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The Environment Is Us: Humanities And The Ecological Crisis

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Ikhtilaf, Journal of Critical Humanities and Social Studies is a refereed Open Access interdisciplinary publication of the *Identity and Difference Research Group* affiliated with Université Mohammed Ier, Oujda Morocco. *Ikhtilaf* is an Arabic word that means both "difference" and "differend" (French for conflict, aporia etc…) The Journal's mission is to stress difference in thought at a time that forced (globalized) sameness is threatening to stifle creativity, innovation and intellectual freedom. Grounded in the core disciplines of the humanities, *Ikhtilaf* encourages interdisciplinarity and seeks to bring together humanities and social studies to stress the centrality of critical discourse in our collective response to the crucial interrogations of the twenty-first century. Focusing on North Africa, the Middle East and their relations to African, Asian and European histories, realities and trajectories, *Ikhtilaf* aims to apply the distinctive research methodologies and approaches developed within the disciplines of the humanities to the study of a wide range of local and regional issues that are of global and transnational significance.

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Editorial

Larbi Touaf and Chourouq Nasri

The editors of Ikhtilaf, Journal of Critical Humanities and Social Studies are pleased to present to the readers the first issue which we chose to devote to what is probably the most crucial problem humanity has ever had to address, i.e. the Environmental Crisis. The theme of this issue was prompted by the 22nd UN Conference of Parties (COP) held at Marrakech in 2016, and it is also very significant that the journal appears at the same time that the 23rd COP is taking place at Bonn, Germany. This is our tribute to the international campaign to do something about the Environment, for as scientists maintain, we are the last generation that can still do something to stop global warming. And if we go on acting as if nothing is going on, we are undermining the future of our children and that of humanity. Chances are it's already too late. Here then is our modest contribution to the debate. At a time of global environmental and economic challenges, there is an urgent need for the humanities to address the question of climate change, to explore the ways the intersections of history, culture, science, politics, literature and art can help us address the complex question of the dramatic global changes, euphemistically referred to as 'climate change' and open up new ways of thinking about the subject. Indeed, only the cross-disciplinary endeavor that is at the heart of the humanities can give some confidence so that the men and women of our generation take the ultimate leap of faith, and accept that unless we change our ways, we are going at high speed on a collision course. Contrary to the general assumption, climate change is not just a matter of sciences, economics, or politics; it is also closely related to our ontological connection with the world. It is urgent to consider the close link between global corporate capitalism, the generalized and standardized consumerism and the dramatic global changes of the recent decades. The utilitarian relation we have with time and space has largely contributed to damaging the environment by using up resources at an extremely high rate. Enormous environmental and spatial injustices have been generated by many decades of economic restructuring and neoliberal globalization. To confront climate change and its dangerous consequences, like global warming, desertification, rising sea levels, increased frequency of severe storms, droughts, alteration of species, spreading of disease, we must reconsider our relationship with nature and face our material and moral responsibility in bequeathing disaster to our own descendants.

Each of the papers in this issue raises questions of fundamental relevance to the role of the humanities in addressing the current ecological crises. The first paper, "Traumatized Ecology: Ecocritical Study of Scholastique Mukasonga's Writings" is about Rwandan genocide literature and the attention it pays to environmental issues. Richard Oko Ajah uses postcolonial ecocritical theory to assess the Rwandan ethnic conflict and its ecological implication as represented in the writings of Scholastique Mukasonga. According to the author, *Inyenzi ou les cafards* and *La Femme aux pieds nus* (novels by Mukasonga) offer important examples of the destroying impact of the Rwandan genocide not only on the Rwandan people and society, but also on the natural environment. The second paper, "Morrow Lindbergh's *North to the Orient*: An Account of an Aviator's Emerging Environmental Consciousness" by Rinni Haji Amran provides an excellent example of the role of aviation in increasing environmental consciousness in the early twentieth century. The paper explores the way Lindbergh's aerial view of the changing natural landscape contributed to her awareness of environmental issues. The focus of the third paper, "Women, The Environment, and the Ability to Act in Morocco: Gentle Effervescence" by Soumia Boutkhil shifts to two different but interconnected issues related to the environment: on the one hand, the feminization of the forest engineering profession and the impact it has on the effort of forest management and conservation or lack thereof, and on the other, the land rights movement led by the *soulaliyate* women who are protesting against their exclusion from collective lands. In a paper entitled, "An Ecocritical Reading of Poetry from India's Northeast," Neeraj Sankan and Suman Sigrha use Ecocriticism as a literary tool to delve into human-environment relationships in the writings of two poets from Northeast India, Temsula Ao and Kynpham Sing Nongkynrih. The authors explain how the two Indian poets use their poems to raise concerns about the endangered environment. "Poetry as Resistance: an Ecocritical Reading of Sameh Derouich's Haiku" by Chourouq Nasri is another paper which develops an ecocritical approach to poetry. The paper shows that Sameh Derouich's haiku poetry is a subversive ecological project based on the recognition of the interdependent nature of the world. In "Recalibrating the Humanities for the Times: New Humanities 3.0 and Climate Change Denialism," Uzoma Chukwu highlights the importance of narrative to address ecology problems. He argues that retooling typical humanities inquiry methods and including narrative inquiry approaches can influence human capacity to perceive and cope with environmental change. Mostafa Shoul's paper, "*Disposable* Culture? Worse: Disposable *Culture*" investigates the intricate relationship that exists between culture and human basic needs, and the expression of the community's identity that results from this relationship. "(Un)Green and Filled with Malls, the New "Consumptional Identity" of the Moroccan City as Imaged in the Photographs of Yto Barrada" by Chourouq Nasri investigates photography as a form of political resistance to dominant structures. The paper shows that Yto Barrada's photographs replace the folkloric touristic images often associated with Morocco and address questions related to the Moroccan city and its inhabitants. Nasri argues that Barrada's photographic projects highlight various forms of spatial and environmental injustice which result from a distorted conception of the city.

In sum, then, this issue shows that addressing the complex environmental problems depends on cross-disciplinary collaboration among researchers. It provides very insightful examples of the ways the humanities can contribute to the development of creative solutions to current environmental challenges.

Acknowledgements

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Identity and Difference Research Group

Traumatized Ecology: Ecocritical Study Of Scholastique Mukasonga's Writings

Richard Oko Ajah (University of Uyo, Nigeria)

Introduction

Scholastique Mukasonga's writings can be perceived as products of postmemory and collective memory or as a secondary witness whose authorial intentions are to demonstrate, albeit fictionally, the traumatizing effects of the Rwandan Civil war and conflicts. Research[1] on these war texts and many others by African and Western writers are anthropocentric and phenomenological since trauma and memory studies are used as a theoretical framework. Other scholars and critics pay much attention to the question of the language of the traumatized.[2] Dalhousie French Studies has consecrated a volume titled *Representation of Trauma in French and Francophone Literature*[3] without emphasis on the environmental sensibilities of these studied texts. It is obvious that many critical scholarly works on African war texts appear to prioritize the human over the nonhuman trauma because of their anthropocentrism. My paper shows that such works could serve as postmemorial evidence for sympathizers and survivors of trauma; but it also affirms that the trope of the ecological disaster of the Rwandan genocide as represented by Scholastique Mukasonga's texts has not been elaborately treated.

In this work, I posit that aside from the extermination of human lives or the Rwandan genocide, African flora and fauna that constitute the biotic composition of African societies suffered greatly from the consequences of these wars, as represented in my chosen corpus. By relying on postcolonial studies and ecocriticism which gives increased attention to literary representations of nature,[4] this paper intends to "recuperate the alterity of both history and nature" (DeLoughrey and Handley 4) as African postcolonial civil wars are perceived as offshoots of Prattian Eurocentric "planetary consciousness" and the 1886's partition of Africa. This article is divided into different sections. The first section demonstrates the relationship between literature, environment and ecocriticism. The second section looks at how othering of humans and territorializing of space culminate into the animalization of the enemy tribe, thereby constituting the artistic ideology of Mukasonga's texts. In the third section, I will analyze the violentisation of the Rwandan nature, the trauma of its pastoral ecology and the abiosis of its flora and fauna.

Literature, Environment and Ecocriticism

Environmental literature is concerned with the relationship between man and nature, the ecosystem and the eco-sphere.[5] Scholars (Njanji 125) have noted that works on the relationship between literature and environment are really scarce in Africa, except a very few ones such as Cajetan Iheka's doctoral work, "African Literature and the Environment: A Study in Postcolonial Ecocriticism," Okuyade's *Ecocritical Literature: Regreening African Landscapes*, and *Environment at the Margins: Literary and Environmental Studies in Africa* which have given a deserving attention, through their insights, to environmental discourse in African writings. However, none of them discuses francophone African eco-literature. Still, Gloyfelty and Fromm's *The Ecocrticism Reader*, DeLoughrey and Handley's *Postcolonial Ecologies* and Huggan and Tiffin's *Postcolonial Ecocriticism* could serve dialogically as guides to the question of possible theorization of nature in Francophone African war texts to which the above mentioned published research works have not provided insights. Most of the intertribal and intratribal wars and conflicts in francophone war texts are fought in bushes, forests or cities. In essence, it is not only the human that gets wounded; the nonhuman also feels the negative impact of these wars though it loses its voice in its nonhumanity and is subjected to anthropocentric subalternity. Hence, it is the recuperation of the nonhuman's voicelessness that many nature writers intend to foreground; on the other hand, many ecocritics strive to explore literary works that overtly or covertly align with ecological sensibilities.

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[1] V. Bonnet and E. Sevrain, "Témoignages de rescapées rwandaises: modalités et intentions," *IPOTESI_Revista de Estud-os literarios* (2008): 106; R. Kennedy, "The Narrator as Witness. Testimony, Trauma and Narrative Form in *My Place*," *Meridan* 16.2 (1997): 235-260; O. B. Laursen, "Telling her a Story": Remembering Trauma in Andrea Levy's Writing," *Enter Text* 9 (2012): 53-68.

[2] Susanne Gehrmman, "The Child Soldier's Soliloquy. Voices of a New Archetype in African Writing," *Etudes littéraires africaines* 32 (2011): 31-43; M. O. Kikukama, "Les hardiesses langagières dans *Quand on refuse on dit non* d'Ahmadou Kourouma," *Synergies Afrique des Grands Lacs* 1 (2012): 101-117; K. M. Kodah, "The Language of a Child-Soldier-Narrator as the Voice of Truth: a Critical Study of Ahmadou Kourouma's *Allah n'est pas obligé,*" *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences (IOSR-JHSS)* 15.2 (2013): 74-83.

[3] N. Simek and Z. Zalloua, Zahi, eds., *Representations of Trauma in French and Francophone Literature,* special issue of *Dalhousie French Studies* 81 (2007): 29-39.

[4] C. Gloyfelty and H. Fromm, eds., *The Ecocriticism Reader* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1996).

[5] I. E. Asika, and B. N. Madu, "Ecocriticism and the African Flora and Fauna: an Ecocritical Discourse of Obinkaram Echewa's *The Land's Lord*," *European Journal of English Language, Linguistics and Literature* 2.1 (2015): 32; U. Nwagbara, "Poetics of Resistence: Ecocritical Reading of Ojaide's *Delta Blues* and *Home Songs*

In Kourouma's *Allah n'est pas obligé* and *Quand on refuse on dit non*, the author portrays the cities and forests as epicenters of warfare as Birahima narrates his escapades from one village or town to another. The protagonist goes through the flora and fauna that constitute the ecosystem of the represented societies of Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Ivory Coast and which are represented as a haven for the oppressors and the oppressed. Kourouma's *Quand on refuse on dit non* which cover page depicts a child soldier with a spear in a bush where he is hidden by growing plants begins with a proverbial animal imagery of *singe* [monkey] and *chien* [dog] that predicts the evocation of the trope of animalization of enemy tribes. Kourouma's text equally deploys olfactory images that emanate from different *charniers* [mass graves] which are polluting the human and nonhuman environments. Aside from Francophone war literature, travel works in French demonstrate some environmental concerns that are worthy of study in African literature of French expression. J. M. G. Le Clézio's *Onitsha* and *L'Africain* portray the Nigerian ecosystem and its exploitation by the whites, thereby illustrating the ecological imperialism of the colonial project and showing that ecocriticism "affords new perspectives on fictional as well as nonfictional ecologies" (Lehtimäki 120). It is important to note that all the writers referred to above do not intentionally write about ecology or environment but it is impossible to discuss man without his natural habitat; besides, "ecological science holds that all life-forms are interconnected, but what the philosophical and cultural implications of this interconnectedness" (Morton 22) are is what literature intends to embody. African literature is fond of making an allegorical and metaphorical use of nature but it does it paratextually. Kourouma's *Les Soleils des independances*, Achebe's *Anthills of the Savannah*, Joe Ushie's A Reign *of Locusts*, Ben Jelloun's *L'Enfant de sable*, Bhêly-Quenun's *Chant du lac* among others are titles that reflect the environmental sensibilities of African writings and how the African writers engage in the production of ecological knowledge in a subtle way. However, my study problematizes the determinist notion of "ecological sensibilities" of literary works as used to ascertain the "environmentalness" of literary texts as conceived by many Western theorists and critics. Such a theoretical and canonical fixation reinforces the intentional fallacy of the author because works of writers such as Mukasonga, Kourouma and others cannot be subjected to ecocritical poetics since they are not environmental activists per se, though their writings show discursive possibilities and prospects in ecocriticism.

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and *Daydreams of Ants and Other Poems*," *African Study Monographs* 31.1 (2010): 17; K. Shkha, "Ecocriticism in Indian Fiction," *IRWLE* 7.1 (2011):1-2.

This study intends to be postcolonially ecological so as to speak for humans and nonhumans alike (Hutchings 174) because "nature is thoroughly implicated in culture, and culture is thoroughly implicated in nature" (Phillips 577-578). With such ecological underpinnings, it is possible for me to exhume "the presence of the natural world in works which do not explicitly feature ecology or the ecological crisis as such" (Njanji 129) because as Dana Mount (3) puts it, they are part of the myriad voices that will decide which paths we take in terms of environmental (ir)responsibility. My work borrows from Mount's postcolonial use of "everyday environmentalism" which is characteristic of postcolonial texts to read Mukasonga's writings, showing the colonial Rwandan relationship with nature while its framework of "postcolonial ecological trauma" will demonstrate how these war texts struggle with issues of identity, space, nationhood and how these issues culminate into the Rwandan genocide. These texts have some phenomenological keystones since they show how bodies are dis/connected from the sense of place and point to the mobility from a human genocide to an ecological genocide. This study contests minimalist cum anthropocentric reading of African war texts and its contemporary scholarship. It sustains the fact that the environmentalism of studied literary works could describe conscious and unconscious sensibilities of African writers or what Ogaga Okuyade calls "eco-logical consciousness."[6] It, therefore, challenges the boundaries of dogmatic and ontological categorization of environmentalist writers. The study complements other works as it ecocritically portrays natural resources as the root causes of African interethnic wars and demonstrates the trope of insects and animals such as cockroaches, snakes now used as ecological idioms to describe enemy tribes. It discusses the use of the nonhuman other to animalize the human other as we see in Mukasonga's *La femme aux pieds nus* and *Inyenzi ou cafards* that illustrate the edenic pastoral ecology in pre-genocide Rwanda.

Pastoral Ecology, Environmental Consciousness In Pre-Genocide Rwanda

Scholastique Mukasonga's *La femme aux pieds nus* and *Inyenzi ou les cafards*, though traumatic autobiographies that discuss the Rwandan genocide and its violent effects on her immediate family, show a heavy presence of ecological elements. Mukasonga's traumatic texts might not be classified as letters of nature writing, but they possess certain aspects of nature writing because as Mark Allister puts it, "metaphorically, the author's life is written on the level and all its inhabitants, human, animal, plant and rock, and by turning terrain into text, geography into consciousness, these authors create a new and significant kind of life-writing. Ecology intertwines with culture" (Allister 3). *La femme aux pieds* nus provides a space for mourning and equally appears to be a tribute to the Rwandan women whose bare feet can be read as an allegory of agricultural activities and the romantic African nature and wilderness. The following passage for example, is representational of the Rwandan womanhood : "la houe à la main, retourner la terre, et semer, et sarcler, et récolter, que ce soit avant notre exil, à Gikongoro, à Magi…" [hoe in hand, cultivating the land, and sowing, and weeding, and harvesting, be it before our exile to Gikongoro, to Magi…] (42). Like Maathai in her memoir, *Unbowed*, Mukasonga appears to begin "her story with a childhood memory of a beautiful, health-giving, and well managed natural environment which sustains the human community physically and spiritually and which is itself sustained by that community's care, reverence, and sacred ecological practice and knowledge" (Caminero-Santangelo 148). Without ambiguity, agriculture was the mainstay of the Rwandan people as "95% of the population resided in the countryside, and 90% relied on agriculture to sustain themselves" (Percival and Homer-Dixon 270). This factor is apparently responsible for Mukasonga's ideological engagement with environment and her discourse of pastoral ecology in the texts under study. *Inyenzi* traces the beginning of Mukasonga's life of internal exiles and multiple displacements from her south-west province of Gikongoro that prides itself as the "forêt de Nyungwe, la grande forêt d'altitude qui abrite… les derniers elephants de forêt" [Nyungwe forest, the great high forest that shelters … the forest elephants] (15). Her father, Cosma is described as a literate assistant to the Chief but not as "un aristocrate possesseur de grands troupeaux de vaches comme certains imaginent les Tutsis" [an aristocrat, possessing large herds of cows as some think of the Tutsi] (16). This concurs with Percival and Homer-Dixon who affirm that "the greatest determinant of ethnicity was the possession of cattle; those who possessed cattle were Tutsi, and those who did not were Hutu" (273). In short, the Tutsi are classified as pastoralists and the Hutu as farmers (Boudreaux 86). Mukasonga's autobiographies engage in an environmental and ecological discourse as she showcases the nation's rich environmental resources: water, land and air as the villages cohabit with the animal kingdom. The narrator confirms this animal-human relationship when she says:

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[6] The introduction of *Eco-critical Literature. Regreening African Landscapes,* a book edited by Ogaga Okuyade, is entitled, "African Cultural Art Forms, Eco-activism, and Eco-logical Consciousness."

> Souvent, en effet, des éléphants traversaient les villages pour aller d'une étendue de brousse encore sauvage à une autre. Parfois, l'un d'eux, on ne sait pourquoi, suivait la route. Les parents nous avaient dit: "surtout, restez derrière l'éléphant, ne dépassez jamais l'éléphant, ne vous mettez jamais devant lui." On suivait l'animal qui avançait majestueusement, comme en flânant. Les Rwandais ont toujours admiré la démarche de l'éléphant, qu'ils considèrent comme gracieuse et élégante ...
>
> [Truly, elephants often crossed villages to go from one expanse of wild bush to another. Sometimes, one of them, we do not know why, followed the road. Our parents had told us: "Above all, stay behind the elephant, never pass the elephant, never put yourself in front of him." We followed the animal which moved majestically as if it were strolling. Rwandans have always admired the steps of the elephant, which they consider as graceful and elegant ...] (Mukagonga *Inyenzi* 37)

If the elephants freely traverse villages as narrated by the young Mukasonga, it means that there are no clear-cut boundaries between human and animal habitats, between homes and forests or bushes, and between the wild and the social space. The veracity of this testimony and the normality of the ecological experience are reinforced by words such as *souvent* [often] and *en effet* [truly]. Besides, the lives of these elephants are not endangered, at least, in these moments described before the genocide's ecological destruction and degradation. The elephants, on their own, do not constitute any danger to the human communities; both humans and nonhumans enjoy an unwritten mutual relationship that can be described as cordial and considerate, thereby showing the environmental sensibilities of the Rwandan locals. In Mukasonga's texts, indigenous dwelling is defined by the interconnection between culture and nature, humans and animals, and people and plants. This does not, however, mean that all animals, including elephants are free from human harm in the Rwandan ecosystem because they are constantly hunted by the Bagesera who are referred to as "de grands chasseurs… avec leurs arcs et leurs lances" [great hunters… with their bows and spears] (Mukagonga *Inyenzi* 25-26). The hunting is premised on people's "desire for sustainability" because this clan of hunters uses *des ubushya* [traps] to ward off the animals from destroying their farmlands and to equally trap them for meat. The pastoral practices of the Tutsi and the farming culture of the Hutu constitute an "agro-ecosystem based on indigenous biodiversity, which enables healthy, fulfilling lives" (Caminero-Santangelo 152).

Mukasonga's exploration of indigenous biodiversity is unveiled through her cultural and culinary discourse on the Rwandan fruits, food, beverages and their preparations which "builds up an (in many ways classical, pastoral) image of the wholesomeness of a way of life rooted in local nature" (Caminero-Santangelo 153). During her stay in Gitwe (where children are left without enrolment in schools) as an internally displaced person (IDP), little Mukasonga admits her discovery of the "richesse de la savane" [the riches of the savannah] and of "goûter aux délices sauvages de la brousse" [tasting the raw delicacies of the wilderness] (Mukasonga *Inyenzi* 27). Her kit includes *des imisagara, les iminyonza, les amasarazi* and *les amabungo*, a collection of assorted local fruits with sweet juices some of which can only be harvested "dans les endroits où la brousse était très dense, loin des habitants, sur les hauteurs, à Gisunzu" [in places where the bush was very dense, far from the inhabitants on the heights, in Gisunzi] (Mukasonga *Inyenzi* 27). The expedition for the harvest of these fruits and the succulent taste of their juice constitute Mukasonga's edenic experience of the wilderness which boundary is not culturally constructed, but which environmental impact leaves her with the only choice of preferring the wood to the school because of what she and her friends can gain. Aside from the local production of juice, the farms provide resources for the fabrication of local beer. In Mukasonga's traumatico-ecological texts, the exploitation of ecological resources remains an integral part of the pastoral life of rural dwellers, unveiling what constitutes the nature of culture and the culture of nature in the Rwandan pastoral communities. For example, the local brewing of banana beer is a tradition that is sustained through the indoctrination of agro-cultural practice and its biodiversified epistemology.

The production of banana beer, also known locally as *urwarwa*, is culturally defined; it takes the communal efforts of families and neighbors and its methods of processing are well detailed for possible acculturation (Mukasonga *Inyenzi* 40-42). It shows that culture provides a platform for the social appropriation of environmental consciousness and sustainability which is aligned to the domestic usefulness of natural resources. *Urwarwa* is produced from some bananas forcefully matured through some agro-cultural processes in banana plantations and it has *l'amaganura* as its secondary product, a drink about which the author says, "ce sont surtout les femmes qui vont boire cela, avec les enfants, en signe d'amitié" [It is especially women and children who are going to drink that as a mark of friendship] (Mukasonga *Inyenzi* 42). I must confess that the brewing of *urwarwa* is incomparable to the procedures of local *bière du sorgho* [sorgho beer] as detailed in Mukasonga's text (Mukasonga *La femme* 42-58). The narrator enumerates different crops in the Rwandan agro-ecosystem such as "les colocases, les patates douces, le haricot, tous ces legumes …" [cocoyam, sweet potatoes, beans, all these vegetables] (Mukasonga *La femme* 42) which cannot be compared to *le sorgho,* referred to as "le roi de nos champs" [the king of our farms] (Mukasonga *La femme* 43) and which planting and harvesting are marked with rites because of the mythicized existence of the crop.

The veneration and celebration of sorghum demonstrates its eco-cultural significance in the Rwandan biosphere; this local beer is used to celebrate *l'umuganura* which is a cultural festival in Rwanda, indirectly dedicated to sorghum. The idolization of crops is engraved in the African mythology as Rwanda's *Umuganura* festival could be an equivalent of *Ava* time *Amu* [Brown rice] festival of the Volta Region of Ghana (Bormann 15) and that of *Iri-ji Ohuru* festival in the south-eastern part of Nigeria (Ukachukwu 244). As a cultural signifier, the crop enjoys the assemblage of myths that reify and personify its existence; it is seen as "un talisman contre la famine et les calamités, un signe de fertilité et d'abondance" [a talisman against famine and calamities, a sign of fertility and abundance] (Mukasonga *La femme* 44). Conceived from its multifunctional fetishisms, the preservation and protection of sorghum crop constitutes the Rwandan people's "everyday environmentalism" and their determination to perpetuate its existence. The secondary use of local beer production is traditionally enshrined in the collective memory of the rural communities as described in Mukasonga's texts. The brewing of the local sorghum beer called *ikigage* or *amarwa* follows a detailed systematic procedure which the writer's traumatized memory does not really try to illustrate vividly throughout the chapter; though François Lyumugabe has given a more technical procedure of its production, which entails steeping, germination, drying, grinding, mashing, cooling, decantation, among other Practices (517). Mukasonga, however, complains of the locals' preference of *la Primus* and *Amstel* to the sorghum beer, thereby showing the effects of economic imperialism in Rwanda. This is aside from the fact that both primary and secondary products of *sorghum* have some nutritional and medicinal values that contribute to the healthy lives of community dwellers.

Rwanda's biodiversity includes its traditional-medical uses of plants and constitutes its pre-modern ecological "civilization" which Mukasonga evokes to challenge Eurocentric paradigms and rhetoric of civilization. As a ridicule of western civilization (Ajah 53), Mukasonga's *La femme aux pieds nus* illustrates the outbreak of dysentery at Nyamata Refugee camp where the nurse, Bitega uses hopeless Western medicine that cannot provide medical relief to the victims of the epidemic. Stefania has no confidence "en l'efficacité des cachets et du sirop de Bitega" [in the efficacy of Bitega's pills and syrup] (Mukasonga 60), but relies on her traditional herbal pharmacy for the wellbeing of her family and neighborhood. The text juxtaposes the inefficacy of European medicine with the potency of the indigenous healthcare system provision, despite the "primitiveness" of the inhabitants of Rwandan societies. For example, Stefania, as a symbol of traditional Rwandan woman with no formal education, knows how to diagnose sicknesses and constitute traditional alternative health remedies from her *jardin médicinal* [medicinal garden]. Her daughter, Scholastique Mukasonga confesses: "maman possedait toutes sortes de recettes pour faire face aux maladies et aux blessures" [Mama possessed all sorts of recipes for treating diseases and injuries] (Mukasonga *La femme* 51). Ecological consciousness inspires the environmentalism of the poor who must ensure the preservation of the herbal plants that could, if uncared for and if ecological imperialism is unchecked, go into extinction. Stefania's environmentalism is seriously challenged by the war of supremacy between the Tutsi and the Hutu. Animals, plants, plantations, lakes, and forests suffer greatly from this intertribal conflict that culminates into genocide.

Territoriality and Politics of Belonging: the Hutu versus the Tutsi

It is apparent that Mukasonga's *Inyenzi ou les cafards* and *La femme aux pieds nus* problematize the master-servant relationship of European colonial powers and indict the Belgian government for its role in the Rwandan Genocide or what Mukasonga calls "l'exclusion démocratique" [democratic exclusion] (Mukasonga *Inyenzi* 29). Being hyphenated, the writer is forced to "inquire into and to challenge [her] experiences" (Noy 143) during and after the Rwandan genocide. She recalls Besio who "looks at both landscape and text in which bodies' movements through the village spaces [or through the border spaces] continually 'rewrite' the landscape, asserting and inserting themselves into a dialogue with colonial discourse" (Besio 266). In essence, Mukasonga intends to admit that behind the shadows of the interethnic war of Rwanda are colonial hands whose interior motive is the manipulation of or the control over natural resources and the political dominance of the nation-state. Percival and Homer-Dixon agree that "a tribal war between the Hutu and Tutsi, [is] rooted in centuries-long competition for control of land and power" (217).

The Rwandan tribal conflict is worsened by the European imperialism and colonization of Africa because "with the growth of pre-colonial state power, Tutsi and Hutu became important political categories. With the establishment of colonialism, the boundaries of ethnic categories were thickened" (Percival and Homer-Dixon 273). The Rwandan born writer, Mukasonga challenges the actions and inactions of the West in the Rwandan Genocide as her autobiography, *La Femme aux pieds* nus opens with accusatory fingers pointed to the Belgian empire in Africa and the Church. Her subtle confirmation of European guilt and the metaphorical suggestion of "Esau's hands but Jacob's voice" are captured by these words: « Peut-être les autorités hutu, placées par les Belges et l'Eglise à la tête du Rwanda nouvellement indépendant, espéraient-elles que les Tutsis de Nyamata seraient peu à peu décimés par la maladie du sommeil et de la famine » [Perhaps, the Hutu authorities, placed by the Belgians and the Church at the head of the newly independent Rwanda, hoped that the Tutsi of Nyamata would be gradually decimated by sleeping sickness and famine] (Mukasonga *La femme* 15).

Mukasonga's allegation is not speculative because from a historical perspective, the Rwandan Genocide could have been circumvented if African independent nations were not victims of European neocolonial tendencies. In *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward W. Said affirms that although the Westerners may have physically left their old colonies in Africa and Asia, they retained them not only as markets but as locales on the ideological map over which they continued to rule morally and intellectually (25). In *Inyenzi*, Mukasonga corroborates Said's affirmation through her indictment of the West, but she also invokes the name of *le MDR-Parmehutu* who, with the help of Belgium and the Catholic Church, established a government that has been described since 1961 as "la dictature raciale d'un seul parti" [the racial dictatorship of a one-party system] (39) whose strategy is the maintenance of territoriality through the weapon of democratic exclusion and political persecution. So, "ethnic identity was one means that Hutu elites used to establish and maintain control over resources including environmental resources such as cropland" (Percival and Homer-Dixon 285). This, therefore, influences "the ways in which land is imagined and the sense of national belonging produced" (Boast 46).

With the political dichotomy between the Hutu and the Tutsi, racial territoriality becomes the order of the day, giving rise to hegemonic conflicts because he who controls the government controls the ecosystem and its natural resources and the politics of belonging. Colonial discourse has justified the essence of empire and its aesthetics of civilization or what Patrick Brantlinger calls "the myth of the dark continent" (168) and the identity complex of the superiority of the white race has been inherent in the colonized psyche. After the departure of the colonizer, the colonized inherited the mentality of superiority and perpetuated the Eurocentric ideology of tribal dominance, especially when a tribe has control over the government. In such a discourse, the dominating tribe (the Hutu) asserts its territoriality and uses the ideological mechanism of othering against the dominated tribe (the Tutsi), thus justifying the paratextuality of Mukasonga's *Inyenzi ou les cafards* where a minority group (Tutsi) is opposed to a majority group (Hutu) and the latter compares the former to the animalized other, that is, the non-human other, *les cafards* [cockroaches], a trope which I shall exploit in the next section of this work. As illustrated in Mukasonga's autobiographies, the Hutu's action against the Tutsi typifies a form of environmental racism which is "best understood as a sociological phenomenon, exemplified in the environmentally discriminatory treatment of socially marginalized or economically disadvantaged peoples, and in the transference of ecological problems…" (Huggan and Tiffin 4) because "in assuming a natural prioritization of humans and human interests over those of other species on earth, we are both generating and repeating the racist ideologies of imperialism on a planetary scale" (Huggan and Tiffin 6). It is evident that the Rwandan (Hutu's and Tutsi's) freedom from the Belgian colonial stronghold triggerd off a new process of recolonization of the Tutsi by the Hutu and a "disguised form of neocolonialism" by the West which alter ego remains *le MDR-Parmehutu* of Rwanda. Othering becomes an instrument that enables the inferiorization of the othered tribe.

Othering and Tropes of Animalization: the Tutsi as *Les Cafards Ou Inyenzi*

In colonial and postcolonial discourse, othering is considered as an analytical poetics that explains the cultural dynamics and differences in contact zones. Edward Said's explication of its workings is instrumental to the understanding of Mukasonga's trope of animalization or of the animal order of the Tutsi. Said argues that the colonized countries were described in ways which denigrated them, which represented them negatively, as the Other, in order to produce a positive, civilized image of the British society (Mills 96). Mukasonga describes othering as a stereotypical raw material for the construction of the Other which tribes and cultures seek to dominate. Her discourse positions the Tutsi as the subaltern subject, who is defined in Gayatri Spivak's terms as "the non-elite colonized subject" (Mills 107) and she is determined to lend her voice to show how ideology and ecology interact in facilitating "environmental refugeeism" (Brooks 64).

With the pro-Hutu tribe in power, the pre-genocide Habyarinana government imposed "the pro-rural ideology" that facilitated land-related intertribal conflicts. People and environment suffering and collapse often follow from environmental collapse (Boudreaux 85). Lauren Lydic admits that all genocides depend on "discourses of otherness," such as the one shaped in the Rwandan context by metaleptic investments in the *Inyenzi* metaphor (83). Mukasonga's anthropocentrism does not foreclose the traumatization of the Rwandan ecosystem which the cockroach metaphor represents because RTLM (*Radio TV Libre des mille Collines*) and Kangura (Wake Up) had called for the "extermination" of Tutsi *Inyenzi* (the cockroaches) (Lydic 83). The discursive choice of the cockroaches is well made owing to the bioclimatic nature of cockroaches; on the other hand, the derogatory status of this animal is Hutu's leverage of counter-discourse because of the discourse of Tutsi *Ubuhake* which is now being challenged and supplanted. *Ubuhake* is defined as "Tutsi institutions of pastoral servitude" and it is "a private contract between a male patron (*Shebuja*) who provides one or more cows (*Ingabane*) and a male client (*Mugaragu*) who in turn renders his services by caring for cows and cultivating" (Lydic 82). In essence, Hutu's *Inyenzi* contends with Tutsi's *Ubuhake*; these discursive metaphors are deployed to describe tribal enemies and to create tribal sentiments.

The choice of cockroaches as "an odious bestializing metaphor" (Lydic 83) is premised on the imagined paradigmatic relationship between the signifier and the signified or between the nature of the animal described and its referent, the Tutsi. In *Cockroaches: Ecology, Behavior, and Natural History,* Bell, Roth and Nalepa present a detailed scientific study of cockroaches and admit that "cockroaches are considered garbage collectors in terrestrial ecosystem" and their "mass migrations and dispersals have been recorded" (165). The Tutsi as pastoralists are compared to cockroaches with migratory abilities. In this context, animals are used as a "weapon of satire, ridicule and scorn" (Mthatiwa 110) in the process of othering. If "cockroaches are found in nearly all habitants: topical and temperate forests, grasslands, heath, steppe, salt marshes, coastal communities and deserts" (Bell, Roth and Nalepa 37), it is evident that their ecological adaptability describes the trajectory and wandering nature of the pastoral lives of Tutsi cattle farmers who own large herds of cattle. The cockroaches are unhygienic scavengers in human settlements and cleansing offers one of the only ways to control them. This is transposed to "ethnic cleansing" because as Mukasonga says in *La femme*, the Tutsi "n'étaient plus tout à fait des êtres humans mais des inyenzi, des cafards, qu'il était loisible et juste de persécuter et, en fin de compte, d'exterminer" [were not real human beings but *inyenzi*, cockroaches, so that it was permissible and justifiable to persecute them and, in due course, to exterminate them] (6). In a passage from *Inyenzi*, we read, "c'étaient trois failles profondes, à la frontière du Burundi, c'est là qu'on devait jeter les Tutsi" [There were three deep holes on the border with Burundi, where the Tutsi were to be thrown into] (29). In another text by Mukasonga, the "fortunate" killers of the human cockroaches deserve tribal accolades and this explains why over "75 per cent of the Tutsi ethnic minority population were killed" (Verwimp 223).

Mukasonga presents the "ethnic cleansing" of the Tutsi as a strategically planned operation as "il n'y plus de villages. Les habitations sont dispersées sur les pentes des collines, cachées sous le couvert épais des bananiers" [there are no more villages. The houses are scattered on the slopes of the hills, hidden under the thick canopies of the banana trees]

(*La femme* 32). The cockroach metaphor is used to criminalize the essence and the existence of the Tutsi, and to rationalize the extermination of the enemy tribe; in essence, the Hutu's life depends on the Tutsi's death. The massacre appears genocidal and ethnocidal because young Tutsi children are not spared. They are treated as "de petits serpents" [small snakes] (Mukasonga *La femme* 15) which have chances of changing into giant snakes. Othering is equally achieved through the objectification of Tutsi girls and women who are raped. In *La femme*, the narrator says: "Les viols. Personne ne voulait en parler" [Rapes. Nobody wanted to talk of them] because "le viol des jeunes filles tutsi est un acte révolutionnaire, un droit acquis par le peuple majoritaire" [the rape of Tutsi girls is a revolutionary act, a right acquired by the majority people] (152). Besides, "Les jeunes filles tutsi fascinaient les Hutu. Les dirigeants donnaient l'exemple: épouser une Tutsi faisait partie du droit du vainqueur." [Tutsi girls fascinated the Hutu. The leaders gave the example: to marry a Tutsi was part of conqueror's booty] (Mukasonga *Inyenzi* 52). Gang rape and forced marriage of Tutsi girls are rhetorically established as a norm and are legalized by the political statements of the ruling party. Both are intended to denigrate the personality of the animalized Other. With a passionate hatred, the full cycle of violence is accomplished by radicalized Hutu militias; its consequences are not only on the humans but also on the nonhuman ecology. Mukasonga's texts portray the abuse of nature and the oppression of Tutsi women as "intimately bound up with notions of class, caste, race, colonialism and neo-colonialism" (Kaur 384).

Ecological Trauma and "Violentization" of Waters, Animals and Forests

Mukasonga's discourse on ecological trauma is viewed as intimately related to human trauma in *Inyenzi ou les cafards* and *La femme aux pieds nus*, though animal's (even plants as well) historically inferior ontological status and voicelessness make an evocation of its trauma difficult to articulate (Andrianova 2). However, it has been proven empirically that animals experience pain (Andrianova 3), although this is not the case of other nonhuman ecological elements such as water and plants whose traumatic experiences cannot be measured scientifically; yet forests are conceived as the epicenter of all forms of violence.

The author's intention is apparently to document the levels of harm visited on the aquatic and plant resources and to present an "apocalyptic imagery as a warning regarding the threat of actual human-induced environmental degradation" (Caminero-Santagelo 153). Some of these destructions appear to be premeditated and others unintentional. Animals such as livestock constitute the Tutsi's mainstay and they are the Hutu's major target for destruction due to the discourse on *Ubuhake* which I have discussed above. The genocide makes it impossible for the pastoralists to take care of their livestock and consequently "les maigres troupeaux des Bagesera dépérissaient de maladies et de soif" [the scrawny flocks of the Bagesera were dying of diseases and thirst] (Mukasonga, *La femme* 72). The narrator of *La femme* reports that,

> On avait tué nos vaches et brûlé nos veaux dans les étables. Est-on encore un homme si l'on n'a plus son troupeau? Et que faire de ses jours si l'on ne mène plus ses vaches au pâturage, si l'on n'appelle plus chacune d'elles par son nom, si, l'une après l'autre, on ne lisse pas leur robe avec une touffe d'herbes tendres, si l'on n'examine pas les sabots pour enlever cailloux et épines…
>
> They had killed our cows and burned our calves in the stables. Are we still men if we no longer have our flock? And what can we do with our days if we no longer lead our cows to pasture, if we do not call each of them by its name, if, one after another, we do not smooth their dress with a tuft of tender grass, if we do not examine the hooves to remove pebbles and thorns …

The narrator's bitter lamentations concur with my proposition that livestock is targeted to vilify the Tutsi's source of capital resources and cultural pride. The relationship between the pastoralists and their animals is socially and culturally constructed as the owner calls each animal by its name and takes some extraordinary measures to ensure the general wellbeing of his cattle. In acting so, like Phil Macnaghten put it, "the environment is being embodied, valued and experienced in an array of social practices" (63). In essence, the consequences of the Hutu's actions on livestock are well calculated as the young narrator goes on to say: "A Gitagata, nous n'avions plus de vaches et aucun moyen d'acheter un peu de beurre de beauté auprès des Bagesera, qui eux-mêmes en avaient si peu" [In Gitagata, we had no more cows and no way of buying a little beauty butter from Bagesera people, because they themselves had so little] (Mukasonga, *La femme* 88). This is because the livestock is a source of milk and butter for the locals. Mukasonga remembers how as a child, she was among "les petits bergers qui gardaient les vaches en bordure de la forêt" [the young shepherds guarding their cows at the edge of the forest] (Mukasonga, *Inyenzi* 8). And now she confesses: "nous n'avions plus de vaches et donc pas de lait" [we had no more cows and as a result no milk] (38). The Tutsi's collective trauma incorporates the suffering, torture and death of their livestock, or in summary, their animals' trauma as some become slim and suffer out of thirst and hunger since the aquatic resources suffer equally from degradation.

