pour crier la déshumanisation dont les individus semblent souffrir. Peu après, un autre événement vient secouer la campagne avec le directeur des achats Danone, Adil Benkirane qui traite les boycotteurs de « traîtres à la nation ». Il explique qu'en boycottant des marques qui sont produites au Maroc, les boycotteurs nuisent à l'économie du pays et aux 400 000 éleveurs qui font un travail énorme pour produire ce lait (Tbiba & Mounib 2018). Encore une fois, les citoyens se mettent en colère du fait de voir que non seulement les riches s'accaparent les richesses, ne défendent pas leurs intérêts au parlement, mais ils touchent leur patriotisme. Driss, étudiant en sciences physiques et membre du mouvement des étudiants, témoigne « *haha mais ils se prennent pour qui, je ne comprends pas ? Ils voulaient nous arrêter ben ils nous ont enflammé et on n'a pas lâché l'affaire. Il faut savoir que même les Marocains résidants à l'étranger rejoignaient notre cause. Le patriotisme est touché là* » (Driss, 20 ans). Il m'a expliqué plus tard que les politiciens et les hommes d'affaires ne chercheront que leurs intérêts et jamais celui du peuple. Il ajoute « *Le peuple n'a que Dieu. Quand tu vois que le premier ministre te confisque de l'argent pour en bénéficier à sa retraite, tu ne peux t'attendre qu'au pire*[5] ». En effet, les interviewés ont énuméré les situations d'insatisfaction causées par l'élite à fur et à mesure que l'on discutait pour dévoiler la complexité de cette campagne et les différentes raisons qui les ont poussés à agir.

Arrive alors l'événement lié à Aziz Akhanouch, le ministre de l'Agriculture, de la pêche maritime, du développement rural, des eaux et des forêts ainsi que l'un des actionnaires principaux d'AKWA Group (Afriquia). Lors du Salon International de l'Agriculture au Maroc, il provoque les boycotteurs à cause de son discours en leur rappelant que le lait est disponible toute l'année grâce aux efforts continus des éleveurs qui se réveillent à l'aube pour traire les vaches. « *C'est leur moyen de subsistance* », explique-t-il, et

[5] Au Maroc, une fois qu'un représentant devient parlementaire, il bénéficiera de la retraite d'un parlementaire automatiquement même s'il ne sert pas ce poste toute sa vie professionnelle

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que « *ce n'est pas de l'élevage virtuel, c'est de l'élevage réel, ce n'est pas du jeu, les gens qui veulent jouer vont jouer ailleurs* » (Le 360, 2018). Il ne s'est pas contenté d'un discours mais il a bu du lait sur scène avec Didier Lambelle, PDG de Danone, et autres participants au salon (voir Annexe 1).

Les réponses à l'instar de « *un éleveur qui se réveille à 4h du matin et vous qui vous réveillez à 10h et vous trayez 40 millions de marocains, si on suppose que la majorité des marocains boit du lait #laissez_le_tourner* خليه يريب#»(Koumine, 2018) se sont multipliées et la campagne ne s'est pas arrêtée pour autant.

Les boycotteurs se sentaient insultés par les dires des hauts placés et n'avaient d'autres moyens que d'attaquer ces riches afin d'exprimer leur frustration et indignation par rapport à la situation qu'ils vivent. Puisque leur voix n'a pas été étouffée par les violences des autorités, ils ont voulu dénoncer davantage les scandales politiques à travers cette contestation. Avec le sentiment d'indignation refoulé pendant des années puis mis en avant à travers la campagne du boycott, on a remarqué l'émergence de plusieurs autres profils de boycotteurs notamment les boycotteurs par conviction.

3.2 La solidarité par conviction entre l'économique et le politique

La solidarité par conviction que nous avons relevée s'est manifestée de deux manières : des convictions économique et politique. Dans la première catégorie, la rationalité des acteurs s'est basée sur la hausse des prix, le faible pouvoir d'achat, et le cumul des richesses entre les mains d'une élite. Ensuite, la rationalité politique s'est révélée à travers le mécontentement social envers les décisions du gouvernement ainsi que le manque de confiance envers cette entité. Ce mécontentement a été concrétisé à travers les réseaux sociaux avec des pages prônant 'la lutte contre la corruption' et par le comportement à travers le boycott.

3.2.1 La solidarité par conviction économique

Dans un sondage cité par El Attar et Saber (2019) dans leur article, 61% des sondés considèrent que la raison principale du boycott fut le prix élevé des produits en question. Toutefois, les chiffres ne dévoilent pas l'explication qui réside derrière les résultats. Les interviewés ont mis le point sur cette question de prix tout en expliquant davantage le pourquoi. Ils ont comparé le prix du lait pasteurisé *Centrale* 3.5dhs (30 centimes d'euros environ) pour le demi-litre contre 3 dhs (0.25 euros) chez d'autres marques locales. Bien que *Jaouda* coûte le même prix, le boycott s'est limité à Centrale Danone dans cette catégorie puisqu'elle monopolise le marché avec plus de 50% des parts du marché ce qui leur permettait d'imposer les prix (Masbah, 2018). Mohamed, jeune activiste de la gauche explique sa position en disant « *pourquoi je remplirai les poches de riches ? Le capitalisme nuit aux plus*

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pauvres, le pouvoir d'achat au Maroc 'réel' est minable ». Pour lui, le Maroc réel signifie la classe populaire, les masses qui vivent dans la marginalisation et la précarité. Le SMIG au Maroc était de 2570 DHS/mois (245 euros/mois environ) en 2018 (LeSalarie, 2018) avec un taux de chômage de 15% parmi les jeunes âgés de 25 à 34 ans (HCP, s.d.). En conséquence, les mots de Lotfi trouvent leur écho dans ce contexte « *faire la guerre à la pauvreté, c'est d'abord faire la guerre à ceux qui confisquent les richesses* » (Lotfi, 2018). Dans cette perspective, plusieurs épiciers ont aussi rejoint le mouvement pour dire « *nous faisons partie du peuple* ». Rajaa âgée de 29 ans a témoigné :
« Une fois j'étais chez l'épicier (au quartier Sidi Maârouf), en fait ils sont quatre épiciers à dire à chaque fois :non laisse ce produit il est à Danone ! prends Marrakech ou une autre marque. C'étaient des marques dont on n'avait jamais entendu parler. Et une femme a dit que Nido aussi était cher, l'épicier lui a alors dit : ben boycott le comme ça ils baisseront les prix, nous devons agir ».

L'incitation venait de différents boycotteurs selon les conditions dans lesquels ils se trouvaient et selon leurs convictions. Dans ce cas les épiciers se sentaient impliqués dans la cause et n'hésitaient pas à la rappeler aux clients. Dans le même cadre mais en tenant compte de la qualité du produit, Amina, 41 ans et mère de deux enfants a expliqué qu'elle ne trouvait pas de logique à payer ce prix alors que la marque offrait une meilleure qualité dans son enfance « *le lait était dans des cartons en forme pyramidale et tu arrivais à voir des morceaux de beurre dans le lait. C'était du vrai lait au moins ! Maintenant le lait Centrale est plus du lait dilué dans beaucoup d'eau (لما و زغاريد, plus d'eau qu'autre chose)* » (Amina, 41 ans). Cette description du produit n'était pas la seule. Les répondants ont expliqué que la texture du lait est devenue plus liquide, même en comparaison avec des marques comme *Jaouda* ou *Chergui* qui donnent plus l'impression d'être mieux concentrés en matière laitière. Haytham, jeune homme âgé de 28 ans a avancé cette description « *quand tu verses Jaouda dans le verre, tu as des résidus blancs après avoir bu, alors qu'avec Centrale, il n'y a rien qui reste » (*Haytham, 28 ans). La rationalité s'étendait même à la provenance des produits et producteurs de matière première. On cite Mohamed, 39 ans, épicier à Casablanca qui a saisi l'opportunité de la campagne de boycott pour soutenir la coopérative COPAG, de la marque *Jaouda*, qui dynamise l'économie de sa région d'origine *Taroudant* : « *Quand le boycott a commencé, j'ai compris que je faisais une erreur, j'aurais dû toujours limiter ma consommation à Jaouda car je suis originaire de la région où ils produisent et je veux les soutenir* » (Mohamed, 39 ans). Dans la même perspective, Rajaa, 29 ans, consommatrice, a décidé de boycotter et encourager les petits producteurs de lait chez lesquelles les marques achètent la matière première à des prix dérisoires :

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« *On a commencé à acheter le lait de chez les fermiers à Bouskoura une fois par semaine pour boycotter les plus riches. On prend un lait naturel bon pour la santé. Ils ont besoin de ce revenu, Centrale achète le lait brut à 1dh puis rajoute les produits chimiques et le vend à 3.5dhs, à quoi bon ?*» (Rajaa, 29 ans,).

Il est important de noter l'importance de l'existence d'un produit alternatif ; d'ailleurs selon le guide destiné aux organisateurs de boycotts (Murtagh et Lukeheart, 2002), le fait d'avoir une alternative disponible et d'au moins la même qualité que le produit boycotté est une parmi les éléments nécessaires à la réussite de ce type d'actions (peu importe le sens attribué au terme réussite). Ce substitut permettra au boycotteur d'éviter les sous-produits de la marque boycottée et aussi de ne pas être facilement détourné de la campagne dès que la marque en question entame une stratégie pour regagner ses clients.

Les répondants ont également souligné la propagation de la pratique du boycott même loin des grandes villes. Hachim, étudiant en cycle Master témoigne que « *j'étais à Imsouane en Mai 2018, et j'ai remarqué que les gens boycottaient ! en voyant les réfrigérateurs pleins de produits non vendus ou carrément l'absence de Sidi Ali et Centrale. Même à Taghazoute. C'était incroyable* ». Ces propos rejoignent les photos postées sur les réseaux sociaux montrant des épiceries avec les produits laissés à tourner (Centrale) ou de côté (Sidi Ali), ou montrant leur absence totale des lieux, ou encore des stations Afriquia désertées (Voir Annexes : 2,3,4). Ces posts procuraient de la fierté entre les boycotteurs qui voyaient le résultat concret de leur contestation.

En plus du lait, l'eau minérale Sidi Ali coûtait également plus cher que l'ensemble des autres marques à raison de 6 dhs la bouteille d'un litre et demi contre 5dhs pour les autres. La marque propose une eau purifiée *Bahia* à 3.5dhs pour 1.5L qui a également été boycottée. Amine, jeune journaliste et activiste déclare *« je consommais Bahia quand je me trouvais à l'extérieur puisqu'elle n'est pas chère mais après le boycott je choisissais de payer plus cher et joindre le mouvement* ». Les consommateurs comparaient les prix au Maroc avec ceux à l'étranger et trouvaient une grande différence. D'ailleurs, plusieurs commentateurs se présentant comme étant des marocains résidents à l'étranger venaient poster les prix en France et aux États Unis afin d'encourager la lutte. Par exemple « *En France l'eau minérale coûte 17 cents pour 1.5L qui est égale à 1.3 dhs* » (Kaloo,2018). Sachant que le prix d'eau minérale au Maroc s'approche du prix d'une boisson gazeuse de la même quantité, les consommateurs se demandent pourquoi et où vont tous ces profits cumulés. Le YouTubeur '*Kifaa7*'[6], qui est une figure éminente parmi les

[6] Chaine YouTube administrée par plusieurs personnes dont Abderrahamane Adraoui. Il réside au Canada, est entrepreneur en transport routier, et est correspondant de presse pour

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

instigateurs du boycott, répond à ce type de questions. Il explique dans une de ses vidéos (Kifaa7, 2018) que les régions de l'Atlas desquelles cette eau et plusieurs autres minéraux sont extraits ne bénéficient nullement des gains colossaux collectés par deux entités : HOLMARCOM Group (Sidi Ali, Bahia, Oulmes etc. dont Meriem Bensaleh est une administratrice et actionnaire) et SOTHERMA (Sidi Hrazem, Aïn Saiss, Ciel dont l'actionnaire principal est le Holding Royal). Ce type de contenu venait nourrir la curiosité des consommateurs qui ont depuis des années perdu confiance en l'intégrité des partis politiques et du gouvernement.

