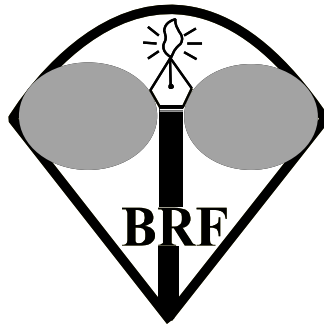


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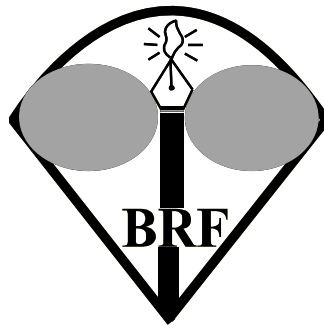
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Construction of the 'Racial Identity' by Gaze and Blindness in *The Bluest Eye* and *Native Son*

Md. Abdul Karim Ruman¹

Abstract

According to Michel Foucault, our identity is constructed by how we are seen. 'Gaze' is the desire of one person that constructs the identity of another who is gazed. In this regard, gaze and panopticon are the mechanics that create, propagate, establish, and gradually naturalize racial identity and prejudices, leading to the blacks' internalization of hegemonic ideology and inferiority which sustain automatically because of the victims' blindness to them. This essay explores— "How is the identity of the African-Americans constructed and what is its racial effect?" In *The Bluest Eye*, where the black people's identity is constructed by the gaze of the white people that controls their codes of behavior, Morrison challenges the Western standard of beauty. On the other hand, *Native Son* is concerned with the 'black' and 'red' phobia.

Introduction

'Gaze', in the cultural sense, is the desire of one person that constructs the identity of another who is gazed. It is a means of domination, by making others' identity according to some particular (white, colonial etc.) gaze. And ideology is the system of thought in a given society. According to Michel Foucault, our identity is constructed by how we are seen. In this regard, gaze and panopticon are the mechanics that create, propagate, establish, and gradually naturalize racial identity and prejudices, leading to the blacks' internalization of hegemonic ideology and inferiority which sustain automatically because of the victims' blindness to them. Therefore, to 'look' and 'be looked' through various modes of inscription like films, posters, literature, media (especially newsreels and newspaper reports), as well as commodity consumer popular culture in general, are explored and criticized by many writers and cultural critics. In this research, the focal question is—"How is the identity of the African-Americans constructed and what is its racial effect?" Here, I would try to establish my hypothesis by locating (not comparatively) how various modes of 'gaze' and blindness have been articulated in Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye* and Richard Wright's *Native Son*, and how false myths of 'gaze' adversely affect individual psychology and behavior of both the blacks and the whites. It is noteworthy that mostly the former novel is concerned with the 'concept of beauty'; and the latter with the 'black' and 'red' phobia.

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Methodology

The methodology adopted in this research consists of a textual analysis of *The Bluest Eye* and *Native Son* as primary sources, which will draw from a cultural theoretical framework, taking a critical exploration mainly towards the African-Americans' racial identity and its effects. Regarding the terminology, a subtopic titled "Theoretical Framework" is composed. There, I would like to clarify Michel Foucault's idea of gaze and panopticon. Besides, to analyze gaze from a cultural perspective, I would also like to have a glance at Louise Althusser's concept of ISA or Ideological State Apparatuses. The related research papers or literature reviews will also be explored as the secondary sources of information for this study.

Theoretical Framework: Foucault's Gaze & Althusser's Ideology

The gaze, [sometimes called, the look] is a technical term which was first discussed by French intellectual, namely Michel Foucault's [1926-1984] description of the medical gaze. Gaze is the ideological mechanism which from the perspective of dominant groups constructs, perpetuates, and determines the identity of the subaltern. It is not only a mechanism but also a controlling force. One cannot protest this policy—through gaze, one's identity is constructed. Again, the concept of gaze is concerned with the relations of power. Foucault's concept of gaze carries the sense of being objectified, subordinated, or threatened by the 'look' of another. Foucault argued that we should understand perception as governed by the modes of discourse. It characterizes particular social and intellectual regimes. Foucault also deals directly with the conditions and effects of the gaze in the concept of 'panopticon surveillance'.

Michel Foucault's example of the panopticon is a model prison designed by Jeremy Bentham, which would comprise a circular building of prison cells, an open yard and a central tower. From this tower the prison-keeper could observe all the inmates without himself being observed. Here, prisoners would be subject to the 'gaze' of the guard, but never really know if they were really being watched. As a result, they would have to constantly monitor their actions and be on their best behavior. Foucault argued that such persistent self-monitoring and self-regulation would lead to the normalization of the deviant as they internalized the disciplinary regime which they were subject to. The panopticon would thus ensure the effects of constant surveillance through an invisible and not necessarily actual observer. This is a dramatic instance of the association of power and the gaze Foucault is concerned to identify.

Again, according to Foucault, the supervisor's observation controls the observed individuals by the power that coexists with the supervisor's observation. While the supervisor is observing the individuals, the disciplinary power he wields enters the observed bodies; working through 'general visibility'. Practically, surveillance appears in many institutions, such as schools, media etc. for they produce supervision. Through surveillance, a massive soup is placed under control, for the

disciplinary power pierces into their bodies to make them weak and submissive. In order to keep the society in control, the white gaze as the invisible means of surveillance is everywhere with its disciplinary power of white values. The whites do not impose the white values on the blacks through physical violence; but by some other implicit ways such as the white gaze. The white gaze is such a subtle, oppressive means that the blacks think nothing to fight back. In short, psychologically the blacks are overwhelmingly oppressed. Thus, the white gaze infuses the white values and the disciplinary power into the inferiority of African-Americans without raising their urges to fight back. Gradually they accustom themselves to the white values embedded in the white gaze.

Both Toni Morrison and Foucault draw attention to how people are implicitly oppressed and disciplined in the construction of their subjectivity. In *The Bluest Eye*, the dominant racial ideology is that everything related to the color of whiteness is beautiful and blackness is ugly. Thereby, the identity of the African-Americans is terminated through the interpellation of the western ideological thoughts. Interpellation is the humble acceptance of one's own position and identity imposed by the dominant culture or society. Most African-Americans are stimulated by the rules or ideologies set by the white Americans. One gets the feelings of constant gazing from the idea of panopticon and loses his/her total sense of identity and freedom. In this novel, the black people's identity is constructed by the gaze of the white people that controls their codes of behavior. White ideologies work as the mechanism of panopticon in the black community and determine their identity.

It has been argued that the principle of the panopticon lives on in our wider society and culture. So, panopticon is a system of 'regulation, monitoring and surveillance' to operate 'patterns of behavior' continuously through some ideological state apparatuses like educational institutions, churches, media and other modern technologies. But in the context of *The Bluest Eye*, panopticon is not only a visual device of imposing and accepting racial identity of inferiority, but also it works subtly through the life of an individual and a community. The way of admiration, acceptance and praise for any human being can simply be understood by other men's look; at the same time, disgust, rejection and unworthiness for anybody can also be understood by simple look or 'gaze'. Thus, by panopticon and gaze of white standard, blacks are identified negatively regardless of their origin and without questioning they accept and internalize the hegemonic ideology through total negation and self-hatred. The blacks measure themselves through the eyes of the whites. In other words, individual blacks stand to the particular norms of beauty and values imposed by the white culture. Here we see the importance of what Baier calls 'second person-hood,' of seeing oneself through the others' eyes in a social and historical context.

Gaze in *The Bluest Eye*

The mechanisms of gaze and panopticon work through school, media and church in *The Bluest Eye*. Firstly, school provides training for the blacks to become

passive and accept the master's policy: "They go to land-grant colleges, normal schools and learn how to do the white man's work with refinement" (Morrison 64). In fact, as an African-American Morrison's *The Bluest Eye* explores the complexity of 'the look' as the controlling gaze of a dominant, racially oppressive society which constructs whiteness as the norm while viewing the African-Americans as the 'other'. Understood from the perspective of a black woman, the dominant society's gaze, constructed as a touchstone, is driven by a layering of motivations that expresses racism and classism in its operations. Further, 'the look' of the dominant social order is internalized by the black characters who construct themselves and others through and in a few instances against, the gaze of the 'Master', almost always with disastrous results. Indeed, Morrison is critically aware of how the dominant society's ideological and commercial apparatuses maintain and hold 'the look' in place to the detriment of her black characters. This essay will track down and interrogate some of the diverse, and sometimes intricate, meanings of 'the look' and blackness articulated in Morrison's as well as Wright's novels comparatively in block style.

Regarding the tracks of 'the look', *The Bluest Eye* holds as its central concern a critique of western beauty and its special destructiveness when imposed upon people of color in general. Therefore, she asserts that the idea of physical beauty is one of "probably the most destructive ideas in the history of human thought. Both originating in envy, thrived in insecurity, and ended in disillusion" (Morrison 95). One can discern much about the construction and working of 'the look' by exploring the plight of the novel's principal victim, a twelve-year-old black girl named Pecola Breedlove. Her sad situation is compounded by a crushing sense of inferiority and ugliness; inherited from her family and their own struggles with 'the look' and by her attempts to ease her misery by retreating ever more deeply into a confused and finally shattered psychotic self image. Early in the novel, Morrison locates Pecola's and the Breedloves' problems with 'gaze' in the family setting and poses these problems as, ultimately, ideological. The author goes on to theorize:

You looked at them and wondered why they were so ugly: you looked closely and could not find the source. Then you realized that it came from conviction, their conviction. It was as though some mysterious all-knowing master had given each one a cloak of ugliness to wear, and they had each accepted it without question. The master had said, "You are ugly people." They had looked about themselves and saw nothing to contradict the statement; saw, in fact, support for it leaning at them from every billboard, every movie, every glance. "Yes," they had said, "you are right." And they took the ugliness in their hands, threw it as a mantle over them, and went about the world with it.

(Morrison 34)

Significantly, the "mysterious master" referred to here is the dominant, hegemonic ideology which, with 'the look' as its instrument, devalues the Breedloves, assigns them to their social place and correspondingly, to their place in the hierarchy of physical beauty. Equally as important, though, Morrison shows us the pervasiveness

of the ideological state apparatuses, as 'the look' is figured into billboard advertising, popular cinema, and other media and assimilated from "every glance," be it white or black.

Morrison develops the pathology of these revelations by working into the narrative a number of instances in which Pecola and her family's self-esteem is literally destroyed by their encounters with varied expressions of the dominant society's gaze. In this context, popular culture and media play a vital role as the mechanics of panopticon. Pecola's poor mother Pauline escapes into the fantasy of Hollywood's "classic cinema" that constructs visual pleasure and looking relations. Pauline experiences 'the look' that Hollywood always tries to efface from the consciousness of the spectator, so that one may identify with one's "ideal ego" image in the story world and deeply submerge into the film's verisimilitude. Likewise, at the movies Pauline identifies herself with the characters on the screen, and quite advertently starts to dream, desire and wish she had hair like Jean Harlow's. She also longs for clothes that will make the women 'look' at her differently; i.e. as nice: "she merely wanted other women to cast favorable glances her way" (Morrison 92). In a word, the movies Polly watches are destructive since they are imposed from the outside for manipulating and marginalizing the blacks. However, as a black woman, Pauline must suffer from self-negation in a compounded sense, for her like hardly exists anywhere on the screen. She is, therefore, forced to look at and apply to herself a completely unrealizable, alien standard of beauty and to experience dissatisfaction resulting from the contradiction with the white actresses. Her problem with the dominant gaze is that it conjures up the triple devaluation of her being female, black and poor. Beyond that, tooth-falling is a climax for Pauline because she has got the message that she cannot be Jean Harlow. Thereafter, she loses all love and it affects her psychology forever.

