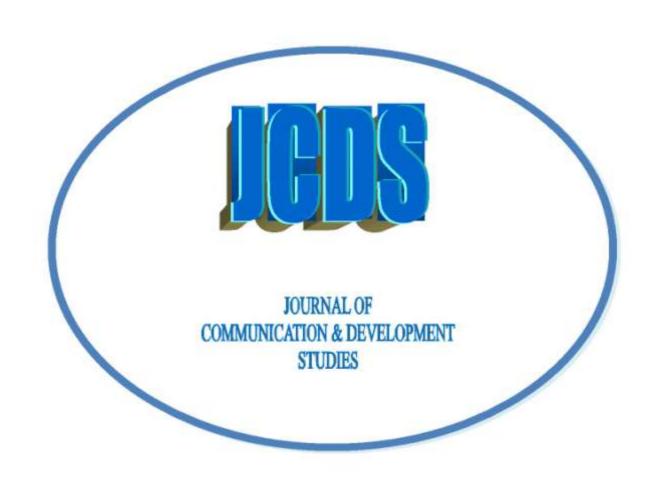


TECHNOLOGY





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Editorial

Much in the same vein of the previous two journal issues, the third issue of *JCDS: Journal of Communication and Development Studies* continues to provide a challenging select range of expanded in-depth trans-disciplinary reflective studies on both the theories and practice of education, communication and critical societal and human development studies, operating at the sites of PNG and everywhere else on the globe.

If this issue comes somewhat different from the previous issues, it does so, in that this time it sets out to embark its readership on a self-discovery excursus into the narrative of education and communication and, by so doing, to guide its readers through projecting an understanding of these issues' compelling vulnerabilities into the spiky field-specific resistance qualities. This is why, zig-zagging through a wide array of key contemporary attitudes and reflections on education, natural resources and communication, a three-layered thematic structure builds itself into the dynamically unfolding text of this issue:

Fifty Shades of Education

- Use of English as a Social Identity Marker in Romania: Promoting English as a Foreign Language (EFL) by Elena Mestereaga pp. 1-7
- Introducing Personal Advertisements as Online Communication Discourse by Mãdãlina Ruxandra (Dan Pop) Pop pp. 8-17

Geographies of Understanding Social Discourses and Resources

- Shakespeare's References to Syphilis: Lost in English, Found in Translation by Anca-Simina Martin pp. 18-26 Understanding Emerging Relationships between Institutional Structures and Leadership
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Modes of Mediated Meaning Creation by Communication Processes: Sites of Power and Persuasion

- Media and Knowledge Gaps: A Comparative Study of New Media Use in Iran and India by Maryam Vaziri & Kaveri Devi Mishra pp. 44-50
- Communication in the Military Organization: An Illustration of Facts by Isabela Anda Dragomir pp. 51-58

Similarly to the much-anticipated movie, the first section of **Fifty Shades of Education** comes to meet the readers' expectation that any journal on communication and development studies should foreground and engage with key educational issues. Indeed, the production of knowledge in all fields is addressed by questions concerning education, epistemology, public institutions of knowledge, pedagogy, teaching resources and learning content. The section spans areas concerning the value(s) of socially-oriented conditions and their role in EFL learning and use. How the informal life-education of online dating affects both senders and recipients (via its unique transformation of both the form and substance of written discourse)

reflects an embodied paradigm shift across plurilingual and multicultural educational contexts provides the final contribution of this section.

The middle section, under the heading of **Geographies of Understanding Afflictions and Resources**, includes two studies operational at a deeper consciousness level where a revisiting process of the un-chartered geographic sites of affliction and natural resource projects may reveal less fragmented opportunities for better institutional communication and self expression, Such is the case of the rediscovery of Shakespearian 'bawdy puns,' concerning syphilis and such in the English originals, but in their varied Romanian translations, or that of the emerging hybrid forms of leaderships and institutional structures that can be more community-oriented and less community adverse.

The last group of studies is commonly addressing, albeit in different forms, painstaking issues pertaining to degrees of communication success, all grouped under the heading of **Modes of Mediated Meaning Creation by Communication Processes: Sites of Power and Persuasion**. Premised on the common idea that facilitating communication empowers individuals, as well as institutions, to recognize important issues and find common grounds for action, building therein a shared sense of identity and participation, the studies take a bold stance by projecting communication and development initiatives into more determined action-based transformationalist perspectives. Thus, whether they inquire into the use of social media by non-state actors in Iran or India, or the deployment of institutional communication mediated discourse within a state military system, the papers explore a wide array of underlying conflicts that characterize both individual and group communication processes relative to ever-changing power balances.

The current issue remains an open invitation for its readers to reflect more critically on the contemporary values and issues facing education, institutional structures, human mind and communication and it ultimately seeks to create openings in the walls that separate both persons from one another (across professions, institutions, condition, race, gender, class, age) and members of a group from the larger society.

Note: The majority of contributions to this issue are by PhD Candidates in the Department of Anglo-German Studies, Faculty of Arts and Letters, at the "Lucian Blaga" University of Sibiu, Romania (LBUS). This fact reflects the ongoing intellectual and institutional cooperation between that Department and the Department of Communication and Development Studies at PNGUoT, as well as with the UNESCO Chair in Quality Management of Higher Education at LBUS. Both the Editor-in-Chief, Professor Eric Gilder, and Associate Editor, Professor Silvia Florea, serve on the PhD Commission of these degree candidates at LBUS.

I. Fifty Shades of Education

Use of English as a Social Identity Marker in Romania: Promoting English as a Foreign Language (EFL)

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to look into the value of socially oriented conditions and their role in *English as a Foreign Language (EFL)* learning and use. The learner's social context presumably influences motivation and attitude and provides opportunities that may benefit the learner. This paper examines the issues regarding socially-oriented features as an essential and complementary condition of EFL learning and acquisition. At present, the social interaction in classrooms is limited to teacher-learner and learner-learner contexts only. As long as EFL learning does not represent only a linguistic system acquisition but also strives to become a social practice, this poses a challenge. We hold that the main concern of educators should be to make EFL learners understand and appreciate the social conditions that promote the use of English in Romanian society.

Keywords: EFL, social identity, socially oriented conditions, out-of-class factors

Introducing Social Identity: A literature review

The relationships between language and the social aspects have been at the core of the research work of many scholars in the field of sociolinguistics and linguistics-related fields. In recent decades, Hymes (1972), Vygostsky (1978) and Spolsky (1989) have stressed the social nature of language, maintaining that the EFL learner is a social being who constructs his/her social identities mainly by means of language, communicating with others aspects of personal identity represented by status, authority and personality.

Cummins (1996; 2000a; 2000b) distinguishes two types of identities: an ascribed one, such as gender or ethnicity that is difficult to change and an acquired identity that is subjected to change and modification under the influence of experiences. The latter is the one that the EFL learner aims to construct and which can highly benefit from a supportive learning environment.

Cummins (1996; 2000a; 2000b) and Freeman (1998) note that this acquired identity is not fixed or static, but is constantly shaped through interactions and experiences. The communicative activities conducted in class allow educators to shape learners' identities in the teaching-learning process. Berger and Luckman (1991) maintain that "identity is a phenomenon that emerges from the dialectic between individual and society" (1991:195), showing the inextricability of the relation in society between language and identity. For every individual, the society is as complex system; for the purposes of the current study we shall tackle only societal aspects emerging from the use of English by the EFL learner.

As Freeman (1998) shows, the main instrument employed in the construction of social identity is represented by communication: "speaking is itself a critical tool of representation, a way of representing the self and others. It is the means through which identity is

constructed" (p. 75). In other words, we represent and negotiate identity, and construct those of others, through communication.

With regard to the social identity of the EFL speaker, Kroskrity (2000) states that the individual develops different identities which represent "the linguistic construction of membership in one or more social groups or categories". Indeed, the first social group of EFL learners identified above is defined by a characteristic nativity related to the environment. Along the same lines, the native Romanian speaker works on developing his identity as an English speaker. According to the socio-cultural theory of mind proposed by Vygotsky (1978), interaction with more competent language users within the child's social life leads to internalization of higher-order cognitive functions. This applies not only to first language acquisition, but also to second and/or foreign language learning. Romanian EFL learners should use as many opportunities they have to shape their social identity as English speakers. Vygotsky also holds that socializing is vital in the learning process:

The very essence of human memory consists in the fact that human beings actively remember with the help of signs. It may be said that the basic characteristic of human behaviour in general is that humans personally influence their relations with the environment and through that environment personally change their behaviour, subjugating it to their control. It has been remarked that the very essence of civilization consists of purposely building monuments so as not to forget. (Vygotsky 1978:51)

As long as, the class with its limitations cannot offer the ideal quantity of signs for memorizing and actively remembering the vocabulary and structures of newly learnt English, what is than the relation with the environment that influences the identity formation of EFL learner? What are the memorable monuments from the EFL/L2 learners' life that change their behaviour transforming them into competent users of another language?

From the very beginning of expressing his/her favourite world of animals in English during the first years of EFL education, the EFL learner becomes in time an advanced fluent English user by the end of high school being able to study undergraduate programmes fully taught in English. The identity of EFL learner has completely changed during study years from using English as a completely *foreign* language in order to make linguistically progress, into using English for communication in worldwide situations and also for professional formation identity. At this level, there is also a need for acquiring specific terms from different professional fields, and now it is affected not only the identity of English user, but also the carrier related identity. To work their way through the process of EFL learning, learners of all ages, need to maintain their vivid contribution in English learning and use. As Barron (2006) mentions this links to another aspect of learning: "Attention to the role that identity development plays in sustaining the interest that drives learning will also be key to a better understanding of self-initiated learning" (p 199). Language is used not only to communicate information but, according to Cummins (2000b), it is the means of conveying the subtle aspects of our identities and "the way we use language reflects our cultural origins and identity choices, our status in the social and economic hierarchy, and the educational opportunities we have experienced" (Cummins 2000b:164). Identity construction is critical for EFL learners and is part of a dynamic process: "Social identities are thus negotiated and displayed through people's ongoing participation in language-mediated activities" Freeman (1998:77). Consequently, the social identities are produced in response to the changing circumstances that the individual faces day by day.

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The Role of Educators in Constructing Social Identity

With reference to the discussion above, EFL learners' identities as a social phenomenon should be analysed in the context of society. As "identity remains unintelligible unless it is located in a world" (Berger & Luckman 1991:195), we should identify the strand of the EFL learner in the Romanian context. When a student interacts, he makes use of his own language, culture and life experiences, which represent his perceived world up to that moment. Furthermore, Cummins' (2000) challenge for educators is to encourage them to reveal students' identities through their interactions. Thus, the role of the teachers is to provide learners "with intellectual and linguistic tools to contribute powerfully to their expanding social worlds" (166). In this particular case it would be a world in which English should be used as extensively as possible. Cummins analyses the relation between educators and students from two points of view: one is represented by the strategies and techniques used by teachers to provide comprehensible input to promote cognitive growth, while the other is identity-related. The latter consists in the messages communicated to students regarding "who they are in the teacher's eyes and who they are capable of becoming" (Cummins 2000b:166). Besides the cognitive assistance, the educator's role becomes extremely important in establishing the foundation of the EFL speaker's identity. On this basis, the student's interactions are going to be established with enthusiasm. "When students' identities are affirmed and extended through their interactions with teachers, they are more likely to apply themselves academically and participate actively in instruction. The consequent learning is the fuel that generates further academic effort. The more we learn, the more we want to learn, and the more effort we are prepared to put into that learning" (Cummins 2000b:165). The most productive EFL learning involves the learner's contribution as the main stakeholder in the process, while the educator has a key role in determining the students' progress in the English learning process.

The outcomes of EFL learning are not only classroom- based, but they also help learners to develop skills and abilities necessary in their daily lives. Bentley (1998) considers such a perspective to be threatening and risky but also potentially rewarding. "If we want to enhance people's capacity to learn for themselves in a wide range of contexts and situations, and to be able to transfer knowledge and skills from one context to another, then we need to focus on the kinds of human relationship that promote effective learning. We are moving away from the view that learning takes place only inside people's heads, or inside single institutions designed for the purpose" (Bentley 1998:155). This is in line with Auerbach (1995) who considers that the learner's relation to the social order *outside* the classroom is also important as his identity has been shaped by it. This aspect of progress takes place out-of-class and it is influenced by the educator whose role is to enforce learning when the student is in class in order to generate further academic effort on his own. By meaningful communication "identities are discursively constructed, and are also embedded within social practices and broader ideological frameworks" is also noted by Jennifer Miller (in Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004:290).

Consequently, the educational institution serves as a framework that provides both linguistic content and interaction which allows the EFL learner to improve. However, these aspects do not represent the whole image of the identity formation. At school EFL learners learn what is dictated by the curricula of formal education and are often led by duty to accomplish their studies, motivation consisting mainly in external factors. By contrast, out-of-class use of English takes place because it is functional to something not imposed, it is not for the sake of

learning but required by a situational context. When EFL learners communicate with foreigners thy use English in their social networks, or when they play videogames they need to follow instructions to be able to complete the game. Involving in such natural activities from everyday life, EFL learners are spontaneously motivated to use English. EFL learners' context may provide them opportunities for English use in their immediate circle of socialization but if it lacks such occasions, the expended circle of acquaintances may represent such networks for English use where their identities are developed. This is in line with Maccoby's (1990) assertion that peer relationships represent powerful contexts of learning and socialization, where they can use English in meaningful situations offered by their social ecologies.

As Romanian EFL learners have a different context and opportunities for the use of English in contrast with the learners who live and learn in a country from Inner or Outer Circle (see Kachru's 1985 three-circle model) we have to look for every opportunity in order to make use of it for the learners' benefit. The amount of opportunities for learning and use of English offered by the Romanian society being reduced, reason that makes us to be much more aware of such occasions to increase the benefits learners can obtain from them. As Bentley (1998) advocated for including all resources that can bring their contribution in education even though this may require some supplementary effort. "This is another reason why education is so important. To make full use of the resources that an information society offers, we must be able to handle the overload, to develop capacities which can make sense of it all without screening out things that might be valuable" (Bentley 1998:3).

From their research and theoretical discussions Norton and Toohey (2001) argue for "attention to social practices in the contexts in which individuals learn L2s" and "the importance of examining the ways in which learners exercise their agency in forming and reforming their identities in those contexts" (318). This twofold focus represents an important complement to earlier studies for comprehension of the good language learning. Pointing out to Norton and Toohey's (2001) discussion regarding social practices Ushioda (2008) considers also that

the success of good language learners depends very much on the degree and quality of access to a variety of conversations in their communities, and not just on processes of internalizing linguistic forms and meanings. The extent to which the surrounding social practices facilitate or constrain learners' access to the linguistic resources of their communities will affect the quality and level of language learning success (Ushioda in Griffiths 2008:23).