On constate que le boycott a révélé des frustrations profondes chez les citoyens marocains. Nos interviewé(e)s ont révélé une polarité riches *VS* pauvres réduisant l'acte de contestation à une lutte de classes. Plusieurs observations avancées par les interviewés nous ont interpellés à l'instar de Rajaa : « *Durant le Ramadan, nous sommes partis faire la prière à la mosquée Alhamd qui est située dans un quartier de villas et j'ai remarqué que cette classe sociale ne boycott pas car la majorité consommait Sidi Ali. Mon beau-père qui habite à Belvédère a fait cette remarque également dans son quartier.* » (Rajaa, 29ans, consommatrice). Ce témoignage met l'accent sur le choc qu'elle a eu de voir que dans ce contexte, ils étaient une minorité à boycotter et pourtant elle est de classe aisée. Hicham, gérant d'une supérette au quartier *Maarif* a déclaré « *Il n'y avait pas une tendance fixe, il y a des personnes qui se disaient 'avec le peuple' mais ne disaient rien de spécial ils ont juste changé leurs habitudes d'achat, et il y en a d'autres qui ne s'en souciaient pas* » (Hicham, 32ans). Si bien que le boycott semble avoir commencé suite aux prix relativement élevés desdits produits, les politiques du pays ont joué un rôle important dans le lancement et développement de la campagne.

3.2.2 La solidarité par conviction politique

Comme nous l'avons évoqué au début de cet article, la hausse des prix a commencé après que le chef du gouvernement ait supprimé la subvention de la caisse de compensation aux hydrocarbures en 2014. En outre, plusieurs des promesses que le parti en tête avait données au peuple lors des élections n'ont pas été tenues, chose qui les a poussés à croire que tout comme leurs prédécesseurs et les autres partis, les islamistes sont également corrompus. Plusieurs commentaires sur la toile ainsi que nos interviewés ont utilisé une panoplie d'adjectifs pour décrire les membres du gouvernement : *voleurs, bâtards, gros ventres, corrompus, détenteurs des richesses (مالين الشكارة) etc.* Les citoyens décrient leur mécontentement à l'encontre des politiciens, des

Hespress.com. Kifaa7 est connu pour ses discours qui sont contre le Holding Royal en dénonçant la corruption du pays.

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

riches ciblés et du Holding Royal à travers les commentaires à l'instar de « *Merci au peuple marocain pour cette cohésion contre les ennemis du peuple, le premier d'entre eux le Holding Royal* » (Ayaw, 2018). D'ailleurs, la MIPA (Moroccan Institute for Policy Analysis) (Masbah, 2020) a mené une étude quantitative relative à la confiance institutionnelle en 2019[7] et a montré que la majorité des marocains ne font ni confiance au gouvernement ni aux partis politiques, comme on l'a précédemment expliqué. Les répondants n'hésitaient pas à exprimer leur frustration par rapport aux politiciens et ce qu'ils décrivent par '*leur incompétence'*. Le boycott a représenté un moyen d'exprimer ce mécontentement envers les politiciens blâmés pour leur corruption, comme c'est le cas avec Mustapha qui a commenté sur Facebook (en arabe il est en rimes)

« Les gens sont conscients et le boycott est un succès. Pas de manifestations, pas de grèves. Pas d'arrestation, pas d'emprisonnement. Fini les jours de peur, et les jours de tchats sont révolus. Juste avec les like et partage. Combattre les gangs et protéger le patrimoine. Exposer les lobbies des propriétaires d'entreprise. Boycotter les produits et faire échouer les politiques » (Azao, 2018).

Les internautes étaient fiers de leurs exploits et criaient toujours le slogan « *nous boycottons et luttons derrière nos écrans* ». Une fois que les acteurs se réunissent pour une cause, ils commencent à "tisser des liens émotionnels" afin de pouvoir soutenir une identité collective (Walgrave & Verhulst, 2006), d'où l'utilisation constante de ce 'nous' contre l'élite qui dérobe les richesses du peuple. Plusieurs activistes étaient derrière les pages créées sur Facebook soutenant la campagne. Ils faisaient en sorte de poster régulièrement afin de maintenir la flamme des boycotteurs et leur rappeler la cause commune. Mohamed, activiste de gauche et membre de l'AMDH a affirmé :

« Des pages arabophones qui contenant énormément de monde : 'Nous sommes tous boycotteurs', 'le réseau marocain pour la lutte contre la corruption', 'Front national de lutte contre la corruption'. Elles publiaient chaque jour des écrits, des messages, des trolls, images et vidéos des stocks non vendus à Marjane et Carrefour (des supermachés), des stations Afriquia qui étaient désertées pour rappeler aux gens la cause, leur montrer que le boycott est réel et qu'ils ne sont pas les seuls afin de continuer la lutte. » (Mohamed 32 ans)

Dans ce contexte, Qotbi, a mené une étude sur les protestations et les réseaux sociaux et affirme que les utilisateurs sur les pages des réseaux sociaux partagent sans cesse des messages émotionnels et rationnels qui

[7] L'échantillon était de 1000 personnes représentatives en termes d'âge, sexe et zone géographique selon la structure désignée par le Haut-Commissariat des Plans.

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œuvrent vers le soutien du mouvement et qui insistent sur l'importance du maintien du boycott. On est conduit à remarquer que la liberté d'interaction avec le contenu partagé sur les pages de la toile (commentaires, discussions) a permis aux citoyens, qui n'étaient pas forcément convaincus et emportés par le mouvement , de se mobiliser également puisque les émotions fortes desquelles ils témoignent partout dans le monde numérique ont permis de créer un type d'identité collective nationale qui a su transcender les frontières géographiques et sociales, ils avaient tous un objectif en commun (Qotbi, 2019). Néanmoins, ces posts récurrents et importants n'avaient pas le même effet mobilisateur sur les utilisateurs internet et les citoyens. Alors que des milliers luttaient avec conviction, d'autres se sont vus sous une pression de conformité même s'ils se sentaient détachés de la contestation. L'intérêt étant de garder son image sociale, éviter l'exclusion, puis garder le gain matériel.

3.3 La solidarité par intérêt économique et social

Le troisième type de solidarité qu'on a relevé peut être observé à travers l'intérêt économique ainsi que l'image sociale véhiculée de soi. Nous avons pu saisir cette forme chez nos interviewés consommateurs, épiciers et gérants de cafés.

3.3.1 Solidarité par intérêt économique

Quand on évoque la dimension économique, on sous-entend le profit matériel. Pour les épiciers et les gérants de cafés, la priorité est de garder les clients, les fidéliser en s'adaptant à leurs besoins et leur confort. Un gérant de café dans le quartier de Hay Hassani a expliqué :

« *Si je perds mes clients je n'assurerai ni mes charges ni mon revenu. Tu sais, quand la campagne battait son plein les gens se sentaient fiers de crier vers le comptoir : ah, enlevez-moi ça ! S'il n'y a pas d'autres marques je ne paierai pas vos deux dirhams d'eau* ». (Hassan, 42 ans)

Les gérants et serveurs se sentaient obligés de détendre l'atmosphère afin de continuer leurs affaires. Plusieurs ont répliqué « ندیرو لخاطر لكليان » signifiant qu'ils veulent faire plaisir, s'adapter aux clients. Ils ont trouvé de nouveaux fournisseurs : Aïn Ifrane, Aïn Sultan, Aquafina, Aqua Florvita, ou se sont dirigés vers une sous marque de Sidi Ali qui est Aïn Atlas. Les consommateurs n'étaient pas tous au courant que cette dernière était une sous-marque, donc ils adoptaient différentes attitudes variant entre l'acceptation du produit et le refus total.

Concernant les gérants de cafés qui disposaient au préalable d'un stock de Sidi Ali dans leurs cafés, ils le servaient quand même en expliquant qu'il faut liquider le stock. Les clients ne le consommaient pas, ils demandaient un verre d'eau de robinet à la place. Quelques-uns laissaient ces petites bouteilles sur la table non consommées ou les vidaient dans l'évier. De plus, les gérants

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ont expliqué que d'une certaine manière, changer de marque les arrangeaient car cela leur permettait d'avoir une petite marge de bénéfice supérieure à celle de Sidi Ali : « *Les autres marques ont une petite marge de plus en termes de gain*[8]». (Abderahim, 51 ans, gérant de café)

Plusieurs des gérants avec lesquels on s'est entretenu n'étaient pas forcément convaincus du boycott. Quand on leur a posé la question relative à leur position par rapport à la campagne, ils disaient être neutre et ne vouloir que suivre la vague car c'est comme ça que les affaires avancent. Hassan, âgé de 49 ans et gérant d'un café était très stressé lors de la discussion car parler de la campagne lui rappelait ses craintes financières. Il a expliqué que :« *Ce ne sont pas nous qui allons changer la donne voyons. Les marques s'enrichissent de toute façon moi je veux juste arrondir mon mois et payer mes factures* ». Les gérants se sentent détachés des marques et semblent ne pas se soucier de leurs relations commerciales avec elles. Plusieurs d'entre eux commençaient à se plaindre des taxes élevées, des sanctions par rapport aux terrasses qui dépassent la limite légale et des clients qui deviennent de plus en plus rares puisque les cafés se multiplient et offrent un meilleur local pour plus ou moins le même prix. En conséquence, les charges pèsent. Brahim explique davantage cette relation détachée avec la marque mais directe avec le client : « *J'ai juste arrêté de passer les commandes car les bouteilles restaient derrière le comptoir et on finissait par les consommer nous-mêmes. Il fallait s'adapter. On finit tous par suivre quand la majorité s'y met. Si tu veux qu'un business réussit, il doit être flexible et chercher où se trouve l'opportunité de gagner pas de perdre. Je m'en fou de ce que les marques font, ils ne viennent pas payer mes charges, c'est à moi de gérer, je suis face aux clients et aux gens qui travaillent ici* » (Brahim, 40 ans, gérant de café).

Brahim a évoqué l'attitude d'imitation que l'on adopte une fois la majorité s'engage dans un certain comportement comme expliqué par Bordier (Bordier, 1988). De la même manière, quand les épiciers répondaient à la même question en affirmant qu'ils suivaient le discours du consommateur peu importe ce qu'il dit juste pour ne pas offenser le client. Ce qui importe finalement c'est leur rapport épicier/consommateur.

Par ailleurs, les serveurs avaient les mêmes observations relatives aux comportements et réactions des clients quand ils leur servaient lesdites marques d'eau minérale. Quelques-uns ont ajouté que les clients pouvaient même ouvrir des discussions sur le boycott et la situation au pays, la '*hogra*'[9], le manque d'opportunités, le système d'éducation une fois que l'un d'eux réagissait contre la marque même s'ils ne se connaissaient pas.