Understanding the importance of dominant cinema in shaping looking relations and the society's racially layered regimes of beauty, Morrison finally observes of Pauline: "she was never able, after her education in the movies to look at a face and not assign it some category in the scale of absolute beauty, and the scale was one she absorbed in full from the silver screen" (Morrison 97). What is more, this internalization of the cinematic 'look' and its corresponding workings in Hollywood's 'star system' extends to all of the novel's female characters. For instance, the black girls Claudia and Frieda are compared by their boarder Mr. Henry to Hollywood's "Greta Garbo and Ginger Rogers" (Morrison 7). Meanwhile, in a neurotic attempt to raise her value on the scale of beauty and love, Pecola turns into a fetish, guzzling quarts of milk out of a cup marketed in the child star's image Shirley Temple, in hopes of a magical transformation: "she ... gazed fondly at the silhouette of Shirley Temple's dimpled face ... how cu-ute Shirley Temple was" (Morrison 12). And, "... she ... took every opportunity to drink milk out of it just to handle and see sweet Shirley's face" (Morrison 16).

On the other hand, Cholly also suffers from the white 'gaze'. Originating in a humiliating incident in adolescence that permanently haunts, scars and emasculates Cholly by showing him his 'place' in a racist society and as an object of that society's sadistic, dominating gaze, 'the look' contributes directly to the formation of his violence and undying mistrust of all women. Morrison shows us that the pathology of 'the look' also applies to men of color and that the gaze of hegemonic society is driven much by reflex racism and the exploitation of erotic pleasure by two racist white men who force him to copulate in the glare of their flashlights and their voyeuristic, sadistic gazes. This dominating, sadistic look, then, becomes one more instance in a casual chain of devaluation that culminates in disaster (Pecola's rape, e.g.) for the entire Breedlove family: "Why did she (Pecola) have to look so whipped? ... If he looked into her face, he would see those haunted, loving eyes. The hauntedness would irritate him ... the love would move him to fury ..." (Morrison 127). Here 'gaze' is devastating. Yet, in a sense Cholly's crime is a redemption for Pecola because his rape suggests that she still can 'be looked at' and desired (though incestuously) by someone which gives her a sense of identity in spite of her being untouchably ugly.

In the meantime comes Pecola's shattering encounter with the 'gaze' of the dominant society. She struggles to discover whether she is a 'weed' or has some value or undiscovered beauty beyond her depreciated position in the scheme of society's looking relations. Thus, she implicitly realizes that beauty can be created by 'seeing' rather than by 'being seen'. Similarly, she redefines herself as beautiful even without blue eyes. But Morrison holds out the possibility to be remote. Besides, Pecola experiences the ultimate negation and totally disappears. When she enters into the store to buy and conform to the ideal childhood, female image commodified in the form of Mary Jane candies from the storekeeper Yacobowski, Morrison evokes 'the look' in one of its most detailed moments in all of her novels; when she believes that the way people observes her is more real than what she herself observes: "... he [Yacobowski] senses that he need not waste the effort of a glance. He does not see her, because for him there is nothing to see. How can a fifty-two-year-old white immigrant storekeeper ... see a little black girl?" (Morrison 41-42). Indeed, when somebody gazes at a black person, it establishes her/his identity, even though as ugly and inferior. But Pecola is so hated and ugly that people do not even look at her and the school children criticize one another by her name. Here Morrison constructs the circuit of looking relations as that between 'Master' and non-white 'Other', in which the Master looks upon the Other and sees an absence of humanity. In turn, the Other looks upon the Master and sees omnipotence and the negation of the self. Thus the two creates a circulating 'look' in which they confirm their inhuman estimate of each other and significantly, of themselves. Moreover, Pecola understands that the nucleus of the problem lies in her blackness, which "is static and dread. And it is the blackness, that accounts for, that creates, the vacuum edged with distaste in (all) white eyes (Morrison 37). Pecola defines her own world as feeble and inferior against the white place where the stare originates. So she longs for the static empty gaze of blue eyes that she sees in the smiling white face of Mary Jane candies.

Again, Eye imagery pervades the scene as the shopkeeper "cannot see her view—the angle of his vision ... makes it incomprehensible to him" (Morrison 37). To see her would be to see her as a person, to encounter her subjectivity. But to him, Pecola is nothing, and she in turn can see in his eyes that she means nothing to him. Moments like these reinforce Pecola's conviction that she is hideous. Earlier, the narrator assures us that she will never learn to see her own beauty, in part because no one else will show it to her. This touches on the theme, throughout the novel, that often one is dependent on others for feelings of self worth, love, and even one's identity. However, her encounter with racist 'gaze' ends with reflex self negation or impoverished sense of self, and with disastrous and irredeemable consequences for insufficient self-esteem. Ultimately she is completely isolated: nobody plays with her, her mother rejects her, her townsfolk 'look off' when she looks at them, her school throws her out, the MacTeer sisters 'avoid' her and her father fails to transcend his sin. The loved one (Pecola) is shown, neutralized, frozen in the glare of the lover's (Cholly's) inward eye.

Pecola believes that the cruelty she witnesses and experiences is connected to how she 'is seen'. In other words, Pecola's definition of her self-esteem is established by those who see her. This is how she sees herself: "Long hours she sat looking at the mirror trying to discover the secret of the ugliness" (Morrison 54). Through this discovery she seeks an escape into the fantasy world. Having seen white baby dolls with blue eyes loved and desired, she believes from her childhood that blue eyes would change everything: if she had blue eyes, she would look beautiful, she would have friends and be loved, her parents would stop fighting, her brother would not run away, and they would be happy. We have to consider that the standard of beauty that her peers subscribe to is represented by the white child actress, Shirley Temple, who has the desired blue eyes. Thus, 'gaze' acts as a pervasive force in Pecola's life. "... if she looked different, beautiful, maybe Cholly would be different, and Mrs. Breedlove too. Maybe they'd say, why look at pretty eyed Pecola. We mustn't do bad things in front of those pretty eyes ..." (Morrison 34). Pecola thinks that how we see the world is determined by eyes' color, but it is indeed related to human psychology. Hence, she has been appealing to God for nine years to have "pretty eyes, pretty blue eyes ..." (Morrison 34). In fact, this is a path towards redemption. However, Pecola is strongly influenced by and obsessed with white concept of beauty and love. To repeat the issue, she believes that if she had blue eyes, she would not have to stay with those people who were ugly and unloved: "As long as she looked the way she did, as long as she was ugly, she would have to stay with these people" (Morrison 39) and suffer.

Again, Pecola's desire for 'blue eyes', synonymous with her search for the American myth of beauty as self-virtue, is what Langston Hughes calls an "urge to whiteness within the race" (Bone 1966: 4). But her illusions suffer distortions as she is subjected to varied degrees of oppressions within the community and without. Crucial in this racist preparation, as I have already discussed, is the denial Pecola endures at the candy shop by the white Mr. Yacobowski who "doesn't see her ..." (Morrison 36), for in his eyes this was "the total absence of human recognition—the

glazed separateness ..." (Morrison 36). So the dandelions that earlier "made her part of the world ..." (Morrison 36), now "are ugly" (Morrison 37) after this encounter. She is made to look further into her ugliness by the oppressive eyes of the 'colored' Maureen Peal who openly reproaches her being "black and ugly" (Morrison 56).

Pecola's yet another horrific encounter is with the 'colored' Geraldine from Mobile who had seen this little girl "all her life" (Morrison 71) and throws her out for being "nasty little black bitch" (Morrison 72). In fact, the appearance of Pecola reminds Geraldine's own black origin that she tries to escape. As Pecola backed out of the room, she "saw Jesus looking down at her with sad and unsurprised eyes, his long brown hair parted ..." (Morrison 72). Here, Jesus looks "sad" because of humiliation of a human being merely for skin color upon which s/he has no control; Jesus looks "unsurprised" because he is accustomed with it; and "brown hair" implies that Jesus was not an European and white, rather racial 'gaze' suggests that He belonged to the 'other'.

From cultural perspective, the master people construct a standard of ethic, beauty, happiness, and project them through the media; confirming the authenticity of the white authorship: "Adults, older girls, shops, magazines, newspapers, and window sign—all the world had agreed that a blue-eyed, yellow-haired, pink-skinned doll was that every child treasured. Here they said this is beautiful, and if you are on this day worth you may have it" (Morrison 64). Even the Primer of the elementary book functions as the hegemonic force of an ideology (focused by the supremacy of 'the bluest eye') by which a dominant culture reproduces (its) hierarchical power structure[s]. In fact, the dominant white culture exercises its hegemony through education in both oppressing the victim and teaching the victim how to oppress her own black self by internalizing the values that dictate standards of beauty. Similarly, Pauline Breedlove, Geraldine, Maureen Peal, and Pecola are black characters (subjected to approval of 'panopticon') who try to conform to an imposed ideal of femininity. They are absorbed and marginalized by the "cultural icons portraying physical beauty: movies, billboards, magazines, books, newspapers, window signs, dolls and drinking cups" (Morrison). Ironically, in trying to conform to the ideal of white femininity, the black female characters despise their blackness which in turn leads to self-hatred. They see themselves through the eyes of the white people which W.E.B. Du'Bois calls "Double Consciousness" and their worship of white beauty also has destructive effects on their own community. For example, Maureen Peal, merely a light-skinned girl at school, thinks that she is pretty and Pecola is ugly and Morrison sets up a hierarchy of skin tone: firstly, Geraldine's [a counterfeit of the idealized white family], ...[then] the MacTeers and at the bottom [of the social order], the Breedloves, marking proximity and distance in relation to idealized physical attributes. Maureen is treated well. Boys do not tease Pecola before Maureen's attractive look with awe too. In these ways, Morrison identifies the politics of media and popular culture to warn us about the impact of gaze and panopticon, and our blindness to the reality.

Though most of the blacks desire to 'be seen' by others as they 'see' the whites, and so try to be identified with them as far as possible, Claudia's attitude to the white gaze of beauty is totally contrasting and subverting. The reason behind it is that, false myth of ugliness not only makes blacks feel ugly; it also constructs their characteristic of 'violence'. For instance, Claudia is frustrated by the society that cherishes pink skin and blue eyes and thus can never consider her, a black girl, to be truly beautiful. Therefore, her dissection of white dolls is strangely scientific; since she tries to see what they look like inside. This investigation of the dolls parallels the investigative work done by the novel, which, in its own words, attempts to discover 'how' social forces have combined to produce Pecola's tragedy. Besides, as a resistance to the ominous 'gaze' or the racist ideology of 'beauty', her subsequent loving of black baby (of Pecola) indicates her hating of white babies. Additionally, the image of doll-dismemberment by a black girl oddly inverts and foreshadows Pecola's later psychological destruction, which happens partly because of a constructed white standard of beauty that Pecola cannot attain.

Meanwhile, Claudia is not only indifferent to white dolls along with Shirley Temple Cup, but also realizes that she hates the thing that makes Maureen beautiful: "The *Thing* to fear was the *Thing* that made her beautiful and not us" (Morrison 58). We can say that "the Thing" Claudia learns to fear is the white standard of beauty that the members of the African-American community have internalized, a standard that favors the "high-yellow" Maureen Peal and denigrates the black and ugly Pecola Breedlove. Not only that, the narrator cum character Claudia asserts: "Dolls we could destroy, but we could not destroy ... the obedience in the eyes of our peers, the slippery light in the eyes of our teachers when they encountered the Maureen Peals of the world. What was the secret? What did we lack? Why was it important?" (Morrison 57). As a child, Claudia also wonders why People admire little white girls: "What make people look at them and say, 'Awwwww', but not at me?" (Morrison 150).

By the time, Claudia realizes that 'beauty' is something learned or imposed, and accepted; it is not natural or inherent. The hegemonic ideology indicates that the whites have not insisted the blacks to wear ugliness; rather somehow they are made to wear and accept it without question and resistance. She blames the black community which adopts a white standard of beauty ... that makes Pecola its scapegoat. In reality, the stereotypical methodology concurs with their natural ugliness. Being ugly, Pecola becomes symbolically 'dumped' and an object of repulsive nightmares: "We were so beautiful when we stood astride her ugliness" (Morrison 163). All these are nothing but the outcome of the forces of 'gaze' and 'panopticon'.