As we are concerned with the burgeoning of EFL learning product we are compelled to look at the surrounding social practices of the target learners to understand to what degrees it can be used to promote and increase learning. Leung (1996:26) drawing on Cummins' distinction between basic interpersonal skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency, encourages teachers to provide supportive context for learners in order to supply in their classes the benefits of the environment. Hitherto Leung recognizes that "What is appropriate contextual support and realistic expectation of learning outcome today may not be appropriate or sufficiently demanding tomorrow" (1996:38). This is the reason this paper focuses on the learners' contexts which provide BICS without any intervention of the teacher, as long as they are part of their social life. However, there comes the teachers' role to be aware of these factors and use them as a complementary tool in the process of teaching and learning. "By focusing on schools and labs as primary research sites we miss opportunities to investigate learning when it flows from the initiatives of the learner and his or her

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companions across time and settings" (Barron 2006:193). This is what makes it difficult to investigate, as it largely depends on the learner's context and initiative.

Social Identity and the Use of Language

The social identity of a person reveals all the aspects that have been imprinted and have influenced human beings throughout time. By means of language, the individual shares the necessary information from his background in order to communicate effectively. "Place of birth and upbringing, familial situation, all the experiences that go into growing up and developing as a human being are reflected in the way you speak" (Tagliamonte 2016:148). In other words, our background conveys the necessary information for effective communication. Thus, for each of the mentioned situations, the speaker uses his/her own linguistic abilities to identify with a social group for a specific purpose at a given time. Initially, the social identity is represented by the image the speaker wants to project with the aid of linguistic repertoire. This image also affects the members involved in the communication process and the required conditions by the context of interaction. In the process of identity (re)construction, relationships represent a factor of success and empowerment, or failure and discouragement for the use of English. "When powerful relationships are established between teachers and students, these relationships can frequently transcend the economic and social disadvantages that afflict communities and schools alike in inner city and rural areas" (Cummins 2000b:165). As English learning processes can be determined by this relationship, it is the educators' duty to understand its full consequences.

Cummins (2000a) identifies a set of three folded images constantly shaped anew by the student-educator interactions: "(a) an image of our own identities as educators; (b) an image of the identity options we highlight for our students (...); and (c) an image of the society we hope our students will help form" (Cummins 2000a:48). Consciously or not, educators are faced with the complexity of such an interactional communication and are apt to contribute to the shaping of their learners' identities.

The view of identity as a multiple and dynamic notion instead of a stable one is considered by Pavlenko (2002) a concept that provides the background for "researchers to examine how identity options afforded by the influence learners' choices and learning trajectories. Finally, the view of language as simultaneously a form of symbolic capital and a site of identity construction allows researchers to theorise conflicts inherent in learning and use" (Pavlenko 286).

Within the framework of the English language teaching, Oxford (2001:359) and Harmer (2007:396) identified the social dimension as one of the six categories (cognitive, metacognitive, memory-related, compensatory, affective and social) within the English learning strategies. What is important is that the social aspect of EFL learning and use is not at all limited to the classroom environment alone. "But because effective learning can take place in many and varied contexts, it is possible for them to engage in positive learning activities and relationships almost wherever they are" (Bentley 1998:83). The educational institution may represent the starting point for the learning and use of EFL in Romania, but the use of a language cannot be limited to this space. As Jennifer Miller puts it, this first step has a significant contribution in the progress of the learning. "Being audible to others, and being heard and acknowledged as a speaker of English, determines the extent to which a student may participate in social interactions, negotiation, and practices within the educational institution and in the wider society" (Miller, in Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:294). Communication can take place in a meaningful way while expanding the image of EFL use to the individual social context of learner.

Conclusions

This paper touched upon the interplay between the social identity of the EFL learner and his or her use of English in the wider Romanian society, the reason being that successfully navigating between these two elements is assumed to be necessary for the learner to acquire competency in the target foreign language. When we look at these nominated aspects, the construction of the social identity of the EFL learner seems a complex phenomenon. We were interested in how EFL learners use a foreign language with(out) the aid of their social environment and how much success would be extant in their further study and progress. We strongly hold that the educators' role is to encourage Romanian EFL learners to affirm and extend their identities through the interactions in their daily lives.

In addition to the teachers' enacted positive role in providing comprehensive pedagogical input to promote cognitive growth, life-identity processes of their students outside the classroom should not be neglected either. It has been considered that the EFL learning progress could be effected by student-teacher interactions. An additional purpose was to understand the consequences of this process and encourage the students to use English not only for the minutes they spend in classroom, but also in all the occasions from their out-of-class context. The complexity of such interactional communication from learners' social context proved to bring its contribution in shaping learners' identities. Lastly, the role of the educational institutions in facilitating Romanians to learn EFL and to use it in social life at large is found to be essential.

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Introducing Personal Advertisements as Online Communication Discourse

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Abstract:

This paper aims to review existing research on media and online discourse as a foregrounding discussion of personal advertisements. Known under various names that range from lonely hearts ads, companions' ads to classified, dating, matrimonial ads and/or profiles, personal advertisements are interesting topics of scientific inquiry due to their wealth, number, style and diversity of forms of expression.

Keywords: advertising; online communication; personal ads

Introduction

Personal ads (hereinafter also referred to as PAs) appear in a wide array of publications, including most major city and national newspapers as well as other regional publications, being a popular means by which people meet and establish relationships with other people. The content, length and style of PAs vary with publication. Generally, most PAs include a self-presentation of the advertiser, a description of variable length of desired relationship and an account of an ideal respondent, one to fill the role of spouse, personal assistant, traveling companion and/or casual or long-term friend. Length of PAs is also variable, ranging from 1 or 2 column lines to a dozen of column lines each, being largely dependent on the spatial constraints of the publication and the chatty nature of the advertiser. While most can be witty and humorous, others are restrained, dry and businesslike.

Approaches to Media and Online Discourse

It has been commonly agreed that in the creation of advertising, the following five critical questions can be analyzed: Who (Speaker), says What (Advertising Message), To Whom (Audience), How (by means of which media channel), and with What Intended Effect (Outcome). A great variety of scientific research was conducted in the more general field of the media, and includes non-linguistic approaches concerned mostly with ideology and mass communication (van Dijk 1988), media standards (Sparks & Tulloch 2000) the semiotics of the media news (Hartley 1982) and popular culture (Conboy 2002). With regard to a more systematic linguistic analysis two existing strands of analysis can be distinguished with reference to media language: on the one hand that of discourse structure and linguistic function (Cotter 2001), on the other, that of the ideological and the pragmatic (Scannell 1998).

Several main approaches to media language can be taken (Bednarek 2006:28): *The stylistic-narrative approach* which includes studies regarding the language structure (in point of style, register and evaluation) of news discourse (Crystal & Davy 1969, Carter 1988, Ljung 1997, White 1998, Ungerer 2004); *The corpus approach* which includes studies on newspaper discourse as evidenced by means of corpora (Schneider, K. 1999, Schneider, D. 2000, Ljung 2002, Biber 2003); *The critical approach* which groups research on power and ideology (Fairclough 1988, 1995, Fowler 1991, van Dijk 1988, White 1998, Weiss & Wodak

2003); *The practical approach* which includes studies concerning news making practices (Bell 1991); *The cognition-based approach* inclusive of studies that examine social meaning, discourse and cognitive processes (van Dijk 1988); *The historic approach* which groups studies taking a historical approach to newspaper discourse (Cotter 1996, Herwig 1999); *The socio-linguistic* approach which is inclusive of research on the social factors underpinning the newspaper discourse style (Jucker 1992); *The conversationalist approach* which groups research on media language from a discursive conversational analytic approach (Greatbatch 1998).

Very few approaches are interested in evaluation besides the previous work on appraisal theory and none have so far touched upon evaluation on personal advertisements.

Computer-Mediated Communication

The first theories in computer mediated communication (CMC) considered that online interaction is too impersonal for the establishment of solid relationships because of the absence of *social presence* (Short et al. 1976). While face-to-face interaction provides a rich medium with a multiplicity of cues (tone, mimic, words, facial expression) and immediate response (synchronous), most CMC is comparatively lean and has textual cues for which no immediate feedback is provided (asynchronous). Such a perspective was further sustained by Culnan and Markus (1987) within his famous *cues-filtered-out* (CFO) approach which held that communication technologies are defective by comparison to face-to-face interaction in terms of conveyed signals and supported social interaction.

Later, theorists (Lea & Spears 1991, Reicher et al. 1995) came to the conclusion that, quite the reverse, online behaviour is characterized not by a lacking social presence but by a certain sense of group identity arising from a shared group identification which makes uninhibited online behaviour operational on the basis of in-group identification and outgroup rejection. Other studies are supportive of this view by sustaining that individuals can build interpersonal bonds and develop affinity for one another in CMC however such processes take longer than in face-to-face communication (Walther 1992; Walther 1996, Parks & Floyd 1996). This view implicates that the deficit in social information is not fundamental rather it is only due to the limited rate at which its conveying process occurred.

Another approach is proposed by Walther (1996) who claims that individuals communicating in lean computer-mediated contexts can develop higher levels of affinity for one another than they possibly could in face-to-face interaction. He claims that this is possible as a result of several combining factors, such as:

- (a) Particular self-presentation;
- (b) Idealized perception of fellow individuals;
- and

(c) Mutual feedback cycle that consolidates self-presentations and interpersonal perceptions.

The particular self-presentation factor is enhanced by the medium CMC provides for the managing of own online persona (to be detailed in my thesis) as well as the individuals'

inborn tendency to appreciate themselves favourably and present themselves positively to others (Taylor & Brown 1988), particularly strangers (Tice et al. 1995). Furthermore, in a study conducted by Walther et al (2001) it has been shown that individuals who interacted over a long period of time without any photos of each other registered very high affinity levels, while interaction for a short time without photos registered the lowest affinity levels. Other research similarly found that college liked each other more in online interaction than they did in face-to-face interaction (McKenna et al. 2002).

On a different level of examination, interesting findings are also revealed when looking at the similarities and distinctions between print and online advertising on the basis that the self-paced web usage is in many ways alike to print media (Sundar & Kim 2001). Moreover, along this line, a distinction of light from heavy web users (Dahlen et al. 2004) allows us to see that while both online and print ads perform well for individuals with a positive attitude towards the advertised product, web ads out function print ads in what regards low involvement products and individuals manifesting a somewhat negative attitude towards the advertised product. Since the web provides a wider range of stimuli and is more apt to maintain a longer web user's attention/interest longer, its generated advertising effect is to be also reflected in purchase intention (Kimefeld & Watt 2001), web ads being more successful in improving purchase intention than print ads.

In CMC, much like everywhere else, backgrounds set the scene for interaction. To a considerable extent, what makes this type of communication/interaction particularly 'hard' is its competitive edge: neither party being actually at ease with the other, irrespective of what the audience can perceive. Online respondents constitute a numerically unlimited, active kind of audience: they are 'in the audience' only as unseen readers. From the individual advertiser's perspective, respondents are his/her 'invited' audience hence such a non-face-toface meeting will acquire significance through highly digitallized, multimodal, hyperlinked, asynchronous and constructive online communities. Lomborg's three-dimensional framework which consists of content, directionality and style, and which has been applied for weblogs, may be extended to offer a valuable socio-pragmatic perspective for developing more general theories on CMC. The first axis in Lomborg's typological framework, that of content, describes a continuum from internal to topical, that is from personal information and experiences to topic-oriented interaction Lomborg (2009). On this axis, online personal ads could be placed at the internal end, as their authors are concerned with revealing mostly personal details. Along directionality, CMC forms range on a monologue-dialogue axis, some establishing weaker ties with their audience (therefore an asymmetrical communication) or stronger ties based on more dialogical relations between author and reader. In parallel, it ranges from very limited audience to many incoming and outgoing links and comments and very large potential audiences. The style axis refers to grading style and tone along a continuum from intimate to objective style, whereby self-reflecting confessions, emotional and introspective writing indicate more intimacy (a mid-ground position would be that of humorous and ironic styles - less intimate but still personal), while "argumentative writing, factual descriptions, and expert statements are closer to the objective style" (Lomborg 2009:48). Lomborg's typology is based on a socio-pragmatic perspective, dealing with CMC forms as a communicative genre, i.e. determined by communicative functionalities and social uses. Lomborg draws on Brian Paltridge's (1995) socio-pragmatic theory whereby genre encompasses a convention-based relation (established between communicators) that enhances a shared understanding in the communication process, and the communicative skills and interpretive knowledge one has to possess so as to use, produce and interpret advertisement content.

The Genre of Personal Ads

Personal advertisements represent a particular form of the commercial advertisement genre, being a subgenre of small ads. As commercial advertisements, small advertisements typically offer a service or an object for sale, whereas in the subgenre of personal advertisements, the advertiser seeks a companion or romantic partner. Commercial advertisements are made by specialized advertisers and address a wider audience while personal advertisements are created by non specialists wishing to project a self public image (Yule 1996) in a way that will attract the right person's response. The main purpose of the PA is therefore less to provide information, but rather to mediate contact. The creation of PAs serves this purpose, of emotionally stimulating and motivating him/her to react.

The language of personal advertisements embeds the cultural and social practices of their advertisers (Rauf 1988, April), being a reflection of cultural linguistic coding of social standards and norms. They have become largely semiotic in their various combinations of written texts incorporating photographs or other forms of graphic design which are intended to enhance expression and impact on reader's evaluation. Stolt (1976) finds that the AIDA set of commercial conventions are observed in the case of PA as well:

ATTENTION The reader's attention is drawn; INTEREST The reader is inclined to continue reading; DESIRE The reader wants to meet with advertiser; ACTION The reader is caught into response.

Despite their seeming limitation in presentation, PAs provide a wealth of meanings deriving mostly from the advertiser's attempt to project a most appealing, catchy and different image of himself/herself. The appraisal model, to be further expanded in my thesis, will help explain not only the two operational semantic levels, the literal and the implied, but also the dynamics of the language resources used by the writers/readers in the process.

General Research on Personal Ads

Particular research on personal ads has so far examined forms and effectiveness of selfpresentation strategies, text-relevant traits relative to age, identity, gender and sexuality as well as sociological and cultural influences on interpersonal relationships. Most of the studies were conducted on magazines and newspapers (Cameron et al. 1977, Lynn & Shurgot 1984, Lynn & Bolig 1985, Koestner & Wheeler 1988, Zelenkauskaite & Herring 2008) and the results confirm traditional sex-role and societal expectations within the norms of the Western culture context.

Several studies rely on interpersonal attraction determined by physical qualities, personality and/or intelligence (Dion et al. 1972), analyzing how attractiveness, further enhanced by photos, may result in dating success (Fiore et al. 2008) and how self-presentation is consistent with either stereotypical gender role (Koestner & Wheeler 1988) or *male-taller norm in mate* selection assumption (Gillis & Avis 1980). The results point to the fact that appearance in ads is more typically indicated for women whereas status is generally

mentioned in relation to men. Likewise, according to the *male-taller norm in mate selection* assumption, women are more often found to seek height and offer slimness, whereas men seek slimness and offer height (Koestner & Wheeler 1988). Other results of studies seeking to establish a correlation between physical appearance descriptions and number of ad responses show that such a direct correlation exists in that slim and tall males receive more ad responses than their short and fat counterparts do (Lynn & Shurgot 1984). Additionally, psychological research on individual attraction indicates that women feel more attracted to tall males having a high income and a high social status whereas men are generally attracted to young, healthy and fertile women (Buss & Barnes 1986, Buss 1989).