[8] Ils ont utilisé l'expression :f*ihoum t'ryef del khboubz*, signifiant littéralement qu'ils offrent un petit morceau de pain (qui désigne le gain)
[9] Peut être traduite par : sentiment d'oppression, d'injustice, mépris social

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En conséquence, on comprend que cette catégorie de pseudo-boycotteurs se trouvait d'une certaine manière 'obligée' de boycotter les marques Sidi Ali, puisqu'ils ne pouvaient plus les servir sur leurs tables vu la réaction des clients. Ils ont évoqué la dimension de fierté chez les consommateurs boycotteurs qui émane de la satisfaction de conformité. Abdennbi, en charge d'un café à Sidi Maarouf a également avancé « *Les gens avaient des réactions poussées. Ils disaient au serveur : 'enlève enlève moi ça !'Ou bien des répliques comme 'Est-ce que je semble être Mickey*[10] *? Tu me sers ça ? On rigole ici ?* » (Abdennbi, 36 ans). Les consommateurs auxquels on servait la marque boycottée se sentaient attaqués ou offensés. Ils étaient tellement impliqués que pour eux, ne pas boycotter serait comme les traiter de 'traitres à la nation' devant les passants. De leur part, les gérants de cafés couraient le risque d'être eux-mêmes boycottés s'ils insistaient sur le fait de servir encore Sidi Ali ou sa sous-marque Aïn Atlas (Voir Annexe 5).

Pour l'expliquer, Durkheim (1996) précise que l'individu se trouve emporté par le groupe et par le sentiment du collectif tellement il s'implique dans la réalisation de la cause commune. La cause dépasse l'individu. Il ajoute que ces phénomènes ne durent que le temps où les liens qui se créent lors de cet événement exceptionnel se dissipent. Dans cette perspective, les relations émotionnelles tissées entre les boycotteurs qui se sentaient en totale cohésion en servant la cause commune ont permis à ces acteurs de s'emporter, s'impliquer et leur a permis de ressentir de la fierté par le biais de la conformité, mais cela a causé aux déviants le risque d'exclusion et de punition à travers le regard méprisant et en les traitant de traitres. Nous touchons alors à la dimension sociale de cette solidarité par intérêt.

3.3.2 Solidarité par intérêt social

Lors des entretiens tenus avec différents consommateurs, on a remarqué qu'ils évoquaient cette dimension d'image sociale de manière subtile et indirecte. Une fois qu'on relançait, ils hésitaient avant de poursuivre la discussion. Il semblerait qu'ils boycottaient pour éviter d'être jugés. Dans des conditions où il faut faire les courses par nécessité, plusieurs chefs de familles ont avoué qu'en cas de rupture de stock des marques alternatives à celles boycottées, ils n'osaient pas prendre dans leurs cadis ou demander à l'épicier de leur donner un produit de Centrale Danone. Ils étaient prêts à lâcher le boycott pour ne pas avoir à chercher ailleurs, mais ils abandonnaient l'idée de peur des regards des personnes à côté.

« Tout le monde guettait les moindres gestes dès que quelqu'un s'approche des rayons Centrale Danone. Impossible de faire un faux pas. Une fois le super marché allait fermer et j'avais besoin de lait pour les enfants, ils

[10] Mot utilisé en dialecte marocain pour désigner quelqu'un d'une faible personnalité

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en prennent chaque soir, soit Centrale soit Chergui mais ce dernier n'y était pas. Il n'y a pas d'épicier à proximité et j'aurais aimé choisir le produit à côté mais je savais que les gens allaient m'attaquer, non seulement avec le regard mais même avec leurs commentaires, je n'étais pas prêt à cela après une longue journée au bureau. J'ai fini par chercher un épicier et c'est tout. » *(*Said , 42 ans, consommateur*)*

On peut percevoir les craintes qui s'installent à cause de la peur d'exclusion en 'sortant du lot', l'individu se sent obligé d'abandonner son achat de peur d'être mal compris par les gens qui l'entourent. De plus, quand les choix des enfants entrent en jeu, les parents ne peuvent que céder. Mina , 48 ans, est une maman de trois enfants, elle déclare :

« *Mes enfants ne prennent que du Centrale pasteurisé, ils n'ont aimé aucune des autres marques. On a essayé de boycotter mon mari et moi mais j'en ramenais toujours pour les enfants de chez l'épicier en lui demandant de l'envelopper de papier avant de le mettre dans un sac. Je comprends la cause pour laquelle on boycotte mais je n'ai pas envie que les voisins me fassent la morale (*ينقيو ليا ودني*)* » (Mina, 48ans)

On constate que la peur de la réaction d'autrui dominait les consommateurs, personne ne voulait être persécuté à cause d'un choix d'achat. Un jeune informaticien a témoigné d'une scène en disant

« *Il y a toujours quelqu'un prêt à attaquer celui qui commettra une erreur ! J'ai vu un homme devant moi au café qui a commencé à insulter un piéton qui avait une bouteille de sidi Ali à la main. Mais il ne sait pas s'il est malade et il avait besoin de n'importe quoi à boire… Qui sait ? Pourquoi juger et attaquer ? Les marocains sont l'hedya /*لحضية[11]»

« *L'hedya* » est un aspect culturel de la société marocaine et qui fait que les communautés traditionnelles, qui n'adhèrent pas au mode de vie individualiste, y tiennent. Les gestes sont comptés et donc les individus font inconsciemment constamment attention à ce qu'ils disent/comment ils agissent en public. En parlant des stations de carburant, les réactions de craintes étaient les mêmes chez quelques individus. « *Je ne voulais pas me voir dans une vidéo que tout le monde commente juste parce que j'étais chez Afriquia. D'ailleurs les stations de services sont souvent collées l'une à l'autre, j'évite Afriquia et c'est tout*. » (Hasna, 26 ans)

On remarque que la crainte de laquelle parlent ces consommateurs émane de la peur de punition en cas de déviance et du besoin d'approbation. On peut qualifier cette attitude d'influence normative quand l'individu sent qu'il doit orienter ses opinions dans le même sens que celles du groupe dans le but d'être accepté. Cette conformité s'accentue quand le groupe œuvre vers un but

[11] Un terme en arabe dialectal désignant le fait qu'un individu observe les moindres gestes d'autrui

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commun comme dans le cas du cette campagne du boycott. Kelman (1958) met en avant trois types de conformité notamment la 'complaisance'. L'individu se conforme pour maintenir sa position dans le groupe et ne pas être rejeté (il peut garder son opinion pour lui et déclarer une autre en public). Cela expliquerait l'émergence de cette forme de solidarité parmi les boycotteurs qui ne perçoivent cette contestation que comme une charge pesante sur leurs comportements et libertés. On précise que lorsqu'un épicier servait aux clients sur le comptoir un produit relevant des marques boycottées (consciemment ou sans faire attention), les clients réagissaient directement suite à ce geste et attaquaient l'épicier « *Tu me donnes ça ? Tu es avec eux ?* ». D'autant plus que Goffman (1956), s'exprime sur les différents rôles sociaux que joue l'individu selon le contexte, afin qu'il s'intègre en société et qu'il atteigne ses objectifs personnels. Les boycotteurs dans ce cas précis, adoptent cette « identité sociale », ce masque expliqué par Goffman, en montrant qu'ils adhèrent à la campagne en public pour s'intégrer dans le groupe.

D'après l'analyse des données, on déduit que le boycott est devenu une affaire identitaire en créant des clans. Les expressions '*tu es avec nous ou avec eux ?*' '*Et toi tu n'es pas marocain ?*' ont été répétées à plusieurs reprises pour montrer l'enjeu de l'appartenance et de l'exclusion. Cette polarité des camps a poussé plusieurs personnes qui ne se souciaient pas de la cause à s'y plier et à s'emporter par la vague.

Un peu dans la même perspective avec une nuance de différence, certains petits épiciers ont boycotté Centrale Danone en enlevant les réfrigérateurs de leurs magasins à cause des charges. Ceux-là se sont plaints des charges relatives à l'électricité. On donne l'exemple de Tarik qui déclare : « *c'est un réfrigérateur qui n'est pas rentable. Certes le camion vient faire l'échange*[12] *donc je n'ai pas de perte dans ce côté mais les factures. Pour moi c'est de l'argent gelé…En plus c'est encombrant ! Cela occupe de l'espace que je pourrai profiter pour stocker des produits vendables !* » (Tarik, 39 ans, épicier). D'autres se plaignaient du fait que ce soit un peu d'électricité perdue mais sans pour autant se passer du réfrigérateur comme c'est le cas pour Brahim, 36 ans, épicier à Farah Salam :

« *Je savais que ce n'était qu'une vague passagère, je ne peux pas briser ma relation avec la marque à cause de cela. [...] Je ne vais pas mentir, quand les clients commencent à parler du boycott je dis que je suis partisan et que je laisse leurs produits tourner. Je leur disais que c'était bien fait pour eux mais au fond je n'ai rien à y perdre ni à y gagner. Je ne veux pas casser la relation avec Centrale.* » (Brahim 36ans, épicier)

[12] L'échange : mot utilisé par tous les épiciers pour faire référence aux camions d'une certaine marque qui viennent récupérer les produits expirés et les remplacer par de nouveaux

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Brahim a aussi ajouté que les épiciers sont souvent motivés par les marques à travers des cadeaux et des primes qui varient selon les ventes. N'empêche, pas tous les épiciers ont adopté les mêmes attitudes. En bref, il y a un croisement entre cet intérêt économique et social puisque l'acteur boycotte afin de préserver son image face à la société ainsi que garder sa position de fournisseur 'loyal' d'à côté.

Conclusion

On comprend que la campagne du boycott 2018 au Maroc fût une continuation de plusieurs actions protestataires ayant eu lieu dans le pays auparavant. Le boycott semble être venu redonner une voix au peuple, une occasion pour décrier le mécontentement social lié à la corruption, l'indignation et les inégalités de répartition des richesses dans le pays. Nous sommes partis de l'hypothèse qui stipule que les boycotteurs agissaient selon leurs intérêts personnels et se sentaient unis et solidaires contre un ennemi commun. En effet, les acteurs boycottaient pour plusieurs raisons telles que la hausse des prix, la colère contre les personnes détenant le pouvoir et les frustrations socio-économiques. Cependant, nous avons réalisé que les boycotteurs n'agissaient pas uniquement pour contrer le gouvernement mais leurs actions avaient également une nuance de peur d'exclusion sociale et de volonté de rester intégrés dans la société.

Sur le premier niveau, les interviewés se définissaient par le slogan « nous sommes boycotteurs », mais à fur et à mesure de leurs discours plusieurs détails se révélaient concernant les raisons derrière leurs actions.

A partir de là, nous avons pu relever plusieurs formes de solidarités qui se sont développées au fur et à mesure que la campagne avançait dans le temps. Une solidarité par indignation puisque les boycotteurs se sentaient insultés par les réactions et dires des hauts placés et n'avaient d'autres moyens que d'attaquer à travers le refus d'achat afin d'exprimer leur frustration et indignation cumulées. Ensuite, une solidarité par conviction économique et politique causée par la hausse des prix, le faible pouvoir d'achat, le cumul des richesses entre les mains d'une élite, les décisions du gouvernement ainsi que le manque de confiance envers cette entité. Finalement, la solidarité par intérêt social et économique qui est survenue suite au fait que ce soit la majorité qui boycotte dans les marchés et qui postent sur les réseaux sociaux ; en conséquence, plusieurs individus ont préféré montrer leur adhésion à la campagne de peur d'être jugés ou exclus.

Entre une affaire identitaire, une lutte des classes et une confiance déchue envers le gouvernement, il y avait aussi les non-partisans au boycott qui trouvaient que la campagne était un règlement de comptes plutôt qu'œuvrant pour le bien du peuple. Chaimae, étudiante en sciences politiques,

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était parmi cette catégorie et qui trouvait qu'il y avait d'autres priorités sociales. Elle a déclaré :

« *J'ai un problème de santé depuis l'âge de 8 ans et je ne peux pas boire l'eau du robinet. Je me suis trop habituée à cette marque et je l'achetais pendant la période de boycott. Les gens m'attaquaient, d'autres voulaient me frapper mais moi je ne crois pas en la validité de cette cause donc je ne vais pas me plier à une manipulation des masses contre Akhanouch. Ce sont des libertés personnelles*. » (Chaimae, 26ans).