Blindness in *The Bluest Eye*

In context of the theme of (metaphorical) 'blindness', the narrator states that "she (Pecola) would never know [or 'see'] her beauty. She would see only what there was to see: the eyes of other people" (Morrison 35). Indeed, such blindness to the

reality and lack of self-confidence make all the Pecolas of the world victims of racism. Further, rather than granting Pecola insights into the world around her and providing a redeeming connection with other people, her blue eyes are a form of blindness. She can no longer perceive the outside world, and she has become even more invisible to others. That is why, she is worried by the fact that others will not 'look' at her, and she has not escaped her jealousy of what others possess. She worries that someone has bluer eyes than herself. Actually, she is blind to the fact that people now avoid her for her stigma of incest, rather than out of jealousy which she thinks.

Again, metaphorically blindness parallels with 'gaze' in *The Bluest Eye*. That is why, Maureen's black school-fellows are blindly jealous, awed and enslaved by her 'whiteness'. But to worship blindly that which is 'white'—is to put one's head in a noose. Indeed, those black children have been thoroughly conditioned and brainwashed by ubiquitous and subtle pro-white propaganda to despise all that are 'black', and to revere whatever looks 'white' or even 'whitish'. Thus, unconsciously they are justifying the white constructed racist ideology in degrading, oppressing and subordinating the blacks easily. We cannot ignore the logical fact that those are mimicked (Bhabha) or worshipped who are superior in rank and the followers must be inferior, regarding genetic skin-color specialized by 'gaze' and 'panopticon' in this context.

On the other hand, the whites are sometimes 'blind' to the sensitivity of the blacks in spite of the latter's being human being. For example, during Pauline's delivery of Pecola at a hospital, "When he [old white doctor] got to me [Pauline] he said [to fellow young doctors] now these here women ... deliver right away and with no pain. Just like horses" (Morrison 97). This is the stereotypical representation of the blacks how they are 'shown and seen' by the whites in terms of body. Even she is compared to an animal, while being a woman of flesh and blood she must have human feelings. But she does not express it like the whites: "Who say they don't have no pain? Just because she don't cry? Because she can't say it, they think it ain't there? If they look in her eyes and see them eyeballs lolling back, see the sorrowful look, they'd know" (Morrison 97). This social interpretation of the medical gaze is a classic example of Foucault; that is, in hospital the 'gaze' of a doctor identifies and treats a patient's disease. In other words, someone's identity is constructed by how s/he is 'seen'.

Significantly, 'gaze' even constructs our religious faith. As we find in *The Bluest Eye*,

He [Cholly] wondered if God looked like that [blue]. No God was a nice old white man, with long white hair, flowing white beard, and little blue eyes that looked sad when people died and mean when they were bad. It must be the devil who looks like that ... If ... that, Cholly preferred him ... the idea ... excited him ... the strong, black devil. (Morrison 105)

Actually, here the images of God and devil refer to how we are made to 'see' the world. God is good and all good qualities are associated with the whites because He [God] 'looks' white. In contrast, since the blacks' actions resemble with devil, devil is thought to be black. As Cholly already has destructive instinct, when he comes across such image, he wants to reach it. In fact, such 'gaze' is a constructed issue of racism.

Even the religious agents like Soaphead Church despises dirt of all kinds and wants to 'see' human being in perfect form. He observes "A little black girl who wanted to rise up out of the pit of her blackness and see the world with blue eyes" (Morrison 138). After deceiving Pecola, he thinks "...I gave her those blue eyes ... No one else will see her blue eyes. But she will. And she will live happily even after" (Morrison 144). Pecola wants blue eyes so that she can change what she sees and how others see her. For her both reasons are interchangeable because she believes that how people see her (as ugly) creates what she sees, e.g. hurtful behavior. But the irony of fate is that Pecola wanted 'to be seen' beautiful with blue eyes, though now nobody 'looks' at her; not even her "jealous" mother. So, after getting the illusory 'blue eyes', she becomes crazy and seeks constant confirmation of their being prettier than all from her 'other self' out of utter depression. We can guess that her unblinking 'gaze' at the mirror and the sun costs her sanity and even her normal faculty of 'seeing' forever. Thus her obsession with 'seeing' and 'being seen' everything according to the hegemonic ideology ends with not only her metaphorical and real 'blindness' to the world but also the world's utter blindness to her: "She was so sad to see. Grown people looked away; children, those who were not frightened by her, laughed outright ... We tried to see her without looking at her ... never went near ... because we had failed her ... So we avoided Pecola Breedlove forever" (Morrison 162).

Finally, Pecola turns into a scapegoat of the community in the sense that Pecola's lifelong desire to 'see' everything beautiful—ironically reverses into everybody's desire to see her uglier; and her desire to 'be seen' pretty by others shifts to the community's desire to 'be seen' prettier in contrast to her ugliness. She can no longer 'see' anybody and 'is seen' (with care) by anybody. Still the community needs her. Therefore, we can say that Pecola's fantasy of changing the world through 'gaze' in turn changes her (like some others') world with utmost hatred, isolation, negation, identity crisis, delusion, humiliation, assault, teasing, rejection, marginality, alterity, frustration and disillusionment. Thus, though the world remains the same with its racial mechanics of gaze and panopticon, Pecola ultimately falls apart. Now Pecola needs approval of other's 'gaze' for her 'being' or 'existence' in the community. But she is not seen by herself until she hallucinates an alter-ego. And the fact of her hallucination becomes a kind of outside-the-book conversation (Morrison 171).

Indeed, it is the white ideology and hegemony that finally leads Pecola to be blind to accept the reality. It is the effect of false myth of outside 'gaze and panopticon', the ideal way a young girl should look for, that shapes the blacks' psychology. In a new "Afterward" to the novel's 1993 reprint, Morrison became interested in the mechanics of the blacks' feelings of inferiority before 'gaze and

panopticon'. Morrison wonders "about ... Who had looked at her [Pecola] and found her so wanting, so small a weight on the beauty scale? The novel pecks away at the 'gaze' that condemned her" (Morrison 165). And—

The assertion of racial beauty was ... a reaction ... against the damaging internalization of assumptions of immutable inferiority originating in an outside gaze. I [Morrison] focused, therefore, on how something as grotesque as the demonization of an entire race could take root inside the most delicate member of society: a child; the most vulnerable member; a female [Pecola] ... some aspects of her woundability were lodged in all young girls. (Morrison 168)

Thus, 'gaze' in the socio-cultural context acts as the determining force of 'beauty' and 'ugliness'. And the hegemonic ideology is so deeply rooted that it is very difficult to alter or eradicate. Even today many of the black girls cannot survive and blindly accept the onslaught of the white media-messages.

Gaze in *Native Son*

In Richard Wright's *Native Son* the theme of 'gaze' ('seeing' and 'being seen') is prevalent less and theme of 'blindness' is pervasive more than those issues in *The Bluest Eye*. Again, like Morrison, Wright explores and criticizes the politics of media and popular culture by frequently referring to the newspaper reports, the films and the posters. In this part of the research, I would show how popular culture and media affect and control human life by creating and maintaining their identity through (re)presentation, distortion and construction of facts to create the audience's consciousness; and thus motivate and encourage the mobs. To be specific, popular culture portrays the whites as wealthy, sophisticated and superior, and the blacks as either subservient or jungle savages. We have already mentioned Foucault's concept that our identity is constructed by how we are seen (e.g. through the 'gaze' of media and popular culture). Since 'gaze' affects and constructs one's psychology and attitude, Wright's protagonist Bigger conforms to a great extent to how he 'is seen'. I would also scrutinize how almost all the characters of Wright are somehow 'blind' to the reality, which sustains the racial antagonism, and the black and red phobia. But I would start with the functioning of 'gaze' leading to the racial stereotypes.

In his "The Fact of Blackness", Frantz Fanon expresses his embarrassing experience while he has to meet the white men's 'eyes' or gaze. Generally, in racial context the Negroes 'are seen' with all kinds of negative associations like animal, bad, mean, ugly, cold, shivering, savage, violent, cannibal etc. That is why, a little white boy is scared to 'see' the black writer as the boy says, "Mama, the Nigger's going to eat me up". Indeed, this false notion of the boy is not inherited genetically; rather it has been injected into his mind by the white people of his surroundings. Our protagonist Bigger, too, is such an archetypal 'nigger'—a product of 'gaze' and 'panopticon'.

Throughout *Native Son*, Wright depicts popular culture as a major force in American racism, constantly bombarding citizens with images and ideas that reinforce the nation's oppressive racial hierarchy. And the novel's sub-titles 'Fear', 'Flight', and 'Fate' are also related to the ever-haunting mechanics of 'gaze' and 'panopticon' in Bigger's life. As the plot unfolds, Bigger feels 'watched' and controlled even when the white people are not present; it is as if the white people invaded his very insides. This sense of 'panopticon' and foreshadowing doom is heightened by Buckley's campaign slogan: "IF YOU BREAK THE LAW, YOU CAN'T WIN!" (Wright 16). The poster showed one of those faces that "looked straight at you when you looked at it and all the while you were walking, and turning your head to look at it, it kept looking unblinkingly back at you until you got so far from it you had to take your eyes away ..." (Wright: 16)

Again, media and popular culture remind the (false/mythical) states of the African-American Negroes by stereotypical representation:

Bigger ... looked at the colored posters ... Two features were advertised: one, *The Gay Woman*, was pictured on the posters in images of white men and white women lolling on beaches, swimming, and dancing in night clubs; the other, *Trader Horn* was shown on the posters in terms of black men and black women dancing against a wild background of barbaric jungle. (Wright 32)

Gradually, such representation follows the white authority and authenticity.

Bigger is naturally curious about the white world that he cannot wholly believe exists, for he has never seen it except at the movies. It is a fantasy world filled with everything Bigger's world lacks. So, one of the ways he escapes from shame and fear is by going to the movies where he can dream and wonder at the glamour of this opulent world. He can see lush golf greens, dancing parties, happy whites, and money everywhere. He sees all these things in *The Gay Woman*; and by chance, he sees the communist as the movie's villain, a wild, dangerous, crazy bomb thrower; and the blacks as radically foreign and inferior savages or clownish, humble and ignorant servants. It is, in fact, because of the movie that Bigger decides to try and make a wedge for himself into the rich, tempting white world. After seeing the blonde and attractive Mary Dalton in the newsreel, Bigger is more optimistic about the job interview, and excited to be able to get close to the 'rich and famous' appeared in newsreels: "Was he going to work for people like you saw in the movies? If he were, then he'd see a lot of things from the inside" (Wright 35). Thus, media construct the blacks' fantasy world. However, the white society that produces this popular culture, then, has control over the racial dialogue that determines the meaning of the color of Bigger's skin and hence his identity. Here we find Edward Said's concept of power, discourse and knowledge. This is the whites' politics of representing the blacks, how they 'see' the blacks and think how the blacks should 'be seen' by the entire world.

In another instance, the mechanism of 'panopticon' makes him afraid and angry. On his way to Dalton-house, the author meditates—"Suppose a policeman saw

him wandering in a white neighborhood like this? It would be thought that he was trying to rob or rape somebody?" (Wright 46). In reality, with such prejudices the blacks are universally gazed. As we see, 'gaze' creates consciousness during Bigger's encounter with Mr. Dalton: "The man was gazing at him with an amused smile that made him conscious of every square inch of skin on his black body" (Wright 47). This instance parallels with Fanon's encounter with racial gaze while staying in France. However, it gives him a sense of identity, though inferior. Subsequently, the 'gaze' of even a pet animal makes him "stone-still; the white cat ...sat looking at him with large placid eyes ..." (Wright 49).