Other studies reveal that the facial symmetry and harmonious body proportions (such as waist-hip ratio) of subjects generally operate as associated markers (Grammer & Thornhill 1994) of reproductive capacity (Marlowe & Wetsman 2001). Moreover, women seem to be long-term investers in emotional relationships and show greater degree of parental investment whereas men are more likely to look for short-term relationships, being much less concerned with partner quality for reproductive purposes (Greer & Buss 1994).

More in-depth related psychological research examines attraction predictors on the basis of *mere exposure* (Zajonc 1968), taking either the student classroom context where regular female attendees were rated more attractive than non-attendees (Moreland & Beach 1992) or the student residence context where neighbours, same floor female students and same building resident students were found to be more likely to form a relationship than non-residents, different floor and different building resident students respectively (Festinger et al. 1950).

In terms of matching and compatibility, similarity studies within a dyad have shown similarity to be relative to attraction. Whether *positive assortment* (homophily) or *assortative* mating, understood as mate seeking in similar dimensions (Vandenberg 1972), similarity remains a constant in what regards the socioeconomic status, style, physical attractiveness and personality traits of partners. Montoya et al. (2008) in a research conducted on real and perceived similarity found that similarity is attraction-based only in initial interactions (as compared to established relationships) whereas *perceived* similarity is attraction-based in initial impressions as well as in established relationships. By way of context, with regard to established couples, it has been found that mere similarity of personality traits goes far beyond positive assortment in that people choose matching partners who possess the very personality traits that they like in themselves and who hence lack the very traits that they dislike in themselves (Klohnen & Mendelsohn 1998). This was found in the study sample of partners who were tested on their stated perceptions of their partners' traits and not on the basis of the partners' self-ratings of their traits. Such ideal personality traits to be found in a partner rest on both the participants' own perceptions of their genuine partners' traits (on the basis of a so-called *proximal* congruence) and on others' ratings of the partners' traits, called distal congruence (Zenter 2005).

Mate selection, together with relationship satisfaction, is determined by personality traits. Watson et al. (2000) show in a study of the Big Five Factor Model (McCrae & Costa 1997) of personality traits conducted on married and dating relationships that increased levels of extraversion, conscientiousness and pleasantness as well as diminished levels of negative emotionality were related to increased relationship satisfaction. In other words, on the basis of the Big Five taxonomy, individuals who are outgoing and lively and manifest emotional stability and flexibility are more likely to achieve satisfaction in both their married and

dating relationships Other significant studies in social psychology reveal the negative impact of neuroticism on relationship satisfaction (Robins et al. 2000, 2002, Fisher & McNulty 2008) as well as the effect of self-reported personality traits on the quality of people's romantic relationships in terms of quality and satisfaction (Caspi et al. 2005), as assessed by means of questionnaires (Watson et al. 2000).

Another side research on the formation of adult relationship is centered on adult attachment. This notion was initially derived from the concept of mother-child attachment by Hazan and Shaver (1987) who classified adult attachment into three styles (*avoidant, anxious/ambivalent* and *secure*) that were subsequently expanded to four (*secure, fearful, preoccupied*, and *dismissing*) by Bartholomew (1990). Research on adult attachment resulted in an assessment tool, the so-called Experiences in Close Relationships, that was advanced as a 36 item-based measure of adult attachment style (Fraley et al. 2000). In addition to this, assortment on adult fondness or attachment style was examined in subsequent studies and it was found that participants consider to be more seductive those descriptions that are a match of their own attachment styles (Klohnen & Luo 2003). Other research findings indicate that initial attraction predictors do not anticipate long-term relationship and satisfaction (Watson et al. 2004).

The social exchange theory and its related studies can also bring significant contributions to a better understanding of mate selection and relationship development in what concerns mate selection for example, social exchange tenets maintain that men can exchange their prosperity and social condition for a woman's youth and attractiveness (Rosenfeld 2005) or their earning capacity for women's household skills (Becker 1991). The net resulting system emerging from these trades is, in fact, a marriage trade (Ahuvia & Adelman 1992) on the basis of which an individual's value as well as his marginal advantages or disadvantages can be modeled Becker (1991). On such social grounds, in a marriage trade, individuals will be in search for similar value partners, albeit the nature of each partner's value will be different. The matching hypothesis was derived by Walster et al. (1966) and holds that in mate selection, it is people of approximately equal worth who are likely to pair and vice versa, meaning that undesirable people will tend to pair with undesirable ones. More recently, Taylor et al. (2011) provides some more evidence, obtained from a study conducted in an online dating context, in support of the matching hypothesis on the basis of self-worth, physical attractiveness and popularity, in the initial selection of partners, to different extents and stages of the dating development process. While equity theorists hold that successful and long lasting relationships are based on an equitable exchange, with neither partner overbenefitting or under-benefitting from the exchange (Walster et al. 1973, Sprecher 1998), others consider that reasonable individual thresholds for partner satisfaction (Thibaut & Kelley 1959) as well as time and resource investment in a partner are apt to both increase intra-relationship commitment and minimize the search for better options (Frank 1988).

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II. Geographies of Understanding Social Discourses and Resources

Shakespeare's References to Syphilis: Lost in English, Found in Translation

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Abstract:

Over the course of time, several of William Shakespeare's references to syphilis have fallen prey to the massive changes brought to the English pronunciation and culture. In 2004, prominent British linguist David Crystal began collaborating with the Globe Theatre with a view to revealing what his English sounded like. His study has unearthed, among others, a wide range of puns that are no longer recognized as such by modern-day readers and spectators of Shakespeare's works. What the present paper seeks to prove is that lost puns nonetheless carry the potential to be recreated in languages other than that in which they were originally written. By means of drawing parallels between three lost Shakespearean bawdy instances of wordplay and their Romanian translations, the theory put forward in this article is that translation can also serve as restorer of the source text.

Keywords: bawdy, English, found, pun, lost, Romanian, Shakespeare, wordplay.

Every literary work loses something meaningful in time. In Shakespeare's plays, the most intriguing losses are triggered by the linguistic obsolescence of some structures crucial to the understanding of his works in their historical context. My thesis is that translation transforms the Shakespearean text to fit the original world through what Nida defines as functional equivalence (1964): translators often become restorers of a social context, yet modifying at the same time particular visual aspects of Shakespeare's imagery. This issue is all the more so evident in the case of his bawdy puns, mainly for two reasons: first, the bawdy puns are often eluded in translation, for reasons I shall further expand in this article; second, because they pose challenges to translators, since they imply their acknowledge and the skill of recreating them in another language. When disambiguated, the pun, despite having lost its meaning or power in the original language as a result of changes undergone by English that I will describe next, usually gains its original meaning through successful translation. Hence, the translation process, in the context of Shakespeare's works, becomes a *restoration* process: what is lost in contemporary English becomes new material for alien cultures in the form of innuendoes and double meanings. The outcome of this process is that the target text thus becomes richer than its contemporary English equivalent. This, by all means, is an objective phenomenon that comes to shake the general belief that translation rests on sacrificing the original text¹.

In order to better assess the thesis of the present paper, it is vital to analyze its socio-linguistic context. First, what changes have damaged in such great proportions the original meaning of some words and puns in the last centuries? Shakespeare established himself as one of London's most popular playwrights at a time when English as a whole, specifically Early Modern English, was experiencing what Hotchkiss and Robinson describe as "one of the most momentous internal changes in its history"—the Great Vowel Shift (2008: 6). As the name suggests, this implied a series of alterations brought to how English long stressed vowels were pronounced. "This clockwise turn in the height dimension," as Schane defines it (qtd. in Lorenson, p. 2), meant that "in Shakespeare's time not all of these changes had made their way into writing" (Johnson 230), which in turn led to various spelling variants in print (Baugh & Cable, 2012: 207). Moreover, this phenomenon had occurred against the

¹ Perhaps the most prominent contemporary theoretical construct based on this assumption is Emily Apter's *untranslatability*. Her concept fully questions the raising field of World Literature in itself.

background of massive word borrowings from numerous languages and English dialects triggered by migration on the one hand and immigration on the other.

Second, the entire cultural dimension of the Shakespearean wordplay-referring, among others, to the prevalent illnesses of the era-has undergone critical changes, losing its relevance in the modern social context. Partly responsible for this loss is also the several-century-long campaign of bowdlerization to which the Shakespearean text had been subjected. Yet, with the publication of Eric Partridge's *Shakespeare's Bawdy* came its Renaissance. As Williams puts it, "it is Eric Partridge who best represents that return swing of the pendulum after the discomfort experienced by Victorian critics" (1997: 10). Even so, this shift in attitude towards Shakespeare's ribaldry happened gradually as most early scholars, Partridge included, "evaded frankness by using Latinisms . . . for the female sexual organs" (Wells, 2010: 1). Another forty years would pass before a fully unapologetic approach to it was adopted, as is evident from Gordon Williams's *Shakespeare's Sexual Language* (1997).

Meanwhile, in Romania, a more complex relationship with the Bard's bawdy wordplay was being cultivated. Neither during the communist era (neither in the socialist realism period between 1949 and 1964, nor in the later national communism between 1964 and 1989), nor before its installation, were Shakespeare's ribald puns deliberately toned down. Quite to the contrary, some of their Romanian counterparts far exceeded the Bard's level of bawdry, both in print (Volceanov, 2005: 120) and on stage (Matei-Chesnoiu, 2006: 119). Yet apart from these cases, many of them have been lost in translation, falling victims not to politically dictated censorship as expected, but to the translation infrastructure itself: poorly trained translators, general prudishness as a result of what is now known as socialist aestheticization (as theorized by Mircea Martin 2004)² and lack of access to secondary materials and critical editions of Shakespeare's works. Fifty years following Leon Levitchi's Complete Works of William Shakespeare (1955-60), which, to date, is the first and only of its kind in Romania, George Volceanov gave a paper at the University of Utrecht, signaling that the time has come for Romanian Shakespeare studies to pick up the pace and strive to fully align with the progress Anglo-American scholars have made in this direction. The approach Volceanov proposes in tackling the Shakespearean bawdy puns on the occasion of his new Romanian edition of the playwright's works is a telltale example of synchronicity. Although translators accurately translated a series of puns in the past, those were mere fortunate accidents. Now, on the other hand, the new translations of his works deliberately aspire to recreate-or, put differently, restore-the original full meaning of the entire Shakespearean language intention. This moves us to a new formula for the local Shakespeare: full recovery of the language intention and, on the other hand, a reformulation of its imagery with a view to fitting the local expression.

This, in turn, calls for a brief survey of the importance puns carried to the Elizabethan and Jacobean writer and poet, mainly because it explains the crucial role puns played in the entire narrative scheme, plot, and realistic portrayal of the era. In the Golden Age of wordplay, when "clergymen punned in the pulpit, judges upon the bench, statesmen at the council board and even criminals in their dying speeches", little if any interest was taken in conceptualizing wordplay (Read, 2007: 81). Sophie Read, for example, attributes this lack of preoccupation to

 $^{^{2}}$ Mircea Martin describes the entire cultural and social systems under communism as being "a true hegemony of the aesthetics" in favor of ideology, hegemony that determines that the entire cultural production is more prudent and past-ridden.

the rhetoric of this form of wit to the Elizabethans' concern of how the classics' instructions for good writing worked in practice.

The anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* both served as textbooks in English Renaissance schools. The former stressed the role of imitation, exercise and art or artifice in the formation of poets (Johnson, 2014: 52), while the latter included natural talent along with the aforementioned prerequisites for good writing (qtd. in Holland, 2016: 122). Influenced as they were by these classical precepts, the Elizabethan theorists reiterated them in their treatises on poetry. In his *Arte of the English Poesie*, George Puttenham posits that "speech is not natural to man . . . as the form and action of his speech, it cometh to him by art and teaching, and by use or exercise" (qtd. in Johnson 52). In a fashion similar to him, Philip Sidney extolls, in his *The Defence of Poesy*, the merits of art, imitation and exercise in training of poets (Hamilton, 1997: 121). What was therefore expected of Renaissance writers was to adhere to a theory of composition "hold[ing] that ideas, in order to be transmitted effectively, had to be expressed eloquently" (McDonald, 2001: 23-24).

In Shakespeare's day, the skillful use of ornaments was the measure of linguistic virtuosity. Artifice served, to the Elizabethans, as an "instrument for the transmission of thought, not an obstacle to it" (2001: 24). If today it is usually "associat[ed] with artificiality" and hence lack of true feeling (Johnson, 2016: 51-52), in the sixteenth century, artifice "was not a term of opprobrium . . . but a term of praise" (McDonald, 2001: 25). Drawing on their Greek and Roman forefathers' appreciation of ornaments, Elizabethan writers "took pleasure in repetition, variation, exemplification, [and] synonymy" (2001: 24). By means of "converting to their own use the vast rhetorical system of tropes, figures and schemes set forth in Latin writings," Shakespeare and his contemporaries not only harnessed the plasticity of Early Modern English, but also established its newly found status as a respectable language (2001: 25). At the same time, however, they were expected to, at least on some occasions, conceal their efforts of imbuing poems and plays with ornaments by "negotiating between the artificial and the natural," as emphasized in Puttenham's 'Of Ornament', the last chapter of his *Arte of English Poesie* (Hadfield, 1994: 128).

Their puns best highlight this struggle, which, as Hope remarks, is "alien to us, and results in many of our difficulties with Shakespeare's texts (especially his wordplay)" (2010: 79). It is, however, only in part accountable for the rather skewed understanding of his puns that prevails to this day. Shakespeare and his contemporaries' use of wordplay should undoubtedly be analyzed against the broader frameworks of the two competing language theories of the Renaissance. According to Huarte, Early Modern hypotheses on the nature of meaning "hammered between Plato & Aristotle" (qtd. in Salmon, p. 61). While the 'Platonics' argued that there is, or must be, some sort of "a 'natural' relationship between a work and its referent" (Hope, 2012: 88), the 'Aristotelians' rejected the idea of "a deep connection between the form of words . . . and their meaning," positing that language is "an arbitrary human construction" and that "words had meaning because people agreed what each designated" (2012: 87). In the Bard's day, however, it was quite common for language theorists, writers and poets to oscillate between these two opposing stances, sometimes even within the same work.

Such a contradiction can be found, for example, in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. When the heroine bemoans her lover's name, Juliet insists that "if Romeo were not a Montague, he would still be himself," for "his name is not a physical part of him like his hand or foot"

(Hope, 2014: 1). From this point of view, she qualifies as a true Aristotelian, mirroring the popularity of this theory among the Elizabethans (2014: 2). It is later in the play that the issue of identity assumes Platonic proportions: "if Romeo's name was different, then things would be too" (2014: 3). Situations such as these prompted Hope to affirm that "the allure of the Platonic position can perhaps be seen in the way Shakespeare, and other writers at the time, treat puns" (2010: 88).