Pour cette catégorie d'acteurs, l'eau minérale n'est pas consommée par la catégorie sociale en difficultés dans le pays, le produit ne représente pas une nécessité alors que leurs conditions de vie sont contraignantes en termes de pouvoir d'achat de produits de base, d'opportunités, d'éducation et de santé. Il nous semble pertinent de creuser cette perspective de non-partisans dans notre recherche d'analyse du boycott de 2018 au Maroc et qui s'inscrit dans le cadre d'une thèse doctorale. Nous développerons de même les boycotts s'inscrivant sur le court terme ainsi que le long terme en se basant sur l'analyse de l'effet de structure chez ces acteurs.

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 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

Annexes :

Annexe 1

Prise d'écran à partir de YouTube de la chaine le 360 (2018)

Annexe 2

Laiterie à Tiznit(جميعا لفضح المفسدين, 2018)

Annexe 3

Commentaire sur la photo prise de Facebook : « un épicier solidaire avec le peuple. Il a rendu toute la marchandise. La campagne continue… Pour la première fois, on voit que la culture du peuple marocain se traduit en une

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campagne #boycotteurs #boycotteurs_centrale #laisse_le_tourner » (Castellijo مدينة الفنيدق, 2018)

Annexe 4

Station Afriquia déserte (جميعا لفضح المفسدين, 2018)

Annexe 5

Commentaire sur la photo prise de Facebook :« la solution est de boycotter les cafés qui se sont vendus pour 20 centimes de gains. Boycottez les gérants de café qui n'ont pas été solidaires avec le peuple. Up pour le poste. Nous avons atteint le stade de 'soit vous êtes avec nous soit contre nous' #boycotteurs partagez go go go » (Zine, 2018)

ESJ Humanities

The Last Lick: A Lived Experience of Non-incarcerated Partners

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Doi:10.19044/esj.2023.v19n8p129

Submitted: 17 February 2023
Accepted: 16 March 2023
Published: 31 March 2023

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Cite As:
Adetunji C.M., Wambugu A.G. & Kamau E.W. (2023). *The Last Lick: A Lived Experience of Non-incarcerated Partners.* European Scientific Journal, ESJ, 19 (8), 129.
https://doi.org/10.19044/esj.2023.v19n8p129

Abstract

The incarceration of their partners has a profound effect on the non-incarcerated ones. But what are these effects, and what are the results? The purpose of this study was to (1) assess the notable feelings experienced by non-incarcerated partners and (2) understand the implications of these feelings. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 10 female participants who had their partners incarcerated at Nigeria's Agodi-Ibadan Medium Correctional Facility. An interpretative phenomenological approach was employed to analyse their lived experience with Satir's model. Thirteen sub-themes derived from feelings revealed the participants' frustration, pain, and hurt; betrayal and anxiety; anger, confusion, and interruption; hostility, hunt, and fear; sadness, shame, and humiliation; being depressed and incarcerated; being surprised and in denial; being confused and helpless; being sorry and suffering double losses; being controlled as well as feeling relieved. This study found that 40% of participants felt frustrated, angry, interrupted, and hunted, while 30% felt hurt, bitter, or humiliated, and 20% felt betrayed, incarcerated, in denial, confused, or had a sense of relief while their partners were incarcerated. These experiences intensified the impacts of their partners' incarceration. The study has recommendations for marriage and family specialists.

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

Keywords: Consequences, incarceration, interpretative, personal-iceberg, phenomenological

Introduction

Disconnection from a loved one as a result of incarceration is possibly the most heinous experience a non-incarcerated partner can have. According to studies, non-incarcerated partners are more affected than other close relatives (Insong & Cuevas Jr., 2021). They are responsible for role changes and must also live and survive on a fixed schedule (Yeboaa et al., 2022). Because incarceration directly affects them, it has a holistic and overwhelming effect on them and their immediate family members (Wildeman et al., 2019; Ashraf & Farha, 2022; Berghuis et al., 2022; Boches et al., 2022; Tadros & Ansell, 2022; Tadros et al., 2022). The non-incarcerated partners face financial hardship, social shame, and intense emotional consequences (Kotova, 2016); relationship dissolution (de Miguel-Calvo, 2021); unsatisfactory psychological wellbeing (Patterson et al., 2021); unexpected medical complications (Connors et al., 2020; DeHart et al., 2017); and deprivation of love, sexuality, and personal life as "invisible detainees" (Cyphert, 2017; de Miguel-Calvo, 2021). According to Jardine (2019), Kirk and Wakefield (2018), and Umamaheswar (2021a), incarceration places significant burdens on non-incarcerated partners. Carretero-Trigo et al. (2021), Hammink (2021), and Tadros et al. (2021) also linked incarceration to the inhibition of significant cooperation, which increases impediments to physical and optimistic association between incarcerated individuals and their non-incarcerated partners. Researchers Arditti et al. (2021), Bennett and Knight (2021), Deegan (2021), Siddall (2021), and Sykes (2021) also linked incarceration to financial, social, clinical, and mental health consequences for non-incarcerated partners.

The Satir Model

The Satir Transformational Systemic Therapy (STST), also known as the Satir Model, which was developed by Virginia Satir (Satir, 1988), believes that people form and maintain relationships through congruent communication (Banmen, 1986). Satir does not only anticipate the conditions that will result in life-changing phenomena (Banmen & Maki-Banmen, 2014); she also informs a philosophy of ontology: the investigation of being and becoming; axiology: the investigation of qualities and convictions; and epistemology: the investigation of how people know what they know (Piddocke, 2021). The personal iceberg metaphor, an important concept in Satir's model, is important not only for developing self-esteem (Piddocke, 2021; Satir et al., 1991; Wang et al., 2022; Walsh et al., 2021), but also for improving family relationships and communications, which bring feelings to the forefront (Allen et al., 2022;

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Bailey, 2022). It gives us a structure to understand the inward universe of an individual (Elshershaby, 2022; Lum, 2000; Wu et al., 2022). Similarly, as icebergs can be seen on the outside of the water, the iceberg metaphor relates to various behaviours shown when individuals experience unpleasant trajectories. It is very important for non-incarcerated partners' reactions to incarceration because it is a mirror through which the reasons underlying their performance can be x-rayed (Makhmudov, 2020). Thus, this study used Satir's personal iceberg metaphor model to investigate why non-incarcerated partners may be overwhelmed by the phenomenon of their spouses' incarceration.

While the participants either succumbed to the dictates of their feelings or simply pretended they were nonexistent, one of Satir's principles is that people's feelings belong to them. In fact, the Satir model's thought on this concept is that, as an individual, you have "the freedom to feel what you feel, instead of what you ought" (p. 62; Satir et al., 1991). The Satir models also claim that feelings are greatly affected by the intervening time. While it could be obvious that the participants' existing feelings were triggered by the current event of their partners' incarceration, the Satir models believe that the participants' reaction was based on their acquired feelings. Satir models also opine that the participants' feelings were influenced by their beliefs and expectations of their own worth. Satir models, however, anticipate that the participants should use their feelings to finetune the way out of their predicaments rather than allowing their feelings to regulate them (Satir et al., 1991).

The study focused on two central questions:

1. What kinds of feelings do non-incarcerated partners express?
2. What effect do their feelings have on the consequences of their spouses' incarceration?

Non-incarcerated Partners' Feelings

Feelings, as secondary emotions (Gonzales, 2022), can be either positive or negative depending on whether they express happiness, excitement, pride, fear, anger, or sadness.

As used in this context, the Satir model claims that people's primary feelings are not always the ones to which they respond (Satir et al., 1991). Rather, they are feelings about feelings. This position is analogous to Vogl et al.'s (2021) metacognitive and sentiment encounters that conform to the individuals' intellectual cycle status. They may be associated with self-esteem or wrongdoing (Moghavvemi et al., 2020), possessiveness (Ainsworth, 2020), or mere opinions (Yu & Zhang, 2020). Members of the family, particularly non-incarcerated companions of the inmates, may experience feelings of isolation or stigma, as well as guilt, shame, or embarrassment. According to King and Delgado's (2021) research, as a direct consequence of their relatives'

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incarceration, family members experience grief and stigma. Karimi's (2021) submitted that this experience is both directly and indirectly related to reasoning and rationality. In their assessment, Souza et al. (2019) shed light on when non-incarcerated partners' and family members' feelings begin. They contended that the sense of being crippled and interrupted begins with the legal wranglings that precede a spouse's incarceration. According to the authors, the experience of incarceration caused many relationships dealing with a potential jail term to end in divorce or separation before the partner began his or her sentence.

Likewise, Taylor (2016) and Vogl et al. (2021) reported that non-incarcerated partners felt shocked, confused, perplexed, guilty, inadequate, self-critical, or in denial as expressions of epistemic feelings and metacognition when their partners were imprisoned. Tadros and Vlach (2022) also reported that pre-incarceration narratives on feelings are also significant where the connections were tense prior to incarceration. Furthermore, Holmstrom et al. (2021) reported a critical association between feelings of shame, guilt, disgrace, and blame in their 852-participant experiment. Likewise, in four unique studies, Han et al. (2021) reported that stifling blame and disgrace influenced feelings of judgment, expectation, and conduct. Although Bastin et al. (2021) admitted that there was restricted information about the neural underpinnings of disgrace and blame, they conceded that both disgrace and blame were feelings that played a significant part in social functioning. They also reported that the pressure related to partners' detainment intruded on cerebrum exercises (Bastin et al., 2021).

The feelings of the detained relatives vary. An individual whose partner is a political offender could have fewer sensations of disgrace about the partner's detention (Folch, 2021), compared to an individual whose partner is detained for a sex offense. Kavanagh and Levenson (2021) reported that the latter sustained substantial damage. Evans et al. (2021) also reported that the travesty of a felony charge is significantly more pronounced among relatives of sex offenders than among relatives of other offenders. According to the findings, families face discrimination from interpersonal organisations as well as criminal justice authorities. Evans et al. (2021) noted that the media's command over the account worsened relatives' encounters.

Non-incarcerated partners feel powerless while their partners are detained (Taylor, 2016). They also generally feel that they have no control during their partners' detention (Tadros, 2021). Likewise, they feel that their connections are very controlled and removed (Comfort et al., 2018; McKay et al., 2018; Tadros et al., 2021; Tadros & Finney, 2018; Tadros & Ogden, 2020). Furthermore, Goffnett et al. (2021) reported that feelings of disgrace and pride have an association with friendly reality, beneficial encounters of minority stress and strength, and an impression of self. These feelings affect well-being

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practises through the manner in which they are handled (Goffnett et al., 2021). Anger is another dimension of non-incarcerated partners' feelings. According to the report of Frantsman-Spector and Shoshana (2018), inmates' wives in Israel despised their vulnerability and expressed their explicit opposition to emotional dialogue with social services, who probably wanted to take advantage of their situation. Likewise, Olusola and Temitope (2020) reported the anger expressed by the non-incarcerated partners over family and friends' withdrawal of support from them and the inmates.

Methods

Study Purpose and Design

As a qualitative study, we used a phenomenological approach to investigate and interpret the non-incarcerated partners' feelings. This study's legitimate and credible goal of phenomenology was to obtain their lived experiences and determine whether their reported experiences formed a pattern of meanings. To validate and make the study reliable, we kept in mind that the participants' lived experiences are real and valid phenomena worthy of investigation, while also keeping in mind the Satir model's theoretical basis.