Rwanda's waters such as *Lac Cyohoha*, "la rivière Rukarara, le lac Kivu, Kibuye, Ruhengeri, Gisenyi…" [Lake Cyohoha, Rukarara river, Kivu, Kibye, Ruhengeri, Gisenyi lake…] which constitute the locals' places of romance with nature became fearful places to go to. As Mukasonga says, "la rivière Rukarara, avait-on dit à ma mère, était rouge de sang" [Rukarara River, my mother was told, was red with blood] (Mukasonga *Inyenzi* 34) and "les militaires en grand nombre descendaient vers le lac Cyohoha et ils traînaient des corps qui ressemblaient à des pantins désarticulés…" [the soldiers in large numbers were coming down to Lake Cyohoha and they were dragging bodies that looked like dislocated puppets] (Mukasonga, *Inyenzi* 49-50). The reign of terror is painted as destructive to the aquatic life and its culture because for Mukasonga, "le rivage du lac, qui était comme le jardin de nos jeux innocents, devint bientôt le lieu de tous les cauchemars" [the shore of the Lake which was like the ground of our innocent games soon became the place of all nightmares] (Mukasonga, *Inyenzi* 39). All social practices related to nature were violently disrupted and their pleasure tragically lost. In Mukasonga's texts, activities such as bathing in rivers and lakes, shepherding the cattle, being in the wood, harvesting wild fruits, climbing trees are ways of "being in the environment", in proximity to nature, and having a life which is different from the one experienced in a cosmopolitan modern society. And such practices enable "a more profound form of social intimacy and bonding born out of common experience" (Macnaghten 75-76).

Stefania's social bonding with her plants and crops in *La femme aux pieds nus* instigates her proclivity for the conservation of disappearing species of plants and the survival of agricultural indigenous knowledge. Rural "women-nature connection" (Kaur 385) provides a strong background for the rural unorthodox environmentalism that is not spiced with modern activism. During the genocide, banana plantations, trees and forests generally are painted as a haven for the hunted, the homeless and the dispossessed Tutsi; they constitute an allegory for nationalistic protection but also a mockery of the Rwandan government. Stefania had to prevent the disappearance of many species of plants; that is why, she "les cultivait non pour la consommation quotidienne mais en témoignage de ce qui était menacé de disparaître et qui, effectivement, dans le cataclysme du génocide a disparu" [cultivated them not for daily consumption but as a testimony of what was threatened to disappear and which, indeed, in the cataclysm of the genocide, has disappeared] (Mukasonga, *La femme* 44). This is not strange as wars and the military are identified as direct causes of deforestation as in El Salvador war.[7] So, Stefania's crop planting is geared towards restituting the past and preparing for the volatile ecological future as Rob Nixon admits that "to plant trees is to work towards cultivating change" (134). However, her environmentalist efforts were not able to save the Rwandan nature.

Conclusion

By my interpretation of Mukasonga's *Inyenzi ou les cafards* and *La femme aux pieds nus* as environmental texts because of their ecological consciousness, I have shown that different anthropocentric studies so far, relying on memory and trauma studies in the analysis of the Rwandan Genocide's traumatic literature, have proven to be critically minimalist and theoretically parochial. Such critical views limit the polyvalence of African literary works as an embodiment of sociocultural signs. Mukasonga uses the human trauma of her immediate family to generate another discourse which is ecological, though she does not pretend to advocate an environmental cause. The ecocritical consciousness of her writing could be referred to, in a postcolonial semiotic postulation, as a second level signification whereby human traumatic experiences act as catalysts that inspire the pastoral discourse on the ecological trauma of nonhumans during the Rwandan genocide. The lives of the Tutsi pastoralists, mirrored in past and present perspectives, show that "different ways in which people encounter the values and benefits of nature and the environment in everyday life have been highlighted: nature as a source of pleasure and transcendence from the burdens and stresses of everyday life; nature as a setting for maintaining important social ties and bonds; and nature as a set of problems whose effects had to be tacked as part of people's evolving responsibilities as mothers and parents" (Macnaghten 77). However, the Tutsi's desire for pastoral sustainability is not fulfilled; their romantic relationship with nature through culture suffers a setback, and their everyday life has become distorted because of the Rwandan Genocide.

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Anne Morrow Lindbergh’s *North To The Orient*: An Account Of An Aviator’s Emerging Environmental Consciousness *Rinni Haji Amran (Brunei Darussalam University)*

Introduction

This paper investigates the role of aviation in increasing environmental consciousness in the early twentieth century with particular focus on Anne Morrow Lindbergh’s flight account, *North to the Orient* (1935). It asks how Lindbergh’s aerial view of the changing natural landscape contributed to her awareness of environmental issues (along with her husband, she later became an environmental activist, speaking out for organizations such as the World Wildlife Fund) and man’s role in exacerbating – if not, creating – them. I also question why her environmentalist interpretation of the aerial view has been critically overlooked. Besides the current tendency to associate aeroplanes with pollution and overconsumption of natural energy sources, I illustrate how military, national, and commercial appropriation of the aeroplane obscured its environmental potential. More significantly, media coverage and critical studies have placed greater emphasis on Lindbergh’s position as a woman in a male-dominated profession, thereby obscuring the importance and potential of her unique perspective on the relationship between the aeroplane and nature. Lindbergh, I argue, did not just highlight and value nature in her text, but she also exhibited equal appreciation for the aeroplane (and technology in general) and its capacity to bring about awareness of environmental issues.

Flying in the 1930s

In 1931, Anne Morrow Lindbergh embarked on a survey flight to Japan and China from the United States with her husband Charles. The purpose of the journey was to uncover the fastest route from New York to Tokyo, which required flying over vast, uncharted territories and wide bodies of water, and several stops in remote areas. What resulted from the journey was a practicable flight route and the publication of *North to the Orient* (1935) – a deeply personal account of the discovery of the route as well as a portrayal of Lindbergh’s emerging awareness of environmental changes.

In the 1930s, much of the enthusiasm for aviation in America was directed at the heroic, predominantly masculine, figure of the aviator – a status attributed mostly to Lindbergh’s husband, Charles. Whether he was willing to accept it or not, he could not have avoided the fame that came with his momentous flight across the Atlantic in May 1927. A headline in the *New York Times* in 1927 declaring, ‘LINDBERGH CROWD SHATTERS RECORD’, demonstrates just how enthusiastic the American public was about his feat, when “sweltering thousands” (Speers 1) came to Potomac Park in Washington, DC., to witness the President congratulating their national hero. So intense was the public’s fascination with Lindbergh that he spent much of his years campaigning against tabloid journalism that often breached his privacy. On 25th March 1928, the *New York Times* also came out with an article headlined, ‘Lindbergh Weary of the Limelight’, detailing the frequent “crowd perils he faces” when he is out in public.

The passionate show of support for him is also illustrative of the patriotic sentiment bound up in the American zeal towards the aeroplane and the heroic aviator. As Joseph J. Corn states in his significant study on aviation in America, the relationship that Americans had with the aeroplane was essentially, "a love affair [… an] extraordinary affection millions of American men, women, and children felt for the flying machine" (xiii). In America, the expectations and enthusiasm for aviation were often "idealistic" and reached "utopian" heights (Corn 29), which is telling of the nation's deep belief in technological advances. Corn states, "So central was the airplane in the American imagination, in fact, that many people expected that they would soon take to the sky, flying their own family plane or helicopter" (xiii). The *New York Times*, for instance, in 1923 published a report on a possible new invention called a "flivver"—"a cross between a glider and a regular airplane"—that "aeronautic experts believe (…) soon will become as plentiful, relatively, as their namesakes" ("Flying Flivver for Every Family" xxiv). It was predicted that "every family" would want to own one as it was "befitting in respect of weight, size, fuel requirements, relative speed, and probable construction cost" (xxiv). The aeroplane can thus be seen to have brought closer this vision of a technologically-advanced, utopian America, which clearly many Americans embraced.

Ann Douglas designates the "airminded" mentality as a largely and uniquely "American phenomenon" (456). She explains:

> America's size and isolation, its exemption from the Great War, its ongoing freedom from fears of invasion and attack, and its long tradition of tying utopian hopes to technological advancement kept its enthusiasm for aviation white-hot. Only in America could you get mass-produced piggy banks, purses, fans, clocks, lamps, and (a rarer item) coffins shaped like airplanes. (456)

Oftentimes the airmindedness in America did reach bizarre levels, illustrating the great extent of U.S. citizens' support for, and belief in, the aeroplane. At one point, in an attempt to fuel public interest in aviation, "A Guernsey cow of famous lineage was carried aloft in a tri-motored Ford [and] submitted to being milked in the air" ("Small Plane Gets Air Show Interest" 27). The *New York Times* article went so far as to refer to the animal as an "air-minded cow" (27), as if to highlight unprecedented levels of technological progressiveness in the nation.

This nationwide passion for aviation can also be seen in Italy with the rise of the Futurist movement. Proponents of this movement, such as F.T. Marinetti, sought to aestheticize technological violence in the name of human progress and total liberation from the past, resulting in aero-poems and aero-paintings that reflect their belief in the aeroplane's capacity for destruction. To a larger extent, as Philip K. Lawrence points out, this aestheticization can be detected within the context of aerial warfare and discourses of air power, "where the symmetry and physical power of planes and missiles attracts adulation" (37). Such adulation was also exhibited by the fascist leader, Benito Mussolini, whose propaganda biography, titled, *Mussolini Aviator* (which came out in the same year as *North to the Orient*) captures just how significant aviation was to his fascist vision. For Mussolini, the position of the flyer is a superior one because "no machine requires so much human concentration of soul and will power as a flying machine to make it work properly," thus leading Mussolini to conclude that, "Every airman is a born Fascist" (Mattioli 4). His romanticized and patriarchal belief in the heroic status of the aviator was replicated by pro-fascists in England who sought to appropriate the aviation industry to further their imperialistic goals. Oswald Mosley, who founded the British Union of Fascists in 1932 also formed fascist flying clubs in 1934.

Considering the close association between aviation and patriarchal ideas of heroism, nationalism, and indomitable technological progress during this period, how did Lindbergh as a female aviator navigate the field? In *North to the Orient*, she reveals the struggles inherent in the outsider role she was to play. On being interviewed before her journey with her husband, Lindbergh states, "Over in the corner my husband is being asked vital masculine questions, clean-cut steely technicalities or broad abstraction. But I am asked about clothes and lunch boxes" (18). Lindbergh's frustration at the irrelevant questions—"What could I say that would have any significance? All the important questions about the trip will be answered by my husband" (*North* 18)—reveals both the silencing of her identity as an aviator in her own right by the exclusive, male-dominated field of aviation. Lindbergh also reveals the media's complicity when she recounts the inaccurate description of her clothes by a radio announcer: "'Why!' I thought blankly, looking down at a costume which did not correspond at all to his description. What nonsense! It was much too hot to wear leather" (*North* 18). Such occurrences may well have instigated her desire to insert her own distinctly female and affective narrative into skewed mainstream discourse on aviation that focused on, and even aestheticized, technological violence.

Despite her frustration at not being asked aviation-related questions, Lindbergh also admits to feeling uncomfortable when, on their stop at Ottawa, she was sat next to "one of the foremost experts on radio in the country" (*North* 31) and was expected to converse fluently with him on account of her experience—limited as it was—as an operator on their flight. Conversations about flight, then, were limited to questions concerning technicality, thus excluding Lindbergh's unique perspective which goes beyond such a subject. This exclusivity also suggests that any topic beyond technicality is not worth pursuing, and such an assumption can be detected in the majority of accounts of flight at the time. A prime example can be found in Lindbergh's own husband's account, *WE* (1927). Writing about his early barnstorming adventures, for instance, he chooses to explain how to land in bad weather rather than relate his encounters with the people interested in flying. [1]

The majority of flight accounts, like *WE*, rarely deliberate over the impact their journeys may have on society, culture, the environment, or international relations, all of which *North to the Orient* addresses. Lindbergh, for instance, writes of their short stop in Russia during their journey: "Certainly I have no modern answer to give when I am asked (…), 'I hear you've been to Russia—what did you think of it?' / I can only protest childly, 'It isn't *It*; it's *Them*, and I like them" (*North* 91). To Lindbergh, Russia is much more than its location and politics—it is a different culture inhabited by different people from which one can learn, and this refreshing perspective of travel serves as an example of what Lindbergh as an "outsider" can bring to the field of aviation.

Just as she was marginalized by the same field that she contributed to, environmental historians and historians of aviation have also seemed to leave Lindbergh's environmentalist perspective out of critical discussions, preferring instead to focus on her husband or situating her among other female aviators in the same period. Leonard S. Reich, for example, only briefly mentions Lindbergh in an article detailing her husband's growing concern for the environment despite the significant amount of writings she produced on the subject. Scholarly work on aviation also tends to portray the relationship between aviation and the natural environment negatively, especially since aeroplanes have been a major contributor to climate change since the sharp increase in air travel in the mid-1980s.[2] The overemphasis of this negative association leads to a neglect of the role that aviation can also perform in support of environmental efforts, which Lindbergh in *North to the Orient* illustrates. [3]

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[1] "I could have carried many more passengers but it rained nearly every day and each flight rutted the field badly. When I landed, it was necessary to pass over a soft spot between two hillsides, and before taking off I had to taxi back over this soft place on the way to the far corner of the field" (C. Lindbergh 60). Much of *WE* is written in this descriptive, technical manner.

[2] Recent critical studies tend to focus on sustainability policies aiming to curb the aviation industry's detrimental impact on climate change. See Bretton Weir, "Soaring to Green Heights: The Current Sustainable Initiative in the Commercial Airline Industry," *Earth Common Journal*, 3.1 (2013): 1-3; Peter John McManners, "Developing Policy Integrating Sustainability: A Case Study into Aviation," *Environmental Science and Policy*, 57 (2016): 86-92; Weiqiang Lin's "Aviation and Climate Change: Practicing Green Governmentality across the North-South Divide," *Geopolitics*, 21 (2016): 1-22.

[3] This tendency to focus on the aeroplane's destructive potential may be influenced by studies emphasizing on the national and military power of the aeroplane that have dominated the field of aviation history from Joseph Corn's *Winged Gospel* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983) to Brett Holman's *The Next War in the Air* (London: Routledge, 2014).

A Unique Voice

It seemed only natural that Lindbergh herself became an accomplished writer. Her passion for writing emerges in her letters as well as in the pages of her diaries, which she had kept since she was little. In June 1933, for instance, she worries about not having the time to write due to her busy schedule (Lindbergh, *Locked Rooms* 44). Yet, despite the numerous events she needed to attend, she nevertheless managed to complete writing her first book, *North to the Orient*—"not (…) a technical account," but rather, "an attempt to capture some of the magic," of the "unrepeatable" history of travel (Lindbergh, *North* xiii) in the first few years of aviation when flying still retained a sense of novelty. Upon publication by Harcourt Brace, *North to the Orient* sold "extremely well" and won the National Booksellers Award for non-fiction (Gherman 89). The Anne Morrow Lindbergh archive at Yale University contains numerous letters that the writer received from various readers, praising her writing and expressing their enjoyment of her book. One such letter from a reader named Adele Burden states how "tremendously impressed [he is] with the story and by the way it is told." Harold Nicolson, who had written Lindbergh's father's biography, *Dwight Morrow* (1935), added to the pile of letters by writing how "it is years since [he] read a book which [he has] enjoyed so much." Notably, he remarks upon "the panoramic focus—the feeling of two people being up above the world, the contrast between the closed intimacy of the cockpit and the wide-spread unknowable below," that made the book all the more fascinating, which is telling of Lindbergh's distinct literary style and (aerial) perspective. He heightens his praise by stating how "valuable [it is] from a literary point of view," and not just because it is simply "readable." Nicolson also sent a copy of the text to Virginia Woolf, whose works were often read by Lindbergh. Woolf had apparently told Nicolson that she read *North to the Orient* "with great pleasure" and praised Lindbergh's writing for being "too good."

It is easy to see why the text garnered as much high praise as it did as *North to the Orient* brings a meditative and affective approach to the view of the world from above. For instance, as Lindbergh contemplates the "fundamental magic of flying," which for her emerges the most when she is flying above, looking down, "Life [is] put in new patterns from the air," as if a "glaze is put over life" (Lindbergh, *North* 163). She captures a serene vision of the world below, "like slow-motion pictures which catch the moment of outstretched beauty [that] one cannot see in life itself, so swiftly does it move" (Lindbergh, *North* 164). For Lindbergh, the aerial view is valuable especially because of its ability to revitalize one's view of the world below. Interestingly, her words echo Gertrude Stein's comments on Pablo Picasso's Cubist paintings: "One must not forget that the earth seen from an airplane is more splendid than the earth seen from an automobile" (49). Stein differentiates between the two vehicles, contending that the automobile is "the end of progress on the earth" because the landscape seen from it is the same one as seen while walking, whereas the "earth seen from an airplane is something else" (49). For Lindbergh, that "something else" appears to be the affective dimension to the journey: "As we neared our geographical destination," she writes of landing in Maine, "we were also nearing our emotional one" (*North* 24). This link between the geographical and the emotional is, as is evident throughout her text, the essential component that draws readers into her descriptions of their encounters with nature.

At one point in the air, Lindbergh contemplates "the rippling skin of the river, and birds drifting like petals down the air" (*North* 163). She captures the subtle movements in her writing, which consequently ask the reader to take note and observe the fragility of the world below that instigated her and her husband's environmental conservationist efforts (Cevasco and Harmond 253). Charles, too, notes in his account that the bird's-eye view enabled by the aeroplane "let [him] know [his] country as no man had ever known it before" (*An Autobiography* 81). Their preoccupation with the natural American landscape is also clear in the photographs taken on their aerial explorations, many of which can be found in the Lindbergh Papers at the Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University. Commenting on the changing American landscape, Charles Lindbergh observes that, “In the decades that I spent flying civil and military aircraft, I saw tremendous changes taking place on the earth’s surface (…) Trees disappeared from mountains and valleys. Erosions turned clear rivers yellow. Power lines and highways stretched out beyond horizons” (*An Autobiography* 32). As Tom D. Crouch asserts, these views observed by Lindbergh during his flights had a significant impact on his environmental awareness and instigated his active involvement in causes devoted to the preservation of the environment such as the World Wildlife Fund, and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature. Demonstrating their increasing commitment to environmentalist concerns, in 1933, both husband and wife notably joined botanical experts on an aerial exploration near the Arctic Circle in order to “make collections of micro-organisms from the atmosphere,” in a collaborative study with the United States Department of Agriculture in their research concerning the epidemiology of rusts and other plant diseases.[4] The Lindberghs’ involvement in this study and several others indicates their shared vision of aviation as a tool to contribute to environmental awareness and knowledge. Their vision is echoed by aviator and writer Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, who states in *Wind, Sand and Stars* (1939), “A plane may just be a machine, but what an analytical instrument it is! It has revealed to us the true face of the earth” (33).

In an article Lindbergh wrote for *LIFE Magazine* in 1966 reflecting on her journey to Africa, she states: “Below [their plane were] great expanses of wild land stretching out in all directions: rolling plains, wooded hills, an occasional lake, a rim of distant mountains and, very far away, one peak with a plume of snow. No concrete roads, no towns, no section lines” (90). Along with the vastness of the natural land below, she also observes the wild animals that they encounter, remarking that “One is reduced to silence before rhinoceros, hippopotamus and buffalo—not only dwarfed by their size, but speechless before their unfamiliar shape, stunned by their unmistakable power” (Lindbergh, “Immersion” 95). This vastness and power of nature around her provides her with “tremendous renewal of energy,” which she states comes from “being put back in one’s place in the universe, as an animal alongside other animals—one of many miracles of life on earth, not the only miracle” (Lindbergh, “Immersion” 97). She adamantly places humans on a level equivalent to other species, thus undermining the long-held idea of human superiority. Lindbergh then laments the scarcity of such an experience in Western civilization because “the impact of science on our civilization had created the illusion that we are all-powerful and control the universe” (“Immersion” 97).

Problems arise, however, with Lindbergh’s criticism of the Western reverence for science and technology and her admiration for the natural African landscape. Lindbergh is inescapably a Western-educated, white, middle-class woman whose position as an aviator must be informed by her privileged upbringing. Her representations of the natural landscapes – including those outside of Africa – are notably romanticized and exoticized, which betrays the same Orientalist mindset that pervades the Western civilization that she criticizes. At one point, she herself hints at the temptation to see the objects and the people below as “limp, shining, detached, for me to pick up and arrange in what patterns I might choose” (*North* 163). This problematizes the environmentalist outlook she tries to adopt, as the world below is thus subjugated and forced to "perform" for her. Her admiration of the African landscape, for instance, is encouraged by the "renewal of energy" she gains. From this point of view, Lindbergh's aerial perspective bears troubling similarities with that of the bomber's.

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[4] See Fred C. Meier, ‘Collecting Micro-Organisms from the Arctic Atmosphere,’ *Scientific Monthly* (January, 1935); Manuscript and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Ct, Charles Lindbergh Papers, Writings, Speeches, Statements, and Diaries: Articles, “Collecting Micro-Organisms from the Arctic Atmosphere,” by Fred C. Meier, Field Notes and Material by CAL, Jan 1935, MS 325 Box 196 Folder 293.

Yet, *North to the Orient* remains undeniably distinct from the dominant discourses of aviation in America as well as from the majority of flight accounts at the time. On the subject of rivers, Lindbergh reflects on their powerful presence, stating that "man's gleaming cement roads which he has built with such care look fragile" in comparison to rivers that "have carved their way over the earth's face for centuries" (130). The focus in the Lindberghs' account of their journey, then, is not on them and their ability and skill to fly, but on the natural world and what flying has taught them about it. For them, the resultant human neglect of the environment is a threat to man himself as he "faces the loss of a breathing space for all that is wild and free in his spirit (…) his physical welfare also, perhaps even his survival, according to conservationists, is imperiled by the extermination of other life on this planet" (*North* 130). The aerial view, which helped precipitate this realization of the necessity of nature to human survival, can thus be seen as a powerful medium. In contrast to the patriarchal, military and nationalist view of aviation, then, Lindbergh's environmentalist interpretation of the aerial views help to emphasize the constructive potential of the aeroplane.

An Environmentalist Narrative Emerges

It is not only the nature-focused content of *North to the Orient* that differentiates it from many other flight accounts at the time. Anne Morrow Lindbergh's unique aerial view can also be seen to affect her style of writing, producing what appears to be a hybrid narrative suited to an environmentalist outlook. She resists conventional narrative form and style perhaps in an attempt to capture her idiosyncratic opinions, ideas, and feelings about their journey. Rather than writing in straightforward traditional prose, she mixes in poetry and images of maps, forming a hybrid narrative not unlike the fragmented, modernist writings being produced at the time. For instance, Lindbergh includes a Japanese hokku—the opening verse of a poem—which she came upon on a stop in Japan:

> How far in chase today
>   I wonder
> Has gone my Hunter
>   Of the dragon fly! (*North* 119)

While Lindbergh does not elaborate on the significance of the poem for her, readers may have recognized that this hokku, which the Japanese hostess explains is "about the mother whose little boy has died," (*North* 119) must have resonated with Lindbergh due to the kidnapping and death of her own one-year-old son a few years earlier. Even though Lindbergh only includes a brief section of this poem, it nevertheless speaks volumes about her position as a grieving mother as well as the universality of the experience of motherhood, given that the poem is Japanese. The inclusion of the Japanese hokku thus adds not only a different cultural perspective to *North to the Orient* but also a more personal and emotional dimension to the travel narrative. On that note, Lindbergh's account of flight is markedly illustrative of Wendy Parkins's statement that "women's writing often reflected the diverse affective experience of modernity," (15) thus distinguishing their depictions from those of their male counterparts. While the poem may have nothing to do with flight itself and may detract the text from being seen as a substantial flight account, it is precisely such inclusions that make *North to the Orient* invaluable. It is her uniquely inclusive point-of-view that is able to accommodate and articulate the interconnections between the seemingly disparate subjects of aviation, motherhood, and nature. Such an all-encompassing perspective is what is needed in order to highlight the environmental concerns that should be paid attention to by all – men and women, mothers, aviators, writers, and readers of all racial and cultural backgrounds. And in order to portray such an inclusive perspective, one needs to adopt an inclusive narrative style.

In addition to lines of verse, Lindbergh includes a small map on the first page of each chapter to show which section of the journey the chapter is referring to. She thus restructures the narrative standard form to include other viewpoints of her journey. The maps are provided by her husband as indicated in the title page, “With Maps by Charles A. Lindbergh,” and this neatly references his leading role in the journey, which is to navigate their plane using such maps. These maps also effectively juxtapose the technical aspect of the journey with Lindbergh’s more intimate perspective and highlights the simplified, perhaps reductive, view of the world as contained in maps. Maps are also arguably indicative of the illusion of human mastery over land and symbolic of the exertion of colonial power over others. As Graham Huggan points out, the production of maps, “such as the reinscription, enclosure, and hierarchization of space [provide] an analogue for the acquisition, management, and reinforcement of colonial power” (21). Even so, it seems unlikely that Lindbergh included the maps specifically to undermine or criticize their use. Rather, it would be more plausible to suggest that Lindbergh included the maps to add another, more visual viewpoint to her story for her readers’ interest.

Lindbergh thus resists the conventional narrative form not only in order to reflect the events and occurrences of her journey more accurately, but also to reflect her idiosyncratic views as an aviator. For instance, when she practices communicating in Morse code on the aeroplane’s radio equipment to a distant radio operator and asks him how her messages are, she describes the operator’s reply as follows:

> ‘Pretty - - - good - - -‘the letters ran slowly into words as I copied, ‘but - - - a - - - little - - - heavy - - - on - - - the - - - dashes—‘ (It seemed intensely funny to me, this slow deliberate conversation with a strange person somewhere on Long Island.) ‘—just - - - like - - - my - - - wife’s - - - sending.’” (Lindbergh, *North* 14)

Lindbergh faithfully records the sound pattern of their conversation in Morse code by including the multiple dashes which fragment the flow of the prose and effectively reflects the fragmentation and slowness of their actual conversation. She further breaks the flow by inserting her own thoughts in parentheses, which gives readers further insight into her view of the conversation. The fragmentation of the narrative of the past in order to depict the present can be seen as a way of widening the narrative perspective, notably emulating the all-encompassing aerial view. Technology in this case is shown to aid communication between remote persons, rather than facilitate a hierarchical relationship between the two.

Conclusion

It is important to note this distinction, as it is what sets *North to the Orient* apart from other accounts of flight. Not only does Lindbergh allow space for her own voice within the text, but she also lends her voice to the physical environment which she effectively acknowledges is an essential collaborator, and not just a component, in realizing human flight successfully. Looking at their plane against the backdrop of the Nanking wall in China, she imagines a conversation between the two:

> “I am a wall. Generations have passed under my gates; wars and destruction have broken over me like waves. I am still here – a wall.”
> “I am a plane. Power and speed. I traverse space and race with time. You are bound; but I can fly – I am a plane.”
> “I am a wall. You are a plane; you will be gone tomorrow. But I – I

will be here forever – a wall."
"a plane …"
"… a wall …" (Lindbergh, *North* 135)

Although the plane and the wall have reached an impasse in their argument, it is nevertheless an on-going dialogue, highlighted by the ellipses. Both the plane and the wall acknowledge each other's presence and this imagined conversation appears to signal the need for a similar conversation between humans and the environment. While Lindbergh may have been writing from a limited and privileged point-of-view, she nevertheless takes the first necessary steps in loosening her narrative and incorporating into her text the multiple voices of her collaborators, that is, technology and nature, thus significantly distinguishing her environmentalist point-of-view from the mainly nationalist and militarist narratives of aviation at the time.

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Women, The Environment, And The Ability To Act In Morocco: Gentle Effervescence *(Soumia Boutkhil (Université Mohammed I, Oujda, Morocco)*

> “Very poor people have little choice but to live with disaster.”
> (Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums.* 2006)

Introduction

In November 2016, Morocco hosted the 22nd edition of the Conference of Parties (COP 22) in Marrakech. The forum was an opportunity for Moroccan women NGOs to take center-stage in the debates on climate change, land rights and gender challenges. Indeed, women are primarily affected by climate change as the gender division of labor within households as well as income and resources gap greatly disfavor women. Yet, their needs are mostly overlooked in the narrative of environmental governance.

This article aims to study two different but interconnected issues related to the environment: on the one hand, the feminization of the forest engineering profession and the impact it has on the effort of forest management and conservation or lack thereof, and on the other, the land rights movement led by the *soulaliyate*[1] women who are protesting against their exclusion from collective lands.

The two subjects will be approached through the prism of "critical mass" theory and "social visibility"[2] as defined by feminists in the mid-1970s.[53] Indeed, feminist scholars, activists and philosophers have long claimed that history either underrepresent or misrepresent women's contribution to the collectivity while it highlighted men's efforts.

I- The Role of Women in Forest Management in Morocco: Critical Mass and Change

The theory of "critical mass" is borrowed from physics, it means the point of an irreversible chain of reaction in any process. In social dynamics, critical mass means the representation of any minority within a group of power that can impact this same group. In general, this force of change is located in a presence of 20% to 30% of the group (Dahlerup, 1988). Even if the performance self-assessment of these minorities called "*Token*" (Crowley, 2004) is not always satisfactory, their presence is the beginning of a change that will certainly impact their peers. Several studies have attempted, for instance, to demonstrate how the presence of a critical mass of women in the legislature has led to the adoption of legislation in favor of women (Kanter, 1977, Dahlerup, 1988, 2006, Childs and Krook, 2008). Early work on the issue looked at how women in such contexts lived their experiences as a minority within male dominated institutions; it focused on how they strategized to survive and perform despite the challenges they faced. Both Kanter's and Dahlerup's work is important as it enables us to understand the evolution of the gender dynamics in power structures over the years as the representation of women grows into significant numbers. Kanter asserts that the majority within a social group dominates not only the group but also its culture, so that the *tokens* are forced into a symbolic representation of their social group, but can't impact the group (Kanter, 1977). Ironically, minority status exposes minority subjects to greater visibility (Kanter, 1977) not in terms of recognition, but rather because it puts their work under close scrutiny, so much so that any shortcomings or limitations are often pointed at and directly related to their gender. Therefore, *Tokens* have to perform better than others; they enter the labor market with a clear disadvantage: that of being the subject of multiple stereotypes that are hard to overlook (Correll, 2013). Accordingly, Correll argues that we sex-categorize people around us in all situations and contexts, whether they are standing in front of us or we are handling their applications or watching their performance. The categorization affects our expectation of that individual, which will then lead to bias (Correll, 2015), therefore, our judgment of the person's performance is flawed because it is built on assumptions of categories' capabilities or limitations rather than on a person's real achievements.

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[1] The *Soulaliyates* are the women descendant from tribes/ethnic groups; they are excluded from the inheritance of collective lands and have been struggling since 2007 to demand the abolition of the *Dahir* (Royal Decree) of 27 April 27th 1919 and the recognition of their right to inheritance on an equal footing with men.

[2] Visibility has been the subject of several studies: Martin Jay examines in *Downcast Eyes: the Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* its dominant position in twentieth century western culture with political and social oppression.

[3] Bridenthal Renate and Koonz Claudia, *Becoming Visible: Women in European History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977).

The sex-categorization, I argue becomes more acute when both male and female choose to experience something different from what their gender assigns them to in a given context. Men and women in less conventional jobs for instance are constantly challenged while navigating between bias and self-limitation. Layers of complexity exacerbate the sex-categorization in traditional cultures along with race, class and ethnicity. Concerns about these biases arise when they affect the lives of individuals; limiting their potential or disadvantaging them considerably for career choice or advancement.

1- The Feminization of Forest Engineering in Morocco: the Insignificance of Numbers

According to the statistics of the Ministry of Higher Education, the rate of feminization of the student body in the engineer programs is 16.23%. Although the figures seem very low, the field of engineering has always been very attractive especially to young women who see in it the prospects of professional stability and social prestige. The engineering schools are highly selective, the number of seats are limited, and admission is based on grade selection and entry exams. In general, students applying for engineering programs also apply to other selective programs such as medical, dentistry or architecture schools. In most cases, the choice is based on the social status attached to the future profession they will get, not interest in a particular field of study.

However, the feminization of the forest engineering sector in Morocco is very recent as the profession was thought to be tough and inappropriate for women. It was not until the 1990s that the first women forest engineers started to make inroads in the field. Today, female students at the *École Nationale Forestière d'Ingénieurs* (ENFI) constitute one third of the total number of students. After successfully passing application selection, admission tests, all the students (males and females) take up residence at the school and follow a strict program where physical training and military discipline as well as theoretical and practical curriculum are taught. As the forestry sector is government-run, ENFI graduates, unlike other engineers, are all offered jobs with the government immediately upon graduation as they are called on to join one of the 12 Regional Directorates (divided into 55 subdivisions or 'Delegations') of the *Haut Commissariat des Eaux et Forêts et de Lutte Contre la Desertification* (HCEFLCD). But, of the twelve Directorates only the one in the region of Fez is headed by a woman, whereas all of the 55 Regional Delegations are headed by men. One may wonder where all the trained female engineers are. What responsibility, if any do they hold within their institutions? Or is the situation no different from other parts of the world where the engineering sector is strongly dominated by men? Isn't their absence the result of the prevailing sex-category stereotype? Numerous studies examined the impact of stereotype in limiting interest or even success for women in the field (Beasley & Fischer, 2012; Brett & al, 2013). Many point at what is known as the *stereotype threat* that impacts the performance of female engineers. The psychological pressure on women who feel that they are "outsiders" to the profession lowers their intellectual performance (Steele, 1997; Beilock, & al 2007).

Yet, regardless of their number or the difference of context, or even of the work culture, women forest engineers are remarkably absent from decision making positions. But given the rapid degradation of forests in Morocco, wouldn't it make a difference if women brought their own perspective to the efforts of preservation? Wouldn't that contribute to overturning the process of deforestation and environmental degradation? Indeed, the role of female engineers is vital in ensuring sustainable development. Being a woman, I argue, may be the first step in the participative ecology preservation effort. Women are apt to engage the communities living in enclosed areas in dialogue and make sure they –whether male or female- get an equal share of the income generated by the forest, with no political considerations or discrimination. Indeed, women are able to show empathy, both as a persuasion strategy, but also as an experience to explore ways to work with women in rural areas and help them ensure the livelihood of their children, guarantee their education and at the same time care in greater respect for the environment. The lack of understanding of the complexity of gender and gender roles and the variation of these concepts in different contexts, rural, urban, ethnic, etc. adds layers of complexity that can be difficult to overcome if one is to present a strategy to save the environment.

But, since all of the engineering positions in the sector of forestry are guaranteed by the state (career, promotion, health and retirement benefits), women engineers of forestry are less tempted to invest their energy getting out there and initiate change. In the absence of competition-based incentives, and of recognition thereof, female forest engineers avoid any confrontation with either their line managers or colleagues over issues related to their work. After all, they have received paramilitary training throughout their education at ENFI, and obedience and discipline are key to their promotion. The promotion system being based on obedience to hierarchy and the number of years at the job, women engineers, despite being ambitious, do not dispute not being considered for a higher position within the institutional hierarchy.[64] It is not surprising then that many female forest engineers invest their time and effort more in their family lives rather than in their careers; a choice that seamlessly conforms with what society expects of women. As the work environment is socially and culturally constructed, it therefore constitutes the articulation and prolongation of the society's continuum of values. It comes as no surprise at all, that women engineers will yield to traditional gender roles defined by their culture. Studies on the feminization of certain professions in Morocco (Badissy, 2011; Boutkhil, 2016) show the challenges that women face when they enter prestigious positions such as university professors or Judges. While some professions such as medicine, dentistry, pharmacy and primary education have almost attained gender parity; discrimination against women and their exclusion from decision-making positions remains a widespread practice in the work field.

It is true that Morocco has made considerable progress in legislation[75] in favor of women's rights, but it is unfortunate to note that these advances are not reflected in the inclusion of women in the workplace. The report of the Economic and Social Council on the state of gender equality in Morocco[86] points to the decline in female activity from 28.1% in 2000 to 25.1% in 2013. The numbers may not seem alarming, but it is important to consider that the decrease comes at a time when more and more girls have a college degree, the tendency should have been an increase in their presence in the job market. While professional activity is considered non-negotiable for men especially if they hold a degree, it remains culturally secondary to the biological role of women and tend to minimize its importance. Women are deemed better at raising children, educating and caring rather than taking responsibility at the workplace, managing or leading a team. Such stereotypes[97] have been

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[4] In my interviews with ENFI graduates and HCEFLCD, I came across a similar case where an employee was discontented with the justification she received for not being retained for a position she had applied to, but she did not dispute the decision.

[5] Morocco has undertaken legislative reforms to promote women's rights (Labor Code, 2003, Family Code, 2004, Nationality Code, 2007, Electoral Code, 2009, Constitution of 2011.)

[6] Economic and Social Council, Auto-Saisine n° 18/2014. Promotion of equality between women and men in economic, social, cultural and political life "Discrimination against women in economic life: realities and recommendations."

[7] We use Lippmann's definition of the stereotype (1921) which describes it as images in our heads and simplified descriptive categories by which we seek to situate others or groups of individuals. A kind of cognitive shortcuts.

around to the point that women, although trained at such things, doubt in their capabilities and accept minor roles.

Studies in social psychology have shown that stereotypes about men and women influence professional relationships and polarize the performance of each other creating a space favorable to discrimination against women (Goldin & Rouse, 2000; Correll, 2007). Stereotypes limit women, but they open up possibilities for men; thus, studies show that the discrimination against mothers at the workplace greatly impedes their career and delays their promotion. However, paternity is often perceived as a safety for the employer, entitling fathers to more privilege in terms of salary (Budig, 2014). These disparities reveal that most cultures continue to perceive women's work as being less important than that of men who are generally considered heads of households. Yet, stereotypes emanate as much from men as from women themselves who not only accept but justify them. In a shocking study, psychologist Anna Fels found that women are taught from a younger age that ambition is a dangerous terrain, it not only shows them as egoistic and manipulative but defeminizes them (Fels, 2004).