Later, we come to know that false myth of 'gaze' that how blacks should behave—leads to Bigger's internalization of hegemonic ideology and inferiority complex. Just as the blacks are identified with the image of 'ape':

He had not raised his eyes to the level of Mr. Dalton's face once since he had been in the house. He stood with his knees slightly bent, his lips partly open, his shoulders stooped, and his eyes held a look that went only to the surface of things. There was an organic conviction in him that this was the way white folks wanted him to be when in their presence; none had ever told him that in so many words (like *The Bluest Eyes'* concept of ugliness), but their manner had made him feel that they did. He ... notices that Mr. Dalton was watching him closely. (Wright 50)

Another outstanding example of 'panopticon' appears when "... he felt that they ruled him, even when they were far away and not thinking of him, ruled him by conditioning [hegemony] him in his relations to his own people" (Wright 110). Then, as he pretends picking up Mary's trunk to the station, "he wanted to look back and see if Peggy was watching him, but dared not" (Wright 115). It is nothing but the surveillance of 'panopticon' mechanic created from his guilty conscience. But gradually "The feeling of being always enclosed in the stifling embrace of an invisible force had gone from him" (Wright 142). Yet, in his later encounter, "Jan's wide, incredulous stare made him feel hot guilt to very core of him" (Wright 157). Again, before the discovery of Mary's bones, "Bigger saw the men [journalists], one by one, turn and stare at him. He lowered his eyes" (Wright 194).

Blindness in *Native Son*

In *Native Son*, blindness caused by hatred and fear erects a dense wall of racial stereotypes for which Bigger 'sees' the white people not as individuals, but rather as an undifferentiated "whiteness", a powerful, threatening, and hateful authority that denies him control over his own life and identity. Therefore, though he feels that wrong is being done to him, he has so deeply internalized the rules of race relations that he finds himself acting out the role he has always seen the blacks assume around the rich, powerful whites. Thus, Wright shows how conditioned Bigger has been, subconsciously, to play the role of a victim of inferiority complex. In this regard, it is not only the whites who 'see' the blacks as ape, but also the blacks

who 'see' themselves as ape and accept it without question or resistance which can be called hegemonic ideology.

Now comes the theme of 'blindness' to the reality in racially compartmentalized world. As recognized through Bigger's confrontation, Mrs. Dalton is not only literally blind but also metaphorically (blind). Bigger fears and hates the unending darkness of her 'blindness', because it symbolizes the darkness of his white enemies, specifically the psychological blindness of the entire Dalton household. The Daltons think they are friends of the blacks as they give large sum of money to the black charity in the form of ping-pong tables. But Wright hints at the inability of such white liberals and philanthropists to cure a national disease (racism) by leisurely applying charity as a salve for the ugliest sores of the impoverished Southern ghetto. They are blindly ignorant about the black-experience because they 'see' the blacks with their wealthy, happy 'eyes' and never inquire to find the solution. Consequently, it is beyond Mrs. Dalton's apprehension to know, or even sense or guess that Bigger is in her daughter's bedroom at 2 a.m. Because she has been shut up all her life, in her own white world. However, Mr. Dalton's implicit blindness in donating ping-pong tables and Mrs. Dalton's explicit 'blindness' cannot prevent Bigger from murdering Mary Dalton. Above all, the whites 'see' him as one who might steal, get drunk, or even rape; but they would never guess that Bigger can murder a white girl. Mary and Jan are also metaphorically blind since they cannot feel Bigger's inward feelings and attitude to them. Likewise, Bigger believes that the blacks, who simply accept the social order defined by the white Americans, too, are blinding themselves to the reality of their predicament.

After murdering Mary, Bigger begins to convince himself of a growing importance as he mentally 'views' everyone around him as being 'blind' and himself as being the only one who can understand himself and 'see' things as they really are. Then, when he meets his friends at Doc's place, he is convinced that they too are blind, blind to his rebirth and resurrection from the black world of fear. Mary and Jan are blind as they cannot feel Bigger's inside. More than that, Bigger's near and dear ones are also blind—metaphorically they are blind to what really matters in life. His mother is escaping with her way of singing about religion, Christ and love; Vera exhibits a profound fear of life in her every gesture; Bessie is always crying the Blues about working hard and getting nothing out of life, but a cheap drink of whiskey to blot out the pain of her life; and his brother, Buddy, is content with a job and living his life without a fight—all these approaches to the harsh facts of life are, to Bigger, 'blindness'. Just as Bigger murmurs that his self-deluded family is blind to the fact that a job at the Daltons' is not going to improve their economic condition, he too blinds himself with intense anger and rash acts of violence. However, as a Naturalist, Wright uncovers this critical issue.

Meanwhile, the impact of media-politics returns in Bigger's thought during his encounter with Mary and Jan. In this context, cartoons create red phobia by stereotypically (re)presenting communists as extremists: "He remembered seeing

many cartoons of Communists in newspapers and always they ... were trying to commit murder or set things on fire. People who acted that way were crazy. All he could recall having heard about Communists was associated in his mind with darkness ... whispers ... on Strike" (Wright 66). Then, when Jan holds his hand friendly, he thinks: "That would people passing along the street think? [surely, they would 'see' them as disrespectful and be furious to 'see' Bigger sitting with Mary] ... Jan and men like him had made it so that he would be conscious of that black skin ... he was something he hated, the badge of shame ... was attached to a black skin" (Wright 67). He also thinks that Jan is holding him up with pity to 'look' at him and be amused. Here, it is very important to note that Bigger's haunting fear of 'being gazed' by the whites as black affects his psychology that ultimately results in adversity. Besides, he is afraid of being teased even by his black friends if they 'see' him at this moment. Afterwards, he dislikes Mary's "looking inside of him" (Wright 80), and (in the meantime) his anger enables him to 'look' directly at her. It is noteworthy that 'being gazed' makes him afraid, degraded and subservient, while the ability to gaze makes him angry, white-hater and courageous.

It is to note that when Bigger was leading drunken Mary to her room he was afraid of Mr. and Mrs. Daltons' 'panopticon': "... perhaps Mrs. Dalton was standing in flowing whites and staring with stony blind eyes in the middle of the floor" (Wright 82). Later, when he was trying to push Mary's dead body into the furnace, "... to green burning ... pools of acquisition and guilt stared at him from a white blur ... It was the white cat and its round green eyes gazed passed him at the white face ..." (Wright 90). Here, his skin color traps him in a situation that leads to fatality.

In the meantime, knowing well that the Daltons 'see' Jan as a dangerous Communist, Bigger hopes that they will hold Jane responsible for Mary's disappearance. Since, racially blind Daltons are unable to imagine Bigger taking any action beyond the role that they have already assigned him. Bigger subverts the racial stereotypes by using them as a form of resistance and protection against the white authority. How the blacks' 'blindness' and the whites' 'gaze' lead to the former's internalization of hegemonic ideology and restriction are apparent in the breakfast scene at Thomas family. Bigger thinks:

the thing to do was ... while they were not looking, do what you wanted ... He felt in the quiet presence of his mother, brother, and sister a force, inarticulate and unconscious, making for living without thinking ... a hope that blinded. He felt that they wanted and yearned see life in a certain way: ... they were blind to what did not fit. They did not want to see what others were doing if that doing did not feed their own desires ... there was in everyone a great hunger to believe that made him blind, and if he could see while others were blind, he could get what he wanted and never be caught at it. (Wright 102)

Wright also presents a highly critical portrait of the (blind) private investigators and police detectives. Britten is a parody of both 'primitive eyes' and insular, racist thinker. Bigger can perceive that the investigator must 'see' him as

guilty simply because he is a black. In Britten's 'eye', the reds and the blacks are similar. So he approaches Bigger as "You are a Communist, you goddamn black sonofabitch!" (Wright 152). His chauvinism is also expressed in his assertion to Mr. Dalton: "Well, you see 'em one way and I see 'em another. To me, a nigger's a nigger" (Wright 154). Undoubtedly, such stereotypical prejudice is the outcome of how the blacks have been 'gazed' for centuries throughout the world. But ironically and blindly enough, the victim's father himself does not 'see' Bigger as a bad boy. Wright is critical about the media for its prejudiced negative representation of and fearful propagation against the reds, even without any reliable witness or evidence. So, the newspaper publishes: "... HYDE PARK HEIRESS ... BELIEVED HIDING OUT WITH COMMUNISTS ..." (Wright 194). Next, "REDS TRIED TO SNARE HIM" (Wright 210). They do so only because communism goes in favor of and against their manipulation of the blacks. As Max asserts: "I look at the world in a way that shows no whites and no blacks, no civilized and no savages ..." (387).

Similarly, the media represents Bigger (like all blacks) utter negatively (e.g. as rapist, irrational etc.) by adding fiction with distorted facts. In reply, sometimes Bigger also acts as he 'is seen' to act usually—i.e. violently. Therefore, he thinks "He committed rape every time he looked into a white face" (Wright 214). But when the newspaper hints at his assumed sex-crime, he fears that it would excite the whites to "kill him in their heart" (Wright 228). However, the white 'gaze' constructs his identity: "He was living, truly and deeply, no matter what others might think, looking at him with their blind eyes" (Wright 225). According to Max, the advertisements, radios, newspapers and movies play 'constantly and overwhelmingly' upon human civilization. In this way, the media and popular culture also affect and enchant Bigger psychologically: "It was when he read the newspapers or magazines, went to the movies, ... that he felt what he wanted: to merge himself with others and be a part of this world, ... live like others, even though he was black" (Wright 226). Here, it is mentionable that addressing the white judge, Max argues: "The more you kill, the more you deny and separate, the more will they seek another form and way of life, however blindly and unconsciously" (Wright 365). He also reminds the whites of their "blindness" (Wright 367). But earlier, Bigger blindly identified him with stereotyped whites, just as the whites instinctively view all the blacks with suspicion when a white girl is killed.

Wright now satirizes the pedantic journalists who are looking for an "angle" that might bring to light Bigger's "primitivism" and angst, to "prove" that the "primitive Negro" (as seen) does not want to be "disturbed by white civilization". In the newspaper's words: "He looks exactly like an ape!"... his skin is exceedingly black. His lower jaw protrudes obnoxiously, reminding one of a jungle beast ... All in all, he seems a beast utterly untouched by the softening influences of modern civilization" (Wright 260). It is no surprise that the press reports are full of hyperboles, portraying a "NEGRO MURDERER RAPIST" whose "primitivism" is brought to light in countless capitalized headlines of mob-inciting rhetoric. Thus, the 'gaze' of the white authority and press takes control over his identity once again, to

demonize Bigger and terrorize the blacks into submission by whipping up the white violence.

To restate, 'gaze' not only haunts memory, but also deconstructs and reconstructs mythical racialized identity. As for the first instance, Bigger cannot bear to 'look' at Bessie's face, fearing that she will 'look' at him accusingly even in death. And for the second instance, when Jan and Max talk to Bigger, it seems to him that (for the first time in his life) he has seen some-whites as individual human being (and vice versa); rather than merely a part of the larger oppressive force of whiteness, a 'looming mountain of hate'. Ultimately he also begins to realize that he has been blind to the fact that Jan and Mary are human being as well. Thus he recreates himself in his own image, rather than allow the whites to do so. Besides, the whole trial scene is a recognition for Bigger's identity as a human being, because it confirms his existence meaningfully by making others, especially the whites, conscious at least about his crime and punishment: "any eyes in the room were fastened upon Bigger now, cold gray and blue eyes, eyes whose tense hate was worse than a shout or a curse" (Wright 294). In fact, when Bigger revolts, it makes the whites 'see' a human being struggling for human dignity and recognition. However, now he feels that in his recognition of others, and their recognition of him, he can gain the identity (eligible for 'gaze') and wholeness which he has longed for. This new identity brings Bigger an image of himself standing in a crowd of race and class. But regarding recognition, even Max cannot see beyond his own conception of how Bigger was forced to retreat from reality. When Bigger tells Max that he is pleased with what he has done, Max is unable to accept this assertion and gropes for his hat "like a blind man", being unable to 'see' Bigger completely as an individual. Even Bigger is still defining himself by looking at the "Bigger" that the world 'sees'. Bigger sees that distortion and names himself as its opposite, but that has nothing to do with who he really is. Hence, Bigger's identity crisis is more of a struggle to separate his own impressions from the projections of the racist society around him.