Instruments and Procedures

We used only the original data, also known as primary data, for the study. To truly understand the layers of feelings non-incarcerated partners have about their partners' incarceration, we conducted ten in-depth, face-to-face, open-ended, semi-structured interviews. This gave us a thorough understanding of how participants interpreted their experiences (Hiennink et al., 2020), as well as how we recorded details about our observations in a field notebook to document our thoughts, perspectives, and preconceptions throughout the research methodology (Creswell & Poth, 2018). These interviews took place within the premises of the correctional facility, where each semi-structured interview schedule lasted between 30 and 60 minutes in a seemingly relaxed atmosphere in which each of the participants interacted freely with the researchers. The main task was to interpret participants' feelings as they amplified the effects their partners' incarceration had on them. The interviews were driven by the interview guide and follow-up questions.

Samples and Participants

In this study, we used non-probability sampling. This gave us the ability to choose 10 female non-incarcerated partners who visited their spouses at Nigeria's Agodi-Ibadan medium correctional facility, employing "bottom-up" and point-by-point analysis. Thus, we deliberately (purposively) sampled non-incarcerated partners of inmates at Agodi-Ibadan medium correctional facility for this study, according to Bazen et al. (2021). This procedure is in

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tandem with frequently used intentional sample techniques such as criterion sampling (Caskurlu et al., 2021; Yldrm et al., 2021); theoretical sampling (Levitt, 2021; Crick, 2021); convenience sampling (Khine et al., 2021; Wong & Wong, 2021); and snowball sampling (Leighton et al., 2021). According to Adlit (2022), "purposeful sampling" is also known as "judgmental," "selective," or "subjected" sampling.

While the inmates had given permission to interview their non-incarcerated partners (Adebayo, 2021; Adegoke, 2021; Aluko, 2015), we interviewed 10 such non-incarcerated partners who consented to participate upon the assurance of the principle of confidentiality. Participant-inclusion criteria are women who were romantic partners, co-parents, or individuals who were still in a relationship with, separated from, or divorced from them pre-incarceration or during the incarceration period. Participants whose partners had completed the terms or whose partners had died in custody prior to the study were excluded.

Data Analysis

We used Martin Heidegger's interpretative, inductive, and reflexive analysis to identify, analyse, and interpret the emerging themes. The results were processed with Larkin et al.'s (2021) six-step analysis method, where each synopsis was coded with concise, textual, and thematic comments. Each text included commentary on themes and patterns, which were streamlined by looking for similarities and connections to see which contributed to the overall picture. Coding and theme development were handled by the members of the research team, who discussed the study on a regular basis to ensure that the analysis maintained its roots in the transcripts. The significance of this is that it allows the IPA's inherent ritual of double hermeneutic commitment, which encourages moving back and forth to grasp the meaning intended by each participant as well as juxtaposing those to optimise a detailed understanding of both the transcripts and the interpretations.

At the time of the study, four respondents were aged between 30 and 40; three were between 35 and 39; two were between 40 and 44; and one was between 65 and 69. According to their academic qualifications, seven respondents completed secondary school. The remaining three completed primary school, a bachelor's degree, and a master's degree, respectively. Furthermore, eight respondents conducted personal business by buying and selling, with the remaining two earning a wage or salary. Four of the respondents' partners had cases of robbery, two of rape, and the remaining three were involved in deception, aiding and abetting, and land grabbing, respectively. According to the respondents' partners' prison status, nine had not been convicted (awaiting trial—ATM), while only one had served terms. According to the participants' relationship status, eight stayed married to their

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incarcerated partners, while one had divorced and another was on the verge of divorce. Furthermore, the eight respondents who stayed married to their incarcerated partners also shared parenting responsibilities with them, whereas the two that developed cold feet with their incarcerated partner did not have children with them. Thus, there was zero parenting shared.

Findings

The study showed that partners' incarceration actually impacted respondents' frustration, pain, and hurting; betrayal and anxiety; anger, confusion, and interruption; hostility, hunting, and fear; sadness, shame, and humiliation; being depressed and incarcerated; being surprised and being in denial; being confused and helpless; being sorry and suffering double losses; being controlled and having a sense of relief.

Frustration

Three respondents expressed their frustration about their partners' incarceration: A self-employed participant with 4 children reported her two years of:

"I am disappointed… left behind….I cannot afford three square meals a day. I have lost my peace of mind; I have lost my sleep…" (Participant 01).

Another participant expressed her frustration at not being able to care for her chronically ill husband while he was incarcerated:

"I am disappointed because I am unable to witness his discomfort...I am so used to seeing him experience his pains" (Participant 03).

A participant whose husband has been in custody for two years because he could not produce his culprit apprentice expressed her feelings as follows:

"…..only injustice, unfairness, frustration, and outrageous nonsense. My husband was wrongfully imprisoned. Hunger and dehydration have become my constant companions." (Participant 09).

Pain and Hurt

Likewise, three of the participants felt pained and hurt by their partners' incarceration:

".. It is disgusting that he believes I am seeing someone else. ….His behaviour disturbs me greatly because it implies that he does not trust me... This is torturous" (Participant 01).

"I am in pain. I am deeply hurt that, as I struggle to make ends meet, I am confronted with this stumbling block" (Participant 04).

"….The worst devil is the pain and insanity he instills in me when I learn that the person I have secretly and openly defended, cared for, and been loyal to for seven years has indicted me…" (Participant 10).

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Betrayal and Anxiety

Likewise, two of the participants felt betrayed by their partners' incarceration:

"I smell a rat. Everyone around me, including my husband, has betrayed me (tears). Even sleeping at night is difficult for me. I was punished!" (Participant 04).

"After everything we have been through together and after everything we have shared, he believes he has moral grounds to indict me. What a calamity!" (Participant 10).

Anger

Furthermore five of the respondents expressed anger as a demonstration of the explicit feeling amplified by their partners' incarceration:

A participant, whose husband was arrested during the wedding reception and was eventually taken in, interpreted her feelings as:

"…. irritating. Irreversible regrets. My grief is not easily forgotten. My marriage hopes were cut short and shattered… " (Participant 02).

"My relatives and my husband's relatives irritate me with their comments and body language.." (Participant 03).

"If he was not anywhere near the scene, why would anyone allege him? Why would I be dragged into this disgusting and annoying mess (furiously striking the fingers; threatening)? (Participant 04).

"In the neighbourhood, everyone calls me names and stigmatises me. I am really upset. A ha! For what?" (Participant 05).

"I am annoyed with the community for its insensitivity, the fugitive rapist, the girl for allowing herself to be raped, and my husband for hiring someone whose relatives he had no idea" (Participant 09).

Confusion and Interruption

Furthermore, four of the participants felt interrupted by their partners' incarceration:

"In my world, I am at a standstill except for being stereotyped and monotonous." (Participant 01).

"Without a doubt, I have been abandoned and forced to follow the tide. I am an outcast.. I despise being blackmailed. It saddens me that I have had no control over my life for the last year and a half…" (Participant 03).

"This is a devastating blow. I am the one bearing the brunt, and the heat is becoming more intense. I am not free to be myself.." (Participant 07).

"Everyone involved in the case is interrupting me. I no longer have control over my life..." (Participant 08).

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Hostility, Hunting and Fear

Furthermore, four of the participants felt hunted by their partners' incarceration:

"I am being pursued by members of the community. It shows on their faces when we interact on a daily basis. Their body language indicates that I am an endangered species" (Participant 01).

"Imagine being injured and not receiving medical attention. Imagine falling from grace to the grass!....." (Participant 03).

"…I am being persecuted and prosecuted for an offence that neither my husband nor I are aware of. I am a parasite that needs to be removed from the community." (Participant 09).

"His words, actions, and body language make me nervous. I am saddened….by his threat. I am also afraid he will come looking for me as soon as he steps out of the yard. …." (Participant 10).

Sadness, Shame and Humiliation

Moreover, three of the participants also felt bitter and humiliated by their partners' incarceration:

"No woman my age or position should have a husband in prison. I am humiliated as his second wife, ….I am said to have brought the family a bad lock…" (Participant 03).

"To be honest, the insults that resulted in my husband's arrest, trial, and incarceration are difficult to swallow" (Participant 04).

"I am ashamed, indignant, and dissatisfied with the development…" (Participant 06).

Depressed and Incarcerated

Among the participants for the study, two had experienced a symbolic impoundment by their partners' incarceration:

"In my world, I am…imprisoned and kept in solitary confinement just like him (my husband). Emotionally and mentally, I am just as confined." (Participant 3).

"Friends and members of the community….we live intentionally withdraw from me. I am dejected, rejected, and isolated." (Participant 4).

Surprised and Delusory

Likewise, two of the participants felt a state of dismissal about their partners' imprisonment:

"This episode of the drama is so long that it needs to be paused so I can use the restroom." (Participants 6).

"I have practically been a shadow of myself. I have been wondering if this is true." (Participant 8).

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Being Confused and Helpless

Also, two of the participants were confused and hopeless about their partners' incarceration:

"I am just blank, numbed, and disillusioned with everything around me." (Participant 6).

"I have never been more perplexed in my life. My husband's problems messed with me. (Participant 8).

Being Sorry and Suffering Double Losses

Moreover, two of the participants felt double losses from their partners' incarceration:

"I was expecting…the infant died. I lost my liberty. His imprisonment has stripped me of everything. I'm at a loss." (participant 2).

"My self-esteem is completely gone. My entire world has collapsed." (Participant 4).

Being Controlled and Lonely

Likewise, two of the participants felt controlled by their partners' incarceration.

"His stubbornness and subjective thoughts are the only things that have not changed despite being in custody. He has complete control over me.." (Participant 1).

"I must admit that I only pretend to be strong in public. Everything in my life was emotionally controlled by the trauma of my husband's incarceration." (Participant 5).

Feeling Secured and Sense of Relief

Finally, the incarceration of their partners provided a sense of relief to two of the participants:

"I am happy without him. The mere thought of his release disturbs my peace. The last thing I expect is a nuisance.." (Particular 2).

"When he became aggressive, hostile, and threatening each time I visited him, his confinement provided me with peace and security as long as we did not cross paths." (Participant 10).

Discussion

The researchers' field diary revealed that the "personal iceberg" appeared to have a substantial impact on the lives of the non-incarcerated partners, their incarcerated counterparts, the law enforcement officers, and society at large. For instance, a few incarcerated men who had approved of their partners' participation in the activity during the interview time were taken aback when they discovered that their not-incarcerated partners did not,

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despite the fact that they had come to visit. This happened because the non-incarcerated partners presented themselves as sisters rather than partners, especially because of the expected stigmatisation behind the prison walls. They felt more at ease referring to their partners as "brothers." Furthermore, on a few occasions, prison officers insinuated that the non-incarcerated partners had criminal tendencies comparable to those of their incarcerated partners while laying out justifications for their stringent requirement that some prison officials and the incarcerated partners be present during the interviews. For this reason, some of the non-incarcerated partners expressed their annoyance during the interviews about how officials stigmatised them, either explicitly or indirectly. Buttressing the effects of shame and stigmatisation on prisoners and their partners, a prison officer explained that when the government asked the media to highlight the empowering tools put in place for the incarcerated individuals, the inmates boycotted the ceremony because they did not want the general public to know that they were in prison while their family members claimed that they had travelled overseas. They did not only refuse to participate in the event; they also did not claim the equipment. This feat was to avoid shame and stigma from society.

While age distribution, academic qualifications, employment status, or their partners' prison status (ATM or conviction) had no effect on the outcome of incarceration for the participants, the study established that the length of time partners spent in prison facilities was related to the consequences of incarceration on the participants. Findings also indicated that rape offenses imposed more stigma and shame on non-incarcerated partners. Furthermore, findings revealed that co-parenting with an incarcerated partner reduced the likelihood of divorce. This study outcome is consistent with Binti Abd Aziz et al.'s (2022) assertion that co-parenting is one of the crucial factors that non-incarcerated partners consider to muster resilience, even though we actually expected all the non-incarcerated partners to throw the "baby out with the bathwater" given the context of the study site and the Yoruba community's beliefs and perceptions about incarceration (Salihu, 2018).