For these reasons, Shakespeare and his contemporaries held this stylistic device in high regard. Apart from displaying their creators' "craft and formal training," as Hope describes the Renaissance prerequisites for good writing (2012: 79), it also depicted the synergy playwrights and poets of this era enjoyed with their spectators and readers. In a later work, the same author concludes that wordplay in the Renaissance "begins with identity and explores distinction" rather than move from difference toward some degree of resemblance (2014: 97). We can safely expand this realization to cover the first thesis set out in this paper, that unifying meaning through translation brings about imagery distinction and diversity. If today puns are usually perceived as "mechanical exercises in spotting arbitrary similarity" between similar forms of unrelated words, "on a Platonic view," which dominated the Elizabethans' understanding of wordplay, "the similarity is not necessarily arbitrary" (2010: 88), an assumption all the more so reasonable given the linguistic changes experimented by Early Modern English in the sixteenth century.

Phonology-wise, the Great Vowel Shift, commenced around the second half of the thirteenth century and finalized almost two hundred years later, is believed to have encouraged Shakespeare's extensive use of homophonic wordplays (Adamczyk, 2013: 10). The departure from Middle English, a system where diphthongal phonemes and long vowels prevailed, gave rise to an entirely new set of homophonic forms. Even though some of them disappeared shortly after as a consequence of further changes brought to English pronunciation, a number of new other homophones appeared, compensating for the loss. With regard to the phonological alterations that increased the potential of Early Modern English for homophonic wordplays, Adamczyk adds that the "strong presence of phonetic doublets" might have also been instrumental to this achievement (2013: 10).

It is this "skilful phonetic manipulation, where regular pronunciations of the day were supplanted with substandard varieties of dialectal or vulgar parentage," that also contributed to the prevalence of puns based on homophony in his works. Other Shakespearean scholars such as Kökeritz and Delabastita have also expressed similar views (2013: 11). Yet they are not the only to agree with her on this matter. Charles L. Barber, for example, provides, in his *Early Modern English*, a detailed account of the manner in which rustic, regional and vulgar styles of pronunciation coexisted with the accent of the courtiers and landed gentry of Southeast England (1997: 103). Through his profession and heterogeneity of his audience, Shakespeare must have came into contact with most of these dialects and it would not therefore be too far-fetched to assume that he also used them in his plays and sonnets.

At the lexical level, the large-scale borrowing of foreign words "affected quantitatively the homonymic types of puns," contributing massively to the pun-friendliness of Shakespeare's English. This massive importation of terms was possible "via educational channels or, otherwise, through close trade and colonial contacts" (Adamczyk, 2013: 10). The Bard's London "grew with startling speed from a city of perhaps 50,000-60,000 souls in the 1520s... to one of ... 400,000 in 1650" (Wrightson, 2003: 136) by means of both internal migration and immigration, becoming "a highly multilingual (and thus multidialectal) city" (Crystal,

2016: xx). This linguistic diversity, according to Adamcyzk, triggered "a rapid emergence of synonyms" (10), bringing about "an unceasing differentiation in usage as well as in meaning and connotation, which was eminently favourable to punning" (Kökeritz, 1953: 54).

As for the Elizabethan spelling system, it "was in – what linguists technically call – a mess" (Crystal, 2008) 58). According to Forgeng, "there were no dictionaries, so . . . [it] was largely a matter of custom, and often just a matter of writing the words by ear" (2010: 56). This lack of consistency in terms of writing also qualifies as a trigger for Shakespeare's massive use of wordplay. Hope, for example, goes as far as to suggest that "a true Shakespearean pun is one word with two simultaneous interpretations – not two words, each with a distinct meaning" (2010: 88). His statement is not far from truth, since Hand D in the manuscript of Sir Thomas More, "the one case in which no printing-shop intervenes between us and Shakespeare's own pen," uses three different spellings for the word 'country' within three lines (Meagher, 2003: 59). It is for this reason that 'course', 'coarse' and 'corse,' for instance, "are to him [Puttenham] the same 'word'-and there are different meanings associated with that word that are distinguished by use" (Hope, 2014: 91).

These changes in phonetics and lexis not only provided a fertile ground for the proliferation of this literary device among Elizabethan writers, but also contributed to their efforts to explore the linguistic possibilities of Early Modern English. Spectators and readers of Renaissance plays and poems, by "differentiat[ing] two things from a single semantic space," were thus invited to take part in the process of disambiguation and validate the authors' verbal virtuosity (2014: 97). Yet, attitudes have since changed and the English language as we know it today is far removed from that in which the Bard and his contemporaries wrote. Therefore, a host of his puns are no longer recognized as such, having been obliterated at the hand of these factors only to be found sometimes in translations of his works. However, such an endeavor depends heavily on access to updated critical editions, glossaries and commentaries, a luxury not many Romanian translators of Shakespeare could afford, especially in the communist regime when the first ever autochthonous edition of his works was produced. However, it is my thesis that translations of Shakespeare's works in general, as is evident from the Romanian case studies to be explored, better reflect, in some cases, the original intention of the Shakespearean text than contemporary English versions.

Example (1) features a line belonging to the First Gentleman, one of the characters in the Bard's Measure for Measure, a play that ranks high on Eric Partridge's list of Shakespeare's most ribald works (57). One of the recurring topics of this play is that of brothels or inns serving as cover-ups for bawdyhouses, so it is quite expectable it contains references to venereal diseases, which are frequently missed by source-text readers. One such mention and three of its Romanian renderings are depicted and analyzed side by side in the next few paragraphs:

Primul domn. Și tu,

catifeaua: catifeaua de-

material întins în trei

așternuturi: eu unul

prefer să fiu cotor la

de-a

garantez,

noastră,

bună,

(1)	Measure	for	N. Argintescu-Amza	Ioana Ieronim	George Volceanov
Measu	ire				

First Gent. And thou the velvet: thou art good velvet; thou art a three-piled piece, I warrant thee. I had as lief be a list of an englezesc decât catifea

Primul Gentilom. Iar tu catifeaua. Tu ești catifea de pret; bine întinsă, pe legea mea. Mai degrabă aș vrea să fiu tiveală de satin

Primul Gentilom. Și tu — catifeaua. O catifea grozavă, cândva groasă, de bună seamă. Eu unul prefer să fiu biet tiv de postav englezesc decât o catifea sfrantuzească,

zeghe

а

English kersey as be	"sfranțuzească"	englezească, decât	cu firul chelbos de atâta
piled, as thou art piled,	cheală, așa cum ești tu.	flendurit cum eşti tu,	sfranțuzeală. Vorbesc
for a <i>French velvet</i> . Do	Vorbesc destul de	din catifea de Franția.	cât se poate de clar și la
I speak feelingly now?	lămurit?	Am vorbit pe-nțeles și	obiect? (Shakespeare,
(Shakespeare, 1.2.31-	(Shakespeare, trans.	cu simțire?	trans. 2014, 222)
35)	1961, 116-17)	(Shakespeare, trans.	
		2012, 13)	

At first glance, the character appears to be drawing a distinction between the Britons and the French, extolling the honorable nature of the former at the expense of what he perceives to be the loose morals of the latter via a fashion-inspired metaphor. However, Shakespeare himself signals the presence of an innuendo through the question "Do I speak feelingly now?". According to Partridge, the double meaning intended here lies in the idiom "piled for a French velvet," which is synonymous with "infected with venereal disease" or, more specifically, syphilis, widely known as the "malady of France" in the Bard's time (2011: 206).

Although Argintescu-Amza was one of the first Romanian scholars to translate *Measure for Measure*, his thorough knowledge of his native language and his versatility as a translator are supported by his adaptation of the Shakespearean punning reference to syphilis. What he did was to combine the Romanian equivalent of the source-text 'French' and the target-language archaic noun 'sfrenție' denoting 'pox' and create a portmanteau adjective he employs to particularize the noun 'velvet,' a translative decision he justifies in further detail in a footnote. Ioana Ieronim, on the other hand, unknowing of the Shakespearean pun, replaces the adjective 'French' with 'de Franția,' 'of France,' an assumption all the more plausible, considering that her translation comes with no footnote to indicate that this particular line has lost something in translation. Volceanov borrows Argintescu-Amza's mash-up word, 'sfranțuzească,' crediting him with its coining in a footnote and employing it once again, in its noun form, 'sfranțuzeală,' to introduce the reference to syphilitic alopecia. This portmanteau word reemerges once again a few lines later in his translation when Lucio puns on baldness caused by this venereal disease:

William Shakespeare	N. Argintescu-Amza	Ioana Ieronim	George Volceanov
Lucio. [] I have purchased as many diseases under her roof as come to – Second Gent. To what, I pray? Lucio. Judge. Second Gent. To three thousand dolours a year.	Lucio. [] Sub acoperișul ei m-am ales cu boli destule; prețul lor s-a ridicat la Al doilea gentilom. La cît mă rog? Lucio. Cît crezi?! Al doilea gentilom. Pe an, trei mii de ducați s-au dus. Ducă- se! Ducă-se!	Lucio. [] Sub acoperișul ei, mi-am cumpărat eu bolile toate până la Al doilea domn. Până la? Spune. Lucio. Ghici. Al doilea domn. Pân' la vo trei mii de lire pe an. Primul domn. Ba și mai	Lucio. [] Sub acoperișul ei m-am umplut de puzderie de boli, care m-au costat cam la vreo Al doilea gentilom. Hai, spune, cât. Lucio. Fă și tu o socoteală. Al doilea gentilom. Mamă, trei mii de ducați pe an – ustură
<i>First Gent.</i> Ay, and more. <i>Lucio.</i> A <i>French crown</i> more. (Shakespeare, 1.2.48-55)	Primul Gentilom. Ei da, ba poate chiar mai mult. Lucio. Mai pune-alături o coroană "sfranțuzească", una măcar! (Shakespeare, trans. 1961, 17-18)	, mult. <i>Lucio</i> . Mai mult, da, o <i>coroană de Franția</i> . (Shakespeare, trans. 2012, 14)	rău. <i>Primul gentilom</i> . Ba chiar și mai mult. <i>Lucio</i> . Mai adaugă și o <i>coroană sfranțuzească</i> . (Shakespeare, trans. 2014, 223)

This exchange of lines revolves around Mistress Overdone's brothel and the financial as well as medical repercussions of frequenting such an establishment. Here, the Second Gentleman makes a vertical punning reference to the cost of the treatment for the venereal disease he contracted in her bawdyhouse by using the word 'dolours' to mean 'dollars,' another term for a type of currency in Shakespeare's day, thus seeming to hint at the same time to both the pain caused by syphilis and the expenses of the remedies for it. The syntagm 'French crown,' at once a reference to "the French coin called the \acute{ecu} " and a "sign of the pox on the head," reinforces this interpretation (Williams, 1997: 134).

In this case too, Argintescu-Amza and Volceanov substitute 'French' with 'sfranţuzească,' while the other translator, Ioana Ieronim, resorts to the same 'of France.' This bawdy pun, socially and culturally specific to Shakespeare's time, passes unnoticed by modern English readers and his foreign audience, the footnote explanations for it or its downright disappearance from contemporary editions of his works attesting to this phenomenon. While this is neither Argintescu-Amza's, nor Volceanov's case, Ieronim and several other modern translators of this expression as it appears in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* fail to produce similarly successful renderings of it

(2) A Midsummer Night's Dream	George Topîrceanu	Dan Grigorescu	Horia Gârbea
Bottom: I will discharge it in [] your French- crown-colour beard, your perfect yellow. Quince: Some of your French crowns have no hair at all, and then you will play bare-faced. (Shakespeare, 1.2.96- 101)	Bottom: - Aş putea să-l iau cu o barbă [] galbenă de tot, franţuzească Quince: - Acuma, toți franţujii sunt spîni; joacă-l deci și tu fără barbă. (Shakespeare, trans. 1921, 20)	Jurubiță: O să-mi iau o barbă [] d-aia franțuzească, galbenă, galbenă de tot. Gutuie: Barbă franțuzească? Unele tidve de franțuji sunt spâne ca-n palmă. Vrei să joci fără barbă? (Shakespeare, trans. 1984, 25-26)	Mosor. Aş putea juca având barbă galben-pai, ori d-aia portocalie, ori una în culoarea coroanei franțuzești, galbenă rău. Iculeţ. Capetele franțuzești cam cheliră, așa că ar fi să joci ca spânul, de-ar fi așa. (Shakespeare, trans. 2011, 362)

As opposed to the previous case studies, none of the three translators featured above managed to recreate this pun in their native tongue. With the exception of Gârbea who translated it word-for-word, both Topîrceanu and Grigorescu opted to replace 'French-crown-colour beard' with 'barbă franțuzească,' which back-translates into English as 'French beard.' The second occurrence of this syntagm suffers some changes as well. Notably, Topîrceanu obliterates it altogether, while Grigorescu and Gârbea substitute it with the corresponding colloquial and standard Romanian nouns for 'head.' Indeed, they do stay relatively close to the Shakespearean text, yet both translators resort to footnotes with a view to clarifying the cultural context of this punning euphemistic reference to this particular effect of syphilis.

These examples paint a new perspective on translation as restoration of original meaning and enhancement of initial imagery. This, in turn, shows that the Romanian Shakespeare can be, in many ways, a surprisingly faithful representation of the lost socio-cultural background of the English Bard and, at the same time, a domestic, autochthonous portrayal of the original. The question then arises as to how many different, exotic, vernacular European Shakespeares were born through translation. Answering this question is all the more crucial as is evident that the diversity of all these local variants of Shakespeare's puns owe it, paradoxically, to a unifying exercise: the attempt to be faithful to the socio-cultural Elizabethan context. It is my opinion that the Romanian renderings of Shakespeare's works can serve as a starting point in the study of this theory.

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Understanding Emerging Relationships between Institutional Structures and Leadership Modes in Natural Resource Development Communities in Papua New Guinea

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Abstract

The emergence of the relationships between institutional structures, leadership modes, and the development outcomes in the resource development context of Papua New Guinea (PNG) are not adequately explained by the extant literature. This paper discusses community-level institutional structures, leadership modes and the relationship between such institutions, leadership and the outcomes obtained from natural resource-based development projects.

Intended outcomes of the relationships between institutional structures, leadership modes, and development outcomes vary across the three study regions. There were more institutional arrangements and participating and influencing leadership modes in resource development communities than in less or nil resource-based development communities.

The study suggests that the modes of leadership and institutional structures influence each other and are both reflective of the scale and phase of development, type of resource projects and the perceived development outcomes in the particular region.