2-Forestry Management and Preservation: the Cost of Ineffective Feminization

Moroccan forest land cover about 12.7% of the national territory, it is considered the private domain of the State and local residents have a right to use certain commodities (Mhirit & Bléro, 1999). It creates about 28,000 jobs in forestry campaigns, 14,000 jobs in the processing sector, 26,000 jobs in the collection of fuel wood, and other 50,000 jobs in different other sectors, totaling about 100 million working days (Naji, 2010). It is obvious that such figures stir up the desires of speculators of all kinds. Indeed, political, economic and social issues prevail over the aspiration to preserve the environment. If the forest covers about 30% of the timber and industry needs and covers one-third of the energy and cattle feed, it is a boon for the communes as it generates more than 200 million DH annually to rural communes (Benzyane, 2007). But forests are also the site of political competition between tribes trading votes for free bonuses at the expense of the environment.

Since the nineties, Morocco has launched a periodic inventory of the country's forests and in-depth diagnostics in order to limit the degradation of the forest domain and develop a strategy for its development in the short, medium and long term. The National Forest Program (NFP) has relied heavily on the participatory approach to include local people in forest conservation efforts. Regional and provincial directorates of the HCEFLCD played a key role in these consultations.

Despite the skepticism one might have about the efficiency of participatory governance, it is believed that good governance requires consultation of a large base of beneficiaries so people on top make informed decisions. This approach empowers stakeholders at all levels because it departs from a simple, but key idea: that people are the "experts" of their own environment (social and otherwise). However, the limitations of such an approach reside in the lack of women's participation in rural areas where they might be intimidated to attend meetings and speak up. Alternative scenarios where men from tribes consult with women and speak on their behalf actually dilute the whole concept of women's participation. In fact, women are often absent from the governing bodies of most associations and cooperatives, which deprives them from attending coordination meetings, or sharing their grievances and negotiating for their own interests (Baguare, 2013). In addition to the cultural limitations, language problems constitute a real challenge for women to articulate their needs or voice their dissatisfaction and discontent. Most women in these regions are illiterate and largely speak *Amazigh*, while meetings are conducted in a mixture of Moroccan Arabic *Darija* with a mixture of classical Arabic, which limits their ability to communicate during the meetings.

With these constraints, one is forced to admit that the way participatory approach is executed clearly limited its scope.

Yet, the work done by development economist Bina Agarwal on the participation of women in forest management has informed many communities on the importance of the inclusion of women in forest governance. She pointed out that State approaches to forest conservation has been proved inefficient since statistics showed the rapid degradation of these areas with serious deforestation in some regions. Agarwal studied the impact of women's absence from forest management and its economic impact on households. She advocates for greater presence of women in the governing bodies of forests (Agarwal, 2001), since women's contact with the forest is much longer and more important than that of men. Indeed, whether in Asia or Latin America or even in Morocco, women more than men depend on forest resources mainly for the gendered division of labor within rural households. Indeed, in most countries, poor women don't own land, their means of living, and those of their families, depend largely on forests: wood for cooking and heating, herbs, grazing and small farming. All of these activities are done in an anarchic way. Men mostly deal in important products such as timber, carob, cork, tannins, truffles, acorn, fodder, mushrooms, medicinal plants and cattle grazing, while women contribute in these but are not always empowered to make a stable and equal revenue. Theoretically, these activities in the context of Morocco at least are strictly reserved for limited beneficiaries[108] under strict regulation. However, studies from HCEFLCD[9] prove that those activities are extensively exhausting the fauna and the flora because of overgrazing estimated between 45% to 62%, irrational extracts of products, lack of proper equipment and the absence of a rational strategy on the use of the resources. According to the ministry of agriculture, over 98% of the farms are spontaneous relying only on precipitation. This fragile situation is made even worse by the number of intermediaries intervening between farmers and market. Those traders control the market and have exclusive monopoly over regions and products. There are over 500 cooperatives in forestry with a total of 18 000 members, however, most of them are illiterate which puts them at a great risk of exploitation.[1110] Most members complain that income distribution is not always fair if we compare the work that some members do within the cooperative. The stake in the cooperatives is even higher as Morocco ranks 12th worldwide for the production of aromatic and medicinal plants, offering over 4,200 species. The average annual sales of aromatic and medicinal plants are 5.3 million dirhams (Maazouz, 2016). Women's cooperatives have been vital in this business as cheap labor force on the one hand and as an obvious windfall of money for projects thought by men and mostly benefiting them more than women. Indeed, many studies have shown that while most cooperatives profess to empower women, their claim that such empowerment leads to more leadership in the household remains questionable (Gillot, 2016, Guérin, 2011). In most cases, the work within the cooperative is an extra chore that adds up to the rest of tasks women do within their homes.

However, the participatory[12] approach in forest management is not limited to the inclusion of few members of the rural population; such an approach is intrinsically false

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[8] Amenzou, 2016 offers a detailed definition of "Beneficiaries" and its historical and political evolution.

[9] Study by HCEFLCD. 2008. *Stratégie Nationale de Développement du Secteur des Plantes Aromatiques et Medicinales au Maroc.*

[10] Evaluation of the work of forest cooperations by Jocelyn Lessard, director of Fédération québécoise des coopératives forestières (FQCF) during his visit in May 2016.

[11] For more Bina Agarwal 2001 "Participatory Exclusions, Community Forestry, and Gender: An Analysis for South Asia and a Conceptual Framework."

[12] For more Bina Agarwal 2001 "Participatory Exclusions, Community Forestry, and Gender: An Analysis for South Asia and a Conceptual Framework."

because the needs and conditions of women are more complex than they appear. Only an effective presence of women in management bodies within cooperatives and committees will ensure a change in the conservation of the environment. Indeed, the empirical study conducted in India and Nepal shows that the presence of a female representation of 25% to 33% in forest management committees is capable of significantly improving the state of forests. The presence of this critical mass both for engineers, technicians and government representatives as well as for the beneficiaries will guarantee an open and more effective dialogue about sustainability. Women's dependence on forest resources has been proved the same almost in all underdeveloped countries (Shackleton et al., 2011). Therefore, gender aggregated data on forest use —that takes into consideration the time women and girls spend in preparing food, gathering wood, fetching water, washing, caring for the family, shepherding in addition to shelling the Argan fruit or harvesting Rosemary or other plants—is essential to understanding the value of including them as important stakeholders in forest conservation. Women understand the value of forest regeneration for their everyday routine because they are the first beneficiaries in terms of time and effort management; they can drive the change within their households if they are fully included in the whole process. Positive impact of women's inclusion in forestry management will only increase when other more educated women i.e., forest engineers are taking charge.

3-The Role of Women in Forest Management in Morocco: When Social Visibility is more Effective than Education

The struggle for *visibility* originated in the eighties and nineties of the last century when debates on identity politics stimulated much interest in minority identities resisting totalizing discourses. At its core is the effort to reconstruct the narrative of women's concealed histories. Feminist thought thus challenged the assumption that the presence of women in the public sphere is a sign of their *visibility*; such a simplistic statement hides complex cultural structures of resistance to women's full participation as equal citizens. They point out that women's presence in the public arena does not necessarily resolve the question of their *visibility*, because while they may be present physically, their role is not as important as the one played by their male counterpart. *Visibility* is therefore rooted in a power struggle played out at the boundaries of race, class and gender, so that while minority women, for example, are denied visibility in certain spheres, their bodies are *hypervisibile*, commodified and sexualized (Mowatt & Al. 2013). Hegemonic groups systematically dominate the scene and exercise a power of concealment on minority groups that is both "dangerous and painful" (Rich 1984); the concealed identity may be visible, but stripped of its capacity to act. In the same vein, Andrea Mubi Brighenti directly links *visibility* to the question of the exercise of democracy. He asserts that visibility cannot be reduced to a simple visual problem; it is a symbolic field that corresponds to positions of power and perceptions not directly perceptive. It resides in the intersection of the two domains of aesthetics (relations of perception) and of politics (relations of power) (Brighenti 2008). *Visibility* therefore defines positions of power and marginality as is the case in patriarchal cultures where although more and more women have jobs, they hardly make it to middle management positions, let alone senior management ones. This discrimination marks this insurmountable line that separates men and women; it shows the power of men and the marginality of women. Consequently, the *visibility* of women in the public sphere does not necessarily lead to the recognition of their entitlement to the same rights as men on an equal footing. They are aesthetically seen but not politically perceived.

Visibility and *intervisibility* impact the lives of the subjects seen. The relationship between the looker and the looked at constitutes the site of mutual recognition, the site of the construction of the "subject." *Visibility* leads to recognition; it could be strategically used and manipulated to obtain real social effects (Brighenti 2008). The case of the *soulaliyates* in Morocco is a good illustration of how the construction of this social group that was initially denied any political recognition forced its presence through protests, banners, slogans and media coverage. The women that compose this group succeeded in imposing their presence at the forefront of the political arena. Their invisibility within the tribes had certainly deprived them from their rights as women within a tribal system, but it has empowered them to be visible beyond the boundaries of the tribe.

The case of the *soulaliyates* is highly symbolic even though the financial stakes are the real driving force behind their resistance to repeal the *Dahir* (Decree) of April 1919 that "sanctified" the exclusion of women from land ownership, reinforcing thus the patriarchal perception not only of the tribe, but also state-approved discriminatory policies. Indeed, even though Moroccan society has evolved since 2004 and women's conditions have relatively improved, it seems clear that the *Dahir* uses the incentive of rights to collective land to intervene not only in individual's rights to mobility, but in their free choice of their partners and that of their reproductive rights. The law backed the tribesmen's control of the mobility of rights holders and set the geographic limits within which women are confined; if they marry outside their own ethnic group, they lose their entitlement to collective land. This restriction does not affect men if they decide to do the same. Likewise, young men lose their rights if they decide not to marry or not to have children, the imperative of "*chef de famille*"[13] entails having children. The persistence of such a narrow definition of who is entitled to land is in contradiction with the social and political changes occurring in the country. Land rights are not based on (male or female) citizen's indivisible rights, but rather on the biological roles of reproduction, even though many claim that the norms set for community land inheritance are fair. The logic of head of household's entitlement to community land is based on the assumption that men are the only providers for the family. However, one can argue that men migrate to seek better opportunities while women are "stuck" on a land that sometimes they can't benefit from.

II- The Struggle for Land Rights

1-Rural Ethnic Women's Fight for Equality

Moroccan women have over the last two decades succeeded to repeal the outdated family law that held them under the tutorship of the closest male member in the family. They have successfully elected more women to the legislature, and obtained clear recognition of their equality with men in the constitution. Yet they have failed to push for a clear legislation to ensure equality between all rights holders to communal land. Women's access to land ownership remains complex and subjected to two different types of laws: a traditional regime governed by customs and the Muslim law (the percepts of the *Maliki* rite) administered by the religious notaries (*Adouls)*; and a modern regime called "land registration" administered by notaries, and instituted by the *Dahir* of August 12, 1913 during the French protectorate. In addition to the previous distinction, a "plurality" of land statuses[14] is recognized by the law as emphasized by the human rights activist, Fatiha Daoudi (Daoudi 2011). These two distinct laws for land are not typical to Morocco, they exist also in many Muslim majority countries (Sait 2015).

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[13] For a long time, the right of succession was limited to the head of the household defined as a married man with children. Lately, some tribes have included single young men on the list of rights holders.

[14] Paul Decroux cites seven different land statutes in Morocco: 1) property *Melk*; 2) collective lands *Joumou'a*; 3) lands *Guich*; (4) the private domain of the State; 5) the *Habous*; 6) registered land and 7) Muslim customary rights. Apart from the land registered, these statutes obey the Moslem law and the customs. See also M'Hassni et al. "The Land Systems in Morocco. A Security and a Faculty of Sustainable Development, Urban and Rural," *International Federation of Geometers.* https://www.fig.net/resources/proceedings/fig_proceedings/morocco/proceedings/TS1/TS1_5_mhassni_et_al.pdf

As a sure consequence of exclusion, Moroccan women's access to agricultural land ownership remains very low in comparison with other sub-Saharan African countries. Indeed, only 7% of urban properties and barely 1% in rural areas belong to women. According to the 1996 agricultural census, only 4.4% of farms are held by women[15] (Sarhani 135). These numbers are shockingly low as studies have shown that land ownership by women does not only empower women to be autonomous, but significantly reduces incidences of gender based violence as well. As Agarwal (2010) argues, land ownership is still seen as a valuable form of property vital for social status. The following table shows the male monopoly of land in the countries in the MENA region:

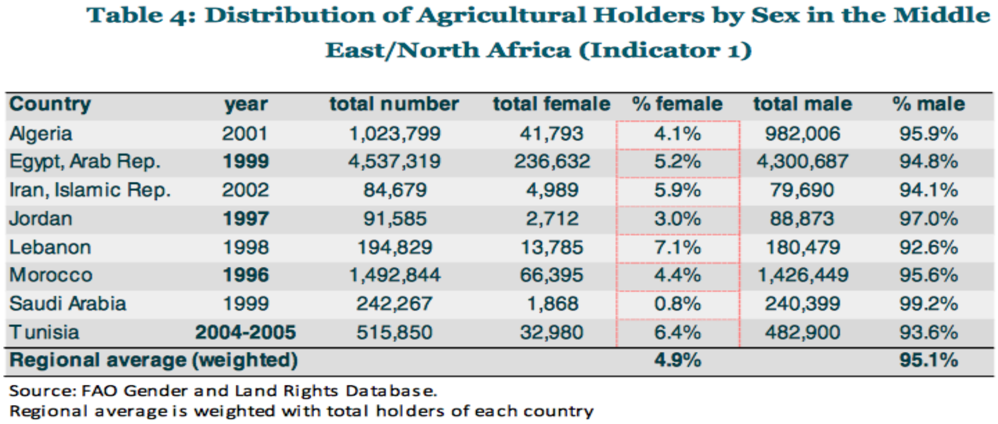

Table 4: Distribution of Agricultural Holders by Sex in the Middle East/North Africa (Indicator 1)

Country	year	total number	total female	% female	total male	% male
Algeria	2001	1,023,799	41,793	4.1%	982,006	95.9%
Egypt, Arab Rep.	**1999**	4,537,319	236,632	5.2%	4,300,687	94.8%
Iran, Islamic Rep.	2002	84,679	4,989	5.9%	79,690	94.1%
Jordan	**1997**	91,585	2,712	3.0%	88,873	97.0%
Lebanon	1998	194,829	13,785	7.1%	180,479	92.6%
Morocco	**1996**	1,492,844	66,395	4.4%	1,426,449	95.6%
Saudi Arabia	1999	242,267	1,868	0.8%	240,399	99.2%
Tunisia	**2004-2005**	515,850	32,980	6.4%	482,900	93.6%
Regional average (weighted)				**4.9%**		**95.1%**

Source: FAO Gender and Land Rights Database.
Regional average is weighted with total holders of each country

But women's exclusion from land property is not inherent to developing countries only, it was not until the eighteen and nineteenth centuries that things started to change in Europe. In Morocco, like most Muslim majority countries, inheritance laws guarantee the right of women to the family heritage be it land, estate or other. However, the customary law in many regions in the country forbids women from inheriting the land for fear of removing the patrimony from family or tribal control (Le Coz 1964). This exclusion was justified by the assumption that women can't be farmers, although, most of the labor force in agriculture has progressively become female.

Political considerations also control land ownership; if in the past, the rivalries and disputes between tribes justified the exclusion of women, today the financial stakes and political interests are the most likely reasons. The collective lands governed by the *Dahir* of April 27th 1919 are defined as the properties of the tribes and are declared "inalienable, non-assignable and non-transferable." Estimated at around 15 million hectares, collective lands constitute almost one third of the agricultural, forest, pastoral territory, divided between pastures (12.6 million hectares), agriculture (2 million hectares), forests, protected areas and urban perimeters (Ait Mous & Berriane 2015; Berriane 2015). These lands represent the assets of more than 4631 ethnic groups/tribes nationwide, and approximately 2.5 million rights holders.[16]Subsequent changes in organizing the exploitation of these lands took place in March 1926, October 1937, December 1941, and in February 1963 when a major reform was introduced. It consisted in replacing article 4 of the 1919 *Dahir* with article 11 which states that "by way of derogation from the provisions of the present article, the acquisition of a collective building by the State, municipalities, public institutions and ethnic (tribal) communities, may be carried out either by mutual agreement in the case where the collective owner and the tutorship council are in agreement or by expropriation in the opposite case".[17] In fact, The *Dahir* of 1919 establishes the administrative tutorship of the Ministry of Interior on the collective lands. It grants the right to these lands exclusively to "heads of households," thus excluding women and young bachelors from the right of use on these lands in an almost systematic way. In 1957, the Ministry of Interior even published a memo on the standardization of the conditions for the division of collective land and a definition of the "heads of households": "men married for at least six months or widows of collectivists with at least one child." This transformation of plural customary practices into a standardized governance regime has favored the exclusion of women.

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[15] The FAO website provides official statistics for women in agriculture around the world.
http://www.fao.org/gender-landrights-database/data-map/statistics/en/

[16] Moroccan Women and Collective Lands, Report of *Association Démocratique des Femmes du Maroc* and *Forum des Alternatives Maroc*, 2009.
http://www.genreenaction.net/IMG/pdf/Maroc___les_femmes_et_les_terres_collectives.pdf

However, the nominal phrase and the definition of "head of family" refer to a patriarchal conception of the family that matches neither the spirit of the Constitution nor the definition of family in the Family Code. Maintaining this today is a clear infringement of article 4 of the family code and article 19 of the constitution.[18] The reason behind cultural resistance to the principle of joint responsibility of the spouses over the family is the fear of altering the authority of man as head of the family and the possible social transformations that may come with it—which by the way are already happening. Placing the system governing collective lands under the aegis of custom rather than modifying in agreement with the principles of the constitution is an ambivalent way of preserving the interests of powerful individuals and organization. This is even more obvious as there is no clear and precise clause in the *Dahir* of 1919, nor in the changes brought to the text that explicitly prohibits women from access to collective lands. This was the argument used by the *Association Démocratique des Femmes du Maroc* (ADFM) that joined the strenuous advocacy movement since 2007 in its defense of ethnic women's rights to property.

In fact, ten years after the women of the *Haddada* tribe first protested against this injustice, the *soulaliyate* movement counts more than 2000 women.[19] To counter the mounting pressure, the authorities responded by three palliative measures. The first action was a memo dated July 23rd 2009 addressed to the *Wali* (highest appointed authority in a Region) of the El Gharb-Chrarda-Beni Hssen Region and Governor of the Province of Kenitra with the objective of running a pilot project in the province where the parties concerned were to engage consultations to reconsider the terms of rights holders in order to "enable women, like men, to be included in the lists of rights holders." In November 2009, as a result of the above-mentioned initiative, 792 women from Qasbat Mehdia were finally able to receive the remaining portion of the compensation paid to the tribe in one of the previous transactions from which they were excluded. Even though the compensation for the land sold previously was below expectations—as it has been indexed to the Islamic inheritance system, the movement's outcome remains a significant achievement as it made possible for rights holders to seek reparation from a court of law to dispute the exclusion.[20] In this sense it can be considered a milestone in the long struggle for economic equality between men and women in Morocco.

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[17] « Par dérogation aux dispositions de l'article du présent dahir, l'acquisition d'un immeuble collectif par l'Etat, les communes, les établissements publics et les collectivités ethniques (tribus), peut être réalisée, soit de gré à gré, dans le cas où la collectivité propriétaire et le conseil de tutelle sont d'accord, soit par voie d'expropriation dans le cas contraire. »

[18] Article 4: "Marriage is a legal contract by which a man and a woman mutually consent to unite in a common and enduring conjugal life. Its purpose is fidelity, virtue and the creation of a stable family, under the supervision of both spouses according to the provisions of this *Moudawana*."
Article 19: "The man and the woman enjoy, in equality, the rights and freedoms of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and environmental character, enounced in this Title and in the other provisions of the Constitution, as well as in the international conventions and pacts duly ratified by Morocco and this, with respect for the provisions of the Constitution, of the constants [constantes] of the Kingdom and of its laws. The State works for the realization of parity between men and women."

[19] Statistics provided by Saida Drissi, President of ADFM during a press conference on March 2017. A study on the socio-economic profile of women *soulaliyates* carried out by *La Ligue Marocaine pour la Citoyenneté et les Droits.* A summary is available at: Théa Olivier, "Study: Portrait-Robot of Women *Soulaliyates* in Morocco," *Telquel*. http://telquel.ma/2017/03/08/portrait-robot-femmes-soulaliyates_1538211

The second act was the issuance in October 2010 of a second memo by the Ministry of Interior addressed to the *Walis* and governors of all the 12 regions of the country conferring upon all *soulaliyate* women the status of rights holders to collective land. Finally, in March 2012, the latest memo provides additional clarification for better implementation of this process (Ait Mous & Berriane, 2015).

However, while some regions have begun to include women in official lists of rights holders, others still continue to resist on the basis that the memo does not have the power of law; it is merely an internal memorandum for organizational purposes. The major change yet in the *soulaliyates*' case is the election in 2014 of five women delegates[21] to the council along with three men for the *Haddada* tribe near Kenitra. These delegates will sit for a six-year term renewable once in the representative committees of the rights holders (*Jmaa*), which is composed of the representatives of the Ministry of Interior, and of the HCEFLCD.

2-The Disaster of Urbanization and Environmental Justice

Although the *Dahir* of 1919 states that collective lands belong to the ethnic community and are therefore inalienable (Article 4), it does give the supervisors of the *Jamaâ* (tribal assembly) and other members of the Trusteeship Council (Article 11) the right of transferring the property and even selling the land. As a result, estate developers have been eying these lands, especially the ones in the suburbs of big cities. Thus, in recent years, many real estate projects emerged on those collective lands, which created multiple problems for rights holders.

The most recent example of land transfer that has triggered a large movement of resistance and unrest both for the investors as well as for the rights holders is the case of Douar Sbita. The luxurious resort complex of *Plage des Nations City Golf* that was constructed on a collective land is located just ten kilometers north of the capital city, Rabat, in one of the most fertile and lush plains of that region. The project covers an area of more than 300 hectares and comprises a luxury residential complex, over 2,500 villas and 7,500 apartments and an 18-hole golf course. The site is unique; it offers a breathtaking view of the Atlantic Ocean, and is steps away from the Maâmoura forest, considered the lung of the densely-populated region of the *Gharb*.

Based on an uninhibited neo-liberal economic model that often claims an exemplary sustainability, the project nevertheless embodies the perfect example of the globalization of consumerist standards of living that are considered highly damaging to ecology. The rhetoric of ecology and sustainable development seems to have become more a marketing argument than a collective effort that will enable nations to insure fair and equitable development alternatives to all citizens. The *Plage des Nations City Golf* project that claims to respect the environment stands on fertile agricultural collective lands after long episodes of struggle with rights holders[22] that caught national and international media attention.

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[20] On October 10, 2013, the Administrative Court of Rabat decided in favor of women's rights to collective lands on the basis of articles 6, 19 and 32 of the Moroccan Constitution. Only such a solution would seem to agree with the spirit of current law and should be generally approved. But this decision cannot of itself constitute a jurisprudence. According to Circular No. 4474 of the Ministry of the Interior of 13 June 2004, the role of the delegate is to decide on the granting of the right to usufruct, and establishing the lists of beneficiaries, the distribution of profits and the resolution of conflict. (see the Guide for Delegates of the Communal Lands, published by the Ministry of the Interior, 2008)

[21] The elected women are: Rkia Bellot, the leading figure of the movement, Mennana Znaïdi, Mina Mouimi and Mina Nhaïli were elected in the delegates council, *Naïbate.*

The last residents of Douar Sbita on whose land the project stands received an eviction notice on January 30, 2017 so that other sections of the project can be built. Grabbing the land of these families, who live mainly on agriculture, means not only the loss of a house but also the taking away of their only source of income. "As a result of forced evictions, the inhabitants are left without any means of earning a livelihood and, in practice, with no effective access to legal or other resort. Forced evictions intensify inequality, social conflict, segregation and invariably affect the poorest, most socially and economically vulnerable and marginalized sectors of society, especially women, children, minorities and indigenous peoples."[23] In fact, the Human Rights NGO LMCDH conducted a study on the profile of a sample of 3000 *soulaliyates* aged between 17 and 99 years to determine their socio-economic background (Ollivier, 2017). The chilling results of their analysis uncovered the truth of those left behind. There are about six million *soulaliyates* who are denied the recognition as rights owners; the majority of them have no education and only 3.8% are civil servants with a monthly salary, health coverage and a retirement plan. The rest of them are stay home wives depending on the salary of their husbands, or have occasional daily jobs either as housekeepers or nannies, which puts them in a situation of immense precariousness.[24]

The families of Douar Sbita did not choose to leave their land to live in the slums of the city, but they were forced to live with the disaster; as Mike Davis underlines, they will probably swell the rank of the shantytowns of major metropolises. In his analysis of the slums of the world, Davis paints a dark picture of the relationship between the extreme neoliberalism that humanity is experiencing in these modern times and the enormous ecological, economic and security disasters that this will engender (Davis, 2007). The UN-HABITAT report confirms this alarming situation showing that the urban population of developing countries has grown at a rate of 3 million people per week in recent decades (UN-HABITAT 15). Urban metropolises are developed in an emergency and sometimes even in anarchy without rational planning for ecological balance and sustainability. This is exactly the case of Moroccan cities where the surrounding fertile farmlands are rapidly receding in favor of eyesore *urban* sprawl. The populations that once cultivated the land are then replaced by others that have lost their own land to severe droughts and the rapidly advancing desertification.

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[22] Read the detailed report prepared by the *Moroccan League for Citizenship and Human Rights* on the conditions of the acquisition of the land base published on 18 December 2016. http://alaoual.com/society/46688.html. According to the report, in addition to the derisory purchase price per m2 (50 dh), a series of violations of the procedures were committed by the purchasers of the land at Douar Sbita. They excluded women, widows and divorced from the compensation of rights holders of the Oulad Sbita tribe. The struggle of Oulad Sbita's rights holders received extensive media coverage, (NYTimes, TV5, France 24 and a Facebook page: We Stand With Douar Sbita).

[23] UN OHCHR www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/ Housing / Pages / ForcedEvictions.aspx

[24] "Toutes les femmes *soulaliyate* divorcées, veuves, sans enfant mâle ou mariées à des hommes appartenant à une autre collectivité ont été chassées par leurs frères et leur pères et ont dû se réfugier dans le bidonville situé en contrebas du village d'El Haddada, encerclé par les constructions et les ordures," explique Rkia Bellot, originaire de la Jemaâ El Haddada, icône aujourd'hui du mouvement national des *soulaliyate* né en 2007. Dounia z. Mseffer, (All divorced, widowed *soulaliyate* women, without male children, or married to men belonging to another community, were driven out by their brothers and fathers and had to seek refuge in the slum below the village of El Haddada, encircled by construction and garbage), explains Rkia Bellot a native of Jemaa El Haddada, today an icon of the national movement of *soulaliyate*, born in 2007. http://femmesdumaroc.com/reportage/egalite-des-sexes-le-long-combat-des-soulaliyate-2711#0QuavmxSGj1wGq8P.99

Conclusion

The debate on environment is intricately tied to issues of solidarity, well-being, equity, sharing and redistribution of wealth. These concerns command a new perspective on ecological action; that of the preservation and secure access of all to the common foundation of social cooperation. Conversely, social justice issues redraw the contours of ecology: today it is no longer possible to reduce the latter to a conservationist concern with “nature”, nor is it possible to address social justice questions without taking into account environmental justice. Movements and organizations that defend environmental justice are the signs of high social inequality. They denounce situations of natural resource grabbing that result in diverse forms of discrimination and socio-economic exclusion. The emergence of these movements, which started decades ago, has spawned a wave of research and debate on the unequal distribution of environmental costs and benefits. Environmental justice has since become locally based, theoretically broad and plural, intersecting concepts of distribution with acknowledgement of differences and participation. Indeed, acknowledging diversity, specificity, representations and problems of local communities in environmental decisions is a form of justice that does away with policies that constrain and oppress individuals’ rights, and constitutes, thus, the foundation of distributive injustice. On the other hand, lack of acknowledgment or recognition of differences inevitably yields non-participation and absence of dialogue between the rights holders and authorities in charge of protecting the environment.

In this article, I tried to demonstrate that critical mass of women engineers in forestry does not necessarily mean effective and significant impact, and that is the result of a set of institutional and cultural constrains. Taking stock of experiences worldwide where women involved in the preservation of natural resources did have a positive impact of environmental preservation while safeguarding the livelihood of communities immediately related to forest and other fragile ecosystems, our expectations and hope were that in Morocco too, a different sensitivity can be brought by educated women to this field. We, however, find that even though critical mass is attained, the glass ceiling is still there, for women not only cannot attain decision-making positions, but they are actually “encouraged” by a complex socio-cultural-political system to yield those positions to their male colleagues. The result is that what their counterparts achieved through the particular sensitivity, empathy, and inclusion of local populations in India and South America for example, is lost on us and on the public efforts to ensure a sustainable environment. In this, forestry is no different than Health, Justice or Education, where although the presence of women has reached critical mass, their visibility is insignificant as long as decision-making positions remain unattainable to them. In contrast, and as the example of uneducated *soulaliyate* women demonstrates, effective *visibility* is the result of struggle and militancy especially when one’s rights are in jeopardy. It is quite obvious that the inclusion and the accompaniment of the local communities in their diversity to reflect on their conduct with the environment could give a better understanding and better chances for addressing environmental issues. On the contrary, if they feel their needs ignored and if they are not included in the decision-making process, we can only expect resistance, if not sabotage of the measures and initiatives imposed from the top, even if they are appropriate.

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An Ecocritical Reading Of Poetry From India's Northeast *(Neeraj Sankyan and Suman Sigroha, Indian Institute of Technology, Mandi, India)*

Introduction

The northeast of India is an ecologically sensitive zone owing to its location in the Himalayan Mountains. For ages, these regions have been inhabited by tribal societies that have lived in close association with the natural environment and relied on the natural resources for their sustenance and survival. Many of these people continue to "practice an animistic faith that is woven around forest ecology and co-existence with the natural world" (Dai xi). Hence, nature forms an integral part of their ancestral wisdom, folklore, festivals, beliefs and everyday means of expressions. However, rampant industrialization and urbanization resulting from a maddening race for development is gradually degrading the harmonious relations that inhabitants of these regions once shared with nature into overexploitation and abuse. Besides, the invasion of consumer culture is gradually turning the once eco-friendly tribes into modern consumerist societies and having corrosive effects on the indigenous cultures. Consequently, "myth, landscape and nature, the particular predicament of people here and tribal folklore provide the core subject matter" (Daruwalla) of the literatures emanating from these regions which make them highly relevant from an ecocritical perspective. The present paper thus uses Ecocriticism as a literary tool to delve into such and several other aspects of human-environment relationships in the writings of two poets from these regions, namely Temsula Ao and Kynpham Sing Nongkynrih. Besides being a celebration of the region's ecological glory in its myriad forms, their poetry also reflects their vehement reactions against humans' ruthless acts of ravaging the environment. By writing and raising concerns about the endangered environment, these poets endeavor to create an environmentally sensitive consciousness. This paper thus attempts to read these poets from an ecocritical perspective and explore how literature can be instrumental in salvaging nature from an imminent crisis.

Ecocriticism

Described as "an eclectic, pluriform, and cross-disciplinary initiative that aims to explore the environmental dimensions of literature and other creative media in a spirit of environmental concern not limited to any one method or commitment" (Buell et al. 418), ecocriticism assumes a status profounder than that of being just another kind of literary criticism. Ecocriticism endeavours to draw on the creative and imaginative powers of literature and related arts to create an awareness of the concerns that afflict our environment today and believes that such an understanding of the environmental problems can eventually lead to a change in the way we live and treat nature. A sincere ethical stand and an attitude of commitment to nature and its concerns mark the spirit of Ecocriticism. The term "ecocriticism" was first used by William Rueckert in his 1978 pioneering essay on ecocriticism called "Literature and Ecology: An experiment in Ecocriticism" in which he tried to link up ecology and its concepts with the study of literature. "The fundamental premise grounding Rueckert's argument … is that the environment is in a state of crisis, largely of human making, and that urgent action is required if future disaster, encompassing humans and other species, is to be averted" (Brien 179). However, it was in the year 1996 that Cheryll Glotfelty defined the term as "the study of the relationship between literature and physical environment" (Glotfelty xviii). Underscoring the close association between nature and culture, she elaborates that "Ecocriticism takes as its subject the interconnections between nature and culture, specifically the cultural artifacts of language and literature. As a critical stance, it has one foot in literature and the other on land; as a theoretical discourse, it negotiates between the human and the nonhuman" (Glotfelty xix). In his essay titled "Some Principles of Ecocriticism" (Howarth 1996), included in *The Ecocriticism Reader,* William Howarth expounds the term *Ecocritic* as a combination of two words, *eco* and *critic* with their roots in the Greek *oikos* meaning 'house' and *kritis* 'judge'. Thus, the term in tandem means a "house judge" which may sound strange to someone interested in nature writing. However, Howarth clarifies later by defining an ecocritic as “a person who judges the merits and faults of writings that depict the effects of culture upon nature, with a view toward celebrating nature berating its despoilers, and reversing their harm through political action” (Howarth 69). Buell et al. in a similar vein argue that while literature depicting environmental harm may not be able to completely transform the environmentally irresponsible lifestyles of societies across the world, “reflecting on works of imagination may prompt intensified concern about the consequences of such choices and possible alternatives to them” (Buell et al. 418) which eventually could help ameliorate the current crisis.

Ecological Concerns in Writings from the Northeast

The writings from the India’s Northeast abound with ecological concerns and are replete with impressions of nature such as the rivers, mountains, forests, wildlife, etc. and the myriads of ways they are interconnected with the lives and cultures of the people inhabiting these regions. They are the lyrical reflections on the inextricable relationship that the peoples of these regions have been sharing with the natural environment for eons. Consequently, “myth, landscape and nature, the particular predicament of people here and tribal folklore provide the core subject matter” (Daruwalla). The tribes inhabiting these regions long ago realized the important role nature played in nurturing and sustaining their generations and so over the ages came to learn and practice a way of life in harmony with the natural environment. They “practice an animistic faith that is woven around forest ecology and co-existence with the natural world” (Dai xi). Their rituals, beliefs, social values, festivals, songs, dances, rituals and various transactions of life that comprise the tribal cultures are entrenched in the lap of nature. According to N. Chandra and Nigamananda Das in *Ecology Myth and Mystery: Contemporary Poetry in English from Northeast India*:

> Indian English poetry from Northeastern part of India is rich in enshrining various aspects of the ecology, of the region. It has been a fashion with the poets of the region to celebrate the ecological glory of the region and their ecological awareness. The ruthless act of deforestation and oppression upon the Mother Nature in various ways by destroying the serenity of the nature, obliterating the natural environment, killing rare birds and animals and distorting the landscape and biodiversity, have been sharply reacted upon by these poets. (Chandra and Das 35)

However, the maddening race for modernization, industrialization and urbanization in the present times has taken its toll on the natural world and these regions are no exception. Humans’ ever-increasing hunger for control and excessive exploitation of the natural resources for their selfish interests is adversely altering the harmonious relationship they once shared with nature. The poets hailing from these regions are very mindful of the deteriorating health of their environments. They have employed their poetry as a medium to lament the damages done to their vulnerable ecosystems and express their apprehensions about the impending apocalypse.

Temsula Ao

A prominent literary voice from Nagaland, Temsula Ao has to her credit many designations such as being a poet, short story writer and ethnographer. Hailing from a society that is deeply rooted in the tribal tradition and herself being a tribal, her work is informed by a profound regard for her rich cultural inheritance and carries strong impressions of the folklore comprising the myths, legends, fables, rituals and beliefs that are an integral part of the Ao-Naga culture. As a custodian of her culture, her role is no short of being an environmentalist as she shoulders the responsibility of preserving her oral traditions and cultural heritage and salvaging them from the invasive forces of modernization. Consequently, several of her poems depict the strong bonding that these societies have with nature in the form of their beliefs, traditions, festivals and rituals. In the words of GJV Prasad, "Temsula Ao sings of her landscape, one that is often an objective correlative for her mindscape and even more for the community's ecology – the changes in the land reflect the damage done to her people, their rootlessness (a sense of uprootedness), their wounds and pains" (Prasad xvii). Her poetry reflects her earnest endeavour to return to her roots, and reclaims a lost identity that is inextricably linked with the hills and their ways of life. However, insurgency, violence, corruption, overexploitation of natural resources and a growing disregard for the traditional ways have resulted in the present conundrum and nature is paying a heavy price for humans' aberrations. Ao's poetry is marked by an insightful ecological sensibility which makes it relevant for an eco-critical reading and analysis.

A grave sense of foreboding looms in the poem "Distance" (Ao 12) as the poet voices her concerns about an apocalyptic future. "Fathers and sons" (4) turn hostile "struggling for supremacy" (6) over the earth that they "both want to straddle" (8). The next verse reflects her growing sense of anxiety over severing of ties with the cultural roots. Having forgotten the beliefs and myths that they inherited from their valuable past, humans wander aimlessly on a godless earth.

> An earth
> Stretching out
> To a sky
> No longer abode of the celestials (14-17)

In a blind race for urbanization, human beings are gradually losing touch with and becoming forgetful of their responsibilities towards the environment, thus calling their own disaster. The natural reservoirs are depleting fast and soon may approach a day when this blue planet teeming with myriads of life forms becomes a dead space "no longer housing mortals" (Ao 21). "Lament for an Earth" (Ao 42-44) as the title suggests reflects the poet's heartfelt anguish and concern for the miserable state of our planet and its natural environments. In this requiem for Mother Nature, the poet paints a plaintive picture of the disastrous effects of the human civilization on the natural environments. Her use of the phrase "once upon an earth" in alternate verses has a fairy tale like effect that she uses to evoke an immaculate and unspoiled image of nature prior to human intervention. However, phrases such as "Alas for the forest", "Alas for the river" etc that appear in subsequent verses heighten the sense of contrast and create a sense of despondence while they describe the earth as it is now, battered and spoiled due to excessive exploitation of its resources by humans. "Once upon an earth/There was a forest/Verdant, virgin, vibrant" (1-3) present a complete contrast to the following lines:

> Alas for the forest
> Which now lies silent
> Stunned and stumped
> With the evidence
> Of her rape. (21-25)

The use of alliteration throughout the poem is remarkable as it lends the poem a distinct rhythm that rises and falls with each verse. The cyclic structure of the poem with the pristine image alternating with the soiled one creates a sense of urgency and rouses attention and curiosity. Another interesting feature of the poem is the use of the epithet "two-legged animal" to refer to humans. It aptly depicts a race which despite priding itself on being at the top of the hierarchies of all life forms has stooped so low in its manners and actions that it is hell bent upon destroying its very abode and that of the fellow species. The poet wishes to distance herself from an insensitive and selfish breed that has come to signify humanity and feels ashamed to belong to it. The poem is also symbolic of the extreme depravity and cupidity that has today come to define the human nature.