Meanwhile, these findings do not agree with the previous report that linked imprisonment to an increased risk of disintegration for people who were in sexual relationships prior to detention (Lopoo & Western, 2005; Massoglia et al., 2011; Chui, 2016). It is evident in this study that despite their partners' incarceration, eight of the participants in sexual relationships prior to their partners' incarceration remained married. There is a cultural angle to this resilience. For example, in Yoruba land, marriage is a community affair where parental influence has a large effect on the selection of marriage partners, which entails a lengthy process of deliberation, investigation, dedication, negotiations, and disagreements between both the groom and the bride before

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they finally agree to the union (Oresanya & Adebiyi, 2021); dissolution of marriage involves parents and in-laws (Omobowale, 2018).

In addition, the Yoruba marriage is not a transaction between a man and a woman; marriage is essentially a relationship that extends beyond the nuclear family. It entails all individuals, including close relatives and the community at large. Such stakeholders provide physical, divine, virtuous, and financial help (Oladokun & Olatunji, 2022; Oresanya & Adebiyi, 2021). Furthermore, according to Tata's (2019) report, family in the Yoruba context includes not only the man, his wife, and their families but also community members. This may have contributed to the participant's resilience.

This study is also at variance with Hariyantia et al.'s (2021) report that the majority of detainees' families are victims of rising joblessness, developing destitution, pay disparities, and harsh financial conditions, but there is no evidence from the demographics of the participants that establishes this claim. None of the participants in this study reported joblessness or harsh financial conditions prior to their partners' incarceration. Similarly, the study's demographic result also did not agree with Garidzirai's (2021) analysis of economic determinants and crime, which found that poverty and inequality are the primary causes of crime. On the contrary, the participants and their partners appeared to be satisfied with their living conditions prior to incarceration.

Furthermore, the study findings revealed that feelings of frustration, pain, and hurt, hunted and fear, sadness, shaming, and humiliation, and regret and double losses influenced the socioeconomic dynamics of the participants, whereas feelings of betrayal, anger, hostility, hunted and fear, control and loneliness, security, and a sense of relief demonstrated that incarceration negatively interfered with participants' relationships. Additionally, the findings are consistent with the study's theoretical framework, which holds that transformative change is feasible by focusing on the two influences that coping attitudes have on the mental life force as a whole (Banmen & Maki-Banmen, 2014; Mukherjee, 2021; Satir, 1988).

Likewise, the findings bolster the notion that people's intrapsychic, life-altering experiences in their social systems have significant as well as life-altering effects (Bohecker et al., 2021). The participants' mental instability, disruption, and "imprisonment,", as well as their plight and helplessness, were convincingly shown by them. These exacerbated the psychological effects of their partners' detention. In a similar vein, the participants' feelings of disorganisation, lack of commitment to routine, and lack of focus on personal goals were also attributed to the co-parenting load on non-incarcerated partners. In the same vein, the participants' feelings of loss of life, liberty, the company of the incarcerated spouses, and support from family, friends, and the community negatively impacted their parenting status.

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The study's results did not only demonstrate that the Satir model efficiently revealed one of the concealed mysteries that may be beneath the consequences earlier scholars have reported about non-incarcerated partners (Ashraf & Farha, 2022; Berghuis et al., 2022; Boches et al., 2022; Connors et al., 2020; Cyphert, 2017; de Miguel-Calvo, 2021; DeHart et al., 2017; Insong & Cuevas Jr., 2021; Kotova, 2016; Patterson et al., 2021; Tadros & Ansell, 2022; Tadros et al., 2022; Wildeman et al., 2019; Yeboaa et al., 2022), the study's results also demonstrated that the Satir model did not adequately take into account how non-incarcerated partners' support networks' and the community's feelings might impact their feelings in the case of Yoruba culture. For example, the study discovered that the non-incarcerated partners adopted incongruent coping stances of blaming, placating, being overly reasonable, and displaying irrelevance as a result of their support system and society's senses of shame, stigma, and disgrace towards the incarceration phenomenon. The non-incarcerated partners turned away from Satir's model's fundamental objectives, which include boosting self-esteem and value (Satir et al., 1991).

Limitations and Conclusion

Because only participants with contact with the Agodi-Ibadan medium correctional facility were included in the study, the findings should be interpreted with vigilance. Caution should be used when generalising the study findings because the study has not been replicated in Nigeria's remaining five geopolitical zones: North Central, North East, North West, South East, and South South. This could result in a variety of results. Because of the gravity of the offenses committed and the penalties imposed, the consequences of incarceration in Nigeria's maximum correctional facilities may be more severe than in medium facilities. This study only focused on the feelings of inmates' non-incarcerated female partners and the consequences these feelings had on them. Furthermore, this study was not designed to provide counseling or offer interventions to the participants. A study of non-incarcerated male partners of inmates could yield different results, and such a study can also incorporate couselling and intervention.

We discovered that participants' feelings have an impact on their partners' incarceration. The participants' interpretations of the consequences of their partners' incarceration included distress, trauma, disloyalty, indignation, disruptions, target shooting, resentment, mortification, being locked up, being in willful ignorance, confusion, and powerlessness, double losses, being ruled, and a sense of relief. These factors influence how their partners' incarceration affects them. Studying the lived experiences of ten non-incarcerated partners whose spouses served terms at Nigeria's Agodi-Ibadan medium correctional facility and why and how their feelings interfered with

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the effects their spouses' incarceration bore on them has practical implications for policymakers in prison services, researchers, marriage and family specialists, prison administrative officers, correction officers, and family and community supporters. According to the study, marriage and family specialists should offer free counselling to non-incarcerated partners. It also suggests that instead of stigmatising non-incarcerated partners, family and community members should support them. These could help them deal with their negative feelings.

As the findings of this study indicate, many of the consequences expressed by the participants are a result of how their support systems and society treat the incarceration of their partners. For instance, participants' feelings of frustration, pain, and hurt, betrayal and anxiety, anger, confusion, and interruption, hunting and fear, sadness, shame, and humiliation, and being depressed and incarcerated were the result of what Satir viewed as unmet expectations of the support systems and society. If the shame and stigmatisation from the support system abated, the self-esteem of the non-incarcerated partners would be high, and much of the consequences of their partner's incarceration would be alleviated. The study therefore recommends that marriage and family therapists intensify psychoeducation through workshops and seminars for non-incarcerated partners who are experiencing emotional stress. The investigation further suggests that marriage and family therapists psychoeduate family members and friends of non-incarcerated partners about the consequences of their conduct on non-incarcerated partners. This study also suggests that the Satir models should have a more comprehensive grasp of cultural sensitivity.

Ethical Considerations

Being phenomenological research, this study is somewhat intrusive. This required respecting the participants' liberty, wishes, worth, and preferences. This is important because the study of participants' lived experiences frequently compromises their privacy and exposes sensitive information about them. Thus, this study sought approval from the Controller of Corrections, Oyo State Command, who also insisted that the research be conducted within the Agodi-Ibadan medium correctional facility premises under the supervision of the head of the welfare office and that we were not permitted any form of audio or video recording.

The head of the welfare office, as the gatekeeper, facilitated ten of the inmates who agreed to have their non-incarcerated partners recruited, fulfilling legal and cultural obligations (Adebayo, 2021; Adegoke, 2021; Aluko, 2015). The non-incarcerated partners were provided with the information they needed to make an informed decision about whether or not to participate. The participants were free to stop participating in the study at any time without

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feeling obligated to do so or having to give a reason. Also, throughout the study, real participant identifiers were replaced with pseudonymous ones. As a result of the participants' personal information being kept separate from the study data, it was difficult to link the data to specific participants.

Disclosure Statement

We had no economic, political, or social interests, nor did we have any dual relationships that could influence our participation in the research process.

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ESJ Humanities

Newspaper Portrayal of Sub-Saharan Immigrants in Morocco

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Doi:10.19044/esj.2023.v19n8p153

Submitted: 21 February 2023
Accepted: 24 March 2023
Published: 31 March 2023

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Cite As:
Dib S. (2023). *Newspaper Portrayal of Sub-Saharan Immigrants in Morocco.* European Scientific Journal, ESJ, 19 (8), 153. https://doi.org/10.19044/esj.2023.v19n8p153

Abstract

Media consumers around the world are regularly confronted with media reports or depictions of migrants crossing the Mediterranean. In Morocco, the situation of those migrants has grabbed media attention, especially in newspapers; hundreds of articles and reports have been written in newspapers, criticizing or denouncing the phenomenon. Although the currently available body research has tended to neglect the linguistic ways in which such media convey meaning along the side of their use of images, little attention has been paid to language-based media. The purpose of this article is to investigate how the media framed the arrival of Sub-Saharan immigrants to Morocco. The focus is mainly on newspaper headlines because they convey the main issue of the news story. The goal is to analyse the headlines of four widely read newspapers Almassae, Assabah, Akhbar Al Yaoum, and Alahdath before the migration reform of 2013. With this in mind, the article applies content analysis methodology to examine how news media framed and portrayed the arrival of 'African' immigrants in news headlines.

Keywords: Headlines, Sub-Saharan immigrants, Metaphors, newspapers, Content Analysis

1. Introduction

Media Analysis contributes to the understanding of different social realities such as the arrival of immigrants to a particular society. Media offer information that is considered true for different readers. Therefore, mass media are not only a source of knowledge and expression of opinions but also,

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as Van Dijik points out "the main institution of ideological reproduction" (Fernandez and Lorila, 2012). The press remains the most reliable source of information; it has the power to spread any message with its greatest capacity to propagate ideologies. Analyzing mass media is considered the greatest way to grasp the agenda of a certain society. Nowadays it is a well-known fact that mass media significantly shapes how individuals perceive the world. They convey attitudes, opinions, and stereotypes, thus shaping people's perceptions of the situation (Van Dijk, 2000). The core problem of the study is to investigate how the four selected print newspapers: *Almassae, Assabah, Akhbar Al Yaoum, and Alahdath* use a metaphoric tone in news headlines to depict 'black African' immigrants in Morocco.

The choice of newspapers is attributed to many reasons. A newspaper is an excellent medium that may be used to express and transmit ideas, demonstrate strength, or even persuade readers. It is also possible to assert that newspapers are a source of influence on society. The four selected newspapers are considered the most widely read newspapers in Morocco. Newspapers' influence is possible because it is well recognized that words, whether spoken or written, are never neutral; instead, they always convey a hidden message that reflects the speaker or writer's interests. (Fiske, 1994) Newspaper headlines play a significant role in news discourse as a subgenre of media genre. Headlines have been given a variety of roles as an introduction to their pertinent primary text. It has been said that headlines and leads are the categories that make up " an initial summary" of news reports (Van Dijk, 1988, 53).

Headlines are particularly important to readers who skim an article's content. Perhaps today's readers won't find headlines as interesting as they once did. Without a doubt, the advent and growth of visual media have received more attention in headlines in modern media. Nevertheless, since there are no current readership reports, to my knowledge in Morocco, support the concept that headlines have been the only bases for formulating opinions. According to the researcher, headlines continue to have a significant impact on customers. For the majority of Moroccan readers, it is reasonable to assume that headlines have a considerable impact on readers' assessments of news content. As a result, it's critical to comprehend the language used in headlines, and doing the research is worthwhile. In this study, I look at the specific discursive elements of the language employed in the headlines from a merely linguistic standpoint. However, the focus of this work is on the broader theoretical and methodological issues surrounding the use of headlines in research. the role they play in influencing the readers' views on migration from Sub-Saharan Africa; the shared cultural setting they conjure. The article continues by stating that headlines are especially representative of the social and cultural images that are permeating Moroccan society.