Keywords: Relationship, leadership modes, institutional structures, natural resource development, Papua New Guinea

1. Introduction

This paper discusses the results investigating the emerging relationships between institutional structures or arrangements, leadership modes and development outcomes from the perspective of natural resource-based development projects. The study is based on the examination of three different natural resource development projects from forestry, agriculture and mining sectors in three different regions in PNG. It explores what factors appear to have influenced the institutional arrangements and leadership modes which in turn influenced the development outcomes observed in the case study communities. The exploration draws from a number of existing conceptual frameworks as discussed in Section 3.

The form and nature of the natural resource-based development, including its pace and scale, have played a crucial role in each case, in terms of both development outcomes and their interactions with institutional arrangements. In this paper, the author discusses how the different forms and nature of resource development have interacted with the communities and institutional arrangements in each resource developing region and how they have influenced the type of leadership modes.

The primary goal of the study is to understand different types of evolving institutional arrangements and leadership modes, how they are developed and operate in different resource development contexts, and what the impacts of those institutional structures and leadership modes are on the 'development outcomes' at the community level. To achieve this primary objective, a subsidiary objective was developed, namely to describe how the interactions between the different components of traditional and modern communities and economies influence leaders and decisions. These objectives were investigated by posing the following primary research question: *what are the institutional arrangements and leadership modes, evident in the different resource development communities- particularly in the three case studies*?

2. The Context of this study

The paper focuses on community-level institutional structures, leadership modes and the relationship between such institutions and leadership and the outcomes from natural resourcebased development projects. In this context, 'community-level' (hereafter abbreviated to "community") refers to rural village communities, which remain the focus of life and decision-making for some 85% of Papua New Guineans (ADB, 2008, 2010). Community institutions and leadership are important due to the two central roles that they play in the contemporary PNG context. The first is the role of community institution and leadership in linking the traditional and modern communities and economies (Rivers, 1999; Ambang, 2007). Amongst other functions, effective community leadership helps in improving service delivery to communities (Ambang 2007), and in improving community livelihood support systems; at the same time, they help facilitate decentralization of the centralized decisionmaking processes at the national and provincial levels to village communities (Randle & Dhillon, 2004). The second role of the community institution and leadership is that, from a traditional perspective, they assume the role of the court systems, manage disputes and conflicts within the community, and restores and reconstructs communities in times of interstate and/or inter-tribal crises (Regan, 1999; White, 2006; Banks, 2008). For example, Melanesian communities (e.g., the Bougainvilleans) resort to traditional institutions and chiefs to provide leadership and rebuild the society in times of civil crises (Regan, 1999; White, 2006). Along these lines, community institutions and leadership work to narrow the gap between the traditional and modern institutions and leadership contexts. In PNG as elsewhere (Agrawal, 2008; Ostrom, 2009), community institution and leadership are important because, at local community levels they enhance community engagement and participation in decision-making processes.

In the resource development context of PNG, the community institution and leadership play a central role in representing the communities' (landowners') views to developers and governments, and in communicating information relating to the development processes to the communities. Thus, the communities impacted by developments are pressing their political representatives and businesses to recognize the importance of community leadership in their business and development strategies. This is especially so in the natural resources sector in PNG because this sector impacts on all aspects of people's lives, especially the communities directly affected by resource-based development (Filer, 2004; 1989; Kepore & Imbun, 2011); there is a strong pressure on the companies responsible for these developments to ensure that the livelihoods of the affected communities are improved (Kepore & Imbun, 2011).

However, there are various perspectives on existing concepts of community institution and leadership in PNG. Many define them as a traditional or tribal decision-making processes

(e.g., Zimmer-Tamakoshi, 1997; McKeown 2001; Ambang, 2007; Prideaux, 2007; Yadav, 2009), that is concerned with and determined by customs and traditions. Others (e.g., Littrell 2002; 2005; Dubrin & Dalglish, 2003; Hogan, 2004; Julien et al., 2010; and Richie, 2010) see it more from a modern macro-level perspective resulting from existing controversies and dynamics of challenges in politics, economic and development arenas. More recently, some scholars (e.g., Martin, 2013; Anderson, 2015) interpret community institution and leadership more through a livelihood lens; Martin's (2013) analysis of customs and conflicts in a rural PNG village, and Anderson's (2015) enquiry into the economics of customary land and livelihoods in a number of PNG rural communities, investigated relationships between institutions, leadership and livelihoods outcomes.

There is hardly any consensus about the most appropriate models of community institution and leadership in PNG. In addressing this issue, the author examines both general models of institutional leadership and those discussed specifically in the PNG and Melanesian contexts. For example, the general Situational Leadership Model proposed by Hersey et al. (1996) can be applied to the PNG context; more recently, Martin (2013) has explored leadership in the PNG context in his analysis of the "bigshot" and "bigman" systems, and Joseph (2015) has explored values-based and transformational leadership in the South Pacific context. This research draws on this prior work, and is also based on the observation, from the author and others' experience, that community-level institutions and leadership modes in PNG take a variety of forms, and appropriate institutions and leadership should be able to help to improve the outcomes for communities from natural resource-based development.

Research framework, approach, and methodology

The study drew on a number of existing conceptual frameworks, *viz*. the social ecological systems framework (Ostrom, 2009); sustainable livelihood frameworks (Chambers & Conway, 1991; DFID, 1999); and the Situational Leadership Model (Hersey et al., 1996). These frameworks represent the categories of factors that interact in communities involved in resource-based development contexts. In particular, the Situational Leadership Model (SLM) was used as an appropriate framework to understand the various leadership modes in PNG communities.

The SLM was first described as a contingency theory by Fiedler in 1967 (Hersey et al., 1996), according to which: 'leaders become more effective when they make their behavior dependent upon situational forces, including group member characteristics. Both internal and external environments have a significant impact on leader's effectiveness. In this situation, contingency leadership theory involves situational leadership models. Expanding this model, Herseyet al. (1996) describes leadership as resulting from the relationships between a leader's characteristics and a particular situation, being .thus influenced by situational factors. This situation is similar to the PNG community leaders' decision-making choices in resource development contexts in which they are confronted with many internal and external factors.

The SLM was considered useful in this study as it builds on other explanations of leadership that emphasize tasks and behaviours of leaders and the communities. Further, it explains how leaders can match their leadership mode to the readiness of community members. The model classifies leadership modes according to the relative amounts of task and the leaders' behaviour. Four leadership modes are identified in this model, all with different combinations of tasks and relationship behaviours, rated from high to low. These are: influencing, participating, selling and delegating leadership modes. Each of these leadership modes will be examined in what follows.

The study examines, through a case study approach in three provinces of PNG, different levels of natural resource-based development. The case studies were based on the planned Nungwaia-Sengo Integrated Agroforestry Project (NSIADP) in East Sepik Province (ESP), the new Kairak Oil Palm Development Project (KOPDP) in East New Britain Province (ENBP), and the long-established Ok Tedi Mining Limited (OTML) development in Western Province (WP). Three local communities in each case study region were the focus of our field research. The three case studies represent the three dominant forms of resource-based development in PNG - forestry in ESP, agriculture in EBNP, and mining in WP, respectively.

Field research between July 2011 and October 2012 investigated institutional structures, leadership modes and a range of development outcomes in these case study communities. Primary data were collected through 132 household interviews, nine focus group meetings, and participant observations in the nine communities across the three case study regions. Data were also gathered from personal communications with local and regional leaders and resource owners, and complemented by secondary published and unpublished sources. The results from the study are presented and discussed in sections 4 and 5, and conclusions drawn in Section 6.

Research findings

The main findings relating to the study are presented here and discussed in the three parts. Part 1 discusses the institutional structures, while Part 2 presents the leadership modes and Part 3 the development outcomes.

Institutional structures across the study regions

This section presents the results relating to the institutional structures found in the three regions. Table 1.1 shows the results of institutions found in each of the study region.

Table 1.1 Institutional structures identified across case study regions

Leadership modes across the three case study regions

The four main modes of leadership identified across the three regions which the community leaders resorted to were: the influencing *(biksot)*, participating *(trupla man)*, selling *(mauswara)* and the delegating *(cultural)* modes of leadership. Figure 1.1 shows what was found in the three case study regions relative to each of these four leadership modes.

Institution type	Institution per region			Purpose of institution per region		
	ESP	ENBP	WP	ESP	ENBP	WP
Traditional (clans & tribes)	22	10	15	To promote cultural values	To promote cultural values	To promote cultural values
Government (ward Councils, law & order committee, sports etc)	13	32	15	To promote government services at local level	To promote government services at local level	To promote government services at local level
Churches (various denominations)	12	14	7	Promote Christianity	Promote Christianity	Promote Christianity
Development (Land owner associations, corporative societies, incorporated land groups)	5	7	44		To address landowner Issues To deliver community projects Manage community funds Promote business	To address landowner issues To deliver community projects Manage community funds Promote business
Total	54	61	81			

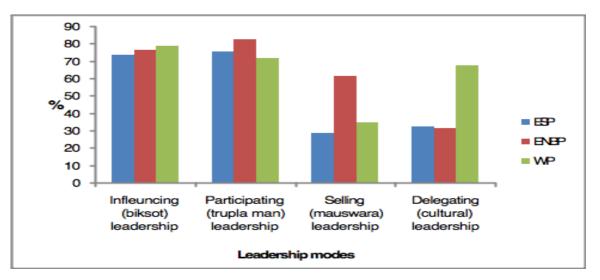


Figure 1.1: Proportion and number (bracketed) of participants in the three study communities identifying dominance of particular leadership modes

Figure 1.1 shows that respondents in ESP identified the participating (*trupla man*) (average 76%; range 75-77%) and influencing (*biksot*) leadership (74%; 71-77%) as the dominant leadership modes. Around a third of respondents identified the delegating (cultural) leadership mode (33%; 31-36%) and the selling (*mauswara*) leadership mode (29%; 24-38%) as dominant modes. These responses were consistent across the three communities.

The ENBP respondents identified three modes of leadership as dominant. Participating (*trupla man*) leadership was identified as the dominant mode by 83% (range 81- 87%) of respondents; the influencing (*biksot*) leadership mode as dominant by 77% (63-87%); and the

selling (*mauswara*) leadership mode as dominant by an average of 62% (47-69%) percent. Around a third of the respondents 32% (31-33%) identified the delegating (cultural) leadership as the dominant mode. There was more variation between the three communities in ENBP than it was found to be in ESP. The influencing (*biksot*) leadership was identified by fewer respondents (63%) in the third community, while the selling (*mauswara*) leadership mode was identified by a lower proportion (47%) in the second community.

As for the ESP and ENBP communities, in general, the WP communities are also dominated by both the influencing (*biksot*) and participating (*trupla man*) leadership modes. Table 6.3 shows that, of the 43 participants interviewed, on average, 79% (range 71-85%) identified the influencing (*biksot*) leadership as the dominant mode, and 72% (69-75%) identified the participating (*trupla man*) leadership as the dominant mode. An average of 68% (57-77%) identified the delegating (cultural) leadership as the dominant mode, and around a third 35% (31-38%) identified the selling (*mauswara*) as the dominant leadership mode.

The next section provides an analysis of the institutional structures and the four modes of leadership in the context of the PNG development outcomes, and considers why each of these institutional structures and leadership modes were more or less common in the regions under study.

Dominance of institutional structures in the case studies

As evident in the discussion above WP (81) recorded relatively higher institutions than ENBP (61) and ESP (54). The notable institutions were those associated with resource development; where WP (44) compared to ENBP 7 and ESP (5). The reason why WP had increased institutions was due to the robust mining development intervention and increased benefit incentives accompanied by the development. Another factor that promoted the increased in institutions was enactment of the Community Mine Continuation Agreement between the PNG Government, Ok Tedi Mining Limited and the mine impacted communities. Whilst in the other two regions of ENBP and ESP recorded fewer institutions. These were basically due to the slow and nil development phases of the resource sectors. In this case agriculture and forestry showed less attractive in terms of benefits incentives that consequently resulted in less number of institutions in these two regions.

The study suggests that increase in the number of institutions was resulted from the fast and robust resource development projects in the regions. In a slow and no resource development projects impacted areas a fewer institutions were found. In this sense, WP had recorded higher number of institutions than ENBP and ESP. This was due to huge benefits associated with mining project, whilst ENBP and ESP have fewer institutions with agriculture and forestry projects that attracted fewer benefits to communities.

Dominance of leadership modes in the case studies

On the question of which leadership modes were dominant, the study found that the influencing (*Biksot*) and the participating (*trupla man*) modes were equally dominant in all regions. They were seen as being of comparable importance in WP and ENBP; by contrast, the participating mode was relatively more important in ESP. The selling (*mauswara*) and the delegating (*cultural*) modes were recognized as being practised in all three regions; however these two leadership modes were less important than the influencing and the participating ones. Respondents identified the selling mode as being more important in ENBP and the delegating mode to be more important in WP.

However, the results need further interpretation in order to understand the true nature of leadership in each region. Survey respondents, particularly community leaders in community meetings, noted that the participating leadership was the most commonly used mode in community meetings. However, the responses from individual household interviews in all the studied regions highlighted that the participating (*trupla man*) leadership mode was commonly undermined by the influencing (*biksot*) leadership mode. Although participatory approaches were used to conduct community meetings, many respondents stated that, while they participated in the meetings, it was the leaders who made the final decisions. This implies that the influencing (*biksot*) leadership mode is actually a much more dominant mode in these communities than was recorded from the survey responses. The next four sections explore the four modes of leadership in detail, and are discussed from least to most frequently reported.

Selling (mauswara) leadership mode

Unlike the influencing, participating and delegating modes of leadership, which had varying effects on the communities studied, the selling mode appeared to be less common in the other two regions, and more evident in the ENBP communities. The selling leadership mode was less commonly found because of the absence of coincidence of high tasks and high relationships, except for the case of ENBP. In WP, communities had various sources of development benefits (opportunities) prompted by the mine operation, whilst ESP had limited or no development opportunities. Thus, in such situation where communities were only involved with less or no activities (development opportunities) it was difficult to promote high tasks and high relationships leadership approach. The ENBP communities showed higher levels of selling leadership modes than WP and ESP did because the ENBP communities had a stable and adaptive environment that allowed them to adopt a selling leadership mode. This also means that communities trust their leaders to adapt and implement new concepts, integrating them with their traditional concepts, for the betterment of their livelihoods.

Delegating (cultural) leadership

As with the selling (*mauswara*) leadership mode, the delegating (*cultural*) leadership also was seldom found in the communities studied, with WP showing a higher level of mode adoption than other communities. There are two main reasons for the low incidence of the delegating leadership mode in this study. The first reason is related to the limited roles and responsibilities that were observed in the study regions for leaders, excepting the WP communities. As observed throughout the study, both ESP and ENBP leaders assumed fewer tasks when compared to the leaders in WP. The second reason is because of the lack of trust and confidence granted to the young leaders by the older generation of leaders. This was common throughout all three regions under study, with participants explaining that older generation leaders could not easily relinquish leadership responsibilities to younger leaders. For example, the tension between younger and older generations of leaders in one of the villages observed by the author supports this argument, and is seen as a barrier to promoting the delegating leadership mode.