Meanwhile, the media succeeds in their politics in the sense that because of their manipulating representation of Bigger as a murderous animal, a distorted identity, anything said in Bigger's defense falls on deaf ears of law. However, in the readers' eyes, Bigger's proud announcement that he is entering a "new world" is a testament of his spiritual 'blindness'. Indeed, Bigger's pride of sanity and rage prevents him from seeing clearly. Consequently, his 'escape' is really a blind and headlong rush into the 'fate' that is waiting for him in the long run. Over head and ears, the distorting stereotypes and disfiguring violence of the "blindly raging" mob—all serve as testaments to America's spiritual blindness; i.e. the white America is blindly unaware of the sufferings of racism and poverty.

Conclusion

To conclude, 'gaze' (seeing and being seen) is a sociological practice for racial degradation and oppression. So, in *The Bluest Eye* Morrison challenges the

Western standard of beauty and demonstrates that ideology like the concept of 'beauty' is socially constructed and applied for destructing the black psyche. If there were no value of appearance or 'gaze', there would be no concept of 'beauty' or 'ugliness' at all in Pecola's, Pauline's, Claudia's, Freida's and Geraldine's lives. Morrison also recognizes that if 'whiteness' is used as a standard of beauty or anything else in socio-cultural context, then the value of 'blackness' is diminished, and the novel works to subvert that tendency through the violent resistance of Claudia. As for 'seeing', Claudia scrutinizes and seeks justification for externally imposed standards. In contrast, regarding 'being seen', Pecola scrutinizes herself (Morrison 39). Because of always 'seeing' herself through the 'eyes' of others, Pecola never 'sees' anything in herself to love. Thereon, what Claudia's telling of the story shows, but does not say, is that the 'internalization' of destructive 'hegemonic ideology and inferiority' resulting from 'gaze' can be avoided. In fine, Morrison tries to figure out the nature of 'gaze' and 'panopticon', and its consequent effect on the black psychology; and thus to give some subtle suggestions for the blacks to overcome such adverse situation. And, her theory or outlook is also immensely applicable for any community or society, as the roots of 'gaze and panopticon' deeply lie in any society or state. On the other hand, in *Native Son* the effects of 'gaze and blindness' pervade the physical as well as the metaphysical existence of both the blacks and the whites. Here, media and popular culture emerge as the above mechanics. And, by horribly propagating hegemonic ideology and conditioning the blacks' natural inferiority, the white media create, manipulate, maintain and naturalize racial stereotypes, prejudices and antagonism. Moreover, 'blindness' to the reality prevents them from 'seeing' and 'being seen' by each other. They not only represent the blacks as savage, beast, ape, violent and fearful, but also show the reds as villainous, wild, murderous and rebellious to justifiably suppress, oppress, degrade and subordinate them. To Foucault, our identity is constructed by how we are seen. As a result, the reluctance and indifference of the white authority to 'see' Bigger and other 'niggers' as human being turn the latter into an embodiment of revolt for survival. In other words, the blacks (metonymised by Bigger) have responded to the (neglecting) glare of the whites according to the way (violently) the latter always guess the former to be.

Finally, the white 'gaze' and the black 'blindness' are the policy or mechanics leading to 'hegemonic ideology' to fulfill the power system by making the unprivileged blacks slaves or anyhow inferior to the whites. Hence, by being aware of this, one should avoid the dangerous ending like self-destruction. And, in both Morrison and Wright's settings, the blacks are seen stereotypically and unquestionably accepting them both fall into contempt and decay. To be more specific, regarding the racial prejudices originating from outside 'gaze', Pecola tries to conform to the hegemonic ideology of beauty and utterly fails; while Bigger succeeds to some extent in his resistance. Again, Pecola suffers from the identity crisis, while Bigger has somehow established it. Further, Pecola's obsession to 'see' and 'be seen' differently by the world is more than that of Bigger. Not only that, Pecola lives in an illusory world, while Bigger lives in existential one. Last of all but not the least, both are 'blind': either physically or psychologically to the reality of the white world. To

agree with Fanon's words, the fact of the juxtaposition of the white and the black races has created a massive psycho-existential complexity in both of them. Finally, I would like to establish my hypothesis that both novelists have tried to deconstruct the hegemonic ideology and racially hierarchical identity constructed by gaze and blindness to reconstruct a dignified identity for the twentieth-century African-Americans.

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Poverty Alleviation in Bangladesh through Small and Medium Enterprise (SME) Loan: A Case Study on United Commercial Bank Limited at Gulshan Branch

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is to focus on small and medium enterprise (SME) loan and poverty alleviation of United Commercial Bank Limited (UCBL). Small and medium enterprises created the jobs necessary for poor people to work and earn the income needed to purchase goods and services. In this research we have collected 5 years data of SME disbursement and analyzed it in the excel sheet. Survey data was conducted and primary data were gathered by using questionnaires and also by taking interviews. The random sample technique was adopted to identify 10 clients who have taken SME loan. The study adopts both qualitative and quantitative data analysis. After analysis we got significant results of both the independent and dependent variables. We can now clearly have the ideas how much the clients have been benefited after taking SME loan. We can easily picture how much their savings, income, expenditure and asset have been increased or decreased.

Key words: Small and medium enterprises, poverty alleviation, loan.

JEL Classification: G20, G21

Introduction

The role of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) is indispensable for overall economic development of a country particularly for developing countries like Bangladesh. Since this sector is labor intensive with short gestation period, it is capable of increasing national income as well as rapid employment generation; achieving Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) especially eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, gender equality and women empowerment. SME sector has played a vital role in economic development of some prosperous countries of Asia. Our neighboring countries have also given due importance on SME. Terming SME as 'employment generating machine' they stressed on SME development for higher economic growth, narrowing the gap of income inequality and poverty alleviation.

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The present government has also put much emphasis on the development of SME sector considering it as ‘the driving force for industrialization’.

For the first time in Bangladesh, an indicative target for SME loan disbursement has been set for 2010 by the banks and financial institutions considering SME development as one of the most important development agenda of the country. According to the target, SME loan shall be disbursed to the small, medium and women entrepreneurs.

Small Enterprise refers to the firm/business which is not a public limited company and complies the following criteria:

Serial No.	Sector	Fixed Asset other than Land and Building (Tk.)	Employed Manpower(not above)
1	Service	50,000-50,00,000	25
2	Business	50,000-50,00,000	25
3	Industrial	50,000-1,50,00,000	50

Medium Enterprise refers to the establishment/firm which is not a public limited company and complies the following criteria:

Serial No:	Sector	Fixed Asset other than Land and Building (Tk.)	Employed Manpower (not above)
1	Service	50,00,000-10,00,00,000	50
2	Business	50,00,000-10,00,00,000	50
3	Industrial	1,50,00,000-20,00,00,000	150

Poverty reduction (or poverty alleviation) is any process which seeks to reduce the level of poverty in a community, or amongst a group of people or countries. Poverty reduction programs may be aimed at economic or non-economic poverty. Some of the popular methods used are education, economic development, and income redistribution. Poverty reduction efforts may also be aimed at removing social and legal barriers to income growth among the poor.

Literature Review

This section reviews the existing microeconomic evidence on whether SMEs boost growth and reduce poverty.

As noted in the introduction, a growing body of work suggests that SMEs do not boost the quantity and quality of employment. Initially, Birch (1979) argued that small firms are particularly important in job creation. He reports that over the 1970s, firms with fewer than 100 employees generated

eight out of ten new jobs in America. However, a wide array of evidence rejects the view that small firms are the engines of job formation (Dunne, Roberts, and Samuelson, 1989; Leonard, 1986; Brown, Hamilton, and Medoff, 1990). For instance, Davis, Haltiwanger and Schuh (1993) show that while gross rates of job creation and destruction are higher in small firms; there is no systematic relationship between *net* job creation and firm size. In Sub-Saharan Africa, Biggs and Shah (1998) find that large firms were the dominant source of net job creation in the manufacturing sector.

Furthermore, empirical evidence suggests that firm size is not a good predictor of labor intensity, and that labor intensity varies more across industries than across firm-size groups within industries. Many small firms are more capital intensive than large firms in the same industry (Little, Mazumdar, Page, 1987; Snodgrass and Biggs, 1996). This suggests that SMEs are not necessarily more suitable to the labor abundance and capital shortage characteristics of developing countries.

In terms of job quality, microeconomic evidence does not support the pro-SME view that small firms create better quality jobs than large firms. Empirical evidence shows that large firms offer more stable employment, higher wages and more non-wage benefits than small firms in developed and developing countries, even after controlling for differences in education, experience and industry (Brown, Medoff and Hamilton, 1990; Rosenzweig, 1988). Many small firms are created as last resort rather than as first choice and have therefore limited growth potential (Compare Liedholm and Mead (1987) for Africa and de Soto (1987) for Latin America.).

Although the Pro-SME view argues that small firms are more innovative than large firms, the microeconomic evidence is at best inconclusive. Examining U.S. firms, Acs and Audretsch (1987) find that small firms have higher innovation rates in “high technology” skill-intensive industries and larger firms have the innovative edge in “lower technology,” capital –intensive industries. For a sample of European industries, however, Pagano and Schivardi (2001) show that a larger average firm size is associated with faster innovation rates. In developing countries, there is little R&D activity, so that technology transfers from abroad and imitation drive productivity improvement (Rosenberg, 1976; Baumol, 1994). In developing countries, researchers find that large exporting firms are typically the primary mechanism through which technologies are adapted from abroad to local circumstances (See Biggs, Shah, and Srivastava, 1996 for Sub-Saharan Africa; Pack, 1992, and Pack and Westphal, 1986 for Asia). Thus, from a developing country perspective, the firm level evidence does not favor SME subsidization

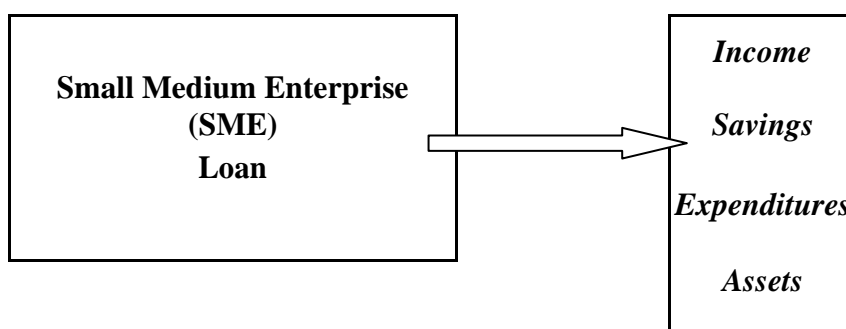
as a mechanism for boosting innovation and productivity growth.

Although Pro-SME proponents hold that SMEs intensify competition and hence exert external effects on national productivity, the firm-level evidence does not generally support this conclusion. As reviewed above, the direct evidence on innovation rates does not support a pro-SME approach. Moreover, productivity studies show that total factor productivity is actually highest for medium-sized firms and that the smallest firms are the least efficient (Little, Mazumdar and Page, 1987). Kunt, and Maksimovic (2003) find that financially more developed countries tend to have larger firms. This suggests that financial development eases financial constraints on successful firms and allows them to grow. Kumar, Rajan and Zingales (2001) show that countries with better institutions, as measured by judicial system efficiency, tend to have larger firms. Sleuwaegen and Goedhuys (2002) show that restrained access to inputs, especially credit, results in a bi-modal firm size distribution in Côte d'Ivoire – the “missing middle” – with small firms growing slower and large firms growing faster than in developed economies. Thus, institutional development is associated with countries having larger firms. Furthermore, Kumar, Rajan, and Zingales (2001) find that improvements in patent protection increase the size of firms in R&D intensive industries. These results emphasize the institutional sources of cross-country differences in firm size. Moreover, these findings do not support the pro-SME presumption that financial and institutional development will boost SMEs relative to large firms and hence lead to economic growth.

To complement these firm and industry level studies, this paper undertakes the first broad cross-country examination of the impact of SMEs on growth and poverty using a new database on SMEs. Specifically, we first examine the empirical connections between the size of the SME sector and economic growth and poverty. Second, we assess whether these relationships are robust to controlling for simultaneity bias. Third, we examine whether a competitive, contractually sound business environment exerts a causal impact on economic growth. Finally, we evaluate whether SMEs and the overall business environment influence the rate of poverty reduction beyond any links with economic growth.