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2. Research setting

The media is crucial in spreading information and raising public awareness of key national issues. The media's power goes beyond merely disseminating news. According to several studies, the media is crucial in connecting with and informing the public about events, which makes the public dependent on them (Happer and Philo, 2013). Media coverage has been able to influence the thoughts of people over certain issues, from the portrayal of women in society to race and minority stereotyping of 'African immigrants'. Immigration has been an interesting subject to the public and it seemed to be a prominent wedge issue in Morocco between 2010 and 2013. Immigration coverage has shifted over the years, from a demographics, and humanitarian perspective to the overall impact of immigration in society.

An increase in the number of Sub-Saharan migrants arriving in Morocco received extensive attention from the four selected newspapers. The so-called migrant "crisis" that has been portrayed as a national concern in the country's mainstream media is what inspired this study. The dehumanization of migrants has occurred through the use of figurative language in media headlines. For example, the Moroccan regional magazine *Ashamal*[1] named its cover page *"Black Locust invading Northern Morocco"* in September 2005. Another contentious headline that appeared on the Moroccan weekly *MarocHebdo's*[2] cover page in November 2012 was *"The Black Peril" (Le peril Noir).* Newspapers are likely to place a significant emphasis on using metaphor as a cognitive heuristic when presenting their cognitive frames of opinions on social issues.

The examples demonstrate how metaphor usage and consistency in media texts play a big part in the unfavorable perception of migration. The term "migration crisis," which also serves as the heading for the section of the media under which the migration-related articles are published, acts as the central metaphor for the overall migration story (Castles et al, 2014). This study attempts to identify and decipher the ideological connotations of metaphors concerning Sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco.

3. Literature Review

Migration the Sub-Sahara to Morocco has drawn the attention of numerous academics from various fields. Most studies to date have concentrated on how sub-Saharan migrants are integrated into Morocco (Bitari, 2020; Bendra, 2017; Berriane et al., 2014, J. Berriane, 2013). All of

[1] Ashamal was a regional magazine. The coverage was the first to depict the increasing number of African immigrants to the North of Morocco.

[2] Maroc Hebdo is a weekly magazine publishes in French. The coverage was considered the first to tackle dark-skinned Sub-Saharan immigrants in Morocco.

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these researchers emphasized the Sub-Saharan immigrants' incorporation into Moroccan society. For instance, Bendra looks into how immigrants' status (legality/illegality) and the sociopolitical environment of the nation may affect their likelihood of integration or exclusion. In addition, Bendra discusses how migrants' access to the labor market, housing, healthcare, education, and social networks affects their quality of life in Morocco (I. Bendra, 2019). In a similar vein, Sébastien R. G. Bachelet's ethnographic study examines how 'irregular' sub-Saharan migrants deal with violent abuse and try to take control of their lives in a Moroccan marginal neighborhood of Rabat city. This study engages with recent critical debates in anthropology over ‘mobility' and 'illegalization'. It focuses primarily on migrants' limited agency as well as developing social bonds and political involvement while exploring the imagination and hope of migrants (Bachelet, 2016, p. 19).

Other studies (Tyszler, 2021; Gazzotti, 2020), on the other hand, focus on the humanitarian approach and violence near borders. Elsa Tyszler (2021), for instance, shows that humanitarianism as practiced in a border town in Northern Morocco is also a space for modernizing racial and gender relations, which, in contrast to its claims, can result in even more restrictions on the mobility of those being "helped" particularly women, and can reproduce a racialized and gendered order at the border. To my knowledge, only a small number of studies have attempted to understand African migration in Morocco from a gendered perspective. Among those studies are those by Inka Stock (2011) and Jane Freedman (2012). They follow the journey of a group of female Sub-Saharan Africans who were trying to get to Morocco and eventually reach Europe. Both studies have shown that female migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa do so to escape their economic, physical, and social anxieties. They also do so to create gender roles and identities that will give them more access to opportunities for social and physical mobility.

All of the aforementioned studies have concentrated on the topic of migration in terms of the challenges that migrants encounter during the integration process in some cities, how gender is interpreted with this kind of movement, as well as the sexual violence that migrants experience while crossing borders. However, this research sheds light on how Sub-Saharan migrants are portrayed in various Moroccan newspapers. The primary goal of this study is to investigate :

- How are 'black' African immigrants presented in news headlines?

For this purpose, we have chosen some reports from the four widely-read daily newspapers: *Almassae, Assabah, Akhbar Al Yaoum, and Alahdath.*

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4. Methods of Analysis

The present study uses purposeful sampling for data collection mainly aimed at focusing on only headlines of editorials of criticism. Adopting a non-random purposeful sampling, the present study has selected 54 headlines so far to analyse the role of headlines in guiding Moroccan readers' attention to the topic of 'African migration' towards Morocco. The selected headlines are chosen between the 2nd of January 2012 and Jan 2013. The objective of choosing this period is to have a general view of the portrayal of 'African' migrants in *Almassae, Assabah, Akhbar Al Yaoum, and Alahdath* newspapers. The main motives for choosing this period are due to two reasons. First, the so-called 'migration crises' had been presented as a public concern in the mainstream media, especially in print media. Second, there were huge debates worldwide about human conditions and media coverage of immigrants after the awakening of what was called the 'Arab spring'. Some north African countries went through difficult moments in security that inspired some Sub-Saharan immigrants to attempt to cross the Mediterranean.

This paper depends on the semantic analysing of the chosen headlines from the four daily newspapers. Semantics refers to the study of meaning in language. It involves the meaning or the interpretation of a word, sentence, or other language forms. The most frequently used features in headlines under the semantic field are metaphor and metonymy. Yet, this article relies only on the role of metaphors is obvious in shaping and reshaping public opinion. Metaphor is one of the semantic aspects used in these newspaper headlines to garnish the headlines and to attract the attention of the reader. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), a metaphor is not merely a decorative device but is a cognitive mechanism whereby a concept is partially mapped onto another concept. Thus, a single metaphor may be worth 100 words in headlines and can have an interesting value that motivates the curiosity of readers about the news.

In this study, the data acquired from the chosen newspapers was analyzed using content analysis. Presenting essential facts in text, graphics, and tables. Since this research is mostly thematic, qualitative content analysis was performed. Thematic analysis is viewed as a type of qualitative research analysis since it is a technique for locating, analyzing, and summarizing themes found in data. This study used a broad-based content analysis defined by Krippendorff as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use" (Krippendorff, 2018, 18). For him, content analysis involves certain steps that can be learned and are independent of the researcher's own authority. As a research method, the content analysis offers fresh perspectives, deepens a researcher's comprehension of specific phenomena, or inspires useful action. numerical records.

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The content analysis takes text as its starting point because of the use of text within a social context, and the analysis of text serves as a convenient metaphor in content analysis "a text means something to someone, it is produced by someone to have meanings for someone else, and these meanings, therefore, must not be ignored and must not violate why the text exists in the first place." (Krippendorff, Ibid). The headlines of the chosen newspapers between 2012 and 2013 were analyzed in this study using content analysis. This study examines a certain theme, such as how 'Black African' migrants are "problematized" and turned into a discursive crisis in Morocco. The portrayal of Black African migrants in Moroccan media was examined through the analysis of fifty-four pieces that appeared in those publications.
The basic objective of media information analysis is to ascertain its deeper implications and the most likely interpretation that results from the texts. The qualitative content analysis investigates the connection between the text and its likely readers' understanding because media texts are subject to various interpretations depending on the context. Along with the text, it focuses on the audience, the media, and relevant factors. The use of content analysis is essential to this study because it gets to the heart of social communication, which over time can provide illuminating historical, social, and cultural information. In this case, the text of newspaper news headlines is examined directly to examine communication.

5. Findings

The following information are analysed using qualitative content analysis following the criteria listed below: (1) general representation of sub-Saharan migrants before the migration reform (either negative, positive, or balanced); (2) common themes categorisation, by this I mean the most common reports' focus (criminality, violence, job stealers). Data collection of the newspapers' items related to the portrayal of immigrants from Sub-Saharan countries indicates that the topic was regularly spotlighted in these daily newspapers. From January 2012 to Jan 2013. A total of 54 headlines and reports were written in *Almassae, Assabah, Akhbar Al Yaoum, and Alahdath* newspapers. there is a slight difference in terms of the number of headlines as the following figure shows.

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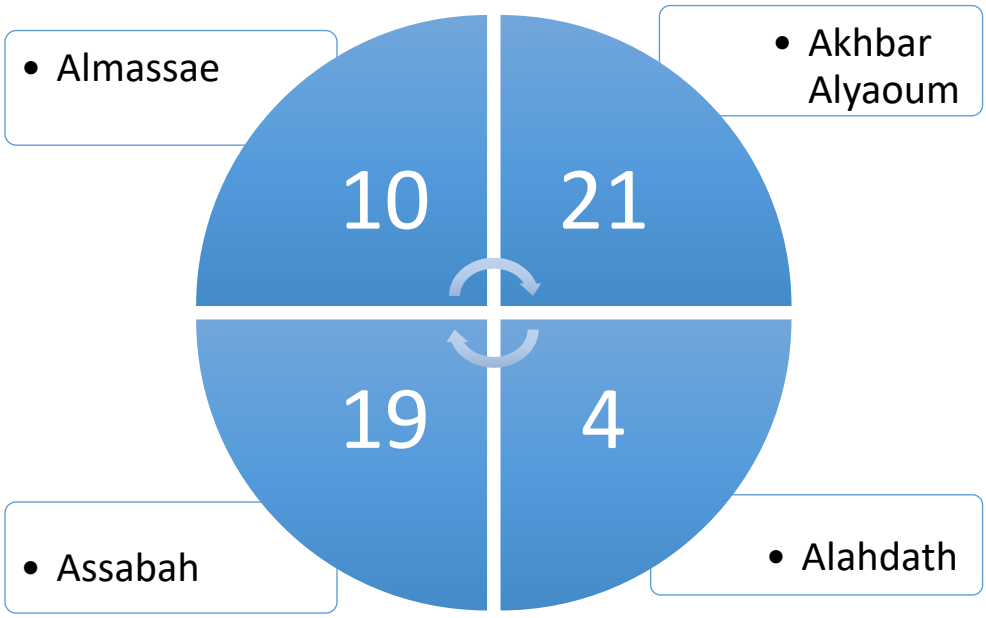
Figure 1. Shows the total number of headlines in 2012



To draw a small comparison between the coverage of the arrival of those migrants to Morocco, I gathered the number of headlines before the launch of the new migration reform. All headlines were classified and evaluated to provide answers to the interconnected research objectives that were addressed while assessing news coverage frames regarding African immigrants. The first research question looks at how are African immigrants portrayed in the four selected newspapers over one year 'of 2012'.