> Alas for the river
> It is muddy now
> With the leaving
> Of the two-legged animal
> Who bleached her banks
> And bombed her depths (45-50)

The use of personification and feminine pronoun to refer to the natural world stresses the plight of the environment and evokes a poignant image of the planet in the throes of an imminent apocalypse. This also reflects the tribals' strong beliefs in the aliveness of earth. The tribals "believe all nature is sacrosanct, that the earth itself as a living organism is capable of experiencing pain and pleasure" (Chandra and Das 32). Many eminent scientists have made similar claims. James Lovelock, an independent scientist, environmentalist and futurist in collaboration with the microbiologist Lynn Margulis, formulated the *Gaia Hypothesis* in the 1970s according to which "the Earth is a homeostatic living organism that coordinates its vital systems to compensate for threatening environmental changes" (Badiner 138). The word *Gaia* is derived from the Greek word for Earth goddess. Based on recent research in the field of quantum experiments, physicists claim that "in spite of its obvious partitions and boundaries, the world in actuality is a seamless whole" (Herbert 18). In a similar vein, physicist Heitler argues that "The separation of the world into an 'objective outside reality' and'us,' the self-conscious onlookers, can no longer be maintained. Object and subject have become inseparable from each other" (qtd. in Herbert 18). Similarly, "subatomic research has led the physicists to perceive the universe as an interconnected organism" (Oppermann 35). Weaver argues that such an organic model of earth can be highly relevant for our understanding of the reading process and the literary experience" (302). In the light of these facts, it becomes all the more imperative for humans to review their relationship with the earth not as a separate entity requiring our concern but as an integral part of the life that constitutes us all. Only from such an understanding can we hope for a change in our perception of the natural environment that informs ours actions wisely and helps in the rejuvenation of an injured earth. Echoing similar concerns is "The Bald Giant" (Ao 175-176) which portrays the ill-effects of deforestation and the consequent wretched state of hills. Using the analogy of a giant gone bald because of being shorn of his "green cloak", the poet paints a poignant picture of a defaced hill that once exuded glory, grace and majesty.

> All that is now gone
> All of him is brown
> From base to crown
> And his sides are furrowed
> Where the logs had rolled
> Once I thought him friendly
> But now he looks menacing (19-25)

The denuded hills can also be read as a metaphor for the human race that by destroying its own habitat has turned suicidal. Driven by a mindless hunger for amassing wealth and property, humans have degraded into a horrible species characterized by an insatiable desire for controlling and conquering nature. Similarly, "My Hills" (Ao 157-158) presents a dismal picture of a landscape that lies ravaged due to excessive human interference and alteration. The following lines are an idyllic depiction of the hills as they once were in their pristine state:

> Once they hummed
> With bird-song
> And happy gurgling brooks
> Like running silver
> With shoals of many fish. (4-8)

In a later verse, the poet contrasts this utopian image with a gloomy one, which is suggestive of the adverse effects of human civilization on the natural environment. The following lines make this degeneration evident:

> The rivers are running red
>
> The hillsides are bare
> And the seasons
> Have lost their magic (24-27)

The poem titled "Bonsai" (Ao 72) is critical of human beings' attempts at controlling and altering nature for their sensual gratification as evident in the lines: "Giant trees/Stunted by man's ingenuity/In search of a new beauty (1-3). The poet sees bonsais as representative of humans' insatiable greed for exercising power and control over nature and meddling with its course. It is reflective of human mind's incessant hunger for new pleasures and beauty which reduces nature into mere objects of display. The poet laments this attitude of complete indifference and disregard for nature that induces humans to over exploit and tame nature as these lines reflect: "Earth's vastness/Diminished and displayed/In tiny potted space (7-9). Inherent in the tone of the poem is a plea for refraining from interfering in the course of nature. Many of Ao's poems are based on the myths of the Naga society that constitute an integral part of the Naga identity and the tribal heritage. In "The Old Story-Teller" (240-242), the poet lays claim to her role and responsibility as a chronicler of her tribal culture and sentinel of her traditions as she says: "I have lived my life believing/Story telling was my proud legacy" (1-2). These stories have travelled across many generations and are deeply embedded in the consciousness of the Naga people. As such, the stories carry reminiscences of the past and exhibit the strong connection that these tribes shared with nature, which makes them apt for ecocritical reading.

> Warriors and were-tigers
> Came alive through the tales
> As did the various animals
> Who were once our brothers
> Until we invented language
> And began calling them savage. (21-26)

For eons, these tribal societies have thrived owing to their harmonious coexistence with the natural world. Their ecofriendly traditions and beliefs in the sanctity of nature have kept them from over exploiting nature and disturbing the ecological balance. After an initial enthusiasm, the tone of the poem grows dismal as the poet expresses her apprehensions about the modern times which are witnessing a complete social and cultural upheaval due to the uprooting of cultural moorings as the new generations come under the sway of corrupting winds of change.

The rejection from my own
Has stemmed the flow
And the stories seem to regress
Into un-reachable recesses
Of a mind once vibrant with stories
Now reduced to un-imaginable stillness (47-52)

"Prayer of a Monolith" (Ao 293-295) reflects the poet's ingenuity in the way she uses her imagination to depict a first person poetic account of a rock's despair at being uprooted from its mooring to be displayed at the village gate for decorating the entrance. The poet through this seemingly insignificant story of an inanimate object once again creates an extremely sensitive picture of the victimization and altering of nature by humans for their selfish pursuits. In doing so, the callousness that humans show towards nature is unnerving and devoid of the least regard for its sensibilities. Vera Alexander in an essay titled "Environmental Otherness: Nature on Human Terms in the Garden" exposes the exploitative tendencies of humans with regards to nature. Although the garden remains the main context of her discussion, she implicitly refers to all such human actions that intrude into and interfere with the natural environment. The monolith mentioned in the poem easily relates to the garden that Alexander refers to. In her words, "While decorative and recreational, even paradisiacal, the image of the garden also encompasses histories of displacement and violence: unwanted plants and animals are exterminated for the sake of aesthetic ideas, and many ofthe plants assembled in any garden have been manipulated and uprooted from their natural habitats" (2). Ao's poem employs anthropomorphism to tell the tale of a monolith who stood "proud and content" beside its beloved in the forest. However, as fate would have it, some strangers came searching for a perfect rock face to decorate their village entrance. The monolith was thus dislodged from its mooring, and torn apart from its beloved as well. Turned into an object that symbolized pride for some, a plaything for yet others, the stone thus "stand[s] now at the village gate/In mockery of … [its] former state" (47-48). The poem ends with the stone pleading with the elements of nature not to tell its beloved the story of its humiliation.

O you elements,
When you pass by the forest
And my beloved queries
Just tell her
I have gone to my glory
But please, please never
Tell her the story
Of my ignominy (49-56)

By animating the monolith and lending it a voice, the poet exposes and deconstructs the supposed superiority of regime of thought over silence of nature, which is taken undue advantage of by societies to serve their selfish ends. To address this concern, some strains of deep ecology have felt an urgent need to underscore and reestablish the link "between listening to the nonhuman world (i.e., treating it as a silenced subject) and reversing the environmentally destructive practices modern society pursues" (Manes 44). Expounding the concept of a silenced nature, Manes argues in the essay titled "Nature and Silence":

> As a consequence, we require a viable environmental ethics to confront the silence of nature in our contemporary regime of thought, for it is within this vast, eerie silence that surrounds our garrulous human subjectivity that an ethics of exploitation regarding nature has taken shape and flourished, producing the ecological crisis that now requires the search for an environmental counter-ethics. (44)

Temsula's poetry provides an example of such environmental counter-ethics. By animating nature and lending it a discourse, she endeavours to break the silence of nature and empower it so as to safeguard its interests against the hegemony of an overbearing humanity whose intellectual capacity falls short of comprehending the "silence of nature".

Kynpham Sing Nongkynrih

Kynpham Sing Nongkynrih is a bilingual poet, fiction writer and playwright from Shillong, Meghalaya who writes both in Khasi (the name of the indigenous tribe of Meghalaya as well as a language spoken by them) and English besides teaching literature at North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong. His poetry responds to the exigencies of his place and time and is replete with a wide range of concerns from political to environmental. His work is marked by an innovative employment of nature symbolism, cultural and literary references and carries the essence of the Khasi culture and folklore. It bears testimony to the adverse changes wrought by a rapid rise in urbanization and industrialization in the past few decades on the sensitive ecosystems of this region which makes it significant from an ecocritical perspective. "An Evening by the Source of the Umkhrah River" (Nongkynrih 17) begins with an idyllic description of the Umkhrah as it flows "winding through the hills" with its "limpid water" and "bed of white sand" that has for visitors "occasional fisherman/washing the clean earth from their sturdy feet," "country maiden, blushing and giggling/on smooth, swarthy water-worn stones" and "gambolling children" whose euphonious cries are carried by the wind as it "ruffles the deep grass" playing "a tune with the head swaying pines." However, the poem ends abruptly in an anticlimax with the poet contrasting the countryside utopia with the urban sordidness.

> Nobody cares that this limpid water,
> the bashful maiden, the tuneful pines
> are rolling down to the city
> where life itself wallows in the filth. (13-16)

The last line raises concerns about the deteriorating state of the river. Wah Umkhrah and Wah Umshyrpi are the two main rivers that flow through Shillong, eventually draining their waters into the Umiam Lake, which draws great significance from being the first hydel power project of Northeast India. The two rivers, Umkhrah and Umshyrpi have for ages been a means of sustenance for the people of Shillong and neighboring areas and are solely responsible for providing electricity to the entire city. The rivers have been a source of identity for Shillong whose many localities are named after them. Besides, Wah Umkhrah has mythological significance as well. According to the beliefs of the Khasi tribe, the river is one of the nine streams of mythic origin that sprang from Shillong Peak, the chief deity of the Khasi tribe. (Acharya et al.). However, down the years, increasing pressures of population, industrialisation and urbanization have taken their toll on the health of the river which has been reduced to an open drain during summer months with all the sewage, garbage and industrial waste being dumped into it without much treatment. If the people of Shillong didn't respond to this warning sign now, they might lose their precious lifeline forever. In the poem titled "Hiraeth" (Nongkynrih 29-30) which is a Welsh word loosely meaning a form of longing, the poet expresses his nostalgia for the good old days of his childhood when life was a lot simpler, quieter, and more peaceful. He craves for the bygone days when lives were in harmony with nature and simple joys like waking up to the rooster call, sounds of different birds, the tenderness of his mother and living in a close-knit community where everyone was friendly and warm made his life blissful. He expresses his longing by recalling the sounds, sights and songs of the yesteryears, the memories of which are deeply embedded in his consciousness.

> Out of that restlessness the past rises from dimly
> remembered songs and I watch my ghostly ancestors
> hasten from their dark pallets at the rooster's
> first reveille; warming up for their fields,
> boiling rice, packing their midday meal in leaves. (12-16)

The poem reflects the dilemma of the modern societies which, in a race for urbanization and globalization are gradually losing their touch with the old familiar natural ways of the past. Consequently, the tribal culture is gradually losing its moorings and giving way to the modern ways. The poet's mention of the various sounds of nature in the poem also points to the rich musical tradition that the Khasis follow. Music forms an integral part of their life as "every festival and ceremony from birth to death is enriched with music and dance. One can hear natural sounds enmeshed in the songs - the hum of bees, bird calls, the call of a wild animal, the gurgling of a stream" ("Festivals and Ceremonies of the Khasis"). The poem contrasts the past marked by mellifluous sounds of nature with the present characterized by chaos and cacophony emanating from the concrete jungles that have replaced the natural environments due to excessive migrations and rampant urbanization of the regions.

> No more do I hear the morning sounds of home:
> birds warbling, cicadas whining, crows cawing,
> chickens yapping about the yard and my uncle
> readying for the cement factory.
> ……………………………..
> Strange sounds are crowding this town
> Like the rooster, I too, seem
> To have become obsolete. (4-7, 28-30)

"Rain Song 2000" (Nongkynrih 38-40) draws attention towards the adverse climate changes occurring across the globe as a result of the ecological imbalance which are nature's warning signs of an impending apocalypse. The introduction of the poem may remind one of the opening line of the General Prologue from the Canterbury Tales: "When in April the sweet showers fall/that pierce March's drought to the root and all", (Chaucer "From the Canterbury Tales: General Prologue"), the only difference being that here, "The April sky has taken us all by surprise/spouting incessantly for the last many days" (1-2). The poem is marked by a terse blend of folk symbolism and critical modernity and evokes a sense of urgency about the imminent ecological crisis that threatens our planet with dire consequences if not checked in time. The employment of anthropomorphism in the following lines creates a counter discourse that questions the exploitative regime of human thought by breaking the silence of nature and lending it a voice as evident in the following lines:

> so why is the sky weeping
> a river of unseasonable tears?
> Why is the wind shrieking night and day
> and pines beating their chests in pain? (21-24)

“Killer Instincts” (Nongkynrih 96) is woven around the old Khasi belief according to which during the period of pregnancy, the family members of the gestating woman refrain from killing any insect or animal as they believe that this might hurt the baby resting inside its mother’s womb. The poet expresses his reluctance and impatience about following the custom in the following lines:

> I do not know
> how believers do it.
> For nine long months
> it was maddening
> not to be a killer. (9-13)

The poem draws attention to the growing scepticism and impatience towards the ancient beliefs and customs. Despite their apparent irrationality, these traditions/customs contain within eons of ancestral wisdom, and have advocated a peaceful and harmonious coexistence with the environment, which makes them most relevant in present times. The need of the hour is to understand these beliefs/customs in the light of their eco-friendliness, and preserve and sustain them in that spirit instead of letting them turn into empty cultural symbols and die of neglect. According to Bharti Chhibber,

> (…) For centuries, indigenous communities were used to surviving and adjusting their agriculture, fishing and hunting in the event of changes in climate. It is ironical that now when the threat of climate change is so imminent we are looking for solutions outside. However, there is another threat looming large, that is, of losing these communities to outright annihilation or due to their amalgamation in the mainstream. Moreover, with the commercialization of even natural resources, traditional knowledge that managed to maintain sustainable levels of harvest has been sidelined … (Chhibber)

In “Kynshi” (Nongkynrih 43-45), the poet expresses his heartfelt concern and anxiety about the deteriorating state of the environment of the river Kynshi and its surroundings. The “sovereign river” which has bred “the truest Khasi braves” lies in a deplorable state today as a result of the human kind’s excessive greed for natural resources. The poet laments the loss of greenery and defacing of the serene hills that has been brought about as a result of indiscriminate developmental activities. The following lines reflect his anguish at the spoiling of pristine environments:

> Inevitably, however, here too,
> time has left its ugly wounds
> Pines like filth are lifted
> from woodlands in truckloads.

> Hills lose their summer green,
> blasted into rocks,
> into pebble and sand
> and the sand is not spared. (36-43)

The poet is saddened by the mindless pursuits of the humankind "who cannot think beyond possessions" (45) which makes him feel "softer, more poetic with this land and Kynshi" (48). At the same time, the poet portrays the river as a benevolent and persevering force of nature which despite all the damage continues to flow its regular course as is evident in these lines: "But Kynshi goes on, however fickle the people,/however treacherous the customs" (49-51). Reverberating through the poem is the poet's voice of intervention and an urgent appeal for making concrete efforts to salvage the river from the impending doom. The river and its ecosystem, in the words of the poet:

> need to be preserved
> in more that memories,
> or the words of a backwater poet
> ploughing clumsily through a foreign tongue. (14-17)

Conclusion

The Ecocritical analysis of the two poets chosen for this study, namely, Temsula Ao and Kynpham Sing Nongkynrih, reveals a poetic consciousness informed by a deep love and concern for their indigenous cultures, traditions and fragile environments. Theirs is a poetic voice that employs the power of lyric to raise environmental awareness amongst the peoples of these regions and urges them to apprehend and check the demonic forces of urbanization that severely threaten our existence on this planet. These writings serve as an urgent reminder to the indigenous people of their great cultural heritage comprising sustainable customs and traditions. The roles these poets play as custodians and advocates of their nature-friendly ways of life gain great relevance especially in times when indigenous cultures are endangered and fast losing their moorings to an onslaught of the urban consumer-culture. Besides, these literatures represent the much needed environmental ethics that by lending a voice to the silence of nature can counter the ethics of exploitation and abuse of nature, the unfortunate characteristics of the modern consumer-centric world.

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Poetry As Resistance: An Ecocritical Reading Of Sameh Derouich’s Haiku

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Introduction

Sameh Derouich is a pioneer of Moroccan haiku who published his first haiku collections in 2015, in post Arab Spring Morocco.[1] *100 Haiku*, *I Am Many* and *Illuminating Beetles* are the titles of his three haiku collections. Derouich who is a prolific writer has also published many collections in other poetic forms.[2] While he has begun his literary career as a free verse poet, Derouich moved a few years ago to haiku poetry, writing the innovative poems he is best known for. More than a type of poetry, his haiku is an ecological project of an extraordinary range. By writing complex and elusive, yet concise visual-verbal haiku, he engages singularly with being on earth. This article aims at developing an ecopoetic approach to Sameh Derouich's haiku poetry. I propose to read the poet's recent poetry collections as a response to the contemporary environmental crisis as well as a way of resisting the ordinary and the obvious. Derouich broke away from familiar ways of verse writing in Morocco and adopted a poetic form which is regarded by many Moroccan poets as an inferior form of poetry writing. In spite of its pronounced linguistic economy, haiku poetry helps him challenge the confines of the city and express an acute awareness of the limitations of the urban space he lives in. On the other hand, the haiku form reflects the city experience itself; its constrained length resembles the closed spaces of the city.

Haiku is a poetic form that has centuries of tradition behind it. It is usually associated with the old haiku poets, Matsuo Basho, Yosa Buson and Kobayashi Issa. It was first invented in the 16th century when Basho transformed the hokku from its status as the introduction of haikai into an independent form of poetry. In the 19th century, Shiki coined the term haiku to designate an independent 5-7-5 syllable poem with a season word (Ueda 8). But haiku has managed to cross the Pacific and thrive so far from its place of origin. It has evolved beyond its early stages into an international poetry form which is free from the traditional rules set by early Japanese haiku poets. It is characterized by its brevity, its unadorned language and its concrete imagery. The haiku moment describes a situation which gives the author insight into the mystery of existence.

An in-depth analysis of Derouich's poems reveals that there are three characteristics in his haiku poetry: a startling use of language, surprising imagery and a juxtaposition of lines that subverts expectations. These qualities help Derouich tie his haiku poems together and achieve a variety of purposes: he drops away the boundaries between the self and the world or the city and the countryside, paving the way for a trans-influence of energies, human and natural. Derouich's poems are riddled with an urge to dismantle boundaries between humans and elements of nature. For him, nature is not some idealized place of nostalgia and longing, but rather an equal other. The poet does not merely seek beauty in nature and faithfully reproduce it in his haiku. His haiku poems are characterized by the qualities that form the crux of modern poetry: complexity, passion and imagination. They demonstrate an ecological thinking grounded in the sense of caring for the natural world. His poems are part of the history of Gafayt,[3] his native village, socially and environmentally.

Following the theoretical advances of Jonathan Bate[4] and Scott J. Bryson[5], I will present the ways in which Derouich's conception of "nature" is close to the implications engendered by ecological awareness. Bryson defines one of the "three primary characteristics of ecopoetry" to be "an ecological and biocentric perspective recognizing the interdependent nature of the world" (2). In considering Derouich as an ecological poet, some questions arise: if ecological thinking ultimately implies that we are all connected, what exactly does this mean in the case of Derouich? What is the significance of the natural world in his haiku? I will attempt to answer these questions by using poems published in Derouich's haiku collections as a corpus. In the sections that follow, I first scrutinize Derouich's haiku closely for images, overlapping voices, non logical relations, and suggestiveness and explain how they locate him in ecopoetry. Then, I show that Derouich takes solace in a return to nature, and that he does so subversively through his experimentations with haiku.

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[1] Derouich expanded the haiku experience to art visual forms of expression and created "The Frogs Club" which is composed of various poets and artists from Oujda in tribute to Basho's famous frog haiku

[2] *With an Acrobat's Agility* (2015) and *The Wanderings of Derouich* (2015) are the titles of poetry collections Sameh Derouich wrote in free verse.

[3] A small town in the province of Jerada in the east of Morocco.

[4] Jonathan Bate, *The Song of the Earth* (London: Picador, 2001).

[5] J. Scott Bryson, *The West Side of Any Mountain: Place, Space, and Ecopoetry* (Iowa: Iowa University Press, 2005).

Derouich's Poetic Ecology

At the heart of Derouich's haiku is the awareness that everything changes and everything is connected. As Jane Hirshfield writes in her book, *The Heart of Haiku* (2011), "Poetry can be thought of [as] the recognition of impermanence, ceaseless alternation, and interdependence—the connection of each person, creature, event, and object with every other" (142). Derouich's haiku do not merely embrace nonhuman nature; they respect its selfhood and give rivers and streams, trees and birds a life of their own. In the following poem, Derouich projects his own body into nature, and conversely, practicing a radical breaking of the boundaries between poetry and nature.

بحجر حفرت قلبا،
حين أمر
أحس للصفصافة نبضا.[6]

[Translation]
With a stone I dug a heart,
when I pass by
I feel the pulse of the willow tree.[7]

The poem could only have been written by a person in love with nature, one who sees with his whole body. The choice of the word "dug" tells us much about what to see and feel in the poem, and how to interpret the poet's relationship to nature. The unexpectedness of this word draws us right away in the poem. How can one dig a heart? And whose heart is it? The poet says that the speaker dug a heart with a stone and that he can hear the pulse of the willow tree when he passes by. The words are simple but they tell a very improbable story. It is common to engrave hearts or the names of the beloved on trees; yet, hearing the throbbing heart of a tree is a very improbable experience. The poem reveals the emotional state of the speaker; he must be in love, so much in love that he can hear the pulse of the heart he dug in the willow tree. But this haiku is open to another interpretation which is very telling of the relationship between Derouich and the natural world. It plunges us into a life where there is no difference between elements of nature and us. Trees are living beings with pulsating hearts. The heart dug by the speaker and the tree's heart are one heart that says how interconnected humans and non humans are.

Another poem shows how haiku provides the poet with a form that helps him reconfigure and expand the notion of nature poetry. Intimate, this haiku awakens both senses and psyche and establishes a new way of existing in the world. As Jonathan Bate explains, ecopoetry "is not a description of dwelling with the earth, not a disengaged thinking about it, but an experiencing of it" (2).

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[6] *Illuminating Beetles* (The Literary Convoy Publications, 2015) 57.
[7] All translations are mine.

صباح صاح،
وجهي على صفحة الماء
تخالجه السماء.[8]

[Translation]
A cloudless morning,
my face on the surface of water
cuddled by the sky.

The poet has created a poem that is only half finished, engaging thus the reader in co-creating it. The above haiku offers a unique joining of elements; it presents a surrealist scene in which the speaker's face is simultaneously on the surface of water and in the sky. Line three moves the narrative in ways we couldn't have expected. The word "cuddled" surprises by its tenderness; yet, it is necessary because it brings us back to the first line. The weather is fine; there are no clouds in the sky. The river is calm and its surface reflects the speaker's face. However, the strange juxtaposition of imagery is meant not merely to describe the scene but to express the way it is experienced by the speaker. The poem expresses Derouich's vibrant, multi-sensorial ecology since it relies on the senses of sight and touch as the site of perception and corporeal immersion in nature. The word "cuddled" shows how intimate the relationship between the speaker and nature is. It expresses the poet's wish to dissipate the self in a larger living whole.

Haiku provides Derouich with a form through which he can remember or imaginatively re-experience the natural landscapes that are absent from the city. Struggling to exist in an unfamiliar space, the poet recreates his everyday world through haiku. He turns reverie, solitude, and walking into haiku poems. He retrieves nature through words while his real world, the city, does not offer the scenes he celebrates. Solitary reflection upon the natural world holds long associations with the Romantic Movement; but far from advocating romanticized aesthetics, Derouich adopts anti-Romantic and anti-pastoral concepts that ask for a redefinition of nature itself. He is not an escapist romantic who finds refuge in his memories; he is a rebel and his haiku are a linguistic struggle against environmental injustice. As Neil Astley writes in her introduction to *Earth Shattering: Ecopoems*, "Ecopoetry goes beyond traditional nature poetry to take on distinctly contemporary issues (…) Ecopoems dramatize the dangers and poverty of a modern world perilously cut off from nature and ruled by technology, self-interest and economic power" (15).

بصدقه الرقراق،
اليوم أسر لي وادي "زا":
أنت ضفتي الثالثة [9]!

[Translation]
With his flowing honesty,
Za river told me today:
you are my third bank!

Za is a large river which flows through many towns in the east of Morocco. However, both human and industrial waste is choking the river. Today, water pollution is a serious threat in this region. Still, instead of overtly calling attention to the devastating effects of the river’s pollution on the local ecosystem, Derouich has chosen to pay tribute to Za river by giving it a voice. He thus encourages an awareness that recognizes the interaction between all living beings and asks his readers to focus on the relationship between themselves and their immediate environment. Derouich knows he may be engaging in a losing battle, but his determination to carry through propels him, and thus his ecologically oriented haiku, onwards. Telling the poet, “you are my third bank,” Za river reminds him that his role is to be a catalyst for its needs. Derouich asks us to develop a new relationship with the earth. He proclaims a new kind of nature that is purposefully located in the space offered by his haiku. His poetry is the lyrical evocation of home; “home” in the sense of “the oikos”, “humankind’s original habitat in nature.” As Jonathan Bate explains, “the oikos created by the poem is the place of dwelling” (75), and “the qualities of poetic language are attuned ecologically such that the “meter itself—a quiet but persistent music, a recurring cycle, a heartbeat—is an answering to nature’s own rhythms, an echoing of the song of the earth itself” (76).

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[8] *Illuminating Beetles* 25.
[9] *Illuminating Beetles* 16.

Derouich’s haiku invoke modes of being that are close to meditation and the unconscious; they are inhabited by a sense of peacefulness and belonging within the cyclical flow of time. In the following haiku, the poet’s self dissolves into egolessness, and outer reality is evoked in terms of inner experience.

أنا و القمر،
وجهان لخلوة واحدة،
معا، نضيء في خشوع.[10]

[Translation]
The moon and me,
two faces of the same retreat,
together, we shine in devotion.

Instead of offering us a romantic landscape where the speaker finds solitary refuge in nature and meditates about life during a moon-lit night, the poet uses imagery in a unique way that opens the poem to multiple interpretations. The poem begins with what appears to be a naturalistic description, but the two last lines tease the reader’s imagination and invite him to complete a half-finished story. Solitude provides the speaker with an extraordinary opportunity to explore his mind and reflect on his relationship with the universe. He and the moon are equal beings reunited in the worship of God. But the word “moon” opens up to include multiple readings. The poem can hence also be a metaphorical description of the intimate encounter of two lovers.

Derouich does not directly address the issues of environmental destruction and ecological (im)balance. By dissolving the boundaries between the urban and the rural, the animate and the inanimate, the organic and the technological, he projects a new kind of nature into the city space. Confronting urbanity, ecology, and the environment, his haiku perform a radical dismantling of the nature/city binary to create a new space in poetry.

وسط المدينة،
أحدق في أزهار برية
كأبله.[11]

[Translation]
In the middle of the city,

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[10] *Illuminating Beetles* 26.

[11] *I am Many* 4.

I stare at wild flowers
like a fool.

The poem is minimalistic; it is an execution of the maxim, “less is more.” It conveys a mindfulness to details in the space Derouich lives in as well as poignant recollections of the places he left behind. The flowers seem uncannily familiar; yet, the city loses its immediacy. The wild flowers are extracted from a scene in the past; they seem to come from somewhere far distant. They echo the beauty of faraway places as if to erase the desolation of current surroundings. While an initial reading may suggest only the poet’s love for nature, attentiveness to line one and line three (in the middle of the city/like a fool) shows that Derouich does not merely express his nostalgia for a lost natural environment; his haiku conveys the paradoxical experience of adjusting to a new environment while simultaneously longing for home. This poem can thus be read as a metaphysical enquiry which recognizes our profound connection with the natural world and a critique of the absence of nature from the urban space.

الوادي،
ها هو بين العمارات
يتفقد مجراه.[12]

[Translation]
The river,
here it is between the buildings
seeking its course.

This is another poem which expresses Derouich’s protest against the disjunction between people and the cycles of nature. Instead of conveying the emotional impact of being uprooted, the poet creates a poetry of resistance to an urbanity in which nature has no place. The no longer existing river which the poet imagines is seeking its course can stand for the poet’s inability to find peace in a crowded urban life. Derouich is reluctant to locate himself in the present and stubbornly sticks to his past memories and to the inevitable seasonal progression that allows occasional glimpses of the familiar. His is an attempt to remember home and come to terms with his new life in the city; but it is also an effort to denounce environmental injustice.

الترامواي،
يبدو برأسين،
مثل أم أربعة و أربعين.[13]

[Translation]
The tramway,
seems to have two heads,
like the centipede.

Struggling to exist in an unfamiliar space, the poet recreates his everyday world through haiku poems which suggest that there is only the present—though a deep present that resounds with memory. This is another poem which shows how haiku poetry provides

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[12] *Illuminating Beetles* 71.
[13] *Illuminating Beetles* 78.

Derouich with a form through which he can imaginatively re-experience the natural landscapes that are missing in the city.

سحابة د كناء،
خرير السواقي أيضًا
تكدر.[14]

[Translation]
A gloomy cloud,
the burbling of streams is also
perturbed.

In another haiku, the natural environment is used to express the poet's gloomy state of mind. Nature's state is joined to the poet's feelings through a silent metaphor. The very sound of water is altered; the scene is both powerfully strong and painfully obscure. The grim environment and the poet's mood are probably the result of the change that negatively affected nature. Derouich conveys the change of the seasons not with a sense of renewal but as a reflection on the physical and psychological ravages of rapid industrialization.

Haiku as Resistance

According to James Longenbach, "The marginality of poetry is in many ways the source of its power, a power contingent on poetry's capacity to resist itself more strenuously than it is resisted by the culture at large" (1). Derouich was liberated by the marginality of haiku poetry to express his subversive ideas. Haiku can be considered as a form of struggle for the power of expression and speech. To protest against the new waste land, a new kind of poetry was required. Derouich reinvented the haiku and transformed it into a Moroccan poetry form which he opposed to the existing poetry, breaking thus the central authority of Morocco's literary tradition and giving nature a renewed authority. His haiku are written in opposition to a cultural apparatus and a literary tradition that inferiorises immediacy. But, can haiku transform the world? Can poetry do anything about global warming, water and air pollution, the destruction of forests? For many, poetry is powerless, incapable of changing people or communities. In *What Is Found There: Notebooks on Poetry and Politics,* a book about the cultural power of poetry, American poet Adrienne Rich explains that poetry is as necessary to daily life as clean air, roads and water, not because of its immediate political function, but because it helps us see the world in a new way.

> Poetry can break open locked chambers of possibility, restore numbed zones to feeling, recharge desire … where every public decision has to be justified in the scales of corporate profits, poetry unsettles these apparently self-evident propositions- not through ideology, by its very presence and ways of being, its embodiment of states of longing and desire. (xx-xi)

Jane Hirshfield also writes about poetry's unexampled power in *Ten Windows: How Great Poems Transform the World* (2015). According to her, poems instruct us how to see, hear and feel.

> Poetry's addition to our lives takes place in the border realm where inner and outer, actual and possible, experienced and imaginable, heard and silent, meet. The gift of poetry is that its seeing is not our usual seeing, its hearing is not our usual hearing, its

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[14] *I am Many* 17.

> knowing is not our usual knowing, its will is not our usual will. In a poem, everything travels both inward and outward. (12)

In *Can Poetry Save the Earth?,* John Felstiner also explains how poems word our experience of things and shape our changing consciousness of the world around us. For him, "Once alerted, our eye and ear find environmental imprint and impetus running through a long legacy. Starting with Native American song, the Bible, Asian haiku, and much else, poetry more than any other kind of speech reveals the vital signs and warning signs of our tenancy on earth" (4).

Derouich's poems express a real desire for creating change, but they are not explicitly activist. According to Jonathan Bate, even though ecopoetry is meant to encourage "doing," its language must achieve this through the re-creation of experience rather than any explicit political activism (42). Derouich writes dissident poetry, not protest poetry. James Scully explains the difference between the two terms in his book, *Line Break: Poetry as Social Practice:*

> Most protest poetry is conceptually shallow … such poetry is issue-bound, spectatorial-rarely the function of an engaged artistic life … it tends to be reactive, victim-oriented, incapacitated … it seldom speaks the active rage or resolution of … oppressed or exploited people … dissident poetry, however, does not respect boundaries between private and public, self and other. In breaking the boundaries, it breaks silences: speaking for, or at best with, the silenced; opening poetry up, putting it in the middle of life … it is a poetry that talks back, that would act as part of the world, not simply as a mirror of it. (xv)

Derouich's haiku exemplifies the struggle to change not the world, but the eyes that look at it. Careful reading of his haiku shows the transformative language of his poems. The choice of words offers provocative explorations of experimentation with temporality and experience. His haiku are subversive, deviant and built on multiple layers of meaning. They renovate, expand, and intensify both experience and the range of language. His poems do not just express; they make us see and discover the world in a way that would be impossible otherwise. In them, the objects of the world are made new, transformed by their passage through the poet's imagination. His haiku have an ability to surprise and puzzle that far exceeds what we might expect from their miniature dimensions. Like Traditional haiku masters, Derouich expresses thoughts of boundless depth and beauty in a few words. "The conciseness of haiku enables [poets] to achieve an aesthetically satisfying truth and simplicity, and at the same time an intellectually stimulating suggestiveness and complexity, of which no other genre is capable" (Spikes 59). Jane Hirshfield (2011) also explains how haiku poems are paradoxical due to their "scale and speed." "In the moment of haiku perception, something outer is seen, heard, tasted, felt, emplaced in a scene or context. That new perception then seeds an inner response beyond paraphrase, name, or any other form of containment" (61). However, Haiku is unreadable except when raised by the awakened imaginative mind. What is fascinating about Derouich's haiku is his way of ending-the-poem-without-ending. Readers are invited to open their selves wide enough to embrace all that the poems offer them and contribute to their meaning. In Derouich's haiku, both author and reader participate in the creative and re-creative process. According to Makoto Ueda, haiku works as a literary artistic experience both for writers and readers. "Any poem demands a measure of active participation on the part of the reader, but this is especially true of haiku. With only slight exaggeration it might be said that the haiku poet completes only one half of his poem, leaving the other half to be supplied in the reader's imagination" (vii).

The following poem is an example of how Derouich shakes out old linguistic habits and transforms poetry itself into an organ of perception. The poem does not simply express; it makes and sounds in a startling way. The unexpectedness of its words is more than sustained by the freshness of imagery. The reader feels the tactile pleasure of language. Line one offers an interesting example of the way Derouich breaks away from conventional linguistic properties in order to express the fusion between himself and all that lives. The poet disappears into nature, complicating thus the poem's ecology by immersing the reader in a multi-sensorial ecosystem with the "I" standing for all the living beings, and the falling dewdrops introducing new sensory experiences: olfactory, sonic, and haptic.

مَاأكْثرَني
مع قطرات النّدى
أتَقاطر[15].

[Translation]
I am many
I grow
with falling dewdrops.

Language itself is a cultural litter to be recycled and renewed. Applying the aesthetics of haiku gave Derouich a new angle and a new vocabulary. The following haiku offers an example of the way the poet revels in duplicity and disjunction.

بركة صافية،
العصافير
تحلق في الأعماق[16].

[Translation]
A clear pond,
The birds
Fly deep inside me.

The thrill of this poem lies in its unpredictability. The haiku evades definite interpretation in spite of the familiar words it uses. There are hints of a back story, but the understated quality of the poem makes the emotion conveyed raw and powerful. In his search for sincere self-expression, Derouich juxtaposes the three lines of his haiku in a disturbing way: a clear pond, flying birds and the speaker's inner self. At first reading, the poem seems paradoxical. The speaker sees the reflection of the flying birds on the clear surface of water but the third line says that the birds fly inside him. What was the poet thinking, feeling when he composed this poem? What was the occasion? The poet is many different things at different times. These multiple selves exist contemporaneously; they are connected by their relationship to nature. The significance of the poem is not in the words, but in the wordless part of the haiku — the pauses, the silences, the unspoken associations. The poem is not just the outer scene it describes; the surprising juxtaposition of the lines helps render an ordinary moment in a unique way. We don't only sense vibration in water, but we also feel its depth and temperature. The speaker is so absorbed in the calmness of the scene that he becomes part of it. He believes living beings and himself are equal and interdependent. He is not just an observer; he is the sky where the birds fly. Birds use vision to navigate deep inside him, and this is where they will find their way home. Or maybe the speaker expresses his desire to soar, to be as free as birds.

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[15] *I am Many* 95.

[16] *I am Many* 6.

هذا صفيرها،
بداخلي
تزمجر الريح.[17]

[Translation]
This is her whistling,
inside me
the roaring wind.

Breaking away from expectations and preconceptions of what a poem is, hierarchies are broken down and replaced by uncertainty, indeterminacy and pluralities. In this poem, the wind is rumbling inside the speaker. The natural environment which is in traditional haiku a source of peace and rejuvenation is here invoked to reflect feelings of uncertainty and restlessness. Again, something outer is seen, heard, tasted, and felt. But deliberate silence incites us to imagine what the author does not overtly express, thus transforming an intimate experience into something the reader can engage with. The poem is charged with anxiety and rage. The speaker is angry; but the poem does not tell us what happened. In the first and third lines, the roaring wind is used, creating a vivid image of vocal energy; whilst the second line hints at the untold story of the poem. The poem is consonant with Derouich's poetic project as a whole: the oneness between all living beings. But the wind which roars inside the speaker is both the wind and more than the wind. The inward life of the speaker is transfigured into a material substance, a fragrance and a sound. The choice of the image and the words can only originate from all the violence that his psyche must have undergone.

Conclusion

Careful ecocritical reading of Derouich's haiku poetry brings about a new understanding and placement of his haiku poems. Derouich does not write haiku because he lacks the linguistic facility to compose in longer forms. He is a brilliant novelist and free verse poet. The exploration of his haiku does not exhaust their potential meanings. On the contrary, it highlights the fact that haiku poetry contains multiple contradictory senses, and gives a new way of understanding and valuing the genre's brevity. Furthermore, Derouich is not someone in a privileged position who is unaffected by the world and aloof from the reader. His poems are not merely intimate or confessional; they have epistemological, ontological, social and political import and they insist on the participation of the reader. Derouich is a haiku poet who meditates and seeks the quiet voice within himself. The cultivation of intimacy and the process of meditation lie at the heart of his poems and his ecological thinking and being. In letting go of illusions of idealized nature, he offers a renewed version of romantic poetry which is combined with an ecologically informed practice.