Methodology

The conceptual framework for the study is presented below:



- Q1): Does SME loan increase the income?
Q2): Does SME loan increase the expenditure?
Q3): Does SME loan increase the savings?
Q4): Does SME loan increase the asset?

Hypothesis

- H1): SME loan has increased the income.
H2): SME loan has increased the expenditure.
H3): SME loan has increased the savings.
H4): SME loan has increased the asset.

Limitations of the Research

1. The bank has naturally shown us some indifference to connecting its most confidential information.
2. The executives of United Commercial Bank were too busy to spare time for the researchers.

Data Collection Method

Relevant data for this report has been collected primarily by direct investigations of different records, papers, documents etc. operational process and different concerned personnel. The interviews were administered by formal and informal discussion. No structured questionnaire has been used. Information regarding office activities of the bank has been collected through consulting bank records and discussion with office personnel. The information and data for this report have been collected from both the primary sources. The random sample technique was adopted to indentify 10 clients who have taken SME loan. The study adopts both qualitative and quantitative data analysis.

Data Analysis

Ace Autos

Table 1: Allocation of income before and after SME (BDT in lac)

	Before SME	After SME
Income	92.23	98.95
Savings	46.59	98.95
Expenditures	652.50	1104.44
Assets	484.57	926.66

Source: Taken from the primary data

In Ace Autos we can see the changes in the four dependent variables as shown above. It can clearly show us that after they had taken SME loan their income has increased than before so do their savings, expenditures and also increased their assets.

M/s Progati Traders

Table 2: Allocation of income before and after SME (BDT in lac)

	Before SME	After SME
Income	1019.2	9975
Savings	84.38	148.70
Expenditures	9720.31	9826.30
Assets	283.33	622.27

Source: Taken from the primary data

In M/s Progati Traders we can see the changes in the four dependent variables as shown above. It can clearly show us that after SME loan their income has decreased than before. They couldn't utilize it properly but their savings, expenditures and assets has increased than before.

Kamal & Brothers

Table 3: Allocation of income before and after SME (BDT in lac)

	Before SME	After SME
Income	198.71	226.71
Savings	20.94	34.24
Expenditures	148.14	192.03
Assets	23	31.54

Source: Taken from the primary data

In Kamal & Brothers we can see the changes in the four dependent variables as shown above. It can clearly show us that after they had taken SME loan

their income has increased than before so do their savings, expenditures and also increased their assets.

Sonargaon General

Table 4: Allocation of income before and after SME (BDT in lac)

	Before SME	After SME
Income	176.45	205.77
Savings	21.15	36.23
Expenditures	129.50	169.54
Assets	82.40	92.18

Source: Taken from the primary data

In Sonargaon General we can see the changes in the four dependent variables as shown above. It can clearly show us that after they had taken SME loan their income has increased than before so do their savings, expenditures and also increased their assets.

Shakti Engineer

Table 5: Allocation of income before and after SME (BDT in lac)

	Before SME	After SME
Income	395.48	485.31
Savings	3.93	49.45
Expenditures	350.65	346.03
Assets	272.31	422.06

Source: Taken from the primary data

In Shakti Engineer we can see the changes in the four dependent variables as shown above. It can clearly show us that after they had taken SME loan their income has increased than before so do their savings, but the expenditures has declined and their assets have increased.

Sara International

Table 6: Allocation of income before and after SME (BDT in lac)

	Before SME	After SME
Income	255.02	315.86
Savings	25.21	90.10
Expenditures	323.95	225.76
Assets	190.42	401.45

Source: Taken from the primary data

In Sara International we can see the changes in the four dependent variables as shown above. It can clearly show us that after they had taken SME loan their income has increased than before so do their savings, but the expenditures has declined and their assets have increased.

Knit Beauty

Table 7: Allocation of income before and after SME (BDT in lac)

	Before SME	After SME
Income	273.96	310.5
Savings	36.03	40.52
Expenditures	169.06	269.98
Assets	189.09	312.88

Source: Taken from the primary data

In Knit Beauty we can see the changes in the four dependent variables as shown above. It can clearly show us that after they had taken SME loan their income has increased than before so do their savings, expenditures and also increased their assets.

SS Trade Point

Table 8: Allocation of income before and after SME (BDT in lac)

	Before SME	After SME
Income	21.19	29.6
Savings	2.16	5.25
Expenditures	13.04	23.71
Assets	9.98	15.25

Source: Taken from the primary data

In SS Trade Point we can see the changes in the four dependent variables as shown above. It can clearly show us that after they had taken SME loan their income has increased than before so do their savings, expenditures and also increased their assets.

Raaj Overseas

Table 9: Allocation of income before and after SME (BDT in lac)

	Before SME	After SME
Income	66.44	85.6
Savings	35.35	17.72
Expenditures	97.21	48.72
Assets	120	139.05

Source: Taken from the primary data

In Raaj Overseas we can see the changes in the four dependent variables as shown above. Both of their income and assets have increased but their savings and expenditures have decreased.

Mei Service

Table 10: Allocation of income before and after SME (BDT in lac)

	Before SME	After SME
Income	55.23	57.08
Savings	2.19	20.86
Expenditures	19.09	36.21
Assets	26.78	58.90

Source: Taken from the primary data

In Mei Service we can see the changes in the four dependent variables as shown above. It can clearly show us that after they had taken SME loan their income has increased than before so do their savings, expenditures and also increased their assets.

Modern Salt - Defaulter

Techniplex – Defaulter

Ace Autos

Table 1: Allocation to find the percentage after SME

	Yes	No
Has SME loan increased its client's income?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's expenditure?	1	2
Has SME loan increased its client's savings?		2
Has SME loan increased its client's assets?		

Source: Taken from the primary data

M/s Progati Traders

Table 2: Allocation to find the percentage after SME

	Yes	No
Has SME loan increased its client's income?		2
Has SME loan increased its client's expenditure?		2
Has SME loan increased its client's savings?		2
Has SME loan increased its client's assets?		2

Source: Taken from the primary data

Kamal & Brothers

Table 3: Allocation to find the percentage after SME

	Yes	No
Has SME loan increased its client's income?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's expenditure?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's savings?		2
Has SME loan increased its client's assets?		2

Source: Taken from the primary data

Sonargaon General

Table 4: Allocation to find the percentage after SME

	Yes	No
Has SME loan increased its client's income?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's expenditure?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's savings?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's assets?	1	

Source: Taken from the primary data

Shakti Engineer

Table 5: Allocation to find the percentage after SME

	Yes	No
Has SME loan increased its client's income?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's expenditure?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's savings?		2
Has SME loan increased its client's assets?		2

Source: Taken from the primary data

Knit Beauty

Table 6: Allocation to find the percentage after SME

	Yes	No
Has SME loan increased its client's income?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's expenditure?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's savings?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's assets?	1	

Source: Taken from the primary data

Sara International

Table 7: Allocation to find the percentage after SME

	Yes	No
Has SME loan increased its client's income?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's expenditure?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's savings?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's assets?	1	

Source: Taken from the primary data

SS Trade Point

Table 8: Allocation to find the percentage after SME

	Yes	No
Has SME loan increased its client's income?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's expenditure?		2
Has SME loan increased its client's savings?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's assets?	1	

Source: Taken from the primary data

Raaj Overseas

Table 9: Allocation to find the percentage after SME

	Yes	No
Has SME loan increased its client's income?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's expenditure?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's savings?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's assets?	1	

Source: Taken from the primary data

Mei Service

Table 10: Allocation to find the percentage after SME

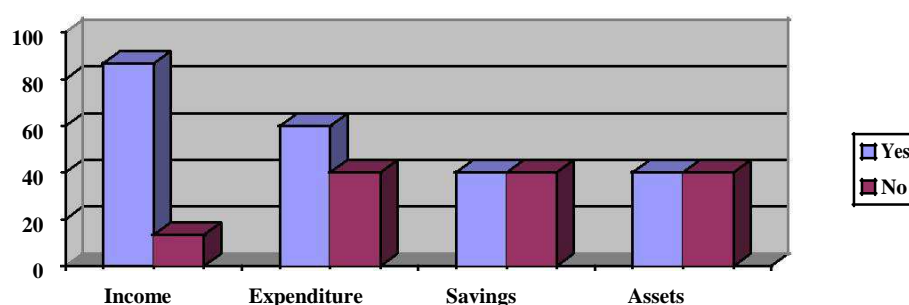
	Yes	No
Has SME loan increased its client's income?	1	
Has SME loan increased its client's expenditure?		2
Has SME loan increased its client's savings?		2
Has SME loan increased its client's assets?		2

Source: Taken from the primary data

Table 11: Total Allocation of percentage after SME

	Yes (%)	No (%)
Has SME loan increased its client's income?	86.66	13.33
Has SME loan increased its client's expenditure?	60	40
Has SME loan increased its client's savings?	40	40
Has SME loan increased its client's assets?	40	40

Figure 1: Allocation of percentage after SME



Source: Taken from Primary Data

Through conducting a survey by using questionnaires and by taking interviews we have calculated the percentage after taking SME loan as shown above. We have clearly pointed out the percentage of 10 clients that have taken SME loan, as two are defaults. In each and every table we can see that there is a mixture of increase and decrease in dependent variables (income, savings, expenditures & assets). Therefore, we have shown the percentage of both increase and decrease in dependent variables as YES & NO as shown in the pie chart above.

We have calculated the mean and standard deviation from the financial statements of all income after they have taken SME loan. We have found mean with a value of 982.53. The value that we have got is the average of all income after SME. We have also calculated standard deviation with a result of 3075.67. As the standard deviation is greater than mean value it means that the income varies from each other.

Conclusion

There are a number of nationalized and foreign banks operating their activities in Bangladesh. Among them United Commercial Bank Limited is one of the leading commercial bank. United Commercial Bank Limited has introduced a new dimension in the field of innovative and benevolent banking in our country. The bank has successfully made a positive contribution to the economy of Bangladesh within very short period of time. Its profit is gradually increasing. It plays a great role in collecting scattered deposit, loan settlement and international trade etc. The Bank ensures quality services to the customers. For better growth and healthy economic position, it should introduce new and lucrative long-term credit schemes especially for new investors and schemes for poverty alleviation like micro credit. We hope United Commercial Bank Limited will do more work for socio-economic development besides their banking business. To keep pace with ever-changing uncertain domestic business environment and face the challenges of revised global economic scenario, the bank should be more pro-active and responsive to introduce new marketing strategy to hold the strong position in home and abroad. For the future planning and the successful operation in its prime goal in this current competitive environment we hope this research can provide a good guideline. We wish continuous success and healthy business portfolio of United Commercial Bank Limited, Gulshan, and Dhaka. SME Banking Division is assigned to analyze a remarkable portion of credit portfolio of UCB. UCB has firm commitment to promote SME sector towards achieving sustained economic growth of the country.

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Appendix

Research Questionnaire

Name:

Type:

Income: (in lac)

Previous income before SME loan:

Present income after SME loan:

	Yes	No
Does SME loan have increased its client's income?		
Does SME loan have increased its client's expenditure?		
Does SME loan have increased its client's savings?		
Does SME have increased its client's asset?		

Problems and Prospects of Gift Tax: A Special Reference to Bangladesh

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Rabeya Khatun Taniya²

Abstract

Gift tax is a direct tax imposed on taxable gift. 'Gift' means any transfer of ownership of movable and immovable property by one person to another willingly and without any profit. Property is evaluated at current market price. After the independence, Bangladesh adopted the Gift Tax Act 1963 with some changes and relevant modifications which was in force in Pakistan. Later it was repealed in 1985 through section 4 of Finance Ordinance and came into force again on 1st July 1990 in the name of Gift Tax Act 1990. Such Tax has been collected by income tax authority since 1963 except 1985-86 to 1989-90. Under the Gift Tax Act 1990, it is now payable by the donor and applicable only for gifts of domestic property donated except to spouse, blood related family members, and dependent relatives, government recognized educational, religious, charitable, disaster-management or medical establishments, local authorities and some other prescribed persons. In Bangladesh, gift is truly unique tax which generates almost no revenue but the situation can be changed by inducing some control mechanism likewise third party information requirement, restructured penalty system, motivation from the government and monitoring the issues regarding the reform of gift tax.