The leaders of the communities in the resource development regions such as WP and parts of ENBP (particularly in Liaga- ENBP) have more responsibilities than those in less to moderate development-impacted regions such as ESP and other parts of ENBP. Thus, the likelihood of delegating leadership to be adopted depends on the available tasks within a given environment, as well as on the trust and relationships that have been built between the older and younger generations of leaders.

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Influencing (biksot) leadership mode

The influencing (*biksot*) mode was commonly examined across the three studied regions (Figure 1.1). Its predominance was observed in a number of ways, for example, in the way community meetings and interviews were held. In these meetings, men took the leading roles in most cases in the eight patrilineal communities; while women took the leading roles in the matrilineal society of Nabata in ENBP. The three regions studied are equally likely to have the influencing leadership as dominant leadership mode (Figure 1.1). This is because the influencing (*biksot*) mode is present everywhere in the PNG society, and it overrides the participating mode to varying degrees, as masculine behaviour dominates most of the leadership and decision-making roles in PNG.

The research has also found that the influencing (*biksot*) leadership was common and comparatively dominant amongst the communities in the three studied regions. There are a number of reasons for this, the first one being the development outcomes, in terms of benefits and incentives, provided by the developers. A second reason is because the institutions that were imposed on the communities by the government and developers in seeking to manage these transformations were not readily accepted by the communities, and led to various conflicts in the communities. For example, leadership in the WP communities is now driven primarily by externally imposed concepts and values, which are not reaching through to the communities, and there is a clear clash between modern and traditional values. This has also led to social conflicts amongst local communities, particularly between those leaders supporting the external institutions and those who see traditional practices as important.

A third reason is the form and nature of development in the WP region, which was previously 'undeveloped', in almost all senses of the word. The rapid development of the Ok Tedi Mine, and the scale of its impact, transformed communities by presenting new livelihood options and by constraining established ones. It catalyzed new forms of 'community', and required decisions that were completely different to any prior experience. The fourth reason why the influencing *(bkisot)* leadership is common throughout the study regions is due to the difference between the development stages of natural resource projects in each of the regions and other forms of leadership that have arisen as a result of the regional development.

Unlike in WP, the dominance of the influencing mode of leadership in ENBP and ESP has resulted from the lack of competition for positions and the power to have access to benefits within communities. In these communities, particularly in ENBP, new modern practices or institutions have been introduced slowly because their agricultural resource-based development has been at a slow to moderate pace. The demonstration of stability and prosperity in terms of moderate levels of success in capital assets shows that the influencing leadership mode is equally prevalent to ESP and WP. Similarly, strong social stability, traditional institutional structures and absence of advanced stage development projects in ESP have resulted in less use of the influencing leadership mode. In addition, major failures in development institutions such as the Ok Tedi Development Foundation (OTDF) and other community based institutions such as land owner associations, women associations and youth groups have also contributed to the frequency of the influencing leadership in the communities. Also, the communities' lack of capacity to better access appropriate skills and knowledge has supported the use of this leadership mode.

Apart from these reasons, other factors such as cultural identity, traditional rivalry, and clan dominance behaviour within and between traditional clan and tribal systems have also contributed to the occurrence and manifestation of the influencing leadership. Thus, it can be argued that the influencing leadership mode occurs regardless of livelihoods assets, livelihoods strategies, development outcomes, type of resource development and stages of development. While both participating and influencing modes are evident in the study regions, in essence the influencing leadership mode is more significant as it overrides many of the decisions made collectively.

Participating (trupla man) leadership mode

As with the influencing (*biksot*) leadership discussed above, the participating (*trupla man*) leadership was also common throughout the case study regions. There was a stronger expression of participating leadership in ESP than in WP or ENBP, implying that there are strong traditional institutions, with fewer influences from external factors, in ESP.

Both WP and ENBP communities showed similar results in terms of the frequency of the participating leadership mode. Despite this qualitative evidence, the study observed more evidence of participating leadership in ENBP than WP, exemplified by WP community members reporting differences between their leaders' interpretations of their leadership, as participating, and their own interpretation of the leadership, as influencing. This indicates that ENBP communities could more easily adapt to new concepts and changes in their communities than WP communities. For ENBP communities, participating and influencing leaders had a good working relationship with the community. Thus, generally these results suggest that the expectations and practices of participating (*trupla man*) leaders mediate the level of influencing (*biksot*) leadership in ENBP in a positive and coherent way, but in WP the lack of coherence in interpretations of leadership suggests that the participating mode is not successfully mediating the level of influencing leadership.

As for the influencing (*biksot*) leadership presented above, there are various factors that support participating (*trupla man*) leadership in these three regions. With regard to WP and ENBP study cases, ESP leadership was driven by strong traditional social structures and practices. This is because the communities here are guided by their traditional and cultural rules and practices including trade, ceremonies and feasts. This encourages communities to build relationships amongst themselves and minimize competition for resources and leadership positions. This argument is consistent with the results presented in Figure 1.1, that participating leadership was highly regarded and supported by the traditional decision-making styles observed through the study regions. This also reinforces the understanding that modern concepts that usually come with resource development are yet to impact these communities.

In contrast to ESP communities, the participating (*trupla man*) leadership mode in ENBP and WP was motivated by the moderate to fast pace of development projects in their regions. In ENBP, it was also encouraged by the moderate level of stability and prosperity encountered in the region, and the period of time over which development occurred. This allowed their traditional ideas of leadership to evolve throughout the period of colonization and development, with the support of church institutions and establishments of commercial agricultural plantations by the early colonizers (Corbin, 1973; Epstein 1962; Liu, 2010; Firth, 1982). Subsequently, the establishment of a community government system by Australia in the early 1950s and 1960s also encouraged stable social systems and structures and gave this region strong institutional and leadership to ENBP, qualitative evidence indicates WP demonstrated lesser participation leadership mode by comparison to ENBP.

As the author has argued earlier in the sections above, the participating (*trupla man*) leadership mode has emerged throughout the study regions as a result of the combination of rapid development interventions and the impact these had on livelihoods, as opposed to the slower pace of the communities' capacity to accept and adapt new concepts.

Development outcomes across the three case study regions

This section discusses the development outcomes evident in the three study regions. The model presented in Figure 1.2 seeks to illustrate the role of leadership modes and institutional structures in mediating and shaping development outcomes for the communities. In this section, the discussion returns to the four modes of leadership described in Figure 1.1 and sections 4.2.1 to 4.2.2.4.

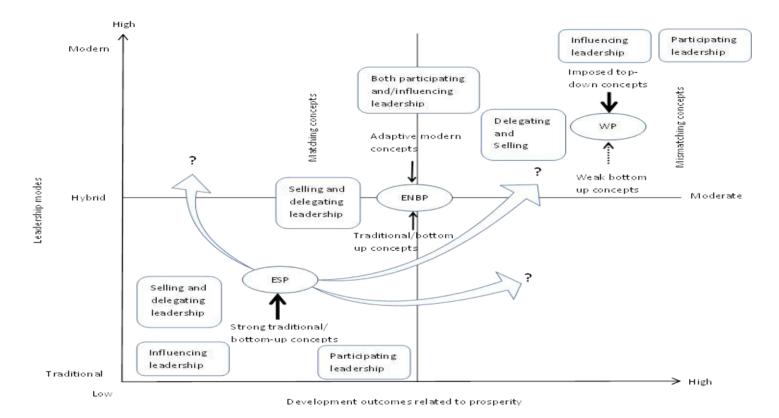


Figure 1.2: A model of leadership modes and development outcomes, illustrating the space the case study communities currently occupy and their associated leadership and institutional features.

The role of leadership in natural resource projects in PNG

The purpose of this section is to further explore the connections between community leadership and natural resource development outcomes in PNG, particularly in the studied regions. As demonstrated in Figure 1.2, there is consistent evidence of the relationships existing between modes of leadership and development outcomes. For example, the presence of the influencing and participating leadership modes determined the high output of development outcomes, while the presence of the selling and delegating leadership modes attracted fewer opportunities in terms of benefit outcomes. These relationships are shown in the positions of the leadership modes in the quadratic diagram. Thus, the role of leadership modes is important for the development associated benefits. This is consistent with other studies of community-based natural resource management and development (e.g., Warner, 2000; Liu, 2010) which argue that community leaders play important roles in the resource development context. Community leaders' close engagement with the development project ensures streamlined and centralised decision-making processes to village communities (Randle & Dhillon, 2004). In many ways, the local community leaders have assumed the role of traditional court systems, managing disputes and conflicts within the community, restoring and reconstructing communities in times of inter-state or inter-tribal crises (Regan, 1999; White, 2006; Banks, 2008; Kuwimb, 2010).

In this study context as elsewhere in PNG, community leaders play a particularly important role as mediators in rural communities in the context of development projects. They facilitate communication, negotiations and decision making between resource owners and development agencies (Ambang, 2007; Mawuli, 2013). They act as a link between traditional and modern communities and economies (Rivers, 1999; Ambang, 2007) and improve service delivery to their people because they are close to them (Ambang, 2007; Mawuli, 2013). A final key role of the local community leader is to represent the resource owners' views, disseminating and communicating information relating to the development processes. Many of these traditional leaders have assumed important roles as chairmen, presidents, and directors of their own community groups, institutions and associations.

In this sense, a leader's measure of performance, viewed by his/her followers is determined by how effectively he can provide these goods and services to his community and hence lead to the prosperity and stability of the community. For example, in a traditional leadership context, a clan leader takes responsibility for ensuring that every member has access to land and other resources belonging to a clan equally among its members for food production and other sustainable livelihood outcomes. In this case, decisions made by clan leaders are based on livelihood outcomes of their clan members. In terms of mining and logging development projects, the approaches remain the same at the local community level where clan leaders are the decision makers and are responsible for delivering small community-oriented projects.

Thus, in the event of a mining or logging project, it is usually the clan elder who is appointed as leader of the project. When this occurs, the range of responsibilities of the clan leader increases dramatically. His/her judgment and decisions have to be based on a wide range of factors including economics, marketing, business benefit sharing. He is caught in the dilemma of making decisions for the developer as well as for his/her people. The appointment of community leaders is made by villagers with high expectations for their role. In contemporary PNG, community leaders are expected to make leadership decisions for modern institutions, viz. the community associations and companies established to receive development payments. Thus, it is clear that the decisions that the leaders and communities make directly impact their livelihoods in terms of prosperity and stability in the communities.

Discussion

Based on Table 1.1 and Figures 1.1 and 1.2 results, this section discusses the findings in the case study regions on each of the factors investigated. These factors include institutional structures or arrangements, leadership modes and development outcomes.

As evident across the three regions studied -East Sepik Province (ESP), East New Britain Province (ENBP) and Western Province (WP) that institutional arrangements or structures varied across the three case study regions. The four major differences identified were: firstly, there was higher number of institutions (81) in WP, directly consequent to OTML development interventions, and particularly since the conclusion of the Community Mine Continuation Agreement (CMCA). The CMCA catalysed the formation of institutions to enable communities to participate in development programs. Secondly, a relatively high number of government institutions were found in ENB. The 32 government institutions found in ENBP are a result of the long history of agricultural developments, and the cautious management of government services in this part of the region. Over time, the presence and role of these government institutions have been integrated with those expected from traditional norms and beliefs. Thirdly, ENBP also had a greater number of churches (14) and related activities than WP (7) and ESP (12). Similarly to the point above, the long history of the presence of churches in the region, and the lengthy history of agricultural development, allowed the communities to integrate the concepts and structures promoted by the churches into their existing values and cultures. This observation is consistent with those made by, amongst others, Epstein (1968), Simet (1991) and Martin (2013) that ENBP communities have progressively transformed into a modern society, more so than the rest of PNG. Finally, the low development status of ESP was reflected in the absence of development institutions (54) in the region, and the predominance of traditional institutions.

With regard to leadership modes, the study found that both the influencing (*biksot*) and the participating (trupla man) modes of leadership were common throughout the three regions. These commonalities provided the basis for the four modes of leadership to exist in the communities. For example, for the influencing (biksot) leadership mode to occur, the participating (trupla man) leadership mode had to first exist. By invoking the participating (trupla man) leadership mode in community meetings, leaders feel they have gained community consensus. In the traditional context of PNG, community consensus and the participatory leadership mode are common approaches to decision making (White 2006; McLeod 2007). In many respects, this is attributed to the cultural norms and beliefs, where community members show respect to their leaders, or can be too shy to speak in public meetings (Holzknecht, 1996; Barker & Ietjen, 1990). This was also consistent with the interview responses of the participants, as well as my observations throughout the study, that many members, especially the youth and women, could not speak out against their elders. If they did, adverse social implications would be incurred. For example, the rest of the community would regard them as wrongdoers and that may lead to disrespect being brought to their family and clans.

The data also shows evidence of the selling (mauswara) leadership existing in ENBP, as illustrated in Table 1.1. The existence of the selling (mauswara) leadership also depended on the existence of both the participating and influencing modes. The high incidence of selling (mauswara) leadership indicates that both participating and influencing leadership modes can work to integrate modern and traditional practices. The process of integration of modern and traditions concepts further increased the level of selling (mauswara) leadership. The

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delegating leadership mode is most evident in WP, which is supported by the existence of both the influencing and participating leadership modes in the region. In this case, the levels of influencing and participating leadership modes were consistent with other regions; however, the presence of natural resource development added increased tasks and responsibilities (e.g., resource distribution decisions made through imposed institutions) and lessens relationship building activities, due to lack of consultations between leaders and communities. This was the case in this study that, ESP and ENBP leaders had fewer leadership responsibilities than WP leaders. This combination resulted in higher incidences of delegating (*cultural*) leadership in WP. In Table 1.2, the relationships between the four leadership modes are summarized, highlighting relevant features that reflect their roles in mediating and shaping the development outcomes of the communities.

Table 1.2: Features reflecting the four leadership modes observed in case study communities

Leadership Type	Features reflecting the modes of leadership in Studied regions
Influencing (biksot)	 Influencing (biksot) is present everywhere, and mediate participating mode to varying degrees. Reflects the conventional role of leaders to take decision on behalf of their communities. Traditional and customary respects are accorded top community leaders.
Participating (trupla man)	 Participating (turpla man) mode reflects both traditional community (e.g., ESP) and traditional government (ENBP rocesses. Basis of decision making processes in PNG traditional context. Reflects imposed institutional rules, that allows everyone to participate in meeting process (especially in ENBP and WP) Reflects traditional structures where there is little or no development impacts (e.g., ESP)
Selling (mauswara)	 Selling (mausawara) mode is more evident in ENBP because of higher levels of political sophistication developed over time due to external involvement in the province. Moderate levels of prosperity and stability enable more selling leadership mode because there are high social relationships and tasks through both traditional and modern institutional processes. Communities' ability to adapt and incorporate both traditional and modern concepts supports greater expression of selling leadership mode. The increase in tasks and relationships from moderate development growth in the region also serves to increase the selling leadership mode.
Delegating (Cultural)	 Delegating (cultural) mode is more evident in WP because of new resource development institutions, and is an artifact of this rather than something real in terms of decision outcomes New resource development institutions in this region also means increased tasks for community leaders but low relationshipsamongst the communities, hence less consultation between leaders and communities on important decisions. Reflects the extremely imposed concepts.