Derouich's haiku is intimately tied to the history of the Moroccan countryside, socially and environmentally. Yet, there is no need to be acquainted with the cultural context to respond to his poems. Derouich celebrates the recurrence of natural cycles by including references to nature that situate his poems in a universal context. His poems can be defined in their linguistic immediacy; unmediated by cultural pre-requisites. Like other haiku writers, Derouich is an international citizen of the world using haiku to bridge cultures. As Bruce Ross writes, "traditional haiku poetics became opened up to the cultural traditions and settings of any given country." The linguistic and cultural differences between Japan and the other countries freed "world cultures to make the form of haiku their own while, moreover, also incorporating the poetic sound values of their own language into haiku."[25] Derouich's haiku deserve wide readership and recognition for their aesthetic and emotional value and for their vast glimpses of the natural world. They help to illuminate the role of nature in our daily life and to renew our relation with the earth. Derouich is a masterful haiku poet and his ecology is vital to his mastery.

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[17] *Illuminating Beetles* 90.

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[25] Introduction, *An Anthology of Contemporary World Haiku*, (Tancho Press, 2015) vii, viii.

Recalibrating The Humanities For The Times: New Humanities 3.0 And Climate Change Denialism

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Introduction

> “Scholars in the humanities are particularly well-equipped to identify, interpret, and assess the cultural determinants of our relations with the environment. These include the ideological constraints and resources that inevitably will come into play when we devise and execute programs to protect the environment.”[1]

Anthropogenic climate change hypothesis challenges us to balance economic growth with the protection of the environment and the needs of the present generation with those of future generations. This paper argues that once science has established the facts regarding the link between anthropogenic global warming and climate change as well as how to avert disaster, the humanities will have a duty to step in to provide the historical and cultural background necessary for the international community to distill wisdom from this knowledge and begin to act. In particular, because rising to these challenges requires that we draw on the species-specific traits of altruism and biological revulsion, the burden is also on the humanities to craft and tell the stories of our common humanity. The paper further argues that for a humanities sector assailed from all sides to be able to do this effectively, three things will need to come together. First, the humanities will need to recalibrate in ways that allow them to take on issues outside their traditional spheres, doing so strictly by retooling typical humanities inquiry methods, including narrative inquiry approaches, but also bringing to bear on such inquiry humanities sensibilities. Second, they will need to reconnect with a culture of stewardship vis-à-vis the public. Third, they will need to seek out new and creative outreach strategies for bridging the citizenship and environmental literacy gap in part at the root of climate change denialism.

1. Harmattan in Rural Imo State, Nigeria

December 2016. I am writing these lines from Lagos, Nigeria. We are five short days before Christmas. Not a whiff of Harmattan, the sub-season characterized by “(...) a dry and dusty northeasterly trade wind which blows from the Sahara Desert over the West African subcontinent into the Gulf of Guinea between the end of November and the middle of March”[262]. Not a sign either of two fruits I grew up associating with Harmattan, mangoes and the African cherry the Igbo call *ụdarà* and which the Yoruba call *àgbálùmò*. I think we are headed for an even shorter and milder Harmattan than we had last year, which was shorter and milder than the one before and so on. Even without the benefit of the precise measuring instruments or multiyear charts of the climate scientist showing the evolution of the weather in the last thirty to thirty-five years, it is hard not to see that, at this rate, all that will be left of Harmattan in another few short years will be dictionary and encyclopaedia entries.

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[1] Leo Marx, “The Humanities and the Defense of the Environment,” (MA. Diss. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1991) 5. http://megaslides.com/doc/9267383/the-humanities-and-the-defense-of-the-environment

[2] “Harmattan,” Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harmattan

Now, I would be the first to concede that when Harmattan was Harmattan, it came with quite a few inconveniences—the dryness of the wind and the dust, the haze, the effect of these on the skin and, in particular, our seasonal *chocolat-au-lait* complexion that made us look like some miserable desert specimens. So, if any of my mates should look back and say to themselves instead, “What a relief!”, or even, “Good riddance!”, I would understand.

The point is, when we were growing up, the Christmas holiday was the most important school holiday. Of course, it meant we did not have to go to school for two, three weeks at a time. Of course, it meant we were going to get new clothes but, more importantly, it meant we could get away from the crowded cities to return to the village with its open spaces, with fewer restrictions on what we could do and what we couldn’t do. But, when we were growing up, the Christmas holiday also coincided with Harmattan, the peak of the mango and *ụdarà* season.

We loved mangoes and *ụdarà* for slightly different reasons. Irrespective of the variety, mangoes were just delicious. Additionally, in the village, we could have practically all the mango we needed free, provided we could brave the early morning Harmattan cold to wake up at 6:00 a.m., 5:30 a.m. or even 5:00 a.m. to go to the sites of the trees to gather any fruits that had fallen from the trees during the night. Unfortunately for us holidaying city children, though, this was a game whose art the village children had perfected. Therefore, no matter how hard we tried they always beat us to the sites of the mango trees.

Since I just mentioned the early morning Harmattan cold, let me digress briefly to talk about that before returning to the situation with *ụdarà*. Some mornings, it got so cold mother—God rest her soul!—would move her cooking gear from the kitchen to the open in the backyard. She would then make a nice fire and, while she cooked or even just let the fire burn, the whole brood would sit around, warming ourselves.

There was this occasion when the cold was really bad. Two of my younger brothers were fighting over a choice position near the fire while I kept rubbing my palms together and whining, as we were wont to do when we wanted to speak like adults, “My God, anyone who survives the Harmattan this year will live long.” I believe mother was attracted to the scene by the fighting of my siblings. After separating them and threatening she was going to put out the fire if we did not behave ourselves, she turned to me:

“And you, always complaining,” she said to me calmly, catching me a little off guard. “Where do you think all the fruits you keep stuffing your stomach with come from?” I turned slightly to look at her. “It’s either a Harmattan worthy of the name and lots of fruits during the year or a mild Harmattan and little or no fruits.” As nothing had prepared me for her intervention, all I could do was stare at her. It had never crossed my mind things were the way she presented them, indeed, that any good could come out of the harsh conditions of Harmattan.

Now, to return to why we liked *ụdarà*! The situation was similar to that of mangoes although with a major difference or two. *Udarà* was not quite as tasty as mangoes. Further, it was not a particularly easy fruit to eat as the unskilled often ended up with sticky fingers and lips that were glued together by the *ụdarà* juice—and that could look quite unsightly during Harmattan. This did not however stop us from loving it, even as some of this love, as I have already suggested, had nothing to do with the fruit’s taste. In fact, sometimes one ran into *ụdarà* that were so sour not even the unsophisticated holidaying city children that we were visited the originating trees.

The reason *ụdarà* held such attraction for us was because where I come from, the *ụdarà* tree, unlike other fruit trees, was excluded from any form of ownership, private or even community. It at once belonged to no one and to everyone, including a first-time visitor to the village, who could without fear of molestation help themselves to *ụdarà* that had fallen from the tree. Better still, provided it was not an *ụdarà* tree that was very close to a home, anyone could haul specially cut branch stubs into the *ụdarà* tree to try to bring down the fruits. This was the main attraction of *ụdarà*—and we would spend hours upon hours doing just that.

A first-time visitor from some far-off land might stop and watch us for a few moments as we hauled the branch stubs into the *ụdarà* tree, bringing down five to ten unripe *ụdarà* fruits for every ripe one and scream at us, "C'mon! Stop this waste! One of you should simply climb the tree." But such a reaction would come from lack of knowledge and would have elicited an exchange of knowing glances from us. Where I come from, precisely because the *ụdarà* tree belonged to no one, we all understood without ever being told one did not climb it to harvest its fruits. I suspect to do so would be to stake ownership over a fruit tree the gods had freely placed at a particular location for the benefit of no one in particular and, therefore, for the benefit of all.

In the last several weeks that I have been researching this paper, I have learned so much that recommends the *ụdarà*, in particular its medicinal virtues. But I have also had a rude shock learning the status of the *ụdarà* tree where I come from has completely changed and that now every single one of them belonged to someone or some family who could arrange to have it climbed in order to harvest the fruits. And because *ụdarà* trees are usually around for such a long time, we are talking here of some of the same *ụdarà* trees I remember hauling those specially cut branch stubs into as a child. So, I am left scratching my head, wondering what children today are to do. Now, far be it from me to suggest here that climate change and, in particular, a disappearing Harmattan might have had anything to do with the erosion of a tradition that brought so much joy to our childhood. Still, the fact that these things are happening together does nothing to ease my sense of loss.

To be continued…

2. Framing my Narrative

Our global and national communities are presently confronted—indeed, have probably always been confronted—with tough choices that demand that we demonstrate wisdom. To judge by the alarms sounded by highly knowledgeable people and organizations[3], the most urgent among these choices today, are perhaps those relating to the anthropogenic global warming and climate change question: How can we balance economic growth with the protection of the environment? How can we balance the aspirations of the present generation with the needs of future generations?

On the one hand, it is cheering to note that there is hardly a soul out there to doubt that *global* or *average* temperatures are indeed rising, leading, among other things, to climate change. On the other hand, one regrets that a small but influential minority, for all sorts of reasons, continue to dismiss any suggestions that human choices and actions are implicated or, where they concede this, try to make the argument these problems will take care of themselves without our international and national communities doing anything. It is of particular interest that this denialism has thrived in spite of overwhelming scientific evidence in support of anthropogenic climate change[4]. It is also of particular interest that this denialism feeds into two larger worrisome phenomena, America's culture wars and the triumph of the post-truth world. The first of these, America's culture wars, has a much longer history, resulting in much about it being better understood. The second, a phenomenon that literally came from nowhere to explode in 2016 with events in the UK and the United States, is at this point much harder to explain but nevertheless portends grave danger for the world insofar as it could ultimately lead to the banishment of the enlightenment value of reason central to our civilization.

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[3] In *Climate Wars: Why People will be Killed in the Twenty-First Century*, Harald Welzer warns: "Space and resource conflicts due to global warming will fundamentally alter the shape of Western societies in the next few decades (…). Climate change is therefore not only an extremely urgent issue for environmental policy; it will also be the greatest social challenge of the modern age, threatening the very existence of millions of people and forcing them into mass migration. The question of how to cope with such flows will become inescapable as refugees of whatever provenance seek to enhance their survival chances by moving to better-off countries" (11).

[4] Dismissing earlier claims of 97% agreement on anthropogenic global warming among publishing scientists, James Lawrence Powell has put the agreement rate at the near unanimity number of 99.99%:

"My search found 24,210 articles by 69,406 authors. In my judgment, only five articles rejected AGW (...).

My aim in this paper is to show that this situation has opened up a niche at the limits of the power of scientific evidence to persuade and settle arguments, but also to go on to make a case that the humanities may be uniquely suited to fill this niche, provided the sector is willing to reconnect with its original mandate, i.e., to raise an informed citizenry[5] and contribute in transforming knowledge into wisdom[6]. I further argue—and thereby make the connection with the so-called crisis in the humanities—that for the humanities to successfully move into and occupy this niche, at least three things will need to happen. First, the sector will need to reinvent itself in ways that allow humanities disciplines to encroach and impact upon non-traditional territories, doing so strictly by retooling their traditional inquiry methods—and I have in mind here especially the narrative inquiry method. Second, the humanities will need to reconnect with a culture of stewardship as well as return to a rhetoric that signals a willingness to, at least sometimes, proceed on terms that make sense to the larger public and, thereby, give up some of their exceptionalism. Third, the humanities will also need to seek out new and creative outreach strategies for bridging the environmental and citizenship literacy gap in part responsible for the rise in climate change denialism.

3. Climate Change and Climate Change Denialism

What is climate change? What is global warming? Are the two synonyms or do they designate two slightly different but related phenomena? And what is climate change denialism? Although all three terms are at the core of the concerns of this paper, I would like at the present to dispose of the first two rapidly. This is in part because there is a wealth of very useable online primers from reputable sources on these topics, which can be explored for additional information, and in part also because the controversy surrounding them arise not from their definitions as such but, instead, from disagreements regarding their causes and how to deal with them.

Wikipedia defines climate change as referring to "a change in the statistical distribution of weather patterns when that change lasts for an extended period of time (i.e., decades to

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These represent a proportion of 1 article in 4,842 or 0.021%. With regard to the authors, 4 reject AGW: 1 in 17,352 or 0.0058%. As explained, I interpret this to mean that 99.99% of publishing scientists accept AGW: virtual unanimity."

"Of course, what matters is not only how many articles reject AGW but also the quality of the evidence presented and the influence of those articles on science. The latter we can judge from the number of citations. As of January 2016, excluding self-citations, the five rejecting articles have been cited a total of once. The only possible conclusion is that there is no convincing evidence against AGW" (124).

[5] I take it for granted here that an informed citizenry is also one where individuals have benefitted from a broad enough education allowing them to examine issues with an open mind in order to come to their own conclusions. In this regard, Richard Wolin is right to insist that "[t]raditionally, the virtue of the humanities has been their capacity to counter the stultifying specialization that pervades modern life, and instead to provide an overview of the scope and expanse of life as a whole" (Wolin 10).

[6] Nicholas Maxwell has argued that one important reason our noblest efforts to make real progress have often appeared doomed and science and technology have become, so to speak, the cause of our global problems, is to be found in our institutions of learning. They "are neither designed nor devoted to helping humanity learn how to tackle global problems—problems of living—in more intelligent, humane, and effective ways" and focus on knowledge and knowledge inquiry. He therefore suggests that if we want to obtain different results we should prioritize wisdom and wisdom inquiry over knowledge and knowledge inquiry. (5)

millions of years).” Scientists agree that climate change broadly conceived has been a constant in the history of the Earth and that in the past this change has been due to a host of factors, the vast majority of which were natural processes. However, they hold human activities, including agriculture and, in particular, the burning of fossil fuels, most responsible for the acceleration of the process today. This, according to NASA[7], explains why the term “climate change”, which is a relative new coinage compared to “climatic change”, is sometimes used by scientists exclusively to refer to climate change linked to anthropogenic global warming.

What is global warming? *Wikipedia* considers global warming a synonym of climate change and notes that “[g]lobal warming and climate change are terms for the observed century-scale rise in the average temperature of the Earth’s climate system and its related effects.” Interestingly, however, no claims of this synonymy are made in the entry for “climate change”. Instead, in the “Terminology” section we read the following attempt at terminological clarification:

> The term sometimes is used to refer specifically to climate change caused by human activity, as opposed to changes in climate that may have resulted as part of Earth’s natural processes. In this sense, especially in the context of environmental policy, the term climate change has become synonymous with anthropogenic global warming. Within scientific journals, global warming refers to surface temperature increases while climate change includes global warming and everything else that increasing greenhouse gas levels affect.

Based on these clarifications, we should perhaps think of climate change as referring to “a long-term change in the Earth’s climate, or [the climate] of a region on Earth” and global warming as referring to “the increase in Earth’s average surface temperature due to rising levels of greenhouse gases” (Conway). This subtle distinction between the two terms is one I think we have an interest in maintaining in order to eliminate a loophole deniers have often exploited when they point to localities where temperatures are falling as proof that climate change is not real.

Finally, we come to climate change denial or denialism. First, let me indicate here that I will use “denialism” in this paper more frequently than “denial”. This is to help us keep in view that the phenomenon under discussion sometimes goes beyond individuals denying that global warming and climate change are real to suggest the existence of an ideology-driven so-called “denial machine”. It “involves denial, dismissal, unwarranted doubt or contrarian views which depart from the scientific opinion on climate change, including the extent to which it is caused by humans, its impacts on nature and human society, or the potential of adaptation to global warming by human actions.”[278] The foregoing definition shows that climate change denialism can take many forms—or has many stages, as some would prefer to put it. But *Wikipedia* also warns that “[c]limate change denial can also be implicit, when individuals or social groups accept the science but fail to come to terms with it or to translate their acceptance into action.”

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[7] Erik Conway, “What's in a Name? Global Warming vs. Climate Change,” https://www.nasa.gov/topics/earth/features/climate_by_any_other_name.html

[8] “Climate Change Denial,” *Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.* https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Climate_change_denial

4. The Crisis in the Humanities and New Humanities 3.0

With the so-called crisis in the humanities also at the heart of my claims regarding the role the humanities can play in tackling climate change denialism, it is only fitting at this point to ask: Is there really a crisis in the humanities? Or, are we just dealing with the unending teething problems of the humanities as some have argued? If indeed there is a crisis, what are the symptoms? How have stakeholders tried to deal with it? What can stakeholders do further to deal with it?

Even among those who are clearly in a position to know, there is no agreement on these basic questions. Maybe this is as it should be, considering that we are talking about the humanities here. Still this disagreement compels us to account for the reason why these commentators seem to be looking at the same trends and data but arrive at different conclusions. Are the differences of opinion just between those who would concede we have on our hands a situation that rises to the level of a crisis and those who would not? Or, do commentators also diverge on what they perceive as the symptoms of the so-called crisis? Do disagreements on the first question sometimes result from the parties prioritising different sets of indices: enrolment numbers, job placement, research output, cuts in programmes and funding, the quality of the humanities education dispensed (to the extent that there exist objective measures for determining this), number of grants attracted, etc.? What is the role of geography in the perception of the crisis?

One of those who reject the use of the term “crisis” is Frank Donoghue, who would only go as far as concede the humanities are dealing with an “ongoing set of problems” that do not rise to a level warranting the use of the “dramaturgic term [crisis]” (1). He argues that these problems have always been there and that there has always existed a certain antagonism between the core values and management style of business and the academy.

While acknowledging that the phrase “crisis in the humanities” has popped up regularly on the radar screens since at least the 1930s, Gideon Rosen, a former chair of Princeton University’s Council of the Humanities, dismisses the idea that the humanities are going through a crisis. He argues, instead that “(…) our ‘crisis’ is largely a PR problem [… and that there] is a widespread perception that the humanities in particular are on the ropes, and even if it is false, this perception can have real consequences.”[289]

Richard A. Bell, for his part, agrees there is a *contemporary* crisis in the humanities, even as he suggests the crisis is primarily a “crisis of legitimation”[10]. Just like Donaghue, he argues that the problem of the modern humanities sector stems from the awkwardness it increasingly feels in the mostly entrepreneurial university environment of our campuses:

> The modern university is in some ways a strange place for the humanities. On large campuses filled mostly with pre-professional students imbibing the technical skills demanded by industrial and postindustrial economies, philosophy can feel like an exotic luxury. (…) But these discordances between the humanities and the university system go back to the creation of modern universities in the nineteenth century (…)

In particular, Bell regrets that faced both inside and outside the academy with charges of “overspecialization; triviality; insularity; fragmentation; and opaque, overly technical writing,” humanities scholarship, for a very long time, influenced by French theorists, approached its legitimation problem by producing more self-referential discourse.

Prominent among those who admit we are dealing with a situation that rises to the level of a crisis are Michael Bérubé, the 2012/2013 President of the MLA, and Peter Levine.

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[9] “Notes on a Crisis,” *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, 9 July 2014. https://paw.princeton.edu/article/notes-crisi

[10] Reimagining the Humanities: Proposal for a New Century,” *Dissent Magazine*, Fall 2010. http://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/reimagining-the-humanities-proposals-for-a-new-century

Bérubé argues that while there may have been false alarms in the past, “[i]t is not even news anymore (…) that [g]raduate education in the humanities is in crisis,”[2911] that the humanities are today dealing with a more contemporary crisis characterized by reduced and outright poor funding; diminishing enrolments in graduate programmes; fewer career opportunities and lower placement rates, etc. Levine, on the other hand, sees a crisis arising from the humanities disengaging from the ethical debates of our time. In a blog post offering the opening paragraphs of his contribution in a recent book, *Rethinking the Humanities: Paths and Challenges*, he writes:

> The original and fundamental purpose of the humanities is moral argumentation. Humanists are scholarly contributors to public discourse about matters of value. If there is a “crisis in the humanities” today, it arises from a general reluctance or inability to contribute to public ethical debate. The reasons for this reticence include widespread moral relativism or scepticism, envy of abstract theory, alienation from the public sphere, and a refusal to engage morally with stories, even though ethical interpretation of narrative is the characteristic contribution of the humanities.[3012]

In discussing the crisis in the humanities, it is easy to fall into the trap of focusing solely on what is happening in the United States because of American leadership in the area but also because of how openly and vigorously the debate has been carried on there. The truth, however is that elsewhere around the globe—in the UK, in Australia, in South Africa, in Nigeria and Africa generally—the same general questions about the relevance and vitality of the humanities are being asked. Concerned stakeholders want to know how the humanities can be repositioned to better fulfil their historic mandates. And the concern is not just about the continued relevance of a humanities sector confronted with the *fait accompli* of the triumph of a “civilization of material progress”; it is also about a larger society that is looking for help on how to navigate truly existential choices it wakes up to each day.

In Australia, the humanities seem to be doing quite well. A major 2014 report notes that despite issues here and there, in particular with an ageing workforce and increasing workforce casualization, “Australia has a strong and resilient humanities, arts and social sciences (HASS) sector that makes a major contribution to the national higher education system, to the national research and innovation system, and to preparing our citizens for participation in the workforce” (Turner and Brass 90).

Regarding South Africa, one can infer the general situation from a comment paper by Laurence Wright, who takes to task two earlier reports on the value of the humanities in the country. While agreeing the humanities sector is in crisis, Wright argues however that a good deal of the literature, including the South African reports, may be looking in the wrong place for the root cause of the crisis. To him, it “lie[s] most centrally in the question of whether students actually receive the calibre of education that humanities’ disciplines potentially afford and claim to deliver” (1). In particular, he regrets that this literature fails to see that tertiary education has two products, knowledge and people and that if our

> defence of the humanities concentrates on knowledge formation and its economic and cultural benefits—the research side—and fails signally to explain the role of the

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[11] “The Humanities, Unraveled,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 18 February 2013. http://chronicle.com/article/Humanities-Unraveled/137291/

[12] “Rethinking the Humanities,” *A Blog for Civic Renewal*. Posted 16 May 2012. http://peterlevine.ws/?p=8876

> humanities in the social and intellectual formation of human beings, you will never persuade society at large that the human and social sciences are fully deserving of support. (1)

In Nigeria, there also has been some rumbling, even though it has been a little bit too muted to make much of a difference. Here and there, one hears the term “crisis” in discussions on the problems that beset the humanities, or the humanities and the social sciences taken together, which suffer from being considered poor siblings of the STEM sector by the State and individual institutions for purposes of funding. For example, in a paper “explor[ing] the possibilities for charting a new path for the Humanities in Nigeria in an age where non-Science subjects, especially, the core Humanities, are treated with disdain[13] […]”, Siyan Oyeweso accuses “the long-standing policy that privileges science-based courses in admissions, job placements, societal and governmental recognition as well as lop-sided funding (…)”[3114]for the woes of the humanities.

Voices have also been raised at the continental level to complain about the marginalization of the humanities, leading “The African Humanities Program [… to convene] a Humanities Forum on June 7, 2014 at the University of South Africa.” In a report titled “Reinvigorating the Humanities in Africa”, submitted for consideration to The African Higher Education Summit, Dakar, Senegal, 10–12 March 2015, the Forum listed a number of areas requiring action. These include: assuring the proper conditions of work for the academic sector, strengthening Ph.D. programs, improving mentorship, nurturing a culture of research and teaching, developing effective mechanisms for dissemination of new knowledge, and encouraging academics to participate actively in the public sphere. There therefore appears to be an awareness in Nigeria as elsewhere on the continent that the humanities are clearly in need of help but one fails to see a similar awareness of the need for self-recalibration. For example, there is hardly any mention of how the humanities engage with the public, or how they make their case for support from the public or how they intend to bring the benefits of humanistic education to the greatest number possible.

From the UK also, there have been voices decrying the defunding of the arts and humanities and, more generally, their marginalisation (e.g., by the Defend the Arts and Humanities Campaign at http://defendartsandhums.blogspot.com). In particular, though, I would like to note the interesting twist that Patricia Waugh brings to the discussion by insisting that we focus on how individual humanities disciplines are faring instead of looking at all of humanities together. So while “not denying that there is much to be anxious about

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[13] In a piece on the situation of the humanities in Africa, the “African Science Policy, Education and Development,” Linda Nordling, a writer for SciDev. net, tells the story of how Uganda’s president Yoweri Museveni, during the launch of science laboratory at Uganda’s Ndejje University in 2015, dismissed humanities and arts courses as “useless” and academics in these disciplines as “people putting on big academic gowns but [... with] no solutions to many of the country’s challenges.” “Africa Analysis: A need to Overhaul the Humanities,” *Analysis Blog*, 12 March 2015. http://www.scidev.net/sub-saharan-africa/education/analysis-blog/overhaul-the-humanities.html

While such words may sound harsh and unfair, in particular coming from someone who is said to have majored in a humanities and arts discipline, it is nevertheless easy to see where such commentators are coming from. The vast majority of African countries are still grappling with the problems of under-development and while they may see the value of the humanities for the overall development of their people, they would rather for now prioritize good roads, regular electricity, good healthcare delivery systems, good housing, potable water supply, etc.

[14] “Towards New Directions in Humanities Scholarship in Nigeria,” *Siyan Oyeweso*, http://talktosiyan.blogspot.com.ng/2012/12/towards-new-directions-in-humanities.html

(…), in particular, on behalf of the coming generation of scholars in a shrinking market for employment,"[15] she argues that her field, English studies,

> is well-positioned to ride the tide of gloom for one major reason: it has one foot in the 'Arts' and in the creative, the speculative and the linguistically playful, and one in the 'humanities' and in rigorous thinking and evidence-based argument, in intellectual analysis and histories, rhetorical awareness and 'lucidity'. It produces creative thinkers and crafty readers, affirmative and original visionaries, and hermeneuts of suspicion. (Waugh, unpaginated)

In fact, all the things Waugh lists as steps English Studies has taken to position itself to envisage the future with confidence are thankfully a reflection of the problems observers have argued ail the humanities sector. They include better engagement with and outreach to the public, increased willingness to open itself up to outside scrutiny, embracing of so-called low culture at the levels of curriculum and scholarship proper, abandonment of the false hope of legitimation offered by High Theory, more robust engagement with other disciplines, etc.

I think, however, we can look beyond the seeming terminology impasse and note that irrespective of the terminology adopted—crisis or "ongoing set of problems" or something in between—, irrespective of diagnosis, commentators, as we have seen have not hesitated to suggest a way forward.

Some of the issues ailing the humanities, e.g., reduced funding, may have political dimensions beyond the control of the humanities. Others, on the other hand, are issues the sector can work on and, indeed, has continued to work on over the decades. This is the point of the *New* Humanities (NH) in my title, which recognises these ongoing efforts to address the problems despite any disagreements about terminology. I have further resorted to versioning to suggest one could agglomerate elements of the ongoing crisis into three groups, leading to three broad solution paths. I hasten to add that with the exception of the issues submitted to NH 1.0, which are circumscribed in historical time, others are issues the humanities need to continue watching. The result of this is that new versions will necessarily build on and inherit the problems of preceding versions in what looks more like a relay system.

New Humanities 1.0, I argue, corresponds to digital humanities, in the sense of Stevan Harnad's "scholarly skywriting"[16] but also in the sense of the various efforts within the academy to ensure the digital revolution did not transform the gap on our campuses between the sciences and the humanities into an unbridgeable chasm. It also covers the increasing use in the humanities of the computer for greater insights into their objects of study as well as the digitization of these objects of study themselves.

New Humanities 2.0, on the other hand, was mostly collaborative and transdisciplinary humanities. It aimed, among other things, to address the charges of hyper-specialization, insularity and triviality levelled against the humanities. Beyond trying to address any charges, however, the transdisciplinary and cross-sectoral research route made sense for at least two reasons. First, the sites of the vast majority of issues worthy of investigation today are at the interface of two or more disciplines, whether within the humanities or across different sectors. Two, transdisciplinary and cross-sectoral collaboration necessarily allow for greater insights into even the most mundane among our objects of research but also are potent engines for disciplinary renewal:

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[15] Waugh, Patricia. "English and the Future of the Humanities." (Position paper, 2010. http://www.universityenglish.ac.uk/wp-content/docs/English_and_the_Future_of_the_Humanities.pdf.) Unpaginated.

[16] In the early 1990s, as the personal computing revolution was taking hold, Harnad wrote two particularly prescient papers envisioning how the revolution would transform scholarship: "Scholarly Skywriting and the Prepublication Continuum of Scientific Inquiry" and "Post-Gutenberg Galaxy: The Fourth Revolution in the Means of Production of Knowledge." The articles explored two main ideas. The first was how emailing, online discussion groups, and all the emerging avenues for electronic prepublication open peer review, with the endless possibilities of interaction, were going to radically transform the scholarship scene and what scholars, in particular in the humanities and social and human sciences, needed to do to take advantage to speed up the validation of knowledge process in their fields. The second idea was how online publishing and digital archiving were already transforming the dissemination of research in the sciences and why other sectors needed to take a cue to bring their research to the largest number possible.

> (...) the most illuminating discoveries are often at the edge of a disciplinary boundary, sometimes forging new inter- or multi-disciplinary alignments or networks but also, in the process, often raising a more finely tuned awareness of the particular strengths and abiding insights of one's own discipline. (Waugh, unpaginated)

New Humanities 3.0, I propose, is humanities that are not shy to take on issues and themes traditionally considered outside their areas of interest provided such issues and themes have compelling proximate human interests. The exhortation implicit here is by no means entirely new. Edward Slingerland, for example, draws attention in his book to a piece by Louis Menand "which concludes that the way out of the malaise currently afflicting the humanities has to lie in an aggressive "colonization" by the humanities of more and more areas of human inquiry"[17] (300).

I think there is a whole series of areas of inquiry with "compelling proximate human interests" currently the exclusive preserve of the social and human sciences in which the humanities can make significant contributions using—and this bears emphasizing—approaches and methods that are recognizably humanistic and bringing to bear on such inquiry sensibilities that are also recognizably humanistic. I also think there are a whole series of issues on which science is producing vast amounts of knowledge that will need to be distilled into wisdom for it to have a truly transformative effect on our world. I propose then that NH 3.0 might be founded on four commitments, some of which have already been mentioned in passing above.

The first is a commitment to appropriate new areas of inquiry provided, as has already been pointed out, such areas have a compelling proximate human interest. With all the dire warnings being issued by scientists, who can deny that global warming and climate change constitute an issue with a compelling proximate human interest.

The second is a commitment to conduct such inquiry using approaches and methods that are recognizably of the humanities. This commitment speaks directly to the legitimation issue. It would do the credibility of the humanities no good if such inquiries just tried to fake scientific or social science methods and approaches or tried to mask limited knowledge with arcane terminology under the mistaken belief that this would put to rest any *bona fides* question.

The third is a commitment to always bring humanities sensibilities—"see, think, and engage differently with the world, whether the world immediately around us, the worlds of our past, or the worlds of our imaginations" (Jeffords 6) —to bear on such inquiry. Wolin reminds us that

> Humanistic study can restore integrity to the public sphere by resisting at every turn the reifying and banalizing temptations of the information age. Confronted with the simplifying tendencies of the high speed society, the humanist's task is to ensure that

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[17] Insofar as the humanities scholar wishing "to aggressively colonize" such non-traditional territories may need to team up with researchers for whom such territories are home, it is easy to see how NH 3.0 loops back to the concerns of NH 2.0, which was mostly about transdisciplinary and collaborative research.

> arguments and issues are reframed with the measure of complexity and subtlety necessary to arrive at nuanced and considered judgments. (18-19)

The fourth and last is a commitment to continually seek ways to bridge the chasm that has developed between the academy (the humanities, actually) and the city. Whereas the sciences are ever so willing to share with the public what they do and are doing, the humanities, on the other hand, have generally not cared much about this kind of stewardship or, perhaps, are just not skilled at doing it[18]. Indeed, this was a major issue at a 2012 Modern Languages Roundtable focusing on advocacy for the humanities, which noted:

> In the sciences, this gap is being addressed by new demands for "societal impact" as a requirement for NEH and NIH grants. In the case of the humanities, organizations like Imagining America: Artists and Scholars in Public Life offer models for publicly engaged approaches to research and teaching that bring students and faculty into direct contact with those communities.[19]

5. Narrative, Narrative Inquiry and Climate Change

Given the critical role assigned narrative and narrative inquiry within my problematic, let us at this point address ourselves to question the nature of narrative. What is narrative? What is narrative inquiry? What is it about narrative that authorizes one to think it can be mobilized in the effort to undermine climate change denialism? Before attempting to define narrative, let me point out two important changes the concept has undergone as it has round-tripped between the humanities and the world. The first is the collapsing of the distinction originally made between "narrative" and "story", and the second is the jettisoning of the restriction of narrative to the verbal medium. This has led to "narrative" and "story" now being used interchangeably but also, as Rimmon-Kenan puts it, to a situation where "[t]oday, narratives are detected in film, drama, opera, music, and the visual arts" (16). Stephen Denning proposes that narrative (or, story) might be defined ("in the broadest sense […as] anything told or recounted") or "more narrowly, and more usually, [as] something told or recounted in the form of a causally-linked set of events; account; tale,: the telling of a happening or connected series of happenings, whether true or fictitious."[3220]

A more scholarly "narrow definition" might come in the words of Monika Fludernik:

> A narrative (Fr. *récit*; Ger. *Erzählung*) is a representation of a possible world in a linguistic and/or visual medium, at whose centre there are one or several protagonists of an anthropomorphic nature who are existentially anchored in a temporal and spatial sense and who (mostly) perform goal-directed actions (action and plot structure). (6)

And what is narrative inquiry? To start with, "(...) at present, there is no single narrative inquiry method, but rather a number of methods dispersed among individual disciplines" (Webster and Mertova 7). In other words, what we have is an agglomeration of qualitative inquiry approaches united by the use of narrative in some way. *Atlas.ti*, makers of the qualitative data analysis software with the same name, note that:

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[18] One cannot help wondering why, for example, the humanities do not offer high quality magazines and journals with missions similar to those of science's *Nature, Scientific American, Pour la science*, etc.—prestigious off-the-shelf publications that communicate to the public the work scientists are doing and how this is going to affect their lives.

[19] *Making a Case for the Humanities: Advocacy and Audience,* Modern Language Association Roundtable, Teresa Mangum, Session Organizer. 1. 2012.

[20] "What is a story? What is narrative meaning?" *Steve Denning.* http://www.stevedenning.com/Business-Narrative/definitions-of-story-and-narrative.aspx.

> Narrative research is a term that subsumes a group of approaches that in turn rely on the written or spoken words or visual representation of individuals. These approaches typically focus on the lives of individuals as told through their own stories. The emphasis in such approaches is on the story, typically both what and how is narrated.[3321]

These approaches range from the kind of first-person, journal-style reporting of research that is now popular among education researchers, especially in the Anglophone world—the United States, Canada, New, Zealand and Australia—, to "approaches and traditions that focus on personal experience as expressed or communicated in language" (McAdams, Ruthellen, and Lieblich 4). The personal experiences recounted could be those of the researcher or those of the research subjects. There are many numbers of reasons for thinking that narrative could be a potent tool for undermining climate change denialism. Let us examine four here. The first is the chief argument used to account for why narrative has caught on to the point of warranting the declaration of a "narrative turn". That argument can be stated as follows: We are *Homo narrans*! When John D. Niles first threw up the idea, he meant to suggest that narrative was in a non-trivial sense at the core of our humanity.[3422] Humans, the literature on narrative insists, are conditioned not only to tell stories[3523] but also to open their hearts to a good story which perhaps explains why storytelling has always been used to instruct and to transmit moral values. Niles reminds us:

> Even more than the use of language in and of itself or other systems of symbol management, storytelling is an ability that defines the human species as such, at least as far as our knowledge of human experience extends into the historical past and into the sometimes startling realms that ethnography has brought to light. (Niles 3)

To summarize then, but also to transition to the second argument, narrative can be a potent weapon to fight climate change denialism because throughout the history of our species, we have relied on stories and storytelling to pull through crises, including, according to Bernard Victorri,[3624] species-threatening crises. This is a virtue of narrative charismatic business and political leaders understand and appreciate a lot, to the point that a whole cottage industry has developed around storytelling training. The point is, in times of crisis or rapid change, people are generally anxious. They literally do not know where to turn to but because "(…) rather than focusing on general, abstract situations or trends, stories are accounts of what happened to particular people—and of what it was like for them to experience what

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[21] "Narrative Research," Retrieved 13 February 2017. http://atlasti.com/narrative-research/

[22] "Oral narrative or what we call storytelling in everyday speech," Niles argues, "is as much around us as the air we breathe, although we often take its casual forms so much for granted that we are scarcely aware of them." *Homo Narrans. The Poetics and Anthropology of Oral Literature*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991) 1.

[23] "Humans", Connelly and Clandin argue, "are storytelling organisms who, individually and socially, lead storied lives." "Stories of Experience and Narrative Inquiry," *Educational Researcher*, 19.5 (Jun. - Jul., 1990): 2. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1176100.

[24] Rejecting the three possible explanations hitherto advanced for the extinction of all archaic *Homo sapiens* with the exception of our species, Victorri has instead advanced a hypothesis with the narrative function of language at its core. He suggests that during this period of recurring species-threatening crises, *Homo sapiens* would have invented a novel function of language, the narrative function, which allowed them to recount the events of past crises and, thus, make up for a lack of biological revulsion at that point in the hominization process. He concludes that this ability to recount past events could have enabled our ancestors to avoid the social destabilization acts that made the rest of archaic *Homo sapiens* vulnerable and ultimately led to their extinction. Victorri, « *Homo narrans* : le rôle de la narration dans l'émergence du langage, » 117–122.
And, if I may add, it is a version of this hypothesis that we find at work in "The Story People" thought experiment proposed by Jonathan Gottschall in *The Storytelling Animal. How Stories Make Us Human*.

happened—in particular circumstances and with specific consequences" (Herman 1-2), they inspire and reassure us.

The third is an argument often given for the widespread adoption of narrative inquiry in educational research, i.e., the use of narrative can and does give voice to the voiceless. There are two ways "giving voice to the voiceless" has been interpreted. First, in the sense in which this is used among advocates of narrative inquiry in education research when they encourage the kind of personal first-person, almost journal-style writing Robert J. Nash calls "scholarly personal narrative," which "puts the self of the scholar front and center" (18), in which the researcher is deeply immersed in the writing. Second, and more central to our purposes here, in the sense in which Jane Elliot speaks of "giv[ing] a voice to the most marginalized groups within society" (144). In this regard, Rimmon-Kenan notes that "[i]n some social-political contexts, 'narrative' is seen as a way of giving voice to minorities or disadvantaged groups, generally repressed and silenced by the hegemony" (15), while Margret Steixner and Manuel Heidegger consider storytelling as a leveller, "a very egalitarian method." "Everybody can do it and sometimes even people who have low self-esteem for various reasons [...] feel attracted by storytelling as a simple and natural means of communicating their views and experiences."[25]

As Leo Marx reminds us, providing the scientific evidence establishing climate change as well as coming up with the technical countermeasures to mitigate its effects are the province of scientists and engineers. Still there is a whole lot the humanities can do to help provide a context for understanding or to help distil wisdom from the knowledge produced by scientists since environmental problems typically "have their origin in the practices, individual and institutional, of human beings" (2). Once it is granted the humanities can make significant contributions of the sort we have been talking about to environmental protection efforts, the next question is: what is the ideal vehicle for making this contribution? Enter narrative, in particular for humanities scholars with a literary bent.