Keywords: Gift Tax, National Board of Revenue (NBR), Control Mechanism, Bangladesh.

Introduction:

Since ancient times the taxes has been the real strength of the king and emperors. At present, too, taxation is the mainstay of public expenditure. Moreover, in a developing country economy with almost insatiable demand for investible fund, ever expanding development activities of government have placed the emphasis on taxation as the main source of fund. The main objectives of introducing gift tax are to earn revenue by the Government. The other objectives are to prevent tax evasion with regard to the estate duty and wealth tax and tax avoidance through gift, to reduce the differentiation of wealth between the rich and poor classes of people, and to arrange the re-distribution of wealth and income in the society.

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The sources of Govt. revenue in Bangladesh are: tax receipts, loan, printing of money, income from public enterprises, fees and other receipts. Among these the principal source is tax. Due to globalization the international trade base revenue is gradually declining. Therefore in order to augment revenues there is no other alternatives to raise collection of tax revenue. Multiple tax system is prevailing in Bangladesh. Gift tax is one of them which generate almost no revenue. People do not have clear idea about time, mode, and forms of gift tax.

Objectives of the Study

The main objectives of the paper are to focus on the problem and prospect of gift tax. The specific objectives are

- To portray overall idea about the gift tax.
- To shed the light on the current scenario of gift tax in Bangladesh.
- To study the problems regarding the collection of gift tax of Bangladesh.
- To present some recommendation through which this problems can be addressed.

Methodology

The paper is completely a conceptual one whose basic foundation comes from various published and unpublished scholarly papers, books, and websites, national and international journals.

Limitations of the Study

This study has certain limitations that need to be taken into account when considering the recommendations and its implications. Some of these limitations can be seen fruitful avenues for future research under the same theme. This study has focused on prospects and problems of gift tax. During this study it has been found that not much of research has been conducted on gift tax landscape in Bangladesh. Indeed, there are ample of studies available on the pen picture of gift tax from Bangladesh perspectives but there is a substantial lack of sector specific empirical and real life studies.

Literature Review

Government revenue is considerably increased by the contribution of tax revenue. Institutional reform is a must to be fully functional to achieve historic missions of gift tax. Certainly gift tax is existed but it generates almost no revenue. Chorvat and Chorvat, (2003) states that most taxes are designed to achieve particular goals, such as to raise revenue (e.g. Income tax). Estate tax was introduced by congress in 1916. The Tax reform Act of 1976 states that the purpose of this tax is to protect the integrities of both the gift and estate taxes from wealthy tax payers who could otherwise achieve long term deferral of these taxes. The outline of

modernization plan (2011-2016) by National Board of Revenue is likely to increase Tax GDP ratio of 13% by 2016. Gift tax performs dependence function, unlike the other taxes. Income tax payer is subject to highly progressive tax rates. To reduce or avoid the tax on income gifts of property could be used. However, gift tax could be used to circumvent income shifting in highly progressive tax rate environmental stimuli. Jonathan & Mitchell, 2001, suggested that ...those who seek repeal... have not been considered the ways in which tax payer will be able to 'game' the income tax system, and thereby undermine its progressive character, if repeal of the gift tax is achieved. Tax payer compliance is a key part of any successful tax system. Mary Louise fellows, (2006) demonstrated that the generation skipping transfer (GST) tax exemption encouraged the creation of dynastic trusts and made those states that had no rule against perpetuities... and no income tax on trusts particularly attractive as sites for settlers to establish [perpetual] trusts. An earlier studies of James, (2001, pp. 825-26) argues about the justification of state tax. Through various control mechanism country must induce compliance. 'Heightened scrutiny' is required when transaction occurred between family members. e.g., *Kimbel V United states*, 371 F, 3d 257, 267 (5th cir. 2004). To induce taxpayer compliance meaningful penalty system is required. What is the allegation of having a tax in position that lacks a practical penalty structure? In a recently released survey, 51% of tax payers identified fear of an audit as having either a great deal of influence or somewhat of an influence on whether they report and pay their taxes honestly (*IRS Plans Budget 2005*). Other commentators argue that social norms play a more important role in tax compliance than do tax penalties. Ronald (2001) argued against the need for retaining the gift tax in light of current laws that remove many opportunities for income tax abuse. Gift Tax supporters underestimate the ability of laws to anticipate and prevent abuses.

Conceptual Aspects of Gift and Gift Tax

Meaning and Scope of Gift Tax

Gift tax would be charged on the value of gifts made during the income year by one person to another without consideration. Here 'person' refers to an individual, undivided Hindu family, joint stock companies, association of persons, etc. According to section 2(8) of the Gift Tax Act, 1990, gift means the transfer by one person to another of any movable or immovable property voluntarily and without consideration of money and money's worth. The value of gift should be the fair market value of the property transferred as determined by the deputy commissioner of taxes and where such value cannot be determined, the rules prescribed in section 5 of Gift Tax Act 1990 will be applied.

The law of gift tax was first introduced in the Pakistan in the year 1963 with effect from 1st July, 1963. After the independence of Bangladesh the same law was adopted in the country with some changes and modifications. Later on the law was repealed in the year 1985 through section 4 of Finance and ordinance and reintroduced on 1st July, 1990 and the name of the act was changed to "Gift Tax Act,

1990”(Act No. 44) . At present Gift tax has 21 sections, one sub section and one schedule that contain the rates of gift tax with reference to section – 3. Income tax authority has been collecting gift tax in Bangladesh since 1963 except from 1985 - 1986 to 1989-1990.

Legal Elements of Gift Tax

The following legal elements are observed in the Gift Tax Act 1990:

- I) Transfer of property i.e. gift must be transferred to the beneficiary.
- II) Here ‘property’ refers to the movable and immovable property. Transfer may also take in the form of release, discharge, surrender, forfeiture or abandonment of a debt, debt contract, actionable claim or any interest in property in favor of others.
- III) The transfer must be an existing property.
- IV) The transfer must be voluntarily and without or with inadequate consideration in money and money’s worth. If any consideration is received by the donor from the donee for transfer of property then it cannot be treated as gift up to the value of consideration.
- V) Minimum taxable limit of gift is Tk. 20, 000.
- VI) Gift tax is chargeable on gifts made in the year.
- VII) The deputy commissioner of taxes will make assessment and determine tax liability.

Items Exempted

The following gifts are exempted from tax under tax section 4 of gift tax act 1990:

- i. Gifts of movable or immovable property situated outside of Bangladesh.
- ii. Gifts to Schools, Colleges, Universities, Hospital, public charities approved under income tax ordinance.
- iii. Gift to govt. or any local authorities.
- iv. Gift to any dependent relative up to Tk. 20,000 on marriage occasion.
- v. Gifts by way of payment of policy of insurance or annuity for any person other than spouse, and dependent upon him or her for support and maintenance up to Tk. 20,000.
- vi. Gifts to any flood or disaster management fund established or approved by the government.
- vii. Gifts made under contemplation of death.
- viii. Gifts under a will.
- ix. Gifts of any kind to sons, daughters, father, mother, and spouse own brothers and sisters.
- x. In addition to above gifts there is a basic exemption of Tk. 20,000.

Gift Tax Rate

The rates of Gift tax are as follows:

Amount of gift	Rate of Tax
On first Tk.20, 000	Nil
On the next Tk.5, 00,000	5%
On the next Tk. 10, 00,000	10%
On the next Tk. 20, 00,000	15%
On the next Balance Amount	20%

Assessment Procedures of Gift Tax

Deputy Commissioner of taxes is the authority for the determination of gift taxes. Usually, the following steps are followed in the assessment of Gift Taxes:

I. Submission of Return (Section 7):

A person is to submit the return of gift if his or her total gifts exceed minimum taxable limit of gift Tk. 20,000 during the particular income year. The return should be submitted in the prescribed form and in the prescribed manner to the DCT on or before 15th September of each year. If anybody fails to submit return and the DCT thinks that the person has taxable gift then he may be served notice that person has to submit the return within 30 days from the date of the notice. However, according to section 7(3), the DCT may extend such time if he satisfied that there has been sufficient cause for not submitting the return within such time.

II. Payment of Tax (Section 8):

Any person liable to submit return under the provision of section 7 shall pay tax as per return on or before the submission of same.

III. Assessment of Tax: Assessments are of three types -

- a) Assessment on current return basis: If the DCT is satisfied without requiring the presence of the assessee or the production of any document of any evidence by him and the DCT thinks that the return is correct and complete, he will accept the return and the tax paid by assessee as correct.
- b) Assessment after hearing: If the DCT is not satisfied with return submitted by the assessee, he will serve notice on the assessee either to attend in person or to produce evidence, on the basis of which the return has been submitted. The DCT after hearing and examination of the documents and evidences may pass an order determining the value of taxable gifts and tax payable.

- c) Best Judgment Assessment: If any person fails to submit the return, the DCT may assess the value of taxable gifts and determine tax payable to the best of his judgment.

IV. Recovery and penalty of gift tax:

- a) Default and concealment:
If any person deliberately submits any wrong information or fails to return even after receiving notice, he may be imposed a penalty for not exceeding 50% of the chargeable original gift tax. Such penalty would be collected together with gift tax.
- b) Demand Notice: Demand notice relating to gift tax would be served on the assessee as demand of income tax is required to be sent and served.
- c) Collection of tax and penalty: The demand notice must be honored by the assessee by paying tax within time mentioned therein; failing which penalty can be levied on the assessee. If the assessee files an appeal before the appellate authorities, he would not be considered as a defaulting assessee for imposition of penalty.

Present Status of Gift Tax

Tax system of Bangladesh is based on multiple tax systems. A good number of taxes are in existence. Among these taxes contribution of indirect taxes to the exchequer is quite insignificant. The principal sources of Govt. revenue in Bangladesh account for about 83% of the revenue receipts and 17% come from rest of other sources. But what is important to note is that our tax system yields low revenue at around 11% compared to developing countries which have high ratio to support their development activities.

Table -1: GDP, Ratio of GDP to revenue and Tax for last 5 years (in core Taka)

	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-2012	2012-13
GDP at Current Price	5,35,415	613,111	6,85,009	7,87,590	8,99,670	10,41,360
Total Revenue	60,539	69,382	79,461	95,188	1,18,385	1,39,670
Tax Revenue	48,012	56,789	63,955	79,052	95,785	1,16,824
% Revenue to GDP	11.31	11.32	11.60	12.09	13.16	13.41
% of Tax to GDP	8.96	9.26	9.33	10.04	10.64	11.22
% of Tax to Revenue	79.31	81.85	80.48	83.05	80.91	83.64

(Source: Economic survey, 2007, page 201 & 213 and Budget Document of relevant years)

The table reveals that the contribution of tax revenue constitutes more than 80% of total revenue. The contribution of tax revenue of the country is increasing. Tax evasion and tax avoidance are quite high in Bangladesh. There are only about 21 lakh assesses of whom 40% pay the tax. Among them salaried Govt., semi Govt. and

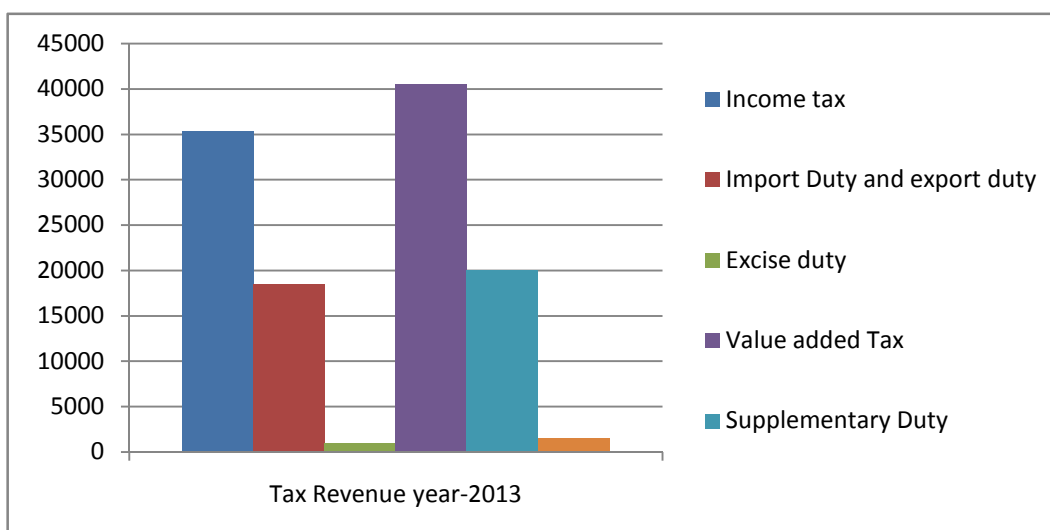
autonomous body's employees are in an insignificant share. However, whatever is the case of share, the income is showing upward trend and Govt. is quite serious to improve the situation further. Hence the potent of this source as revenue earning cannot be over emphasized. It has been pointed out that the tax system of Bangladesh is based on multiple taxes. It is utmost important to push up revenue-GDP and Tax-GDP ratio through higher effective investment and enlarging tax net and closing loopholes in tax collection. Gift tax in Bangladesh generates practically no revenue. In this context it is noted that reforms of gift tax would be the important source of Govt. revenue. The following table and bar diagram shows vivid picture of collection of tax revenue to total revenue.