Drawing from the data in Tables 1.1 and 1.2, the study concludes that leadership modes varied in the three regions, particularly in response to the processes that transformed the institutional structures and development outcomes in the regions. In turn, these transformations occurred as result of the type and form of natural resource development projects, and of the phase and history of these developments which initially impacted the livelihood systems.

Conclusion

The study reveals that in East Sepik Province (ESP), there was no relationship between natural resource development opportunities, leadership modes, and institutional structures. Communities remain driven by their traditional values and principles, because the region has not been influenced by a major development project as yet. In East New Britain Province (ENBP), the main driver that influenced their leadership modes and institutional structures were the slow to moderate development the followed agricultural-based development, and their intersection with both traditional and modern modes of governance and leadership. The Western Province (WP) case is indicative of the consequences of major development impacting communities that were not well prepared for modern forms of governance or development, and where, as a result, increased institutional structures has led to increased tensions and conflict within communities, which appear to be exacerbated by the behaviour of some community leaders.

These results suggest that, in the PNG context, there is a direct relationship between community leadership modes, institutional structures, and that significant development impacts pose significant challenges to community leadership. Where hybrid forms of leaderships and institutional structures have developed, and where more community-oriented behaviours have been fostered, the adverse impacts of development on communities may be mitigated or contained.

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III. Modes of Mediated Meaning Creation by Communication Processes: Sites of Power and Persuasion

Increasing Media Use and Growing Knowledge Gaps: A Comparative Study of New [Social] Media Utilisation in Iran and India

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Abstract

India and Iran are at a precipice of change with the advent of new communication technologies in general and the rise of New Social Media in particular. The introduction of 'smart' phones and high mobile data usage has paved the way for easy access to information, news, views, debates, and discussions on online platforms. The knowledge gap between the growing range of the young population who are internet users engaged with new tools of communication and the older generation who are not is increasing in both countries. The information collection and sharing is not uniform, and the use of the New Social Media between young and old shows a very large disparity at societal levels in both countries. This paper attempts to examine this mode of New Social Media use and its relation to a growing knowledge gap between the generations.

Keywords: Knowledge gap, India, Iran, New [Social] Media

Introduction

Tichenor, et. al (1970) believed that the increase of information in the community was not evenly received by every member of the community. People with a higher social economic status (SES) are more likely to have adequate information than those of lower SES (Weng, SC 2000). This clearly states the knowledge gap between two groups. The gap in knowledge can lead to an increase in the gap between people with a lower societal and economic status. An attempt to improve people's lives by using information through mass media may not always do this. Indeed, mass media may increase the gap between members of social classes.

Tichenor, et. al (1970) provides five reasons why higher SES people usually obtain higher quality knowledge from media use:

1) People with a higher social status have better communication skills, e.g., training, reading, understanding and remembering information.

2) People with a higher social status can save information more easily and remember background/contextual knowledge in which to place it.

(3) People with a higher social status may have a better social context with which to use knowledge gained.

4) People with a higher social economic status are more open to acceptance of new knowledge and information.

5) The role of mass media is (supposedly) to cut across societal status and provide information to the masses, instead of concentrating within social and economic classes of the society.

Matei (2012) holds that there are several reasons why the predicted gap of knowledge should appear and expand with the rise of media inputs. People with more formal education are expected to have more reading capabilities for public affairs or scientific knowledge. The second factor is the amount of information shared and knowledge available through mass media or self-education. People who are already well informed are more likely to be aware of various issues existing in societies. The third factor is the social interaction among the educated class in what regards their interpersonal and group communication. Published sources about these groups reveal that they are more oriented towards socially active lifestyles with high level of knowledge. Finally, the fourth factor involves exposure to selection, acceptance and preservation of information.

Freedman and Sears (1966) have pointed out that the inclination towards gaining knowledge is often dependent on more training than other sets of variables, e.g., acceptance, real choice and economic statuses. It seems that selective appearance with respect to attitudes is often more appropriately chosen as the 'real' choice of educational differences. Therefore, acceptance of selection and acceptance, however, may be the result of the commonality of attitudes and educational differences. The constant issue in mass media research is the obvious tendency to interpret and call for information in ways that are consistent with existing beliefs and values. The ultimate factor is that many educated class members are influenced by the information provided by the mass media. So far, most scientific and public affairs are widely communicated by popular print media.

The knowledge gap is seen to be prominent when it comes to factors that are more directly tied to communicative competence, such as communication skills, prior knowledge, social contact, or choices of attitude. While these factors are involved, further articulating this gap for the mass media requires more indicators to be developed.

New Media & Digital Divide

McQuail (2010) enunciated the specific features of the new media that distinguish them from old ones as interconnectedness, accessibility to users as senders and receivers, interactivity, multiplicity of use and open-ended in character. The simple reason is that newness of anything, be it idea or item in the physical form, is time-bound. The concept "new media" is not an exception. It has been in use since 1960s and has kept changing and expanding in accordance with the pace of technology.

Rossier (2001) holds that there was a time when the book, magazine, newspaper, film, radio and television were classified as being new to the extent that they represented a marked improvement over their preceding media. The inventions of the above-named media that have today been labeled old, traditional or dominant media were greeted with equal euphoria, interest, expectation and prediction as the contemporary new media.

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (2001) defines the digital divide as the "gap between individuals, households, businesses and geographical areas at

various socio-economic levels, with their opportunities for access to information and communication technology (ICT) and the use of the Internet for various types of activities".

While Katz et al. (2002) consider diffusion in computers and other new technological devices to lie at the root of the digital divide, studies often take different levels of skill in using information sources as the main source of digital divide.

Raji-Oyelade (2013) lists four categories of digital literacy and education: Firstly, there is the educated e-literacy, known as the use of digital technology; secondly, electronic literacy which has a regular education, but lacks the digital path at the edge of the digital space parenthesis; thirdly, there is the illiterate person who has a poor education and weak skill foundations in using the Internet and electronic knowledge; and lastly, comes the group of electronic demonstrations, a digital fraud that relies on helping an electronic person to cover his/her illiteracy. Communication technologies in the contemporary world are highly commercial and profitable and hence those nations ignoring the efficacy of communication technologies are at a high risk. Communication investment, if well done and if aimed at reducing device costs, will increase the number of people who can benefit from them.

Udeze (n.d.) believed that the production of low-tech communications technology and the developing world should be interwoven. Developing and underdeveloped countries are not well equipped with skills and manpower for manufacturing low cost communication technologies. That could be cheap and cost effective.

Emergence of new media in Iran and India

Unlike developed countries, both in India and Iran, the emergence of the new media brought in a fresh wave which empowered the masses with the freedom of gaining information and knowledge breaking through all barriers.

Research sponsored by the Future Foundation's Independent Research Foundation in Australia, Brazil, China, France, Germany, India, South Africa, England and the United States (Infosys, 2016) reveals that there is a huge gap of technology between developing and emerging economies. The report indicate that the youngsters in the 16-25 age group understand the role of technology in their profession and need to develop their skills forthwith. To be well informed and be part of the changing global scenario both professionally and personally, the young population should be engaged with emerging technologies as an integral part of their lives.

Jannati (2014), an Iranian Minister of Culture, pointed out that Islamic countries suffer from a lack of knowledge and in the phase of post globalization, they must be efficient in deploying "free" media for development and international relations. In order to ensure that the Islamic Republic of Iran fulfills its objectives and committed towards the promotion of media cooperation and information sharing, Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance called for the finalization of the restructuring of the International Islamic News Agency (IINA). In addition, he emphasized that the Islamic Radio and Television Union (IBU) and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) as established satellite networks should be set up.

Methodology

This study is primarily based on the relevant literature survey with a specific focus on the emergence of new [social] media in India and Iran. With regard to the new media resources, this research will make use of available written documents as a viable research method under study.

Objectives

To find out the advantages and disadvantages of media in relation to the knowledge gap, the following objectives will be examined:

- 1. To find out the current status of new media use in India and Iran;
- 2. To understand the lack of technology if any, to reduce the knowledge gap;
- **3.** To understand the correlation between the use of new media and knowledge awareness levels.

Theoretical context

In order to make this research viable, a theoretical explanation is necessary. Theoretical foundation only can address problems and prospects of new social media and knowledge. The linkage of theory into practical situations is important for drawing any conclusive remarks.

Matei's (2012), "Knowledge Gap Hypothesis and Digital Divides" posits that democracy of knowledge is power. It also describes the determinants of knowledge that affects demographic and socio-economic characteristics. This study combines information about public knowledge of nearly 50 political issues with the media coverage, being one of the first to detect short-term effects on political knowledge from higher-level predictors of static and empirical evidence of the importance of information. In this study, as a meta-analysis of the systematic summary of previous research, has three specific objectives:

- 1. to obtain an average size of population for the knowledge gap;
- 2. to examine the impact of media advertising on the knowledge gap;
- 3. To identify the conditions (for example, the subject, the measurement of knowledge, the state and the state of publication), which increases or decreases the gap.

According to the meta-analysis performed, the knowledge gap does not change over time. As the Internet has become more widespread, some researchers have proposed a conceptual change in the digital divide from material access to real use. Although this change has taken place in the wider social agenda, the social consequences of digital divide have not yet been sufficiently addressed. Knowing that political knowledge is an important social resource associated with power and flexibility, this empirical study examines the relationship between digital divides and knowledge gaps.

Based on the data from the US National Election Observation Panel in 2008-2009, the study showed that the support for changing educational programs has further been enhanced by the use of information from the Internet access. It suggests that the "digital divide" can be better defined as inequality in the meaningful use of information and communication technology.

The Digital Video Research (2005) reported that one of the vital issues in the scientific and political planning of the development of new social media was this digital gap. Since the late 1990s, there has been a gap in digitalization across social-economic classes due to varying levels of access to Internet and computers. In developed countries, it is divided in terms of digital skills and public usage.

Mohseni's study (1995), entitled 'Study of knowledge, attitudes and social behaviors and cultures in Iran' examines the power of electronic media to disseminate information in many other developing countries and shows that the lack of infrastructure and supporting technology represents a major hindrance for popularizing the use of the new [social= media.

Alireza Esfandiari (n.d.) in his study "The Disadvantages of Educational Skills in Using Social Media - Interactive Central Library Librarians at Tehran State Universities" formulated four variables that mark new media use competency:

- 1. Communication skills
- 2. Information skills
- 3. Computer skills
- 4. Internet skills

Alireza's research findings indicate the existence of a considerable digital divide among Tehran State University librarians in general, particularly in what regards their online skills in the professional use of interactive social media.

In Tran's (2013) study, the author used a Pew Media survey to measure the specific relationships between the social and economic status of the population. The use of new social media along traditional media with reference to public affairs can facilitate members of any social class to better acquire pragmatic political knowledge. Outcome of the findings further suggest that there are differences between social classes in recognizing the importance of public affairs. As regards the theory of knowledge, theoretical and methodological sophistication was positively correlated to the advancement of technology. These findings, however, do not necessarily refer to the "failure" of information campaigns and making a difference in knowledge across the community.

Tichenor, et al. (1970) focused on the commercial aspects of print advertising and noted that media outreach would impact "knowledgeable" people first. Its impacts on low-information people would be less certain. Eveland et al. (2000) discussed the relative gap in knowledge and participation among various sections of people. They predicted a large gap between high and low educational groups and anticipated as well that the gap in public participation would be greater among television users and connoisseurs.

Jason A Martin (2013), in a study entitled "Closing the gap in international knowledge and participation: focusing on news, online statements and the 2010 earthquake in Haiti", examined the coverage of international news events in predicting knowledge and donating money when natural disasters occurred. He showed that the coverage is intense and the public are interested in and contribute to the news of the event. Earthquake and disaster news boost the chances that citizens would donate to relief efforts. The results of the effects of online expression in the case of natural disasters show more complex and faster cognitive effects on donations.

Conclusion

In considering new [social] media status, this research reviewed the archives in India and Iran towards existing knowledge gap pertaining to media status. There has been a knowledge gap evident in both countries. We hold that the new [social] media can be a helpful tool to share information in empowering people and educating them to become aware on various issues. Because of the relative dearth of information in both countries, there is an urgent need to take up further research along the socio-economic particulars pertaining to knowledge gap. It might be useful for both societies to provide the masses with technological support for smooth access to knowledge. The new social media is a powerful tool to gain knowledge in these societies. To sustain equality of opportunities across different classes of people, it is critical to support the recent post-global trends of increasing use of new [social] media technologies.

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Communication in the Military Organization: An Illustration of Facts

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Abstract

The military organization has been constantly preoccupied with improving communication at all levels and in all directions, as a method of adjusting to the social and political context, of modelling and controlling the operational environment and of regulating interactions, both inside and outside the organization. Against the backdrop of the asymmetrical conflicts that typify the current geopolitical and geostrategic context, the most illustrative terms that populate the communicative events of the 21st century are world order and security, crisis management and mitigation, war on terrorism, power balance etc. In this context, the present article explores the elements that go into the construal of military communication, investigated through the lens of the external, internal and linguistic factors shaping and defining this form of institutional discourse.

Key words: Military Communication, Military Discourse, Military Organization, Military Language, Ideology

Introduction

The military environment has always been the locus of *legitimate violence*, and communication related to issues such as safety, defense, national security and public order has been subjected to specific norms of production and dissemination, given the somewhat confidential and limited access to this type of information. Nonetheless, the constant evolution of the system has eliminated the secrecy and the inexpugnable character of military–related information and has permitted the exploration of the communicative events produced by the military from a multifold perspective, including, among others, social and linguistic aspects. The specific structures, functions and the management of the communication process have been scrutinized in this paper as main focal points in defining military discourse as a form of organizational communication.

Military communication

Communication is key to the effective functioning of any organization, be it military or civilian, on a global scale. It is often advisable that communication, especially in the military context, be perceived and managed extremely carefully, so as the armed forces could exercise their role regionally, nationally and internationally, as part of the partnership programs they are involved in. Nowadays, social, political and economic connections transcend the geographical borders, and we can directly witness the direct impact of this trend on the global perspective. Globalization, seen as an increasing relation of interdependence between cultures and countries, has radically affected the new world order, rejecting obsolete patterns and projecting a new geopolitical configuration.

This newly-emerging trend has narrowed down the eclectic, aggressive, and lethal character of conflicts and has bred new power relations, mainly communicational and emblematic, centered around newfangled topics: world order and security, crisis management and mitigation, war on terrorism, new power balance (Rotaru, 2004: 14). In this context, military communication has become extremely important, regardless of its manifestations. It has

acquired effectiveness and efficiency, serving the purpose of facilitating interaction between the members of the organization and, at the same time, between the organization and the world outside it.