The fourth and final argument is the emergence of narrative as a potent tool for exploring personal identity. In a video primer on narrative theories of personal identity, Elisabeth Camp reminds us how this view, which "starts from the idea that we are fundamentally sense-making creatures, *Homo narrans* (…): 'tellers', (…) or 'knowers,'"[26] has transformed how philosophers approach the compelling question "Who am I?": "From a narrative view, 'Who I am' is given by the story I tell about myself. Or, maybe, to guard against preemption or self-deception, the stories that an especially honest, reflective version of myself would tell."[27]

Upon closer examination, it is easy to see how at the heart of the climate change challenge lies the question of personal identity. The anthropogenic global warming and climate change question challenges all of us to deal with fundamental questions such as: Who am I? Are there things I care about sufficiently as to be willing to turn to the precautionary principle even when I strongly believe the jury is still out on them? What is my place in the universe? What is my relationship with other humans, even in far-flung lands? What are my civic and moral responsibilities as a citizen of my local community, my country and planet Earth? What is my relationship with generations yet unborn? Are the lives of little children growing up in the remotest black African villages less important than those of children growing up in Casablanca, Rome, New York or Melbourne just because of the geography of their birth?[3728] These are by no means easy questions to deal with, in particular given that we now know global warming and climate change create losers and winners. Notwithstanding, my contention is that the humanities can—and should again begin to—help us try to answer these questions for as Wolin reminds us

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[25] Steixner, Margret and Manuel Heidegger. 2013. "Reviving the Tradition of Storytelling for Global Practice". Unpaginated. http://www.sietareu.org/images/stories/congress2013/presentations/Margret%20Steixener%20The%20power%20of%20storytelling.pdf.

[26] Elisabeth Camp, "Personal Identity (The Narrative Self)," February 5, 2016. Online Video from "WiPhi: Open Access Philosophy." http://www.wi-phi.com/video/personal-identity-narrative-self.

[27] Camp "Personal Identity (The Narrative Self)".

> The humanities' mission is to provide an answer to Tolstoy's existential interrogative: what should I do and how should I live? (...) The prerogative of science, in the sense of *Wissenschaft* or technical scholarship, is the domain of instrumental or formal reason. Science determines the most efficient, rational means to achieve a given end. As to whether such ends themselves are intrinsically worth pursuing, science is agnostic. It consigns such queries to the reverie of poets on starry nights. (10)

6. Discussion

I have probably carried on as if narrative was an unproblematic concept and tool; it is not—and on many levels. It is not if one has in mind that the term is sometimes taken in the sense of *a particular* point of view of events, which would then be one point of view among many others. It is not either if we consider that narrative can be used to give voice to the voiceless, with its attendant risks, including the risk of stigma. Nor is it if we keep in mind the ever-lurking question whether the events related by our narratives "are really real,"[3829] arising from but also leading to narrative being held only to standards of verisimilitude. Yet, there is a serious case to be made, sometimes drawing on narrative's supposed weaknesses, for it as a tool that can be used to great effect to contribute to efforts to deal with some of the knotty issues of our time, including climate change denialism.

Let us briefly consider two of these weaknesses, narrative's malleability (and ubiquity) which, by "collapsing (…) the difference between literature (or fiction) on the one hand and non-literature ('life') on the other" (Tammi 27), has led to a situation—and this is the second weakness—where narratives can only aspire to verisimilitude. While it has been argued, e.g., by Pekka Tanmi that "[t]he celebrated ubiquity of narrative in culture is both a fecund premise and (…) the bane of narrative theory today" (19) and by Rimmon-Kenan that by insisting on finding narrative everywhere, we risk emptying the concept of all content, it is equally true the extension of the concept to other media (film, theatre, music, art, etc.) has greatly expanded the options for the kinds of uses to which narrative has been put since the narrative turn. For example, it is thanks to this extension that a work such as "The Inconvenient Truth", Al Gore's award-winning documentary film (directed by Davis Guggenheim) has been received as a reference for the use of narrative to bring climate change awareness to the largest number possible. Similarly, it is easy to see how the fact that narratives are held only to standards of verisimilitude can be both a weakness and a strength. Bruner captures this ambivalence perfectly in the following passage:

> Unlike the constructions generated by logical and scientific procedures which can be weeded out by falsification, narrative constructions can only achieve "verisimilitude." Narratives, then, are a version of reality whose acceptability is governed by convention

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[28] A Monash University study reports as follows: "(…) the contrasting opinions of believers and skeptics about the causes of climate change provided the basis of social identities that define who they are, what they stand for, and who they stand with (and against)." Monash University. "Actions, Beliefs behind Climate Change Stance," *Science Daily*. www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2015/02/150202114549.htm

[29] Camp "Personal Identity (The Narrative Self)".

> and “narrative necessity” rather than by empirical verification and logical requiredness (...) 44

Thus, while there may be other avenues for the humanities to contribute to the debates of our time, I contend that they can also help us navigate these difficult terrains by crafting and telling the stories of our common humanity. Indeed, if, as Esther Mackintosh argues, “[t]he key is to persuade members of the public that the humanities are not just a set of disciplines but a tool that can open lines of communication and dialogue, generate ideas, and *show us how the issues we confront have been handled by people in other times and places*” (11), (emphasis added), I do not see how the recalibration of the humanities advocated by NH 3.0 can avoid having narrative at its core. Of course, it would be great if such narratives were grand or master narratives, but personal and particular narratives would also do. As neuroscientist Paul A. Zak[3930] and his team have established, good stories, especially character-driven ones, cause oxytocin, the empathy neurochemical, to synthesize in the brain, leading to a greater amenability to empathize with the narrator.

Regarding the crisis in the humanities, it seems to me stakeholders could either switch to defence mode and parse words or roll up their sleeves and see it as a challenge and an opportunity for renewal. As I have suggested elsewhere, we could begin by looking beyond terminology differences and ask how we can continue to work on the ongoing issues of the sector, in the interest of both the humanities and society at large. For example, much has been made, including in this paper, of the broad general education afforded by the humanities, which should, among other things, help develop the critical thinking faculties of beneficiaries, allowing them to come to their own judgment in important matters. If the humanities are to succeed in this, they will need to have their sight set beyond the number of humanities graduates and PhDs they produce and work towards ensuring every citizen, irrespective of discipline or profession, has the opportunity to benefit from this kind of education. Obviously, this goal is easier to pursue on campuses than in the outside world. Here in Nigeria, for example, the choice has been the integration of a number of Nigeria University Commission-required general studies courses, drawn mostly from the humanities, in the curriculum of the various degree programmes[31]. There is also the bold but no doubt onerous model suggested by Susan Jeffords at the 2012 Modern Language Association Roundtable titled “Making a Case for the Humanities: Advocacy and Audience” which is worth looking at for a way forward. She calls for the embedding of humanities faculty in other units to make for a tighter and more seamless integration that would see “the humanities infusing across the university the perspectives and capabilities that students learn in humanities classes” (6). The more difficult task, however, is how to make up for lost opportunities once people have graduated without being exposed to this kind of humanities education or when members of the public are just genuinely interested in pursuing a life-long humanities education. This is where proper engagement by the humanities with the public beyond advocacy for themselves comes in, in terms of outreach to make up for missed literacy opportunities.

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[30] “Why Inspiring Stories Make Us React: The Neuroscience of Narrative,” *Cerebrum*: The Dana Forum on Brain Science, (2015): 2.

“Why Your Brain Loves Good Storytelling,” *Harvard Business Review,* 28 October 2014. https://hbr.org/2014/10/why-your-brain-loves-good-storytelling

[31] Unfortunately, I doubt that any fair-minded person can look at the outcome of this effort over the years and unequivocally state that it has been a success. The choice of courses clearly needs to be reviewed and a clear sense of the objectives pursued developed. In addition, the implementation and commitment of the institutions and staff who teach these courses are also areas to be worked on. At the present, they seem to be just going through the motions to comply with the University Commission’s mandate. Yet, if we truly have in mind to augment the disciplinary learning of beneficiaries with aspects of a broad based humanistic education of a nature to foster critical thinking this element of our curricula needs to be approached with the same seriousness we approach the teaching of the core courses of the different programs.

Elsewhere, I suggested that there might be at the root of climate change denialism both an environmental and citizenship literacy gap. The humanities need to begin viewing the bridging of this gap as part of their mission to raise an informed citizenry. If citizens have the opportunity to educate themselves properly about the issues, they are more likely to want to be part of the solution rather than part of the problem, even if in good faith. There are no overly ready-made solutions here, not to talk of a one-size-fits-all solution. Humanists will need to examine the particular circumstances of their communities to determine what works for them in terms of how to create learning opportunities for citizens to reflect on what it means to be a citizen and the value of the environment. However, the model offered by "Imagining America,"[32] which proposes programmes and research projects designed to provide opportunities for growth for students and faculty but also for useful engagement with the public, looks exciting to me and is worth understudying by other national humanities sectors.

With global warming and climate change, the international community faces not only one of the most compelling problems of our time but also one of the most irritating. Global warming and climate change constitute a compelling problem because they remind us in the most dramatic fashion that, irrespective of where we live, we are all citizens of a country called planet Earth and that national borders, even when they are protected by high electrified walls, can only go so far in keeping the problems away. The individual and corporate choices made at locations thousands of miles away can still affect our lives in the most unexpected ways and, therefore, irrespective of whether we contributed to the problem or not, we still have an interest in being part of the solution. Further—and this is a cruel irony as many have pointed out—, the poor countries who contribute the least to the build-up of CO_2 and other greenhouse gases directly responsible for global warming are also those most likely to pay the greatest toll for its effects. This is so precisely because they are poor and may not be able to afford any future mitigation measures and technologies.

The global warming and climate change debate is irritating because of the lack of good faith that has sometimes characterized the debate. There is, for example, the desperation of deniers who would cling to the most insignificant errors or *faux pas* of the other side to weave mind-numbing theories regarding non-existent conspiracies to conceal the evidence. An example that comes to mind is the scandal created by the leaked e-mails of the University of East Anglia's Climatic Research Unit (Ward 26-27). In particular, there is also the bad faith of deniers who have sought to use the hedging characteristic of how scientific claims are made to argue that anthropogenic climate change is just a hypothesis thrown out there and that the jury was still out.

It is in this context that efforts by the international community to put in place and implement policies capable of averting any future catastrophe—from the Kyoto Protocol to the Paris Agreement—have continued to come up against the brick wall formed by a small but powerful coalition of deniers. Let me note here that in so far as climate change denial spans the whole spectrum of outright rejection of the notion of anthropogenic global warming to the position of those who concede it but do not care about being a part of the solution, even if only out of laziness, there are deniers in every country. Yet, in many ways, climate change denialism is essentially an American problem. All the principal more or less organized groups arrayed against efforts to take measures to combat it—a conservative coalition comprising the political right and the religious right on one hand and the fossil fuel lobby on the other hand—are American. Further, the culture war that forms the subtext of the skirmishes is also American; it is the now familiar battle of the conservative coalition against liberals, who they accuse, in particular, of seeking to curtail their rights and impugn on their American way of life.[33] In this sense then, the climate change controversy is another front in a larger war, which includes the abortion, same-sex marriage, gun control and political correctness debates as well as the ideological battle to keep the federal government small as a way to pre-empt its meddlesomeness, etc. Based on this, this conservative coalition has approached the climate change debate with the same religious fervour and single-minded determination that has characterized the other battles.

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[32] Additional information on Imagining America is available at the organization's website, www.imaginingamerica.org.

Another source of irritation is that tackling climate change denial has been akin to aiming at a moving target. This is because, as already mentioned elsewhere, there are, by some accounts, as many as six types of deniers. They range from those who outrightly deny that climate change is taking place to those who concede climate change but reject the responsibility of humans, to those who seek to give a scientific cachet to their denialism by insisting that they be called climate science sceptics even as they would rather do science in the public place, in Internet blogs.[34] Considering that some of these positions are held by the same individuals concurrently, it has been especially difficult making progress in the debate because when one argument is shot down, they simply pull out another one from their collection.

While I do not want to hold climate change advocates responsible to any degree for deniers' actions, there are nevertheless enabling factors that advocates need to be aware of in order to better control and, thereby, increase the chances of building a broader consensus necessary to implement mitigation policies. It has already been mentioned elsewhere that while climate change is creating major problems for many regions, advocates need to realize it is also making some regions more habitable and, therefore, more economically viable. Similarly, changes in temperature are not occurring uniformly and numbers advanced by scientists are average temperature increases, which tell us nothing about local conditions, which may be significantly different. Yet, most people are more interested in their local conditions as Quirin Schiermeier warns:

> To plan for the future, people need to know how their local conditions will change, not how the average global temperature will climb. Yet researchers are still struggling to develop tools to accurately forecast climate changes for the twenty-first century at the local and regional level. (284)

In particular, while it is not certain that it is for lack of knowledge that deniers hold the positions they hold, it is still based on the evidence developed by scientists that advocates can hope to get them to change their positions, not by vilification. This calls for the adoption of communication strategies that are sophisticated enough to factor in the fact that "society's capacity to cope with [… possible remedies of an environmental problem] will in considerable measure depend on less tangible, largely unquantifiable political, institutional, and cultural factors" (Marx 5). It turns out the humanities are particularly endowed to do this because, as Marx, puts it

> The essential method of the humanities is historically informed interpretation. Among its merits, this method lends a temporal dimension to our understanding of environmental problems which we otherwise are likely to define in misleadingly presentist terms. (The presentist view of a situation ignores its past and assumes that its only significant manifestations exist in the present.) (4)

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[33] See, e.g. Jean-Daniel Collomb, "The Ideology of Climate Change Denial in the United States," *European Journal of American Studies*, 9.1 (Spring 2014) Document 5. http://journals.openedition.org/ejas/10305

[34] See, e.g., "Another Dumb Climate Psychology Paper," The IPCC Report, 3 Feb. 2015. https://ipccreport.wordpress.com/2015/02/03/another-dumb-climate-psychology-paper/

But modern humanities are also particularly suited to do this because they are, by their preferred dialogic teaching methods, as Wolin has suggested, direct heirs of Plato and his colloquies and debates and, beyond Plato, of "Florentine humanists [who] realized that scholarly learning must take place as the critical appropriation rather than as the passive fetishization or glorification of Great Texts" (17).

7. Conclusion

Continued from page 67…

Lagos, Nigeria. Weekend of 17–19 February 2017. Two important things to report. For the first time during the ongoing Harmattan, we experienced something close to the normal early morning Harmattan cold of yore three mornings in a row and then we were returned to the new normal. Second, and more importantly, I had seen my first *ụdarà* of the season a few days after Christmas but what happened this weekend took me completely by surprise. I saw my first mangoes of the season in a neighbourhood Lagos market. It was such a surprise because during my weekly commute to Osun State, every mango tree I had seen was barely flowering and none of the agricultural produce vendors that line the expressway offered mangoes as they normally would during the mango season. There had to be some conspiracy to mess with my mind, I thought to myself.

As soon as I got home, I put through a call to a colleague in Ogbomosho to find out what was the situation with mangoes there. A little explainer is perhaps necessary here. Ogbomosho is to mangoes a little of what Paris is to *haute couture*. I therefore think it fitting to describe the town as "the mango capital of the world." Or, maybe just of Nigeria. It is the only town I know which has been honoured by a variety of mango being named after it. My colleague assured me mangoes wouldn't be out in Ogbomosho for another month or two.

One of the things I have tried to do in this paper is show that whether the crisis in the humanities is as bad as it has sometimes been portrayed, it need not be a death knell. Instead, I have argued that stakeholders have a duty to view the ongoing adversity of the humanities as both challenge and opportunity. The times call for a positioning of humanities disciplines to more effectively equip citizens to deal with questions of how we can and should live to the fullest in the present, but with a clear understanding of our history and an acute sense of our duties and responsibilities to our collective future.

But the paper is also intended as a demonstration of the opportunities before a recalibrated humanities, or New Humanities 3.0, that are able to take on issues and themes outside their typical areas of predilection, relying on a retooling of their traditional inquiry methods and bringing to bear on the inquiry sensibilities that are recognizably of the humanities. Climate change and climate change denialism, which have been the focus of the demonstration, are compelling enough because of the real existential threat they pose. Yet, as I pointed out in the body of the paper, the far greater risk to humanity is the disenlightenment culture (or culture of unreason) that in part sustains climate change denialism. Because we are the humanities, we have a duty to challenge it at every turn.

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Disposable* Culture? Worse: Disposable *Culture *(Mostafa Shoul, Mohammed I University, Oujda, Morocco)*

Introduction

The present paper addresses the intricate relationship that exists between culture and human basic needs, and the expression of the community's identity that results from this relationship. It first exposes the elusiveness of the word culture and tries to pin it down by considering it part and parcel of the natural environment as well as the biology of its people. Then it touches on culture change and how it is regarded as a very slow process, which makes a given culture seem immutable at least for a long period of time. Then the paper moves to propose that it is exactly culture immutability that builds up the identity of people. Overproduction and overconsumption are afterwards introduced as factors of pollution and, more importantly, of accelerating the change rhythm of the components of culture. The paper concludes by finally showing how culture as a whole is affected and may affect in turn the identity of the people.

The Concept(S) of Culture

No one can deny the fact that it is no game to provide a concise and satisfactory definition of “culture”. In an article published by *The New Yorker*, J. Rothman anecdotically reports, "something innately funny about Merriam-Webster’s announcement." He says that

> “culture” is their 2014 Word of the Year. (...) The word “culture,” they [Merriam-Webster’s editors] explain, was simply the word that saw the biggest spike in look-ups on their Web site. Confusion about culture was just part of the culture this year. People were desperate to know what “culture” meant.

If Rothman readily acknowledges that “culture” is a confusing word, Williams, reported by Young (30), admits that "the word “culture” is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language. It is so complicated, that it took Merriam-Webster six major definitions in an attempt to delimit it, and in addition, the fourth and fifth definitions, which are closest to the notion the present paper is concerned with, are broken down into two and four sub-definitions, respectively. Furthermore, the term seems to be etymologically fuzzy as “The very word *culture* meant 'place tilled' in Middle English, and the same word goes back to Latin *colere*, 'to inhabit, care for, till, worship' and *cultus*, 'A cult, especially a religious one'” (Casey 332).

Back in the 1950s, anthropologists, among others, already contended the definition of culture. However, they “have found difficulty in developing a new concept of culture adequate to the needs of modern multi-disciplinary research” (Thompson 71). Thompson argued that “actually, an adequate theory of culture, accounting satisfactorily for its myriad forms and multiple processes, could not emerge until [some] conditions had been fulfilled” (72). Among the conditions Thompson first suggested, “Human culture had to be recognized explicitly as the product and process of human organisms and therefore as a biologically-based phenomenon.” She added as a third condition that “This theory of organism had to account not only for the activities of single organisms but also for the activities of groups or communities of organisms in environmental settings: e.g., it had to account for natural ecological arrangements and communities.” The author insisted in the sixth condition that "An integrative, interdisciplinary methodology had to be developed which was adequate to describe and analyze not merely social behavior but a whole culture-in-environment in spatial and temporal perspective, including its ecologic, somatic, sociologic, psychologic and symbolic dimensions." At any rate, Thompson underlines the fact that the societal system-which includes the cultural traditions-of a particular society "has been created in response to the inner and outer needs of a particular group of human organisms in environmental context, viewed in long-range time and space perspective" (71).

Of course, needs are of different categories as we can gather from Maslow's "Hierarchy of Needs" (3), but are common to all communities. The most basic of these are what he calls "physiological needs" (4) (that is, survival needs as they relate to food, water and shelter), then "safety and security needs" (6) above which he puts "love and belongingness needs" (9). One can infer that these are also the minimal ground for culture to grow, provided that they are met. In the same vein, Casey, apparently drawing on the Latin etymology and elaborating on the definition of "culture" added that "To be cultural, to have a culture, is to inhabit a place sufficiently intensive to cultivate it— to be responsible for it, to respond to it, to attend to it caringly" (332). This, in addition, plainly implies that for a culture to exist, there should be not only a delimited space but also a considerable amount of time. Speaking of ancient communities, Thompson states that "cultural time is measured not by years or centuries but by millennia" (76).

In any event, whatever the definition given to culture, the fact remains that it is intimately related to the identity of its community. According to Thompson, a community and its culture should be regarded as integrated in their environmental setting, and

> Since the ecological environments of the earth are highly diversified, there is and can be no such phenomenon as a generalized cultural community capable of active existence and reproduction generation after generation in all kinds of environments in which human life is at all possible. Existing communities, as we know them, are all of definite kinds, each kind culturally specialized in some degree for a particular mode of life in a more or less restricted environment. (74)

If a given community is tagged with a particular culture, and hence is distinguishable thanks to this culture, will the latter cling forever and in an unaffected way to its community? It goes without saying that culture changes. Just like language, one of its integral parts, culture changes under the influence of various factors. Among these, there are social conflicts and technological breakthroughs that originate in the very community, contact between different communities resulting in cultural exchange, and natural conditions such as floods and droughts. However, the change, if there is any, in the community and its traditions and value system is a considerably slow process. Considered from a diachronic viewpoint, the possible succession of changes may be regarded as a smooth continuum.

The change does not occur easily because habits are deeply ingrained. The idea of the biological roots of habits is sustained by many authors. Thus, E. T. Hall for example, states that "In spite of the fact that cultural systems pattern behavior in radically different ways, they are deeply rooted in biology and physiology" (3). And dealing with proxemics from a cultural approach, he points out, as reported by Eibl-Eibesfeldt, that "As in most vertebrates, we observe in man distinct territorial behavior. Individiuals maintain distinct distances between themselves and others. Specifically how close we are permitted to approach another person is determined by the various cultural patterns, but some generally valid basic outlines can readily be discerned" (444).

R. Soomer is also reported to have confirmed that "We must expect also that human beings have certain needs for space which are based on an innate disposition and whose fulfillment is necessary for our well-being. It is true that man largely creates his own environment, but its structure is surely in line with his biological constitution" (Eibl-

Eibesfeldt 444). A framework has been presented where phylogenetic adaptation has set human social behavior. “These adaptations consist less of rigid behavior patterns and more of innate motivations and learning dispositions” (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 453).

A parallel is drawn between man and animals as far as territoriality is concerned, but in man, Lorenz points out

> the learning dispositions allow a wider range of freedom. Despite a basic similarity, this leads to a multiplicity of cultural modifications of human social behavior, where each culture and subculture developed their rites in diverging ways. Once formed, they are as rigid as phylogenetically developed rites. Just as the phylogenetically evolved rites of animals control the inborn motivations, so cultural rites do this in man, and for this reason they are just as important for an orderly life together in groups. (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 454)

About change Thompson confirms that “Indeed, in ancient, relatively integrated communities the indigenous core value system, mirroring the group’s age-old basic ideology regarding the nature of the world and its power dynamics, is rarely affected directly by acculturation pressures. Usually, it is affected, if at all, only indirectly or partially (e.g., Icelanders, Old Saxons, Basques)” (74).

Obviously, the world is no longer what it used to be in the old times, and even more recently before the 20th century. Nations and communities are not isolated anymore, nay they are brought closer to each other either in physical contact thanks to transportation facilities or virtually through the media and telecommunications, which preludes increasing cultural exchanges. Nevertheless, what one should keep in mind from Thompson's point of view is that human culture should be time-honored. One would keenly add to such an assertion that perennity is a *sine qua non* for culture to be the community's identity. Though people's mobility has become one of the major characteristics of our technological world, culture shocks are still being experienced by foreign visitors and especially by immigrants. This state of disorientation only translates into sudden awareness of being different, of having an identity that contrasts with the other’s. The strong and age-old habits would make the immigrants desperately cling to their identity by perpetuating their ancestral culture on various occasions. If they refrain from displaying their peculiar behavior or clothes, it is most probably to avoid conflictual situations.

Culture and Environment through Time

If we admit that a culture, a way of life, is the output of the ecological interaction between the community and its environment, a considerable span of time is necessary for this culture to rise, mature then crystallize not into a final form but into a distinguishable and, therefore, distinctive form. In reality, though culture may be regarded as a chronological continuum, it would appear only in potentiality, that is to say, always in the making, but this very long mutational process cannot be appreciated in just one or even several generations.

Actually, it is this age-old and slow sedimentation of the society's behavioral system, art forms, spiritual ceremonials, values, etc., and their apparent immutability in a given period of time that characterizes the culture of this period of time. This can be averred by considering basic ways of living, or sophisticated symbol systems of communities. Thus, before one group of people can settle in a definite and organized way in a particular area, they have to adapt to the new environment. If the environment is very different from the one they come from, their adaptation will take a long time, since it will not be exclusively material (environmental), but also organic (physiological). For example, if for some reason a community settles in a place colder and expectedly less generous than their original one, they have to devise living accommodations with the available stuff, perfect them with time and after trial and error make them the most adequate possible. If nature there is far from being lush, they have to adapt to a meager sustenance (consider, for example, the Eskimos' habitat and nutrition). Conversely, if settlers try to live in a hotter and more arid land, they have to manage otherwise by probably adopting nomadic habits, contenting themselves with little water, etc. In both cases, people have to change their ways of living for safer adaptation, something that will obviously take time and will even affect their physiology. Once they are confident that both foodstuff and dwelling conditions respond to their needs, they will hardly think of substitutes. In the long run, these necessities will be known as local or national cuisine and habitation, and will constitute, along with artifacts, concepts, behaviors, etc., the ingredients of their culture.

So far, we have considered communities of preliterate or tribal type and their basic needs, but what about more sophisticated societies? In fact, they just perpetuate their ancestors' culture, albeit with slight change, as they do with their ancestors' language. Indeed, a language, say French, spoken by the previous generations is maintained by their descendants, and though the present day variety is different from that of Molière's era, both are called French. In the same vein, more material inheritance like handcraft products may last for ages with almost no change. For example, the history of footwear chronicles that shoes, invented about 40,000 years ago as wraparound leather, resembling either sandals or moccasins, underwent no significant transformation until the early Baroque period in Europe. In an article entitled, "The Fascinating History of Footwear," Kiri Picone explains how "Up until 1850, shoes were made straight, meaning that there was no differentiation from left and right shoes. As the twentieth century approached, shoemakers improved comfort by making foot-specific shoes."

The history of footgear is a significant example of the culture change curve through time. It shows that the tempo of change has increased only in the modern era, especially from the 19th century onwards. By and large, this is what happened to all the ingredients of culture, and concomitantly to culture as a whole. If, for instance, we consider costume historically speaking, change did not occur on a regular basis nor in a dramatic way; if it did, it rather reflected the dressing style of a whole epoch. This is precisely what makes us recognize people, at least in paintings, pictures or movies, as belonging to the middle ages, the 15th century or the 19th century, for example. Though Abul-Hasan Alí Ibn Nafí, alias Ziryab, revolutionized dress and hair styling, if he was not the first to introduce seasonal fashion in Al-Andalus in the 9th century, the rhythm of change in attire did not accelerate significantly until the 20th century; nevertheless, stereotypes die hard as we still represent, for example, an English gentleman with a bowler hat and a rolled umbrella.

As a matter of fact, the mass industrialization impulse has propelled the components of culture to proliferate and diversify in shorter periods of time, and this was intensively experienced in the 1960s known for their "cultural turn". Before the popularization of fashion, people used to be dressed in clothes they could keep as long as they were not worn out. More than that, once they outgrew them, they could hand them down to their younger siblings or even to their offspring. Nowadays, though clothes can still resist time, they cannot resist fashion demands and are therefore discarded by the following seasonal clothing trend, which makes their salvage by other members of the family fairly improbable.

Furniture, one of the fast standing representatives of culture, also has come to witness more and more fluctuations. In the past, it used to mark a whole era; thus we can refer to Baroque style, Queen Anne style, Art Nouveau, etc. The outsets of two successive, and generally overlapping, styles were spaced out by an important time period. Nevertheless, such a period was bound to shrink gradually with the approach of the 20th century. Another way to classify different styles is precisely by the time they span. Thus we can hear of the 16th, 17th or the 18th century style, but as we move on, the classification time is reduced to decades. The same holds for household implements such as earthware then porcelain. While at its dawn, pottery characterized whole ages like Paleolithic and Neolithic, etc., then, in a more refined form and substance, it qualified dynasties like China's Han and Ming. Afterwards, ceramic art styles covered shorter and shorter periods to become nowadays mere passing fads.

Owners of old style pieces of furniture or genuine china had them for lifetimes and their heirs would only be happy and proud to inherit an ancestors' legacy. If these objects happen to leave the family circle, they will certainly land in antiquary shops where they will be at least monetarily valued. What about most recent products? Modern ready-to-assemble furniture and porcelain are thrown away long before their owner kicks the bucket. Indeed, such mass produced belongings are coldly replaced on the first occasion to move house, and God knows how many families, particularly in North America, change their residences every year. These supplanted machine-made objects become valueless, both pecuniarily and culturally speaking, and will have shelter only in charities and, finally, in the poorest homes if not smashed into junk. The newly designed artifacts will not have lived long enough to be remembered as part of the cultural heritage.

In fact, the unrestrained overproduction-overconsumption cycle has affected all the cultural aspects of society. It is not only a matter of quantitative excess, but also of categorial overabundance. That is, industry redundantly produces seemingly varied models of the same article that outmode one another in a very short time. This applies to a wide variety of things ranging from small gadgets to much bigger household appliances. We are given to believe that such a plethoric and fast-paced production process does not give enough time to the consumer to develop an emotional relationship with the object, something that greatly contributes to its disposal. In this regard, it seems however that owners' attachment to objects is natural and very common.

It is not only an anthropological point of view that Paul Hiebert asserts in his article, "A History of Humans Loving Inanimate Objects." According to him, "From the worship of idols to an animistic worldview, various cultures from around the world have long believed that material objects either contain spirits or possess some kind of special connection to supernatural beings that act on their own accord." Hiebert adds from a psychological perspective that,

> As an infant gets older, (...) she discovers her independence from other entities, especially her own mother. To ease the anxiety that accompanies this revelation, the infant will often transfer her maternal bond onto a favorite teddy bear or blanket. From our earliest years, then, it appears we enter a process of projecting living qualities onto non-living things.

The relationship between the owner and the object may prove to be more consequential. Jarrett writes in "The Psychology of Stuff and Things" that "As our lives unfold, our things embody our sense of self-hood and identity still further, becoming external receptacles for our memories, relationships and travels." He corroborates such a statement with the results of an experiment from a neural perspective when he reports that "Areas of the brain that are known to be involved in thinking about the self also appear to be involved when we create associations between external things and ourselves through ownership." Also, as far as infusing objects with feelings, a neurological phenomenon comes into play; it is a synesthetic "condition that activates certain senses in an individual when he encounters certain stimuli" (Hiebert). For example, when we look at an old photograph showing a familiar person with a musical instrument, our hearing sense is stimulated so that we have the impression to hear the music the person used to play.

All in all "we are emotional creatures" as Hiebert says, and in addition to satisfying our physiological needs, we also have to manage our feelings as "our emotions involuntarily attach themselves to all sorts of things, from places we've visited to a pair of earrings grandma left behind after she died to a cup located near the back of the cabinet." What is more, the older we get, the stronger the bond as Jarrett explains: "As with human relationships, the attachments to our things deepen with the passage of time. Elderly people are often surrounded by possessions that have followed them through good times and bad, across continents and back."

In case the possessor loses his/her belongings, s/he can experience a severe emotional shock depending on the importance of his/her attachment to them. From firsthand information, Jarrett confirms that "People whose things are destroyed in a disaster are traumatized, almost as if grieving the loss of their identities." However, there are situations where people voluntarily dispose of things. "This often happens at a key juncture, such as when leaving student life behind, moving home, or during divorce, and can be experienced as a chance for a new start. Old belongings are shed like a carapace, fostering the emergence of a new identity" (Jarrett).

If we consider now the non-material aspect of culture, we will notice the same evolutionary pattern. In other words, the cultural heritage in the form of music or drama, for example, has been stationary in style for considerable periods in yesteryear; this is what constitutes a part of the nations' folklore, that is traditional or, more precisely, time-honored, knowledge. Thus, every nation or community has its own interpretation of the world encapsulated in myths, legends, sagas, epics, rites, and whatnot. When we hear a Gregorian chant or Homer's Iliad, for instance, we know to what periods of time they refer. Again, as we get closer to the 20th century, succession of different art styles becomes hasty and works of art get obsolete in no time, too. While *Ein Klein Nachtmusik* outlived Mozart, most of the mushrooming modern songs are forgotten before the waning of their pop stars.

Why such a frenzied rhythm of both material and non-material pseudo innovations? Knowing that most of the mass generated products are not conceived to satisfy the basic or, according to Maslow's pyramid, deficiency needs of people, markets are then flooded with them for sheer profit. In order to drum up business, enterprises exercise their wits to entice consumers to buy repetitively necessities as well as superfluous objects. Brooks Stevens' declaration about "planned obsolescence" has been widely circulated in the literature. This American design pioneer referred to programmed obsolescence of products as "instilling in the buyer the desire to own something a little newer, a little better, a little sooner than is necessary" (Stevens 12). Therefore, instead of keeping old things and repairing them if damaged as was habitually done in the past, people are nowadays induced by various forms of persistent advertising to replace their not so old and still functional articles with brand new ones which do not necessarily have more useful performance. Profit oriented crusades involve all sectors. This applies to the more or less fragile electronic devices, such as smart phones, as well as to the more robust machinery, like four-wheel drives, both of which being serially issued as almost identical models or sub-models, differing only in one or two superfluous gizmos of some sort. One cannot help comparing their production with the release of the multitude of versions of the same computer software. At any rate, it is the same principle.

Obsolescence equally affects intellectual, non material products and works of art. The overflow of "the latests" from worldwide satellite TV and radio channels, on the Internet or as shared files on one's smart phone oust one another at such a fast pace that they give occasion to informational saturation, inducing thus the consumer to a state of unresponsiveness. Hit parades of songs, for example, as mentioned above, become only fleeting processions of thrown together tunes and snippets of lyrics that are doomed to be forgotten overnight by discotheque enthusiasts.

The overproduction-overconsumption vicious cycle has finally led to the present throw-away way of life, which is now recognized as a full-fledged (sub)culture. As a result, flooding the market with indispensable as well as with useless products has become commonplace, leading to massively dumping refuse and all sorts of trash not only in waste yards, but also right on the sidewalk, ashbins being already overflowing. If one considers only the telecommunication sector, one will be amazed by the official figures and the potential huge amount of garbage that this industry can generate. On this point, Keeble reports that

> According to Ofcom, the independent regulator and competition authority for the UK communications industries, states that there are 81.6 million active subscriptions to mobile phones. This includes pay as you go and contract phones. A huge 49% of that figure is dedicated to just contracts (Ofcom, 2011). This 49% equates to 39,984,000 mobile phones that are likely to be replaced by a newer model when the contract is to run out. Contracts last between 12 to 24 months which is a very short time span when you consider any other product like a table or fridge. (34)

Of course the fate of these devices is well known; it is that of all other appliances as in what Chapman gleaned from different sources:

> The UK alone sends '1.25 million tonnes' of such electronic waste (e-waste) to landfill each year; waste consisting of fully functioning toasters, refrigerators, mobile phones, vacuum cleaners and a whole host of other DEPs [Domestic Electronic Products] that still function perfectly in a utilitarian sense; 'each year it is estimated that around 5 million operational TVs hit landfill'. (2)

This snowballing process has affected both material and non-material aspects of culture. In addition to what we may call "'hard" pollution, that is, litter of all kinds, there parallelly exists what may be termed "soft" pollution. This is the proliferating non-material facet of culture, which consists of various forms of art, as aforementioned. Not only does this essential part of culture - for which ministries of culture exist in every country - change faster and faster, generating an unmanageable number of ephemeral works of art and compositions, but also produces bulks of transient and, most of the time, worthless material byproducts that contribute to the environmental pollution. Just think, for instance, of the pupils' schoolbags displaying every start of the school year different heroes of the most successful movies or consider the discarded CDs and DVDs of legally and, more often than not, illegally recorded material.

Conclusion

In addition to pollution, programmed obsolescence necessarily leads to the disintegration of the ancestral cultural heritage, which in turn leads to more sequences of short-lived subcultures and possibly countercultures, and their consequent contribution with more unnecessary and polluting spin-offs. In fact, we can witness year in year out the emergence of new waves that are here today and gone tomorrow, nevertheless bringing their specific paraphernalia for consumption: various rap music forms have appeared imposing different garments and behaviors. But are we right to call these trends culture? We construed that culture emanates from biological needs interacting with the environment and takes a long time to mature. A trend like hip hop will not last enough mainly because industry will appropriate, exploit and modify it (obsolescence oblige!) to an unrecognizable form. Besides, we also considered culture the identity of its people, and this identity is not valid only for one age group or a limited time. This identity should normally reflect the specific distinctive traditions of the community. That is why, one would bet, on a ceremonial occasion or holiday a young man will trade his hip hop clothes for a national or, more specifically, traditional costume. Incidentally, it is tradition that is threatened by obsolescence. In this regard, Slade, reported by Chapman explains

> how disposability was in fact a 'necessary condition for America's rejection of tradition and our acceptance of change and impermanence ... [yet] by choosing to support ever-shorter product lives we may well be shortening the future of our way of life as well, with perilous implications for the very near future. (29)

By way of conclusion, there is good ground for positing that if disposable culture prevails, that is if people fully adopt excessive consumption of obsolescent products as a way of life, chances are that the fateful outcome is not only more flow of industrial disposables, but also the transformation of culture itself into a disposable commodity just like any vulgar gadget or, at best, a piece of clothing out of fashion, conducing finally to the potential obliteration of the identity of these people.

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(Un)Green And Filled With Malls, The New "Consumptional[1] Identity" Of The Moroccan City As Imaged In The Photographs Of Yto Barrada

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Introduction

Yto Barrada is a contemporary female Moroccan artist who uses photography to criticize the government policies concerning the city and its inhabitants. Her focus is on her hometown, Tangier, which she transforms into a series of pictures and forces us to perceive in a new way. In her photographs, Tangier is illustrated as a closed city, full of boundaries and walls. Its massive concrete buildings are similar and faceless; its new architecture is soulless and its urban development projects do not take into consideration the real needs of the community which are intimately related to the convergence between environmental and personal wellbeing. In this paper, I question the use of photography as a means of resistance to dominant structures and show how Yto Barrada's pictures reflect Morocco's urban ecological discontents and invent a visual space to those marginalized by urban planners and politicians. Barrada's work also includes films, publications, installations and sculptures; but my focus is on her photographs. Yto Barrada works with pictures and I work with words to engage in a debate concerned with ecological vulnerability and the city in Morocco.

There has always been a close link between art and architecture, especially in the early part of the twentieth century. City photography goes back to the beginning of the last century with photographers such as Walker Evans, Berenice Abbott and Eugène Atget. In *Cities and Photography,* Jane Tormey explains how "photographic representations translate the city for us and contribute to how we conceive it, as they visualize changing attitudes to the world and ourselves" (xiv). The themes urban photographer Barrada evokes echo those of important spatial theorists such as Henry Lefebvre's "the right to the city" and Edward Soja's "spatial justice." The theories of both Lefebvre and Soja provide essential tools with which to interrogate art and the city. Lefebvre asserts the right of people to a form of participatory citizenship and denounces the construction of the citizen as a passive consumer.
This is what he calls, "the right to the city," a concept he developed in the late 1960s. It is "rooted in taking control over the social production of social space, in a kind of consciousness and awareness of how space can be used to oppress and exploit and dominate, to create forms of social control and discipline."[2] The term "spatial justice" refers to the attempt to explore the way the spatial perspective might open up new ways of thinking about justice, democracy, citizenship, community struggles and so on. Edward Soja based this urban concept on Lefebvre's ideas about the city. He writes,

> The political organization of space is a particularly powerful source of spatial injustice, with examples ranging from the gerrymandering of electoral districts, the redlining of urban investments, and the effects of exclusionary zoning to territorial apartheid, institutionalized residential segregation, the imprint of colonial and/or military geographies of social control, and the creation of other core-periphery spatial structures of privilege from the local to the global scales. (3)

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[1] The contemporary city is constructed around what J. Corner describes as "consumptional identities." "How do the new and emerging patterns of consumption and consequent patterns of "lifestyling" affect how people think about themselves and about others? is a question he addresses in an editorial he wrote for *Media, Culture and Society,* 1994, 16.3: 1.