Before going deep into the discursive analysis of headlines, I have categorised the headlines found in the articles that were published before the migration reform. The findings indicate that the portrayal of African immigrants has been concentrated in four categories: illegality, crimes, humanitarian, and political and social themes. (See figure 2) Generally, the coverage of the four newspapers was mainly related to the crimes and the illegal crossing and living situations of Sub-Saharan immigrants in Morocco as the sample pictures indicate (Figures 3, 4, and 5)

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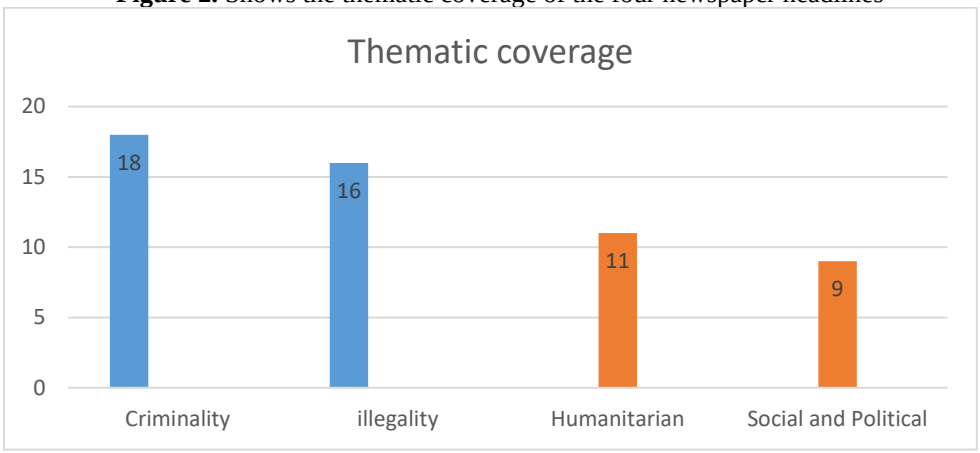
Figure 2. Shows the thematic coverage of the four newspaper headlines



The following samples are chosen to give an idea to the reader about the style of headlines and the lexical choice used to depict 'African immigrants'. These samples can also give a vision of the classification of headlines the researcher attempts to highlight.

الصباح حوادث
www.assabah.press.ma
الجمعة 28/9/2012 العدد:3876
إيقاف نيجيريين يصوران أفلاما خليعة بالبيضاء
اعتقال مغربيتين وتحريات حول علاقتهما بشبكات لترويج الكوكايين

Figure 3. Suspension of Nigerians filming pornographic films in Casablanca *(Assabah, Sep 28th, 2012, N 3876)*

أخبار اليوم
تقارير 5
العدد: 852 السبت-الأحد 08-09-2012/09/09
www.akhbar.press.ma
بعضهم يتسولون أو يحترفون النصب وسط مخاوف أمنية من نقلهم ثقافة الحرب والتسلح من بلدانهم
المهاجرون الأفارقة.. بين العطف والميول العنصرية
أصبح المهاجرون من بلدان إفريقيا جنوب الصحراء مشكلة حقيقية للسلطات المغربية التي تعاملهم عموما في إطار مقاربة أمنية تفرضها التزاماته بلادنا مع الاتحاد الأوربي. ولكن أيضا لأن المعنيين مهاجرون غير شرعيين، يمارس بعضهم أعمالا تخالف القانون من قبيل التسول والنصب وحتى تجارة المخدرات.

Figure 4. African immigrants …between sympathy and racist tendencies *(Akhbar Alyaoum, Sep 8 and 9th, 2012, N 852)*

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Figure 5. Illegal immigrants return to the forests of Ksar Esghir (*Almassae. Nov 30th, 2012. N 1923)*

The following headlines are examples taken from the newspaper before the migration reform. The purpose of choosing some headlines is to investigate the salient role of the lexical choice in the headlines. According to Van Dijk's schemata, Headlines have been given a variety of roles as an introduction to their pertinent primary text. It has been said that headlines and leads are the categories that make up " an initial summary" of news reports. (Van Dijk, 2013, 53)

Table 1. Headlines showing metaphors in the four selected newspapers

No.		Headlines showing metaphors
1.	**Headline**	**مقتل جندي في هجوم أفارقة على حدود مليلية.**
	Transliteration	killed soldiers in attack Africans on the borders of Melilla
	Translation	A soldier was killed in an attack on African immigrants on the borders of Milela
	Source	**Assabah, July 12th, 2012**
2.	**Headline**	**الجيش يتصدى للمهاجرين السريين بحدود مليلية، استنفار أمني لمواجهة موجة جديدة من محاولات التسلل بالقوة**
	Transliteration	the army confronts immigrants secret in the borders Melilla, alert security to confront wave new from attempts to sneak in by force
	Translation	The army confronts clandestine immigrants at the Melilla border, a security alert to confront a new wave of infiltration attempts by force
	Source	**Assabah, Oct 20th, 2012**
3.	**Headline**	**مطاردات يومية للمهاجرين الأفارقة بوجدة**
	Transliteration	Chases daily of immigrants Africans in Ouajda
	Translation	Daily chases of African immigrants in Ouajda
	Source	**Assabah, Feb 2nd, 2012**
4.	**Headline**	**مهاجرون أفارقة متورطون في جرائم حرب**
	Transliteration	Immigrants Africans involved in crimes of war
	Translation	African Immigrants are involved in war crimes
	Source	**Assabah, June 9th, 2012**
5.	**Headline**	**جرائم هزت المجتمع أبطالها مهاجرون هدفهم الوصول الى الجنة الأروبية**

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	Transliteration	Crimes shocked the society heroes immigrants aimed to reach paradise European
	Translation	Crimes that shocked the society, its heroes are immigrants whose goal is to reach the European paradise
	Source	**Assabah, Sep 29th, 2012**
6.	**Headline**	**الجيش يفتح النار على مهربين أفارقة**
	Transliteration	**T**he army opens fire on smugglers Africans
	Translation	The Army opens fire on African smugglers
	Source	**Assabah, Sep 15th, 2012**
7.	**Headline**	حملة مداهمات تستهدف مهاجرين أفارقة بالرباط، تقارير للاستعلامات يتحدث عن انتماء بعضهم الى تنضيمات إجرامية أو مليشيات إرهابية
	Transliteration	Campaign raids target immigrants Africans in rabat, reports inquiries say that they belong to organisations criminal or militias terrorist
	Translation	
	Source	**Assabah, Aug 23rd, 2012**
8.	**Headline**	**ارتفاع متزايد في أعداد المهاجرين السريين الأفارقة بشمال المغرب**
	Transliteration	Increasing more in numbers of immigrants secret Africans in north Morocco
	Translation	An increasing number of African clandestine migrants in the north Morocco
	Source	**Akhbar Alyaoum, Dec 7th, 2012**
9.	**Headline**	**حالة استنفار بمليلية بعد اقتحام مهاجرين أفارقة للسياج الحدودي و دخول المدينة**
	Transliteration	state alert in Melilla after stormed immigrants Africans fence borders and enter the city
	Translation	A state of alert in Melilla after African immigrants stormed the border fence and entered the city
	Source	**Akhbar Alyaoum, Aug 8th, 2012**
10.	**Headline**	**المغرب ينتظر تدفقا كبيرا للمهاجرين الأفارقة مع الاستعداد للحرب في مالي**
	Transliteration	Morocco wait for an influx huge of immigrants Africans with the preparation of war in Mali
	Translation	Morocco is waiting for a large influx of African immigrants, with preparations for war in Mali
	Source	**Akhbar Alyaoum, Nov 11th, 2012**
11.	**Headline**	**السلطات الأمنية تطارد المهاجرين غير الشرعيين بالشرق و الشمال**
	Transliteration	Authorities security chase immigrants illegal in the east and north
	Translation	The security authorities are chasing illegal immigrants in the east and north
	Source	**Alahdath Almaghrebia, Sep 5th, 2012**

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

6. Discussion

The use of metaphor usually helps readers shape an understanding of an activity as an extraordinary activity that is not actually happening. Writers use metaphors to communicate or transform complex ideas into what is perceived as real or familiar and concrete: for example, the table above highlights the most common and repeated words and phrases in covering this migration crisis. Each word has a connotation as well as a denotation. When words are employed in newspapers, it is clear that they tend to convey meanings other than those that are explicitly stated. The vocabulary choices in the headlines above suggest several connotations. Headline N 1 the word 'هجوم' literally means 'to attack' which is not something abstract. However, in this headline, the word is used to express a military attack on the borders of Melilla. The doer 'Africans' are full of the anger of soldiers to initiate an attack on the 'borders' of another country that resulted in a 'killing' of a soldier. In this headline, the word is chosen over others in that it conveys ferocity and violence indicating what the doer did was wrong legally and socially. The act of a soldier being killed in this 'soldier attack' is extremely unacceptable in society. Therefore, these words convey all together a vivid image by combining violence with the killing of a soldier.

In headline N 2, the phrase 'استنفارأمني' a security alert is used metaphorically to indicate that 'the new waves' should be stopped as they enhance an 'alarm' in terms of police and military soldiers. 'The attempt' of snacking into by 'force' also expresses the ferocity of the attempt of 'illegal immigrants'. Alarming soldiers and police at the same time indicate the danger of these people coming to launch a military attack by using power can attract readers to this headline. Snacking into Melila by force, using power in several attempts illustrates the metaphoric use of these lexical words in this headline.

Headlines N 4 and 5 appear to employ the same implicit meaning of crimes of 'African Immigrants'. These crimes are compared to 'war crimes'. These crimes 'هزت المجتمع' shocked society, as indicated in headline N 5. The metaphoric meaning of this phrase is fundamental as it is considered like an earthquake that destroyed the public mindset and left a shocking emotion not only in the region but in the whole society. These cries according to the headline are committed deliberately simply because these 'African immigrants' have an obvious goal that can push them to do anything illegal to achieve it is 'الوصول الى الجنة الأروبية', arriving in the European paradise. To reach paradise, for headlines 4 and 5, it is normal for these ' Africans' to kill or commit crimes that can be done only during 'wars'.

Another worth mentioning metaphor that can be deduced from headlines N 3, 7, and 11 are 'chasing African immigrants' in different parts of the country. 'مطردات يومية، مداهمات، السلطات الأمنية تطارد' all these words and phrases have an implicit meaning of these 'African immigrants' should be

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

chased as they are illegal, as they are involved in ' تنضيمات إجرامية أو ميليشيات ارهابية"? being part of a 'criminal or terrorist organisation' is seen by the headlines as a must for policemen to chase these 'dangerous' immigrants.
Due to insecurity or economic difficulties, some African immigrants continued to gather in the north of Morocco longing for a chance to enter Europe. These attempts have been portrayed as a 'highly increasing' 'large influx' that the country should be waiting for and expecting. Headlines N 8 and 10 illustrate the fair of the country in receiving 'waves' and 'influx' of immigrants from these countries. As the examples show, the Natural Phenomena metaphor is evoked by these verbal occurrences that refer to a massive and uncontrolled movement. These all imply the unexpected nature of migration, which adds to the expressions of the unfavorable appraisal of the migrant movement. The use of these phrases undoubtedly contributes to the general sense of fear and panic that people feel in the face of natural disasters. In brief, the vocabulary of these headlines, particularly the employment of hyperbolic metaphors, is typically their most blatant characteristic. Therefore, the presence of "African migrants" is conceptualized as "attackers," which denotes the military "invasion" of African "black" migrants from Africa who are not legally allowed to be there. Of course, such metaphors are far from innocent, and the usage of such terminology could reinforce the idea that African immigrants pose a threat to everyone in Morocco.

Conclusion

The findings and the analysis of headlines have demonstrated that the tone of headlines was almost negative before the migration reform in 2013. Although the aim of this study does not focus on the grammatical aspects of headlines, the results reveal that verbs and phrases of negative connotation have been used to portray the issue of Sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco. Besides, the study highlights the role of headlines in resuming the main story for the reader and the function of headlines in each position; combing metaphoric word with numerical figures have a crucial role n stirring negative emotion in the reader. This study gives a sample of how ‘African immigrants’ were portrayed and depicted from various points of view and a verity of daily newspapers. Their presence has shifted, to some extent, the public opinion at that period to violence, illegality, and humanitarian aspects.

However, the media's involvement goes beyond merely disseminating information; it also serves as a reflection of and a contributor to how the discussion of illegal immigration is interpreted and processed. Particularly, how social and political topics, like immigration, are presented in the public discourse and how individuals react to this contentious issue are significantly influenced by the way the media frames debates. This study has certainly

 ISSN: 1857-7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857-7431

motivated the researcher to compare the analysed findings of headlines to the ones after the migration reform in further studies.

Conflic of Interes: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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