Communication influences and is influenced by all organizational processes and phenomena: organizational culture, decision-making style, leadership styles, conflict mediation and mitigation, organizational changes and the evolution of the organization. A number of factors can ease or obstruct communication, implicitly affecting the operative efficiency of the military as a system. Among these, we can identify: the national and international context that shapes communication within the military organization; sociological aspects that influence the efficiency of the military; psychological elements that create the circumstances for productive communication; methods of increasing psychological sensitivity to communication-related issues; the need to learn foreign languages, stemming from the increasingly prominent role of the military in extra-national contexts.

External influences

Before drawing a descriptive framework of military communication, one should analyze the external factors, both the national and international perspectives that can influence, either in a positive or in a negative manner, the effectiveness of communication itself. These can be enumerated as follows: historical traditions, geopolitical context, international policies, and socio-economic aspects.

One essential element that is significant for the efficiency of communication within the military organization is its history. Soldiers and civilians are united in recognizing the role and influence exerted by the military throughout the existence of any country, acknowledging the army as a major contributor to the greatness and solid positioning acquired by all representative state institutions. As a consequence, communication within the organization and also between the organization and the civil state rests unchallenged from the outside and implicitly gains effectiveness and functionality.

The geopolitical context dictates the way in which communication is perceived, in its dimension of provider of information within the organization and also outside its borders. Ever since Kjellen coined the term *geopolitics* in 1899, military representatives, analysts, specialists, commentators and observers have exploited its semantics in order to connect ideologies and the political practices associated with them to the realities of modern society. The new political and social orientations which bring to the forefront space-related issues such as regionalization, globalization, internationalization, and the new world order, are elements that continuously influence the purpose and manifestations of organizational communication.

Intrinsically linked to geopolitical orientations are international policies, which, in addition to cooperation and mutual interests, entail the need to have an armed force ready to preserve and enforce these policies. In an international context, where the greater good prevails and all independent elements (i.e. states and member countries) are interwoven within the same fabric (i.e. international organizations, such as NATO, the EU, the UN), emphasis is laid on the awareness raised on the topic of common defense, as a guarantor of world peace and security. Against this background, security and safety of national and international assets (be they geographic, social, economic, demographic etc.) are also guaranteed by communication, as it has become obvious that constructing and maintaining optimal communication levers inside and outside the military organization are strategies that ensure cooperation, channeling disparate efforts towards a common goal (Boucek, 2008).

The socio-economic conditions affecting the development of a country are not to be neglected. The civilian population from socially and economically advanced countries is increasingly manifesting a lack of resilience to the idea of higher budget allocations to the defense industry. The prolonged period of peace Europe has enjoyed for the last 40 years has attenuated the need to have a strong, well-endowed army to act as a deterrent to possible but unlikely conflicts. This has negatively affected communication within the military organization, which is currently compromised by the contradiction between the wish to attain a high level of operationalization and the economic restrictions which hamper this normal state of sustainability (See: Achieving Sustainable Development and Promoting Development Cooperation Dialogues at the Economic and Social Council, 2008).

Sociological aspects

According to Greenbaum, communication consists "of various message sending and receiving phenomena affecting formal social units in which individuals work toward common goals" (1974: 740). Obviously, the structure, systems and leadership styles influence communication and its manifestations in any organization (military, industrial, commercial). Nowadays, in the light of the modern technological and organizational revolution, the military organization is increasingly similar to civilian institutions; nonetheless, it differs in a radical way: its members must be always ready to pay the supreme sacrifice: their lives. Due to this life-binding commitment, the military must act like a rigidly-stratified organization, in which each level is linked to its hierarchical superior or subordinate by immediate and loyal allegiance.

The organizational structure, as mentioned before, is strictly stratified. It manifests – formally and informally - through diverse attitudes, behaviors, conducts, reactions, between otherwise equal members of the society, classified and empowered by the institution according to rank and position. The hierarchy is rigid and must be obeyed under all circumstances, by all members of the organization, regardless of their race, color, status, age, gender etc. When the hierarchical flow does not travel smoothly across the organization, communication is obstructed. This is why it is of paramount importance that members of the military, at all levels of the chain of command, possess effective communicative skills, which they must be able to activate in order to fulfill the entrusted tasks, without dwelling on discriminative criteria other than their position in the hierarchy. Although it is not a sine-qua-non requirement of the military profession, the ability to communicate efficiently is a fundamental constituent of professional competence, particularly at higher levels. A problem easy to address and solve if Grice's (1975) four maxims of communicative convention (quantity, quality, relevance and manner) are respected. I argue that, consequently, dialogue and documents produced by the military as an organization, must avoid imprecision, ambiguities, and implicatures. By virtue of its roles and functions, communication needs to be constructed so as to circumvent linguistic, gesture, behavior and attitude impreciseness and transmit the message as clearly and efficiently as possible.

The afore-mentioned aspects become particularly important when the act of communication is influenced and defined by the leadership style. Taking into consideration that the military organization is mainly characterized by group work, cooperation and coordination among isolated elements, it is critical that the level of communication between the members of the organization be optimal, an aspect which falls under the responsibility of the leader, constantly concerned with facilitating clear and efficient transfer of information. Consequently, the inherent conditions of communication (transparency, freedom of expression, respect for others' opinions, positive feedback) are conscientiously respected by all the members of the organization and come to define modern military discourse (Afrim and Cosma, 2015).

Psychological factors

Communication is inherently human and the human being, Gadamer (1994) argues, is a being in language. In this context, the communicative act is subsumed to psychological factors and conditioned by fundamental needs. A dual classification of communication includes nonverbal (voluntary and involuntary) and verbal (oral and written) manifestations. Nonverbal communication includes the use of <u>visual</u> cues such as <u>kinesics (body language)</u>, <u>proxemics (distance) haptics (touch)</u> and <u>paralanguage (voice quality</u>, rate, pitch, <u>volume</u>, and speaking style). It also involves <u>chronemics</u> (the use of time) and <u>oculesics</u> (eye contact and the actions of looking while talking and listening, pupil dilation, blink rate, patterns of fixation, frequency of glances etc.). A simplistic definition of discourse seen in its dimension as communication achieved by text and talk must include reference to the nonverbal elements inherent in both. Speech also includes <u>prosodic</u> features such as <u>rhythm</u>, <u>intonation</u>, and <u>stress</u>; written texts contain nonverbal elements such as the handwriting style, the arrangement of words, or the physical layout of a page.

Members belonging to the same military organization or to different military organizations often resort to nonverbal instruments to communicate. This may occur in informal settings and contexts and between members of the global military organization who obviously do not share the same cultural background (as it is the case with international coalitions and theatres of operations). However, since this paper focuses on military discourse (oral and written), I will specifically concentrate on verbal communication from a linguistic perspective in a separate section. From a psychological angle, verbal expression entails the use of language as a means by which an individual communicates himself/herself, revealing or, conversely, dissimulating their intentions, attitude, opinion, feelings etc. The ability to perceive both verbal and nonverbal communication from a psychological point of view is indispensable in any organization characterized by cooperation and team work, and the military is no exception.

Linguistic aspects of military discourse

The linguistic exploration of the military discourse as a form of institutional communication analyzes the verbal elements which transmit ideologies and examines the communication patterns specific thereof. A content analysis of the discourse as the main component of military communication will specifically target the study of language, generator and bearer of values, norms, beliefs and ideology inherent to the military culture. Relative to this, I hold that idea that, in addition to language and as a component of military culture, the ideology inherent in military discourse is transferred with the help of specific elements: the system of values, symbols, verbal components, rituals and ceremonies, actors and heroes, physical elements.

As it characterizes a particular community of practice, i.e. the military organization, military language is materialized through specific linguistic formulations (terminology, slangs, set phrases, abbreviations, acronyms etc.). The manner of communication is also specific to the institution it communicates; in the military, it mainly takes the form of commands, orders, and reports. The military environment is defined by its hierarchical structure, translated into upward and downward relations of subordination, regulated by norms of conduct, specific ways of saluting, addressing, speaking and writing (military reports, OPORDs, FRAGOs etc).

Given the stratification of the organization, the forms of communication used by the military are shaped by the dynamics of the relations between its members, namely formal or informal communication, vertical and horizontal communication, oral and written communication (Afrim and Cosma, 2015). Although these types of communication are identifiable as separate, they function concurrently and with the same goal: that of increasing the efficiency of military communication, both within or outside the organization.

Communication outside the borders of the institution entails establishing contact and a flux of information towards and from the civilian population. Reding et al. (2010) define target audiences as national population, foreign population, allies and enemies. Given this broad diversity, the method of dissemination used by the military in its relation to the civilian society is mass communication. This method is particularly relevant from the perspective of its role – that of propagating military values and beliefs. The public opinion is informed in an institutionalized manner, and the approaches preferred by the military include books, written media, radio broadcasts, televised interventions and communications in virtual spaces, through the internet.

Fairclough defines discourse as "a social practice, a particular way of making meaning of experience" (1992: 7). Language is an articulated vehicle through which ideas, values, beliefs, norms and attitudes are conjoined into discourse and situated in the socio-cultural context in which the language operates. Furthermore, military discourse, as specific linguistic materialization of this particular regimented practice, is the instrument by which (military) ideologies are promoted. Thus, it deeply anchors the discursive event within the socially, culturally and politically-shaped environment it belongs to. Consequently, military discourse emerges as a clearly defined communicative event, possessing its own characteristics in terms of patterns, structure, genre, style, and methods of construction, transmission, dissemination, reception and consumption, which are contextually, ideologically, organizationally and socially situated.

From a linguistic perspective, the most relevant ideological terms which characterize political, strategic and military communication emerge from discussions and debates on contemporary hot topics. They include the new world order, global security and stability, crisis management, and, more recently, combating terrorism, in the context of the fight for the *balance of power* and *imperialistic hegemony*. Syntagms such as *credible retaliation, real discouragement, sustainability, robust expansion, common interest, diplomatic soldier,* are recurrently employed in the modern military discourse as adjuvants for the resuscitation of the values and beliefs promoted by international organizations, and are aimed at discursively supporting the visions of the policy-makers and strategists who champion the idea of the *ultimate solution*, i.e. a *military intervention*, the involvement of a *force in being* that would provide security and offer an alternative to the state of *chaos* generated by the effects of the emergent crises (Rotaru, 2004).

Collins, (2011) assertively expresses that contemporary conflicts necessitate *punitive measures* in order to deal with the *catastrophic terror* which requires preventive-combative and humanitarian interventions, often described as *surgical*, all of which ignore the traditional values on which the *weaker* societies have based their existence: *sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, equality of rights, self-fulfillment*, in the name of a sustainable peace, frequently built on utopian scaffolds: *regionalization, globalization, internationalization, collective defense, collective security, global government, continental federalization, global village* etc.

Challenges for military communication in the current global context

Today, and specifically in the aftermath of the gloomy moment that radically reshaped global international communication, on September 11, 2001, Rapoport's (1960) taxonomy, which classifies conflicts into three types (fight, game and debate), remains valid, topical and yet subject to amendments dictated by the global context of the modern world. Defined in the 1960s, these three types have been since recognized as the main sorts of crisis underlying international conflicts, with implications pertaining to the nature and manifestations of communication. Experts in the field of military communication have faced the challenge of answering several questions, all narrowing down to the same fundamental interrogation: Is communication a source of conflict? (Marcus, 1985; Becker, 1993; Murphy, 1995; Bouzon, 2006; Marin, 2006, Agabrian, 2008). It has been argued that defective communication is the actual cause of conflicts. As a consequence, the military has invested all its institutional resources into transforming communication into an active diplomatic dialogue, so as to nurture "the most sensible type of conflict: the debate" and to demonstrate that "a world of peace is not a world without conflicts, but one in which conflicts do not generate wars" (Marcus, 1985: 138).

Successful communication is directly dependent on the quality and fluidity of the communication cycle. The correct identification of the issue to be transmitted, the clarity of the message, its linguistic formulation, the analysis of the reception of the message and its adaptation to the profile of the receiver, the versatility of the strategies utilized in the process, are all essential elements that ensure an efficient and optimal communication. As Bellanger (1989) put it, "to communicate well means first of all to listen well" (8). The truism is that good communication involves good listening skills. It may seem redundant, but the challenges of the modern world have proven that the military institution needs to be open to the public opinion and adapt to the security requirements stemming from the current political and social context.

Modern military communication is currently challenged by the myriad of media that make possible its manifestations: multimedia (text, data, graphs, sound, image, video, movement, voice etc.), hypermedia (multimedia and associative media) and intelmedia systems (intelligence incorporated within hypermedia). These channels provide uninterrupted availability of information, mobility, flexibility, transparence, diversity and facilitate the creation of credible areas for common space, common time, and common presence, within the borders of an interactive system of communication, in a geopolitical environment whose parameters are consistently shaped and reshaped by globalized communication.

Communication in the military environment is delineated by discursive patterns of influential and structural dependency that contribute to maintaining the social order, to alleviating imbalances and to mitigating risks, vulnerabilities, threats, instability, conflicts and confrontations. Against this background, professional communicators – diplomats, negotiators, politicians, military representatives – have been relentlessly striving to mitigate crises, to enhance and exploit the role and functions of communication so as to exclude ambiguity, imprecision, misunderstandings or suspicions from the military discourse, to encourage dialogue and transparency, to nurture empathy and tolerance of perspectives and viewpoints.

Conclusion

A holistic approach to the modern military discourse as the most tangible manifestation of institutional communication has yielded a wide array of ideological landmarks. They relate to

overarching concepts such as globalization, security and defense, sustainable peace, crisis management, mitigation of armed conflicts. In addition to other elements of Euro-Atlantic geopolitics and strategy, these influence and define military communication in the current global context and, at the same time, determine the salient ideological values inherent in the military discourse of the 21st century. Regardless of the political and strategic orientations, communication is bound to fulfilling its role, that of conveying ideologies and connecting the bearers thereof through dialogue and exchange of ideas. In the modern world of global models, information is not only generated but also transmitted at a fast pace, and the products of military communication need to be received and consumed accordingly.

Against this backdrop, I postulate that communication in the modern military organization is generally characterized by the use of a common language, extremely important in the case of international cooperation and in the context of interoperability and standardization, which is an essential prerequisite of fulfilling interoperable objectives in the modern military context. Furthermore, there should be openness and tolerance between members of the chain of command at all hierarchical echelons and on both levels (horizontally and vertically). It is imperative that leaders listen to their subordinates and encourage creativity and the exchange of ideas, while subordinates must overcome the prejudice of not being listened to, approved of or respected for their point of view. Last but not least, it is imperative to use effective communication techniques, by which the message is transmitted clearly, unequivocally, free of ambiguities and interpretations beyond the actual meaning. Military communication should rely on simple but powerful words, while the extralinguistic elements of communication are to be employed efficiently, in order to bring added value to the content of the message.

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