[2] Frédéric Dufaux, Philippe Gervais-Lambony, Chloé Buire, and Henri Desbois, "Spatial Justice and the Right to the City: an Interview with Edward Soja," *Spatial Justice,* 3 March, 2011. http://www.jssj.org

Barrada's photographs both provoke us and make us reflect. Familiar objects are shot from unfamiliar angles. Barrada does not use photography to offer documentary truth; she uses anti-realism and breaks thus with the relationship between the work that guarantees the truth and the spectator. Her pictures are made in the spirit of Thomas Struth who began his series of street scenes, *Unconscious Places* in the late 1970s. They record what the eye does not see: urban vulnerability and social, political, economic and cultural inequality. They challenge the official narrative produced about Tangier and its people and replace the sentimental image of Western literature and art about the city with one that addresses the contradictions of Morocco. In her artistic projects (*A Life Full of Holes: The Strait Project* 2004, *Red Walls* 2006, *Iris Tingitana* 2007, *Riffs* 2011, *Mobilier Urbain* 2012), Barrada uses photography as a symbolic gesture of defiance in the face of thoughtless urbanization which has engendered new forms of injustice in Tangier. Photography which is accessible to everyone nowadays is transformed into a tool to combat industrial and bureaucratic power, and to denounce the standardization of the city and its inhabitants. Barrada's works give space to the invisible, the silenced, the displaced, the deformed and offer visual expressions of Morocco's social unrest.

In this paper, I focus on the content of Barrada's photographs rather than on their aesthetic qualities. I consider how they add to our understanding of urbanization as a transformation of social and ecological landscapes, structures and relations. The paper consists of four sections. The first section highlights photography's role in raising awareness about urban ecology. The second section focuses on the way Barrada's work reveals the fractures and incoherencies of Moroccan cities. I then show how Barrada's pictures give voice to the forgotten collective memory of the city. And in the final part, I explore the way Barrada's photography offers a visual narrative of failed, postcolonial, consumer cities.

1-Photography as an Activist Tool

Photography is a very popular medium; it is easy and cheap. Everybody can take pictures without asking himself/herself if this is art or not. As David Bate writes, "not only has the photograph permeated every corner of the earth, but the experience of the photographic image has in turn transformed our sense of identity and the social. It is hard to think about the modern world without the photographic image" (439). Still, photography is also a means of contesting dominant structures and practices. "The black box is not "neutral" and … its structure not impartial" (Damisch 88). Photography can be used for contradictory aims; it is a means of revolution, an advertising devise or a family snapshot. It has the capacity to turn every experience or event into an image. Insignificant things become important when photographed. The camera captures the world, transforms it and miniaturizes it. In "What the Eye Does not See," Ossip Brik explains that "the task of the cinema and of the camera is not to imitate the human eye, but to see and record what the human eye normally does not see" (90).

For Yto Barrada, photography is a critical enterprise that penetrates beneath the facades of things to reveal their true character. Her photographs challenge our schematized notions of reality and invite us to think about the world differently. Art in Morocco is often used merely to accompany the so called urban "renewal" projects through aestheticization in the form of abstract sculptures or individual art objects in public places. Barrada's art stands outside this definition. Her pictures interrupt the routine way we look at the city. The city in her work is much more than a collection of buildings beautifully photographed; there are no props, no fantasy scenes or exotic architectures in her pictures. Barrada underlines the astonishing pace and scale of urbanization that took place in Morocco since the independence (1956). In the following photographs for example, she highlights the back of unfinished houses, showing thus how this massive and accelerated urbanist expansion is increasingly becoming the source of environmental degradation and dilapidation of natural resources in the absence of a clear policy vision or public dialogue on what these urban transformations might mean for the country and its citizens. As the artist says in an interview: "The city is modernizing but the people's needs are not at the center of the decisions – the triumphalist liberalism of the choices made in our national infrastructure projects is quite blinding."[3]

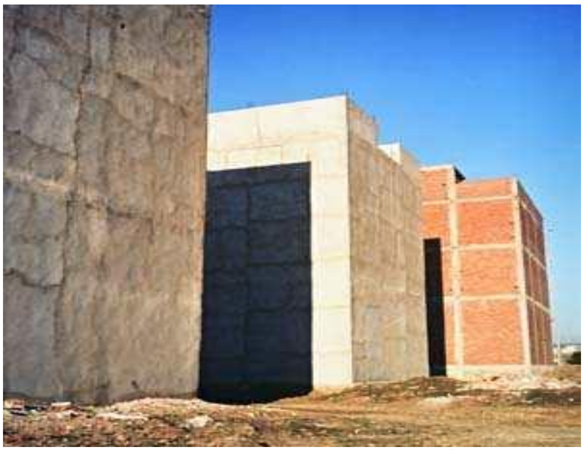

Fig. 1. *Red Walls* (2006)[4]

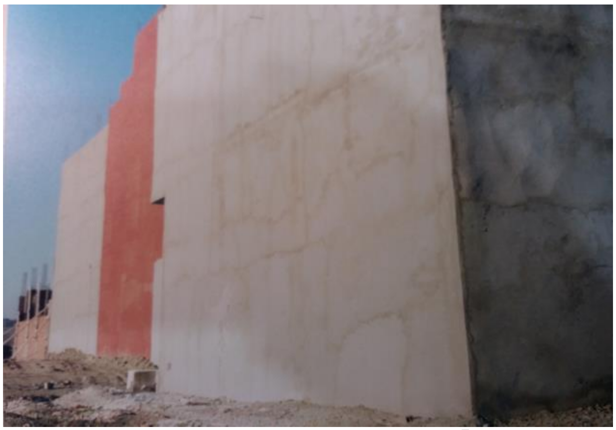

Fig. 2. *Red Walls* (2006)[5]

Barrada's camera captures the personality of the Moroccan society. The city is us, her pictures seem to say. It is a complex system made of physical and human elements. It tells the stories people have invested in urban life throughout the centuries. American photographer Stephen Shore explains how important it is for the urban photographer to be alert to the interaction of the different elements which compose an urban scene.

> There is an old Arab saying, "the apparent is the bridge to the real." For many photographers, architecture serves this function. A building expresses the physical constraints of its materials: a building made of curved l-beams and titanium can look different from one made of sandstone blocks. A building expresses the economic constraints of its construction. A building also expresses the aesthetic parameters of its builder and its culture. This latter is the product of all the diverse elements that make up

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[3] Jennifer Higgie, "Talking Pictures: Interview with Yto Barrada," *Frieze,* 142. Oct. 2011. http://www.frieze.com/issue/article/talking-pictures/

[4] *Riffs. Artist of the Year 2011 Yto Barrada*, (Deutsche Bank Art Works, 2011) 51.

[5] *Riffs* 50.

> "style": traditions, aspirations, conditioning, imagination, posturing, perceptions. On a city street, a building is sited between others built or renovated at different times and in different styles. And these buildings are next to still others. And this whole complex scene experiences the pressure of weather and time. This taste of the personality of a society becomes accessible to a camera."[6]

Barrada's documentary, straightforward, frontal photographs investigate the urban everyday with the aim of criticizing and resisting the remaking of public spaces by powerful interests. They raise awareness on urbanization as a transformation of production, consumption, life-styles and values. Urbanization transformed the country's landscapes by converting agricultural land and forests into buildings and space for industrial production. Lefebvre (1979) explains how space has become for the state a political instrument of primary importance:

> The state uses space in such a way that it ensures its control of places, its strict hierarchy, the homogeneity of the whole, and the segregation of the parts. It is thus an administratively controlled and even a policed space. The hierarchy of spaces corresponds to that of social classes, and if there exist ghettos for all classes, those of the working class are merely more isolated than those of the others. (188)

The "imposition of neoliberalized urban authoritarianism"[7] on a country which until recently has been largely agricultural has deeply affected citizens' lifestyles and values. The privatization of public land has denied people access to formerly collective resources and shaken their sense of belonging to the collectivity. The new city in this sense, as depicted in the series *Bricks* (figure 3) is not only disadvantageous to the environment but is also causing rupture with a rooted sense of shared identity and values.

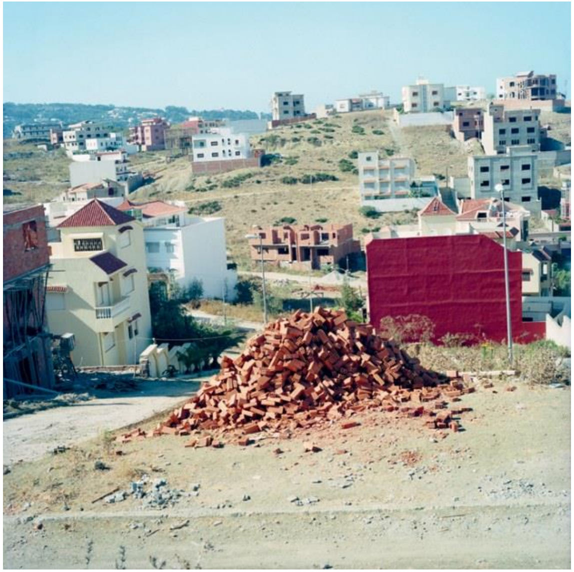

Fig. 3. *Bricks* (2003/2011)[8]

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[6] This passage is quoted in an article by David Campany, "Architecture as Photography: Document, Publicity, Commentary, Art," *Constructing Worlds. Photography and Architecture in the Modern Age*, edited by Alona Pardo and Elias Redstone (London: Barbican Art Gallery, Prestel, 2015) 32.

[7] N. Brenner, and, N. Theodore, "Cities and the Geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism"," *Antipode* 33.3: (2002): 349–79. qtd in Steven Miles, 2012, "The Neoliberal City and the Pro-Active Complicity of the Citizen Consumer," *Journal of Consumer Culture* 12.2. 217. http://joc.sagepub.com/content/12/2/216.refs.html

[8] *Riffs* 60.

According to Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, “whereas previously the self was always subordinated to the collectivity, thinking for oneself whilst living for others is no longer a contradiction, but a principle underpinning everyday existence” (28). Barrada criticizes the Moroccan urban policy for failing to fit “human demand with biophysical and sociopolitical realities” (Machlis and Burch 348) and to understand that the city is a human ecosystem[409]composed of natural, socioeconomic and cultural resources.

In *Palm Project,*[10] Barrada uses the metal sculpture of a palm tree together with other media (photography, video, archive and public interventions) to mock the marketing campaigns of Morocco which often use palm trees. The project also includes a text entitled “Modest Proposal” written by Yahya Sari. The satirical text which was commissioned by Barrada has the same ironic tone as that of Jonathan Swift.[11]

> With admirable foresight, our Government is working to realize a grand goal set ten years ago: to increase tourism from our current two million foreign visitors per year to 10 million. But where will we put them? The answer: a new generation of coastal resorts and real estate developments, where vacant lots and abandoned forests are transformed into villas and hotels, swimming pools and golf courses; where scrappy farm land and useless coastal wetlands become tidy shopping areas served by high speed rail lines, and seaside *corniches* are lined with our world-famous neatly trimmed palm trees.

Barrada’s work belongs to art and transcends it at the same time. Her photographs are unsuited for mass consumption and are used to counteract the damage of mechanization. Barrada works against the folkloric representations of the state whose main objective is to market the country as an international tourism destination and “an arena for market-centered growth and for elite forms of consumption.”[12] Billboards and postcards depict a coherence which the Moroccan cities lack. Barrada’s photographs provide different perspectives from which to view social, political and cultural issues about the city and aspire to open up fixed positions of spectatorship. As Jane Rendell writes in *Art and Architecture: a Space Between,*

> Art and architecture are frequently differentiated in terms of their relationship to “function”. Unlike architecture, art may not be functional in traditional terms, for example, in responding to social needs, giving shelter when it rains or providing a room in which to perform open-heart surgery but we could say that art is functional in providing certain kinds of tools for self-reflection, critical thinking and social change. Art offers a place and occasion for new kinds of relationship “to function” between people. (3-4)

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[9] “The human ecosystem is defined as a coherent system of biophysical and social factors capable of adaptation and sustainability over time … Human ecosystems can be described at several spatial scales, and these scales are hierarchically linked. Hence, a family unit, community, county, region, nation, even the planet, can fruitfully be treated as a human ecosystem” Machlis and Burch 351.

[10] *Palm Project* was produced during Yto Barrada’s residency at *L’appartement* 22. It is part of “Indicated by Signs: Appearance in Beirut, Bonn, Cairo and Fez/Rabat,” a project co-curated by Sandra Dagher, Yilmaz Dziewior, Aleya Hamza, Abdellah Karroum, Edit Molnar and Christina Végh. This project is initiated and supported by Goethe Institut.

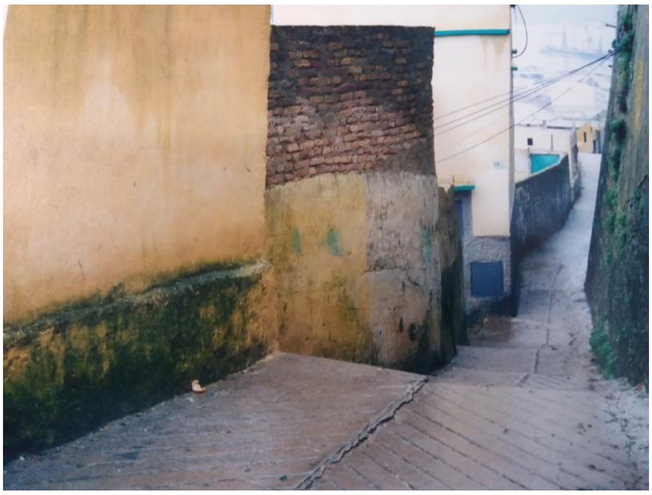
[11] *A Modest Proposal For Preventing the Children of Poor People From being a Burthen to Their Parents or Country, and For making them Beneficial to the Publick*, commonly referred to as *A Modest Proposal*, is a satirical essay written by Jonathan Swift in 1729. To mock the British policy towards the poor, Swift suggests that the impoverished Irish might ease their economic troubles by selling their children as food for rich gentlemen and ladies.

[12] Brenner and Theodore qtd in Miles 217.

2-Photographing the Fractures of the Moroccan City/Tangier

Central in the urbanization process are architects and planners who build cities, the citizens who live in them but also the artist[13] whose work can provoke urban change. Barrada exposes the paradoxes at the heart of Moroccan cities. Her photographs investigate the contradictions and potentials of Morocco's current urban concerns. They draw attention to the modern urban living's fragile, often fragmented or dispersed nature and therefore its problems.

Tangier is a multi-faceted city; an intricate "picture puzzle" that cannot be reduced or depicted in a singular mode. In Barrada's pictures, Tangier is unmanageably varied and anarchic. Its disorder resists classification. Barrada questions the dominant myths which surround the city.[14] Tangier, like many other Moroccan cities (Casablanca, Rabat, Fez, Marrakech, etc.) is facing a multitude of crises and Barrada depicts it in all its confusion, its poor quarters, its lack of green spaces and safe places to walk and bicycle, its decayed monuments and its multiplying tall buildings. Barrada captures the contradictory character of the contemporary Moroccan city which is homogenous, fragmentary, and hierarchical, to borrow the words Henri Lefebvre (1980) uses to talk about the modern city (212-216). She explores critically the qualities of the streets, the squares, the public places and other aspects of the public realm in terms of how they are used, imagined and lived. The city is overcrowded; its streets are dull, narrow, steep and filthy. Piles of filth are everywhere. The interminable excavations of roads for sewer works, electricity or general repairs add to the disfiguring of the city. When the local authorities dig up a street, the cobblestones have to be pulled one by one and the work drag on forever. The dark surfaces of neglected, unpainted, fallen down mansions and the disordered heaps of houses and trees reveal an aging and impoverished city affected by the fissures and ravages of globalization. The following photographs depict the decayed streets of Tangier, a pile of cardboard waste, the remains of an ancient house, and an abandoned old school.



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[13] Mounir Fatmi, Hassan Darsi and Daoud Oulad Syed are the names of other contemporary photographers whose works are driven by the question of urban life.

[14] Talking about and representing Tangier is a practice with a past. Barrada is not the first artist to talk about this city; not the first Moroccan to think creatively about it; but maybe she is the first Moroccan woman to do so. Her art can be linked with other artistic practices about Tangier. Mohamed Choukri, Mohamed Mrabet, Jack Kerouac, William Burrough, Paul and Jane Bowles, Ronnie Kray, Barbara Hutton, Tennessee Williams, Henri Matisse, Joe Orton, and Cecil Beaton are artists who lived in or passed through the city of Tangier and reinvented it in their writings and artistic works.

Fig. 4. *Rampart Path* (2005/2011)[15]

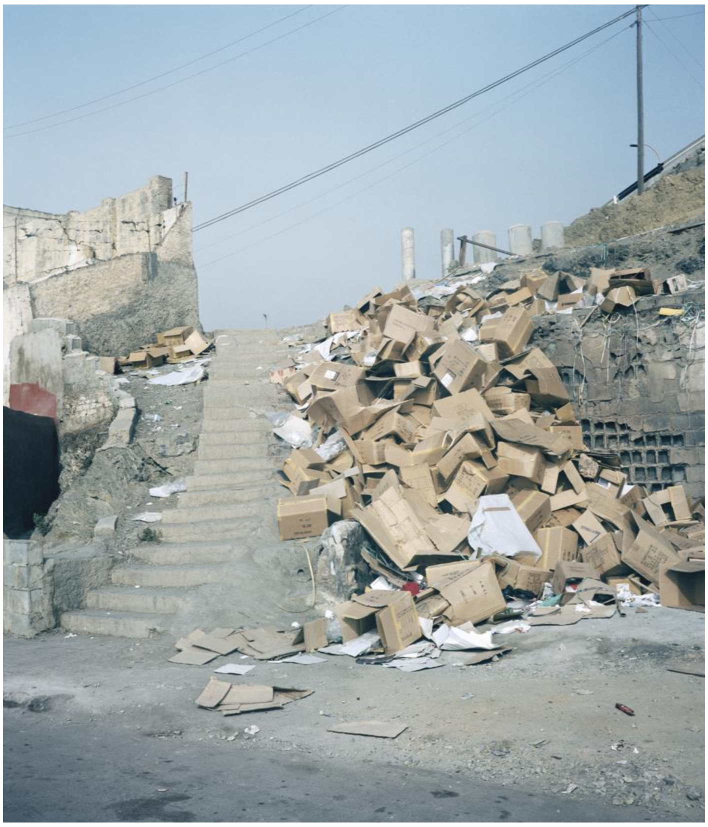

Fig. 5. *Boxes at the Border*
(1999/2011)[16]

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[15] *Riffs* 53.

[16] *Riffs* 48.

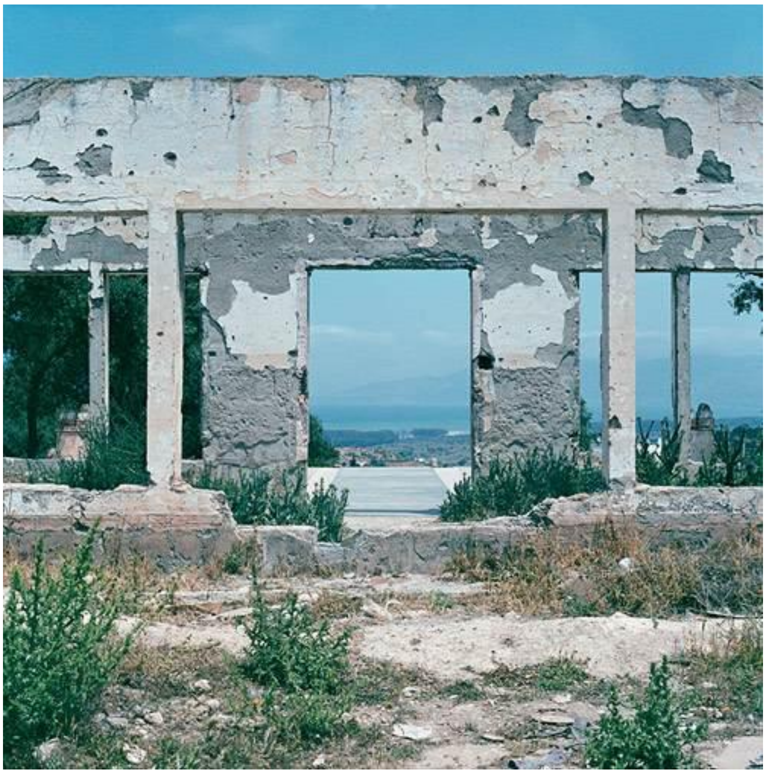

Fig. 6. *Abdelkrim Elkhattabi's House* (2010/11)[17]

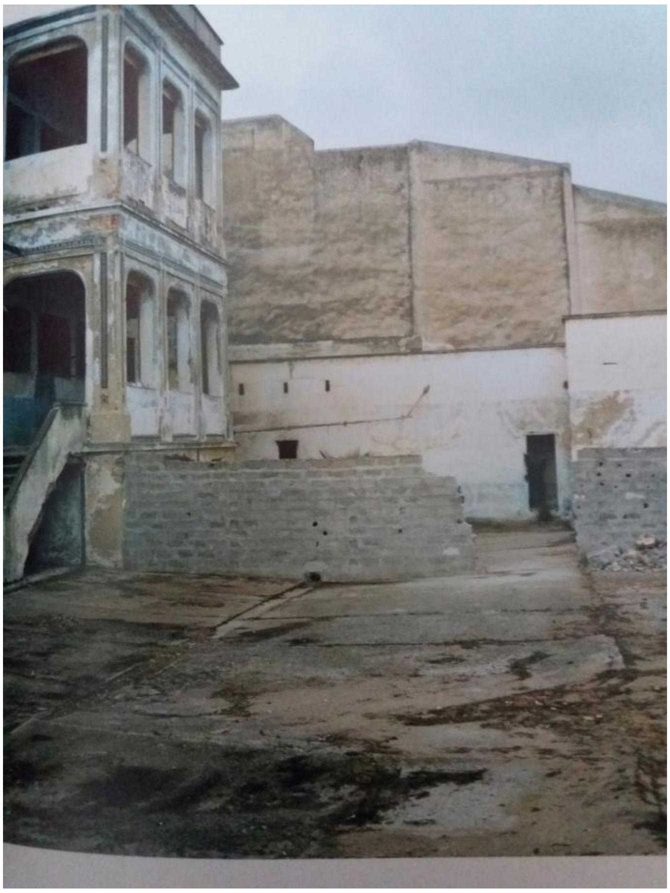

Fig. 7. *School of the Strait*

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[17] *Riffs* 48.

(2001/2011)[18]

Barrada's pictures offer new approaches to addressing both urban poverty and urban ecological vulnerability. The forms of poverty are everywhere visible: in the city's narrow alleys and dirty thoroughfares, in the buses packed with passengers, in the crumbling city walls and past houses of which only the facades are left. Photographic immersion in the city shows street's life, its violence and its rituals. It depicts the fragility of people's lives in Tangier. Street sellers wander among the crowds; beggars utter the same appeal day after day; the drunks and the homeless roam in the never-ending streets. Inequality is particularly high in Tangier and in the other big cities of Morocco. The shameful poverty of the city is cloaked from official reports and media but not from Barrada's camera eye. Tangier lost its importance in the world[19] and became a remote place burdened with social marginality, poverty and despair. Moroccan cities are inhabited by a rich minority and a frustrated, impoverished majority which struggles to earn a living. Youth unemployment is very high. The lack of opportunities and the dim prospects for personal and professional advancement have destabilizing impacts; illegal migration is one of them. In the following photographs, Barrada depicts life on Tangier's streets; she focuses on the homeless, but also on those who have homes, yet have trouble subsisting.

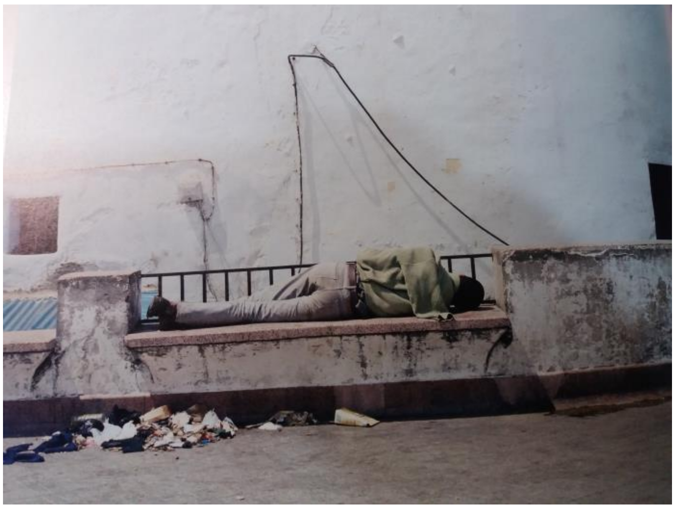

Fig. 8. *Green Sweater* (2003)[20]

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[18] *Riffs* 85.

[19] Tangier is a border Moroccan city located on the North African coast at the western entrance to the Strait of Gibraltar. From the mid-1920s to October 1956, it was an international zone, administered by a joint convention including France, Spain and Britain. During these golden years, Tangier was as glorious as London, Paris and New York. It attracted artists and writers from Europe and the United States.

[20] *Riffs* 84.

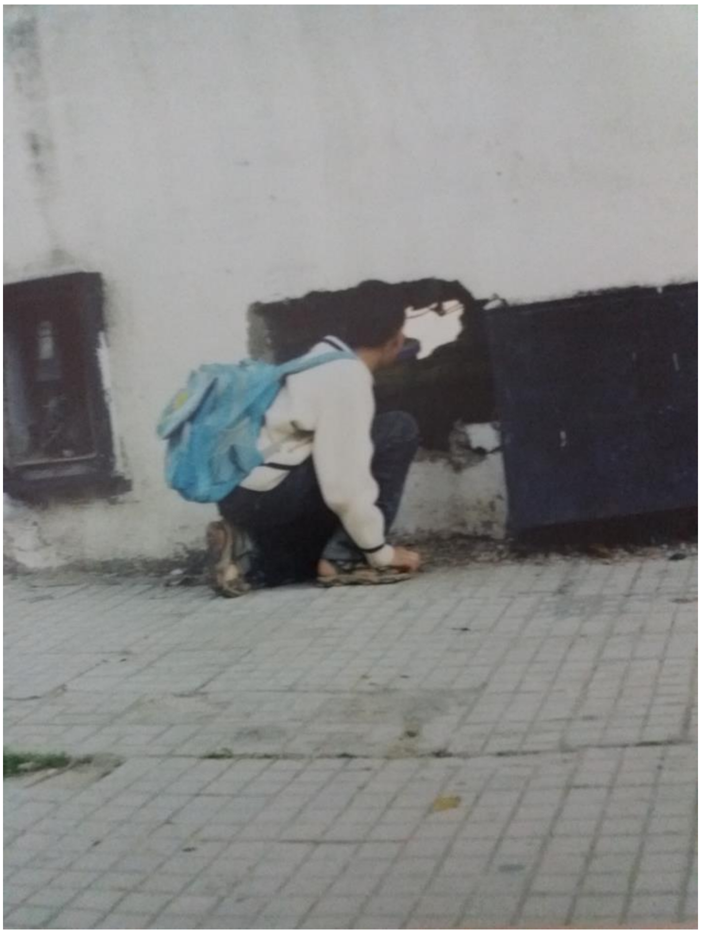

Fig. 9. *Hole in the Wall* (2007/2011)[21]

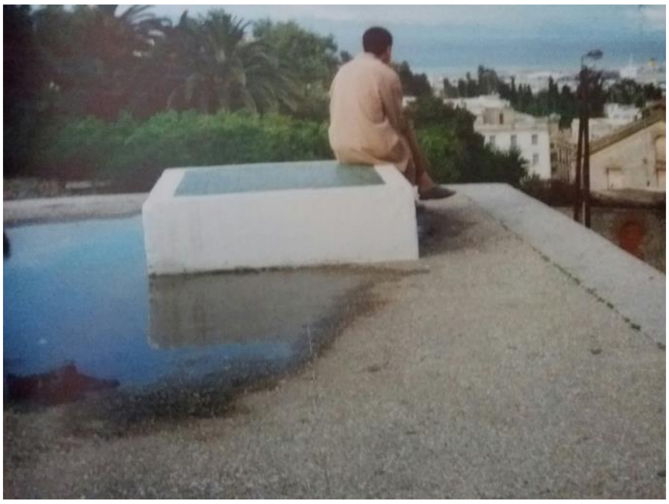

Fig. 10. *Lazy Wall* (2001/2010)[22]

Talking about the fractures of the contemporary city, Italian Architect Aldo Rossi states, "I believe that today we live in a world that cannot be repaired, a world of psychological and human fragments … I always say that our true invention as architects is to determine how to connect all these fragments together."[23] At the heart of Barrada's work, there is a parallel search to the one mentioned by Rossi. Her photographs which are published and exhibited in a sequence that suggests thematic or formal resonances often omit clues as to what particular places they refer to. The next photograph, a view of a big, white building in Tangier is very striking. The building is poor in terms of visuality and is located in a soulless urban environment lacking in a sense of place or urban community. The buildings' structural relationship to their setting and the relationship of the photographs to themselves help Barrada create an imaginary city built of images.

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[21] *Riffs* 49.

[22] *Riffs* 67.

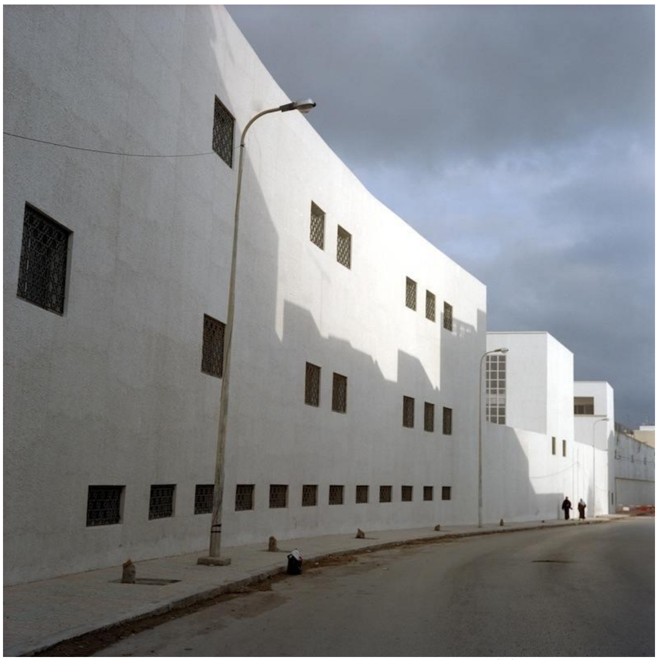

Fig. 11. *Building* (2008/11)[24]

Barrada's photographs are not just substitutes for the already existing buildings[4125]. Her desire is to tell a story which offers meaning to the multiple fragments of the contemporary Moroccan city. She does not merely produce an urban still life which describes the incoherencies of the city; her photographs are ordinary and complex; they transform the fragments of the urban space into a visual narrative. Her pictures are documents and art works. Barrada is a spatial story-teller who explores critically the cultural geographies of the Moroccan cities. Her art "shake[s] up our modes of perception and (…) redefine[s] our capacities for action" (Rancière 259).

Barrada's work is also an incisive critique of modernity. The artist criticizes the simplification and standardization characteristic of modernist architecture. According to Lefebvre (1980), "world urban space is a space of "violence", where "a formidable force of homogenization exerts itself on a worldwide scale, producing a space whose every part is interchangeable (quantified, without qualities)” (204). Barrada denounces the uniformity of concrete, functionalist buildings which break away from the rooted urban history of Morocco. Reinforced concrete is a medium of architecture which is considered as responsible for modernist uniformity. Modern architecture was born with this material. Reinforced concrete factories emerged between the 1900s and the 1930s. As functionalist concrete buildings began to dominate industrial landscape after 1910, their credibility as cultural forms expanded (Forty 16).

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[23] Carlos Jimenez, "Mystic Signs, a Conversation with Aldo Rossi", *Cité*, 24 (Spring 1990): 16-17.

[24] *Riffs* 65.

[25] Talking about the relation between photography and architecture, American cultural critic Frederic Jameson says, "The project, the drawing, is … one reified substitute for the real building, but a "good" one, that makes infinite utopian freedom possible. The photograph of the already existing building is another substitute, but let us say a "bad" reification _ the illicit substitution of one order of things for another, the transformation of the building into the image of itself, and a spurious image at that … the appetite for architecture today … must in reality be an appetite for something else. I think it is an appetite for photography: what we want to consume today are not the buildings themselves, which you scarcely even recognize as you round the freeway … Many are the postmodern buildings that seem to have been designed for photography, where alone they flash into brilliant existence and actuality with all of the phosphorescence of the high-tech orchestra on CD" (35).

Barrada’s photographs capture ugly, gray concrete buildings with no ornamentation.[4226] Many of them have been built during colonialism and their facades are discolored by dirt, rust and dust. Other buildings three or four stories tall, also made from reinforced concrete and brick are built on the top of the Riff mountains.[27] They look identical, odd and repellent. Even old, historical buildings are restored by concrete! Architecture and designed spaces including buildings, landscapes, gardens, interiors and public spaces have been transformed by concrete which neither celebrates local history nor respects climate and ecology.

Barrada’s attention to detail is worthy of an architect. Her fidelity to everyday detail reveals another of the city’s flaws. She criticizes the privatization of public space and the associated passivitization of city dwellers. Urban space in Morocco is becoming increasingly privatized and commercial. Thousands of hectares of valuable agricultural land were lost to urbanization. The new urban landscapes are dotted with commercial centers, car show rooms, urban highways and mass housing projects in the suburbs of the cities. Many dormitory towns miles and miles away from existing cities have been created.[28] Urban planners, businessmen and municipal officials are responsible for the commoditization of urban life. Moroccan cities are quickly becoming a sterile, depthless space for a consumer society. Lefebvre (1979) writes that the modern city has become an object of consumption: “Space as a whole is consumed for production just as are industrial buildings and sites, machines, raw materials, and labor power” (188). The privatization of public space and the building of new urban shopping malls, hotels and restaurants do not create sustainable, human-scaled places where people can live healthy and happy lives; but they help “pacify people, ferment political indifference and stimulate consumption” (Gotham 242).

3-Urban Memory Loss

Barrada denounces the failure of architects and urban planners to connect to the human body in their designs and to locate the city in the fabric of the everyday. In his book, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization*, Richard Sennett talks about “the sensory deprivation which seems to curse most modern buildings; the dullness, the monotony, and the tactile sterility which afflicts the urban environment.” According to him, this “sensory deprivation” is “a professional failure_ modern architects and urbanists having somehow lost an active connection to the human body in their designs” (15). We define ourselves through our relation with space and architecture in its turn affects the fiber of our being and defines us. Architecture should reveal our history and culture. Our urban heritage is the site of our collective memories and is crucial for the understanding of who and what we are. But as the photographs of Barrada suggest, Moroccan postcolonial cities are deracinated from considerations of history and place. The material history and memory of city space and city life are absent. As Aldo Rossi writes in *The Architecture of the City,* a book with enormous influence on architecture, and written as a rebuttal to the modernist redevelopment of European cities after the Second World War,

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[26] “Concrete is always regarded as a dump stupid material, more associated with death than, life” (Forty 9).

[27] The Riff mountains refer to a mountainous region in the north of Morocco which extends from Tangier to the Moulouya river valley near the Moroccan-Algerian frontier.

[28] Sla Jdid, Kenitra, Tamessna are some of these dormitory towns.

> "The soul of the city" becomes the city's history, the signs on the walls of the municipium, the city's distinctive and definitive character, its memory (…) One can say that the city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like memory it is associated with objects and places. The city is the locus of the collective memory. This relationship between the locus and the citizenry then becomes the city's predominant image, both of architecture and of landscape, and as certain artifacts became part of its memory, new ones emerge. In this entirely positive sense great ideas flow through the history of the city and give shape to it. (130)

The Memory of the old city has been eradicated by modernist architecture and the bonds of identity are therefore broken. This led to a breakdown of its collective memory (Halbwachs 6). The material traces of Morocco's urban heritage are its historical buildings, the names of the streets and the old city's architectural particularities. The past is an integral part of life which plays an important role in the shaping of mentalities and identities. "The urban identity of a city is the collective expression of its various physical attributes indexed through its fabric of streets and neighborhoods, its significant historic and contemporary buildings, its everyday spaces and lesser-known built environment" (Sankalia 550). However, the legacy of the old city is not confined to a few pre-colonial historical buildings nor to the narrow streets of the old city. Our ancestors created an ecologically sensitive mode of city living that contributed to human well-being. The uniqueness of Moroccan ancient architecture was due to its capacity to respond to environmental, social, cultural and spiritual requirements. Stefano Bianca argues that in "every genuine cultural tradition, architecture and urban form can be seen as a natural expression of prevailing spiritual values and beliefs which are intimately related to the acknowledged cosmic order of the world" (22). According to him, there is no such thing as Islamic architecture, but "there is unmistakably an Islamic character that can be attributed to a prevailing spiritual identity, as materialized through a persistent daily practice and the corresponding built environment" (9). The *medina* (the old city) is bounded by an old urban fabric that contains, in a morphological sense, the memory code of the city. Barrada's pictures document the old city in an attempt to preserve it photographically before urban planners and politicians gradually destroy it.[29] Moroccan traditional cities have been hierarchically organized around the Mosque while the *suqs* (traditional markets) were interconnected by streets. The living breathing city; its compact houses, its streets, its smells, the rich variety of its everyday life used to give their inhabitants a sense of security and an opportunity of spatial orientation. The central market square constituted the heart of the town. The circle of the ramparts and the narrow, winding, serpentine alleys which led to the patio houses determined a safe and familiar existence space, with which the inhabitants could easily identify. The morphology, the building materials and the architecture depended on climatic features and local resources and environmental conditions.

Urban memory in the traditional city, as Anthony Vidler says, is "that image of the city that enable[s] the citizen to identify with its past and present as a political, cultural and social entity" (177). Besim Hakim[30] suggests that traditional cities hold lessons that can help architects and planners achieve more satisfactory urban contexts today. Understanding how people organized their lives in the past can help us imagine and create a sustainable urban future. The absence of people from many of the city photographs of Barrada highlight the impoverishment of the city and the trouble people have to feel at home in desolate, treeless spaces, full of concrete, identical buildings and devoid of memory and historical depth. Homelessness, poverty, gentrification and displacement are some of the consequences of urban policy in Morocco; but climate change is probably the most alarming one since it assaults the quality of all citizens' daily life. Harriet Bulkeley explains how over the last decades, the city has become a significant source of greenhouse-gas emissions that is "central to the ways in which the vulnerabilities and risks of climate change are produced" (4). Climate Change is "a symptom of the failures of industrial society" (Bulkeley 2) which cannot "be managed through the application of new scientific knowledge and policy instruments, but rather requires fundamental shifts in the ways in which economies and societies are organized and operate" (Bulkeley 3-4).

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[29] The renovation of a 1930s cinema in the old city of Tangier, *la cinémathèque de Tanger*, is an artistic project in which Barrada participated with the aim of engaging with the collective memory of the city.

[30] Besim Hakim, "Generative Processes for Revitalizing Historic Towns or Heritage Districts," *Urban Design International,* 12 **(**2007): 87–99.

4-Unmasking the Urban Failure of Moroccan Policy Makers

Barrada's photographs point at the erasure of a significant part of the memory of the Moroccan city. Colonial and postcolonial urban planners are responsible for the ugly transformation of the city and the memory loss and identity crisis which threaten its citizens. The architecture of Moroccan cities is the result of a planning process taking place as part of France's late colonial policy. According to Paul Rabinow, "The colonies constituted a laboratory of experimentation for new arts of government capable of bringing a modern and healthy society into being" (289). Colonialism marked the emergence of a new form of architecture in Moroccan cities which started along with the imperialist expansion of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This led to the division of the architectural space into two parts: the historic, old city and the colonial city. The narrow and winding streets of the *medina* were expanded to fit the modern vehicles. Many old buildings were destroyed and the fabric of the old *medina* was deeply altered. Le Corbusier[31] who is one of the founders of modernist architecture ignored the needs of inhabitants and their logic of settlement and paved the way for a universal architecture which made an abstraction of the everyday context. Urban planning moved from making plans for an individual city to mass productions.

> Le Corbusier's oft-quoted dictum "we must kill the street" can be related to two preoccupations. On one level, Le Corbusier wanted to eradicate the dense, noisy, treeless and chaotic urban artery, because he thought he had something better to offer in the form of the *ville radieuse*, where high-rise apartment blocks would be set within parkland. Less attractively, his campaign against the street can be related to a political project, which was to convince the authorities that his reforms, like those of Haussmann in nineteen century Paris, were essential to avoid revolution. The street was where the dangerous classes congregated: if they_ were tamed by wide streets in the nineteenth century, by no streets at all in the twentieth century_ a potentially restive urban population might be pacified. (Pardo and Redstone 139)

North Africa served as a laboratory for European modernization projects under twentieth century colonial rule. Big cities in the Maghreb were the testing ground for architectural projects. Thus, Casablanca for example, turned into a model of modern urban architecture by the French. "The master plan for Casablanca was designed in the 1950s by urban planner Michel Ecochard. The realization of the Casablanca plan depended on new ideas of architects, urban planners and engineers who regarded the colonial territory as a space of expansion and urban experiments."[32] The colonial city has emerged as an archetype fundamentally different from the traditional, old city. A new society and a new mode of life were imposed on Moroccans. Urbanists and politicians transformed the nature of urban life in Morocco without integrating the traditional religious, political, economic roles of cities with the new realities and possibilities of the age.

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[31] Anthony Flint explains in *Modern Man: The Life of Le Corbusier, Architect of Tomorrow* (New York: New Harvest, 2014) how Le Corbusier invented new ways of building and thinking.

[32] Marion Von Osten, "Architecture without Architects—Another Anarchist Approach" online, *E-flux Journal*, 2009. http://www.e-flux.com/journal/architecture-without-architects%E2%80%94another-anarchist-approach/

Since the independence in 1956, the Moroccan government faced a number of choices about how to manage its urban environment. Moroccan urban planners continued the policy started by the colonizers. They created various political projects that did not put Moroccan identity at the forefront. The desire to westernize and modernize, the obsession with urban renewal and land speculation and a willingness to publicize the achievements of mass production explain how architects and politicians negotiated urban planning. The need to enhance the city's image and attract tourism and investment is also at the heart of urban policies. Today, 60 years after the independence, Moroccan cities are inevitably becoming universally banal by their sameness. Cities across the country are dominated by tall towers of steel and glass, rows of large cubist boxes and concrete buildings. The lack of reference to the country's individual and unique culture is nearly absolute. Moroccan cities have lost any true regionalism as well as references to the ancient styles of architecture and failed to offer citizens a sustainable mode of life which is in equilibrium with their close environment. Criticizing the superficial imitation of ancient buildings, Lefebvre (1966) writes, "the "city historically constructed is no longer lived and is no longer understood practically. It is only an object of cultural consumption for tourists, for aestheticism, avid for spectacles and the picturesque" (148).

Barrada's photographs lead the viewer into unpopulated urban scenes. She depicts empty places where tall concrete buildings are being constructed. The materials of construction and demolition are evident and the buildings are shot at an angle, so that their entries are obscured. People are absent as are any signs of daily life. By stripping the buildings of their context, Barrada shows how the city and its people lost their individuality. The historical city is being dismantled and something new is emerging.

The informal settlements growing up on the outskirts of big cities mark the failures of urban policymaking. To confront questions of squatter neighborhoods considered overcrowded and illegal, mass housing projects were built. This spatial segregation was a legacy of the colonial regime to address the problem of improvised constructions by the rural populations at the suburbs of big cities. The settlements were reshaped by their inhabitants and new forms of urban life which could be considered as a return to the old compact city emerged. The *Bidonvilles of Carrière Centrale* (one of the largest shantytowns of Casablanca) even became sites of anti-colonial resistance. Similar housing development initiatives were taken by governmental urban planners and were rejected by the dwellers as neither affordable nor in accordance with their everyday needs. In her pictures of the *Bidonvilles* of Casablanca, Barrada highlights what Soja calls locational discrimination.[33] In photographs that are far from being photojournalistic, she depicts squatting settlements in the city of Casablanca and shows how people have transformed these forms of spatial injustice by creating spatial structures that fit their daily needs and challenge urban exclusion.

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[33] Edward Soja writes that, "locational discrimination, created through the biases imposed on certain populations because of their geographical location, is fundamental in the production of spatial injustice and the creation of lasting spatial structures of privilege and advantage. The three most familiar forces shaping locational and spatial discrimination are class, race, and gender, but their effects should not be reduced only to segregation" (3).

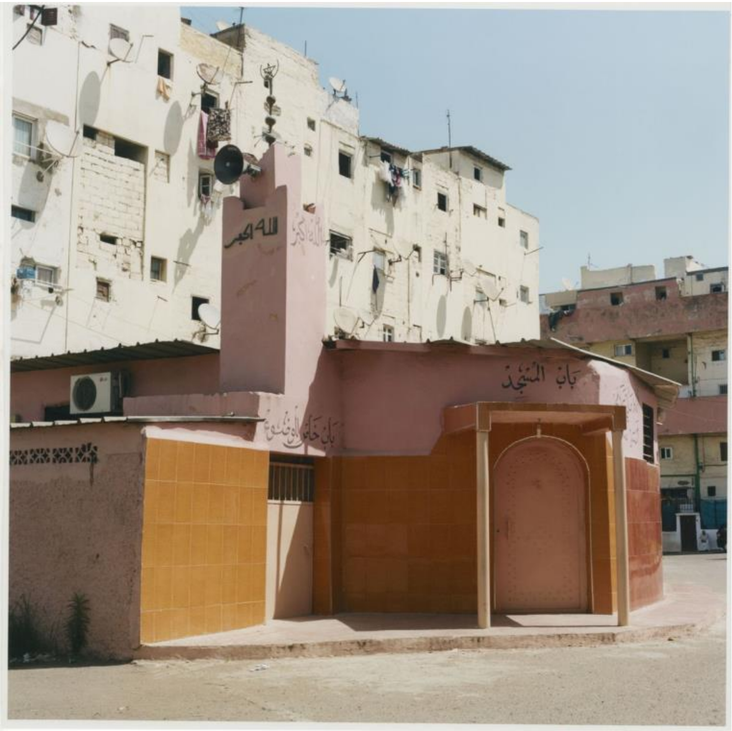

Fig. 12. *Reprendre Casa. Carrières Centrales, Casablanca* (2013)[34]

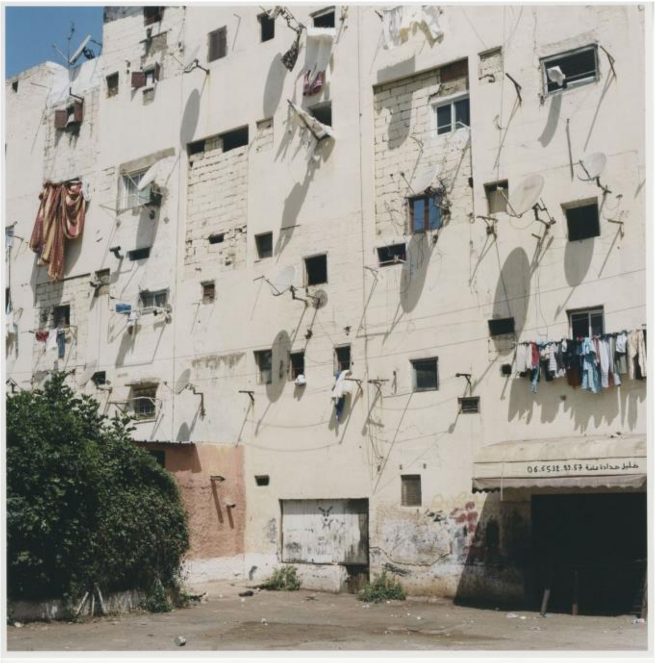

Fig. 13. Reprendre Casa. Carrières Centrales, Casablanca (2013)

Conclusion

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[34] Figures 10 and 11 show photographs that were part of an exhibition and publication project which were carried out in 2013 on modern urban planning and architecture in Casablanca and Chandigarh. Yto Barrada and Takashi Homma took part in this project. https://www.cca.qc.ca/en/issues/5/journeys-and-translation/39844/casablanca-chandigarh-2013

Yto Barrada's work is freighted with politically charged connotations. It brings into focus the daily problems and the spatial inequalities affecting the lives of citizens. Barrada asks relevant questions related to the design of Moroccan cities and uses photography as both an artistic practice and a form of political activism. Her photographs invite us to explore the meaning of living in a city. Her artworks are "projects", rather than individual images, which work as an extended discourse that engages with theoretical perspectives – visually. They speak beyond the literal reference to objects. They rewrite the city and its history and develop a new narrative of the Moroccan urban environment. However, her photographs do not tell a conventional story; they give us scattered clues which we have to assemble into a coherent narrative. Barrada privileges anti realism, a mode of contestation and representation which goes against the grain of realism. The way in which the realist text places the reader in the position of guaranteed knowledge serves to conceal, naturalize ideology. Barrada does not just reproduce reality; she criticizes it. She uses militant documentary photography not in order to preserve the urban status quo, but in order to overthrow it. She metaphorically saves the city from her male politicians and designers and repossesses it by injecting a female point of view in its male buildings.

Barrada's photographs can be read in the light of what Henry Lefebvre (2003) says talking about the interaction between art and the city and the role of contemporary artists in reshaping urban life and urban space: "the future of art is not artistic, but urban" (173). They are both social documents and images for galleries and museums. Yto Barrada engages with and intervenes in the city through her urban artistic practices, contributing thus to a certain manner in enacting a new sustainable urban imaginary. Her art is a "means to defuse dissent" (M. Miles 893). Her artistic exploration of the city is a spatial transgression and an urban resistance which she compares to the strategies of resistance used by those who are spatially marginalized. "I am attentive to what lies beneath the surface of public behavior. I am a big reader of Jonathan Swift. In public, those oppressed accept their domination, but they always question it offstage. The subversive tactics, strategies of class contestation and forms of sabotage used by the poor is what I try to locate."[35] Barrada uses art as a device to stimulate the public toward a more active stance; she visually urges people to participate in the creation of a counter-space in order to take back control of the right to the city and to environmental justice.

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[35] Higgie, Jennifer. "Talking Pictures: Interview with Yto Barrada," *Frieze* 142. Oct. 2011. http://www.frieze.com/issue/article/talking-pictures/

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Book Reviews

Decolonizing Nature, Contemporary Art and The Politics Of Ecology, by T.J. Demos, Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2016.

Review by Maria Kyveli Mavrokordopoulou (PhD candidate (Onassis Scholar), Université Paris I-Panthéon Sorbonne)

In 2017, the still contested term *climate refugees* entered the mainstream media; the Chinese state issued a red alert because of the continuous smog that asphyxiates parts of the population.[1] The case of "smog refugees," as they came to be called in the media, is one among numerous complicated consequences of the contemporary environmental crisis. In this context, the task of writing on a subject that is as contemporary as the ongoing ecological crisis is not an easy one. Moreover, attempting to link it with art practices can appear superfluous to many. However, the current ecological crisis incites different creative responses to the conditions of the present, such as the publication *Critical Landscapes: Art, Space, Politics* or *The Anthropocene Project* at Haus der Kulturen der Welt in Berlin, a series of exhibitions, publications, and lectures from 2013 to 2014, to name but a few. Artistic practices that relate to ecological issues have been increasingly gaining ground in the last years.

Only recently has scholarship investigated the topic, which situates *Decolonizing Nature* in a rather new field of academic research. Professor of history of art and visual culture in the University of California, Santa Cruz, and director of the Center for Creative Ecologies, T. J. Demos did not choose to write on the topic of art and ecology by chance. The book is in many ways a natural progression for him, whose latest project include the exhibition "Rights of Nature: Art and Ecology in the Americas" at Nottingham Contemporary (UK) in 2015, and the publication of a long series of articles on the moving image and ecology since 2010. In *Decolonizing Nature,* next to giving an overview of contemporary artistic practices, the goal is to address the environmental crisis as a mere product of financial capitalism, as the author puts it, "inextricable from social, political and economic forces" (7). Contrary to common belief, financial capitalism is not an abstract process, but has very real, material consequences, that have a detrimental impact on our environment. The examined works in *Decolonizing Nature* point precisely to these destructive results. This is why, Demos' conception of a poignant artwork is weighed according to its political effectiveness. Expectedly, the term *necessity* appears throughout the book.

Through his elucidating introduction, Demos provides an exhaustive study of recent scholarship from environmental humanities. At the same time, he deploys the theoretical tools of his analysis, notably the recent philosophical developments that attempt to rethink the relationship between human and nonhuman life.[2] Via such analytical means, Demos's work presents an in-depth study of the dialogue between art and ecology, examining different parts of the world where such exchanges happen today. Thus, the subject matter of the book extends from India to Mexico and to the Arctic and beyond, making this "expanded geography" appear arbitrary, and rendering the exercise of reading disorienting at times. Comparatively, the vast array of examples the author employs to illustrate his argument can confuse the reader.

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[1] Tom Phillips, "Smog Refugees Flee Chinese Cities as "Airpocalypse" Blights Half a Billion," *The Gardian,* 21 Dec. 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/21/smog-refugees-flee-chinese-cities-as-airpocalypse-blights-half-a-billion

[2] Ranging from object-oriented ontology and speculative realism to the newly born interest for indigenous cosmologies, Demos referenced a wide scope of scholarship: Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things,* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); Diana Coole and Samantha Frost, eds., *New*

The opening chapter explores the first instances of art attempting to raise ecological consciousness, mostly from the 1960s to the 1980s. Demos remains dubious about the political potential several of these initiatives convey. Agnes Dene's *Wheatfield – A Confrontation: Battery Park Landfill, Downtown Manhattan* (1982) is exemplary in this regard; these urban gardens raise doubts because the artist reproduces the monoculture model, the same model that has been criticized for its environmental effects and that permitted corporate industrial-chemical agribusiness, which the work is apparently against (43). Another example is the more recent, travelling exhibition "Fragile Ecologies: Contemporary Artists' Interpretations and Solutions," which discusses the role of the artist as a potential agent of change, a shared concern with *Decolonizing Nature*. Demos's skepticism about such initiatives is based on the fact that they objectify nature, rendering it an aesthetic object of reverence (52), an artistic counterpart of so-called Green Capitalism. The politics of sustainability, praised by some of the works in "Fragile Ecologies," are put in question.

Henceforth, the reader is confronted with the following methodology: starting with an analysis of "a politically ineffective" visual production, Demos juxtaposes it to another work that, in turn, eradicates the doubts of the author, a technique that runs the risk of becoming didactic. For instance, the whole argument in the chapter "Climates of Displacement" is based on the victimizing drift of the artistic group, Argos Collective towards the inhabitants of low-lying island states, such as the Maldives, whose entire populations will become climate refugees because of water rise (68). Subhankar Banerjee's epic photographs of northern Alaska, along with his writings, stand as the counter model. His images and texts show how climate change has a deep effect on the mobility of indigenous Arctic populations, but abstain from victimizing these people.

Continuing with numerous examples of the intersection of ecological activism and artistic intervention, Demos lingers over what geographer Neil Smith defined as "the financializing of nature," notably the take-over of nature by financial markets (105). The examined works, such as Amy Balkin's *Public Smog*, offer possibilities of de-financializing nature through the critical act of visualizing the invisible system that sustains global ecology. Balkin purchased parts of the atmosphere over major cities, like a park in airspace, questioning the politics of pollution. Creating small pockets of "capitalism's pollution free zones" was also among the concerns of the "dOCUMENTA (13) exhibition" in 2012, one of the art world's main events, taking place in Kassel every five years. In the last chapter, "Gardening against the Apocalypse," Demos comments on some of the thirteenth edition participants and their varied interpretations of gardens, adopting an overall critical approach. When talking of an "uncommitted theoretical pluralism, a tendency familiar in the liberal milieu of contemporary art" (240), he seems to feel dubious about Donna Haraway's post-human approach being put alongside Vandana Shiva's eco-activist aesthetics, both present at the exhibition.

Throughout the book, it becomes clear that Demos puts forward artistic actions and works that are closer to Shiva's post-colonial, ecological struggle for justice than to

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Materialisms: Ontology, Agency, and Politics, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, Trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); and Levi Bryant, Nick Srnicek, and Graham Harman, eds., *The Speculative Turn: Continental Materialism and Realism*, (Melbourne: Re: Press, 2011).

Haraway's sci-fi activism. Devoting a chapter to the ecologies of art and revolution in Mexico, he goes as far as drawing a consciously slippery parallel between the Zapatista Army of National Liberation and contemporary artists working on ecological issues in the United States' southern neighbor (157). Examining Pedro Reye's *Guns for Shovels* (2008), where the artist collected guns to melt them into steel and fabricate shovels to plant trees, Demos is clearly inclined towards creative ways to repair a past (and present) infused by the violence of narcotic trafficking. Furthermore, he emphasizes forms of resistance that are inspired by, or related to, indigenous culture (whose native environment is often deeply altered by neo-colonial politics). Inspired by Michel Serre's *The Natural Contract*, the group "World of Matter", through experimental documentary video work, points out the urgency of making a contract with the Earth; by inventing it, the natural contract will pay justice to nature as a universal declaration of the rights of nature. Such a juridical proposition may entail a more convincing political action than the one Demos saw in other projects. In fact, the group, "World of Matter," in which artists such as Ursula Biemann and Judy Price participate, stands out among of the artistic examples of *Decolonizing Nature* because it engages with non-anthropocentric factors; going beyond human agents, and aiming at a definition of ecology where the human and the nonhuman are equal. The term Anthropocene being mentioned several times, Timothy Morton's words, "we are no longer able to think history as exclusively human, for the very reason that we are in the Anthropocene" (121), sound, at last, to the point.

What Demos is ultimately trying to ask us in *Decolonizing Nature*, is if we can imagine different consequences of the ecological crisis other than poverty and deepening economic inequality. Overall, *Decolonizing Nature* is abundant in theoretical references and artistic examples that attempt to give an answer to this question. Sometimes, the panoramic scope the book aims to cover can make it difficult to distinguish its main argument from its sources. The ecologically concerned artists, political activists, and rich scholarship Demos refers to, however, make of the book a great addition to the dawning research on the intersection between art and ecology.

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*Hope and Grief in the Anthropocene: Re-conceptualising Human-Nature Relations***, by Lesley Head, New York: Routledge Research in the Anthropocene Series, 2016.**

Reviewed by Nancy Smith (PhD Candidate in the School of Informatics & Computing, HCI Indiana University, Bloomington)

The Anthropocene—as both a newly proposed epoch and a conceptual idea for our current era—has quickly generated significant interest across all fields from the sciences to the humanities. At the heart of ongoing debates are questions that interrogate just what exactly the Anthropocene is, how we should think about it, how it affects our present and our future, and how we can bridge thinking across disciplines to best deal with critical issues such as climate change, loss of biodiversity, and pollution. In *Hope and Grief in the Anthropocene,* Lesley Head tackles many of these issues by articulating the ways in which we might leverage the concepts of grief and hope as ways of acknowledging and shifting our relationship with the Anthropocene as well as generating potential practices and political interventions that aim to change the course of the planet.

Head's notion of grieving is twofold; she argues that it accounts for the loss of the modern self or the sense that we thought the future was a place of "unlimited positive possibility" and at the same time, there is grief for a stable, pristine, and certain past. Much contemporary environmental thought is grounded on the idea of a stable past, and despite the fact that that past was never truly stable, it is still used as a sort of benchmark to measure environmental progress. Environmental thinking founded in modernism, then, has found itself ill-equipped to deal with the present challenges related to climate change because it still relies on the idea that nature is fragile and needs protection in order to be "saved." However, Head writes, "the fact that the past has never been static, and the future has never been assured, is irrelevant to their nostalgic and aspirational power respectively" (6).

Grief, Head argues, should become our companion in the Anthropocene. In other words, as feminists have long argued, emotion is missing from many accounts of the world. Drawing on Sara Ahmed, she argues that feminist analyses of emotion have shown how it is viewed as separate from and "beneath" the faculties of thought and reason. "To be emotional is to have one's judgment affected: it is to be reactive rather than active, dependent rather than autonomous" (22). Part of Head's argument rests in the fact that we have a strong tendency towards promoting the positive in any situation, and this is especially true in regards to climate change, which many in the Western world optimistically seem to think is solvable. But, if we are to embrace grief as an integral part of the process of understanding and dealing with the new conditions brought on by the Anthropocene, then we may be able to move beyond this excessive (and problematic) positivity in order to identify spaces of action grounded in more realistic expectations of change. These spaces include the previously mentioned loss of the modern self, but also more concretely, beloved places that have been eliminated as a result of pollution and human activity.

Similarly, Head notes the loss of nonhumans as critical to our conception of grief, and highlights the effects of species extinction that have emerged in the recent past. This is one area of the book that would benefit from further exploration. Head identifies important questions, such as, "Why do we worry more about species than the individual as the unit of grief?" Drawing again from Ahmed, she suggests, the politics of grief constitute "some others as the legitimate objects of emotion. This differentiation is crucial in politics as it works to secure a distinction between legitimate and illegitimate lives" (24). However, Ahmed's idea—of legitimate and illegitimate lives—is never fully explored in the book. This is a common issue throughout the book as Head raises critical questions and offers only a partial explanation, which leaves the reader with further questions around the details of her argument. In the same section, Head mentions the fact that grieving among elephants is well known as is their ability to form close social relationships; this also raises the question of who exactly is grieving? Presumably nonhumans are grieving—in ways similar and dissimilar to humans—for the loss of their fellow species and their habitat as well. Given the critical role that nonhumans play in the Anthropocene and a future that relies on biodiversity to thrive, the book would benefit from a much more in-depth analysis of animal grief and its various expressions and possibilities.

One the flip side of this argument, Head brings forth the idea of hope. Interestingly, she moves away from feelings here and suggests that we should decouple hope from its traditional association with optimism. In order that we move away from this dependence on positive emotions to promote action aimed at change, she suggests that we define hope as something that lies in practice and place, rather than in particular emotions. In elaborating on the ways in which we should "practice hope," Head draws from Ben Anderson's depiction of hope, highlighting four qualities: "1) Hope is understood as a process that creates possibility and potential, or at least opens up spaces in present day reality or things to be done differently. 2) It carries with it melancholy and grief. 3) It risks disappointment and has no guarantees. 4) It is everyday. This provides a starting point for how we might imagine worlds otherwise" (73). Head's goal in decoupling hope from the idea of optimism is not just to separate emotion from hope, but rather to recognize that hope is embodied and there is a much broader range of emotions entangled with hope, including those of pain, loss, and sadness.

In expanding on her conception of hope, Head includes interviews with climate scientists to pinpoint the ways in which hope is often removed from scientific research in an effort towards remaining dispassionate in order to be more "objective" when conducting empirical work. However, Head points towards recent work in STS that argues for the importance of emotion in scientific practice and highlights several studies that show how pervasive emotions are in science. Still, the myth of the dispassionate scientist remains dominant within both academic and popular discourse regarding science. Hope, in this case, she argues has an aspect of being able to "go on." It becomes inextricably linked to action. Thinking of hope as practice, Head writes, "has characteristics in common with Annemarie Mol's concept of "tinkering." It is inherently experimental" (78). Mol, she notes, uses active verbs such as loving, tinkering, doctoring, caring, letting go, as replacements for acting. Mol's work on medical practice in relation to actor-network theory is quoted: "Less strategic in its connotation than "co-ordination," and better at stressing an ongoing effort than "association" … This suggests persistent activity done bit by bit, one step after another, without overall plan. Cathedrals have been built in a tinkering mode, and signallars or aircraft designers also work in this way" (79). Importantly, as Head points out, this is different from more modernist terms such as manage, intervene, and control. A shift towards thinking of hope as a sort of tinkering brings forth the possibility that we will be more effective in promoting political change if we embrace the messiness inherent in the Anthropocene, rather than working under the assumption that we can simply command change through structured, direct human influence.

Near the end of the book, Head presents several case studies, including a particularly intriguing chapter on weeds. Drawing on her native country, Australia, she explores the problem with environmental management and uses weeds as a way to illustrate the contradictions inherent in both humanity and nature.

> Different patterns of human ecological practice—growing crops, making roads, city blocks left derelict—encourage different combinations of weeds. Temporal boundaries based on past baselines interact with and intensify spatial bounding practices of

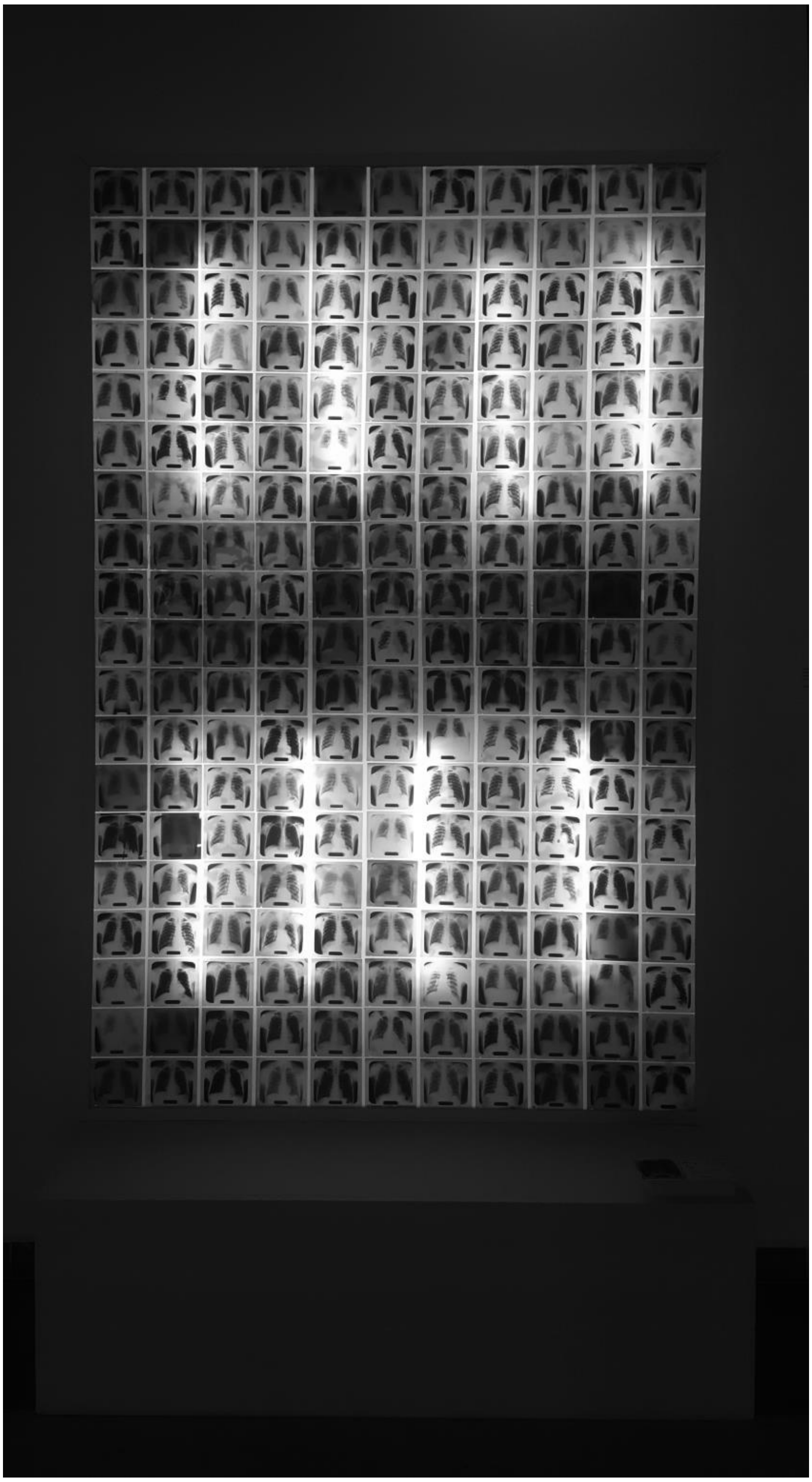
> belonging—they determine which spaces and species are marked as nature, native and considered to belong, and which are not. (116)

The critique of species nativeness opens up questions about the boundaries between nature and culture as well as the implications for shift in those conceptual boundaries. Nativeness is not a robust concept ecologically because so-called “invasive species” often integrate and support ecosystems in unexpected ways, changing the very landscape into something new. Natives, she argues, are simply plants that “arrived first.” The chapter on weeds is useful as a way of grounding the previously explored concepts and primarily as a way to demonstrate the new kinds of entanglements that have emerged in the Anthropocene, which require that we learn to understand plants as subjects with bodies with the goal of learning to“live with weeds” rather than trying to separate or purify a landscape. It is what Head calls a “process of living and dying, together. These bodies are not demarcated and separate, but are already and intimately in relation, albeit not always comfortably. Planty perspectives open up new ways of thinking about bodies and their boundaries” (125).

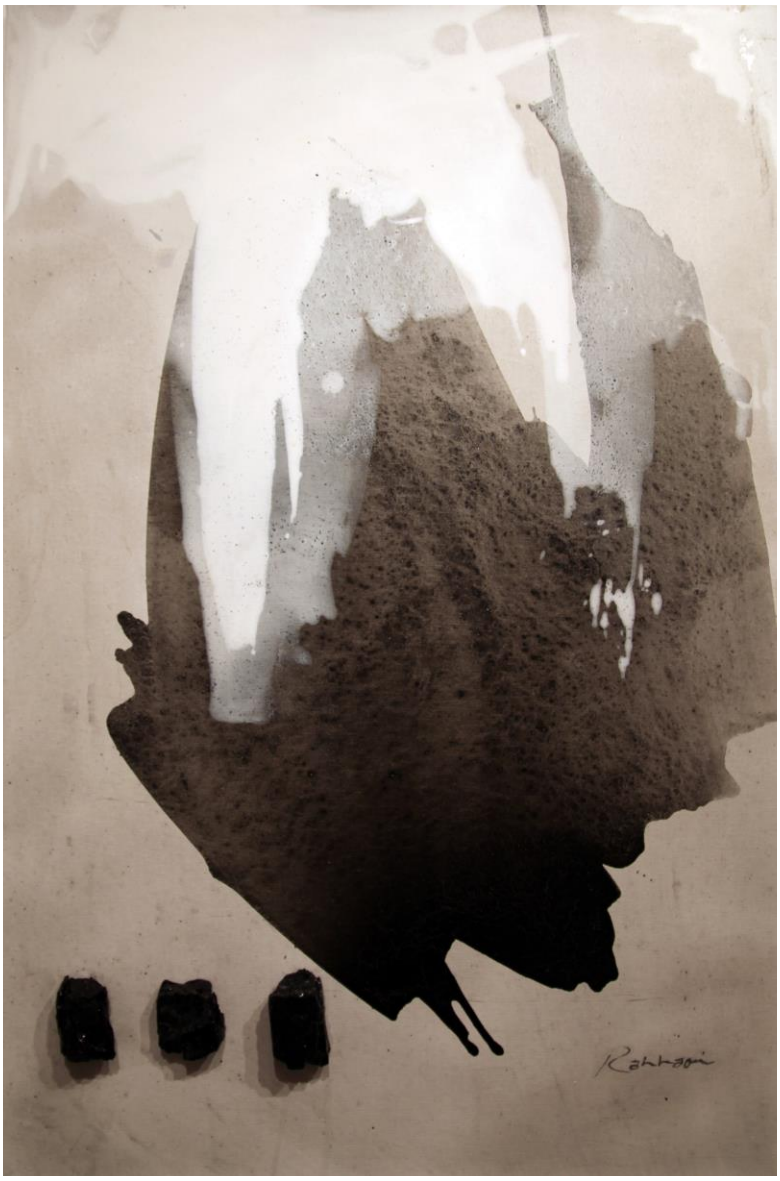
At the end of the book, Head asks what it might mean to inhabit the Anthropocene? What does it mean for us to be citizens of the Anthropocene, both individually and collectively? And how different is that to being a Modern? These are the questions that guide her book from the start, and she notes that a key characteristic of the Enlightenment has been that of a hopeful future, “the possibility of striving for improvement, both individual and collective. Yet, the progressivist view of the future that inspired modernity has helped create the problem” (167). If we can no longer ground our practices in optimism for a better future, we will need better ways to address the future conditions of the Anthropocene. For Head, it is grief that should be inextricably entwined with climate change and hope that should become not a guiding assurance, but a grounded practice that leads to civic engagement and political action. What remains unanswered is how exactly such a shift in thought might happen, and what kinds of actions might foster this new way of thinking in the Anthropocene. One hopes that the last chapter of the book, which briefly outlines the qualities of “The Anthropoceneans,” becomes the starting point for Head’s next book, as this is where we might gain more in-depth insight into her vision of the human-nature relationship. Although it left me wanting more, *Hope and Grief in the Anthropocene* provides a much-needed provocation that reimagines political possibility or the “creative destruction of dismantling the fossil-fuel economy” through realistic human intervention that promotes a reduction in consumption and new kinds of environmental restoration and repair.

Special Section: Art, Environment, and Social Justice

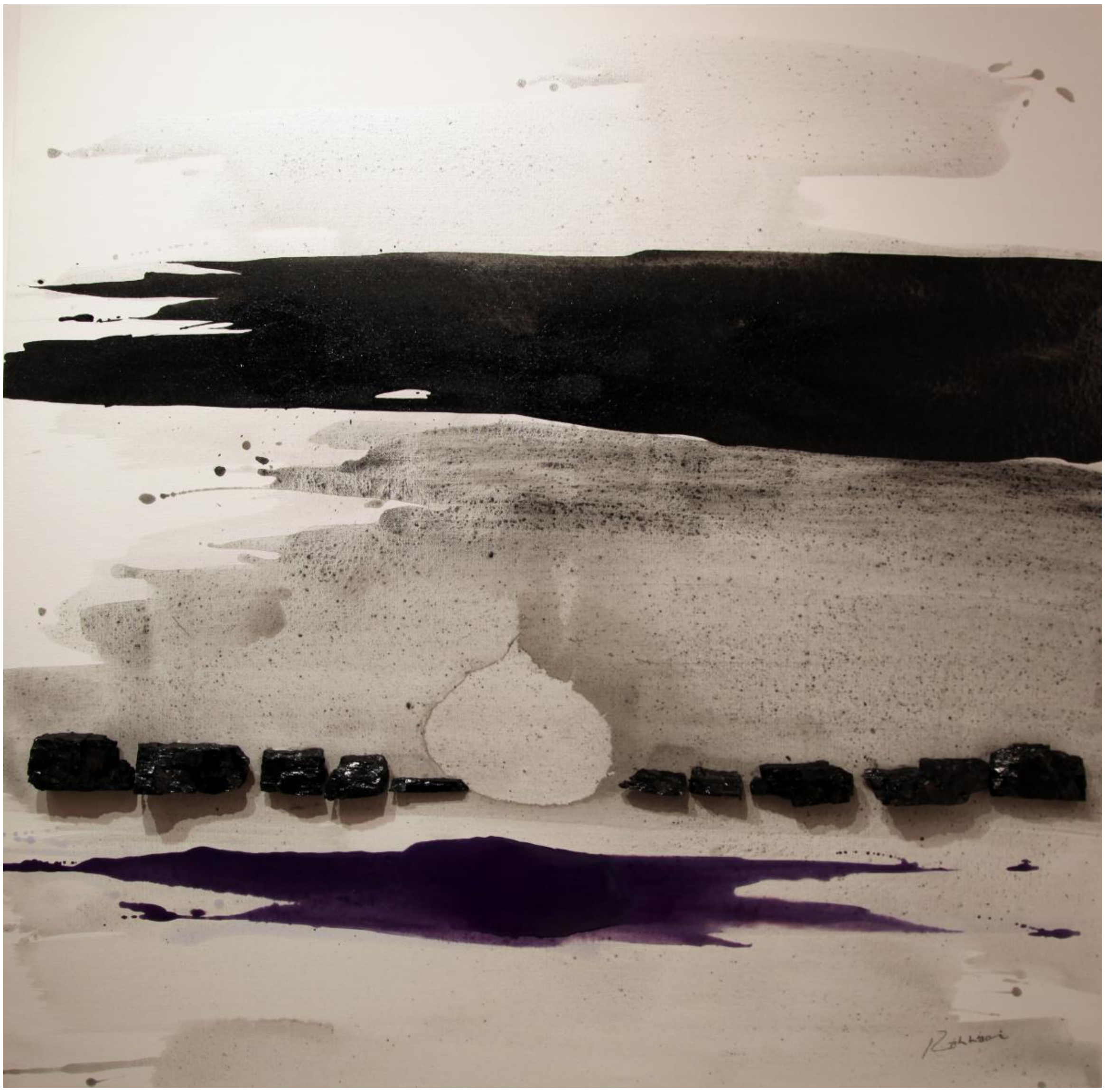
Photographs of some of the paintings by artist Driss Rahaoui whose work is a reflection on the impact of coalmining industry on the environment, health and society in his hometown Jerrada, North East Morocco. (Reproduced with artist's permission)



Serial Number 38555 or A Long Agony
Miners' chest X-rays, light box. 2017



Serial number 38555 or the Story of Three 2013
Mixed technique on canvas 100×70cm



Serial number 38555 or the path of Hasi Blal
Mixed technique on canvas 100×100cm