Table -2: Quantum of different taxes vis-à-vis total tax revenue (Taka in crore)

Particulars	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012	2012-2013
Income tax	11,005	13,054	16,560	22,105	35300
Import Duty and Export Duty	9300	213	10430	10,915	18,528
Excise Duty	213	17013	261	275	997
Value added Tax	17013	7970	22,795	28,274	40,466
Supplementary Duty	7970	2511	10,485	13,554	19969
Others (Revenue, Motor Vehicle, Non Judicial)	2511	2845	3424	3929	1564
Total	48,012	56,789	63,955	79,052	1,16,824

(Source: Economic Survey, 2007, page-213 and Budget speech of relevant years)

As shown in Table-2, it is evident that value added tax contributes lions share to the total tax revenue followed by income tax, import duty, and supplementary duty. There is no revenue collected from gift tax.



Hurdles to be passed

Gift tax would be charged on the value of gifts made during the income year. Base of gift tax is narrow tax base. Several types of gifts are excluded in the gift tax base (i.e. gift to independent relatives up to Tk. 20,000 on marriage occasion.) NBR has insufficient regulation to stimulate the tax payer compliance. It should induce compliance mechanism either through reporting requirement or penalty structure to detect and punish tax payer who transgress gift tax filling responsibilities. The gift tax is imposed on the value of what the donor transfers not what the donor received (I.R.C, 2002). Voluntary nature of our tax system does no works on compliance of gift tax. It works for income tax. Joel Slemord ed. (1992) argued, “Stressing the importance of tax compliance and enforcement is not merely a technical point – it is quantitatively important one.”

Instead of substantial increases of responsibilities of NBR it is woefully underfunded to detect and monitor taxpayer compliance. The income tax authorities would be correspondingly acting as the gift tax authorities; i.e. there is no separate authority for dealing with gift tax activities. Normally deputy commissioner of taxes and appellate joint commissioner of taxes, joint commissioner of taxes, and tax recovery officers having jurisdiction as such under the Income Tax Ordinance, 1984, are the concerned authorities. IRS Fact sheet on *Third Party Reporting* (2006) states that taxpayers are much more likely to report their income when they receive third party notification of payment received. Third party reporting mechanism is absent to gift tax enforcement. Third party information reporting is required to ensure compliance for income tax purposes.

The key findings are as follows:

1. People are not well informed about time, form and mode of payment of gift tax.
2. Lack of motivation avoids people to pay tax on taxable gifts.
3. There is no special wing of NBR to monitor the issues regarding gift tax.
4. Gift tax authorities should be supported by simple laws and rules, effective and efficient administration.
5. Lack of third party reporting mechanism.
6. Inadequacies of existing penalty structure function as a strong restraint against tax payer non compliance.
7. Inability to detect noncompliance.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Gift tax would augment Govt. revenue if proper compliance mechanism induces to the tax payer. Meaningful reporting and penalty system and third party information requirement are the control mechanisms of gift tax reforms. It is a narrow base tax system. We propose that further research should concentrate in broadening gift tax base. A cross country analysis would be rather infighting. Moreover, researcher should concentrate to explore penalty system of gift tax.

Some Recommendations are made based on the study to circumvent hurdles of reforming gift tax

- Control mechanism must be induced by the government.
- Third party information requirements are to be placed to ensure compliance.
- Penalty system should be restructured.
- Higher income earning people should be well informed about the gift tax.
- The contribution of tax revenue in the economy and the country should be presented in front of the people so that they should be motivated to pay tax on taxable gift.
- NBR and ministry of finance can open special wings to monitor the issues regarding gift tax.

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Logging Time Study in Roadside Plantation of Dhaka-Chittagong Highway at Daudkandi in Bangladesh

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Md. Iqram Uddin Al Amran³

Abstract

Logging time study was conducted to find out the different information on a manual harvesting operation in roadside plantation of Dhaka-Chittagong highway at Daudkandi Upazila of Comilla District in Bangladesh during June 2010 to January 2011. In this study, detailed time study technique was followed by using stopwatch method. In whole felling operation, it was observed that 17% of the total cycle time is delay time. Bucking was found the most time consuming work segment both in total cycle time and delay free cycle time which consumed 16% and 20% time respectively. Felling time included three works elements; namely undercut time, back cut time and time to fall the tree in a definite direction where back cut time alone consumes 40% of the total felling time followed by undercut time 38% and time to fall the tree 22%. Effective time in this study was found 47.9 minutes per hour. From production study, the maximum and minimum gross hourly production was found 0.27 m³ and 0.05 m³ respectively and the maximum and minimum net hourly production was found 0.36 m³ and 0.06 m³ respectively. Multiple regression equations uncover that the independent variables in the equation significantly contribute to the variation of the dependent variable.

Key Words: Bucking, Cycle time, Effective time, Felling, Skidding.

1. Introduction

Time study is “a set of procedures for determining the amount of time required, under certain standard conditions of measurement, for tasks involving some human, machine, or combined activity” (Mundel and Danner, 1994). Time study has traditionally been conducted using stopwatches and hand recording since the beginning of the 20th century (Howard, 1989), and is still used as a common method to collect the production and cost data for logging machines. A time study is usually done either as a comparative study, or a correlation study or a combination of the two (Eliasson, 1998).

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The objective of the correlation or relationship study is to describe the relationship between performance and the factors influencing the work (Bergstrand, 1991). Felling describes all steps necessary to sever a standing tree. Most felling is accomplished with either shears or a power saw. In some parts of the world, cutters still use more primitive methods, such as cross cut saw and the axe, (Conway, 1982). To “fell a tree” means more than just cutting it down. Felling is to cut the tree in such a way that it falls in the desired direction and results in the least damage to the tree (Staff and Wiksten, 1984). Felling is a dangerous job and very demanding and should be done by experienced fellers. Study says that up to 25% of the values loss in all woods operation occurs during felling and bucking (Gibson and Rodenberg, 1975). In Asian environmental condition, forest felling is tedious and considered one of the most dangerous jobs; and particularly for Indian sub-continent felling is time consuming and neck-breaking job that causes operators to injuries where felling is still not mechanized and manual felling dominates (Ayaz, 1987).

A case study conducted by FAO on “forest harvesting in natural forests of the Republic of Congo” showed that 50% of the felling cycle time was used for cutting (felling and cross cutting) and the other 50% of the felling cycle time was used for maintenance, reconnaissance and preparation of trees. They suggest that the time required for the reconnaissance could probably be reduced by using harvesting maps and during all operation phase (FAO, 1997).

At the time when this research work was planned, all types of forest harvesting operations were completely forbidden by the Government of Bangladesh. So there was no scope to collect primary data from felling operations of the Bangladesh Forest Department. The Government of Bangladesh decided to expand the existing 194 km two-lane Daudkandi to Chittagong road to a four-lane divided road with provision for future expansion to a six-lane road, in order to cope up with the increasing traffic on the highway. Four-Lane National Highway construction project from Daudkandi to Chittagong comprises ten road work segments. The Daudkandi toll plaza to Kutumbpur was included in the first segment and clear felling operation was done only in southern side of the road.

2. Methodology

2.1. Study Area

The location for the research work was selected randomly for the purpose of collecting primary data in Daudkandi upazila under the District of Comilla. Geographically Daudkandi is located at 23.5333°N and 90.7167°E under the agro ecological zone of low Old Meghna Estuarine Floodplain. Soils are silty clay to clay in nature. Organic matter content of the soils is moderate. Topsoils are moderately acidic, but subsoils are neutral in reaction (Banglapedia, 2008).

2.2. Work Phase Classification

All activities associated with cutting a single tree were considered as a working cycle for cutting. The cycles were broken down into time elements. Then the delay time was found out by summing up the delay time for different work elements of felling operation. The delay time was then subtracted from the total cycle time to

find out the delay free cycle time. In the time study the following work activities were observed:

- **Underbrush clearing:** Clearing of disturbing underbrush from around base of the tree to be felled.
- **Felling:** Felling begins with determining direction of fall, under cut and back cut.
- **Processing (lopping, bucking, skidding and loading of log to haulage):** Lopping is indiscriminate and mismanaged removal and destruction of a tree's natural crown and structure while bucking is segmenting of tree into log. Skidding describes the movement of tree or tree segments from the stump to landing or haulage and loading is placing of tree segments or tree log onto a haul vehicle.

2.3. Data Collection and Analysis

Road side plantation in Dhaka-Chittagong highway is mainly covered with Raintree (*Albizia saman*) from which logging data were taken from thirty individuals for this study during June 2010 to January 2011 from the first road work segments at Daudkandi. Time data on different work segments viz. undercut, back cut, lopping, bucking, skidding, loading to haulage were measured using two stopwatches and a normal wristwatch. One stop watch was used to determine the time requirement of each single working sequence including preparatory time. Another stopwatch was used to measure the delay time included within each working sequence. The wristwatch was used as a control watch to measure the total time requirements of a particular cycle time as well as to measure delay time included in between two successive working sequences. Time data was recorded instantly in a pre-structured time study data collection form. Diameter tape and measuring tape were also used for measuring diameter and length of the log respectively. Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS 12.0), Microsoft excels and word processing package Microsoft Office 2007 XP were used to execute the whole research purposes.

Production rate of felling operation was calculated for each of the individual tree. For this, volume of individual tree was calculated in a cycle and it was then divided by the cycle time; volume of individual tree was calculated by using the following formula-

Tree volume,

$$V = \pi \times r^2 \times l \quad (1)$$

$$V = \pi \times d^2/4 \times l \text{ (m}^3\text{)}$$

Where,

$$V = \text{Volume of the log (m}^3\text{)}$$

$$\pi = 3.1416$$

$$r = d/2$$

$$d = \text{Average diameter (m)}$$

$$l = \text{Length of the log (m)}$$

To find out the production rate of the felling operation the following formulas were used.

$$\text{Gross production per hour} = \frac{\text{tree volume in a cycle (m}^3\text{)}}{\text{Total cycle time (including delay time) in hour (h)}}$$

$$\text{Net production per hour} = \frac{\text{tree volume in a cycle (m}^3\text{)}}{\text{Delay free cycle time in hour (h)}}$$

3. Results and Discussions

3.1. Time Consumption Analysis

Time consumption pattern in total cycle time:

The total mass of time taken to perform the total felling operation of an individual tree is considered as the total cycle time. The total time from underbrush clearing time to loading time is termed as total cycle time. The distribution of the time requirements of those work elements composed of nine work elements including delay time (Figure 1).

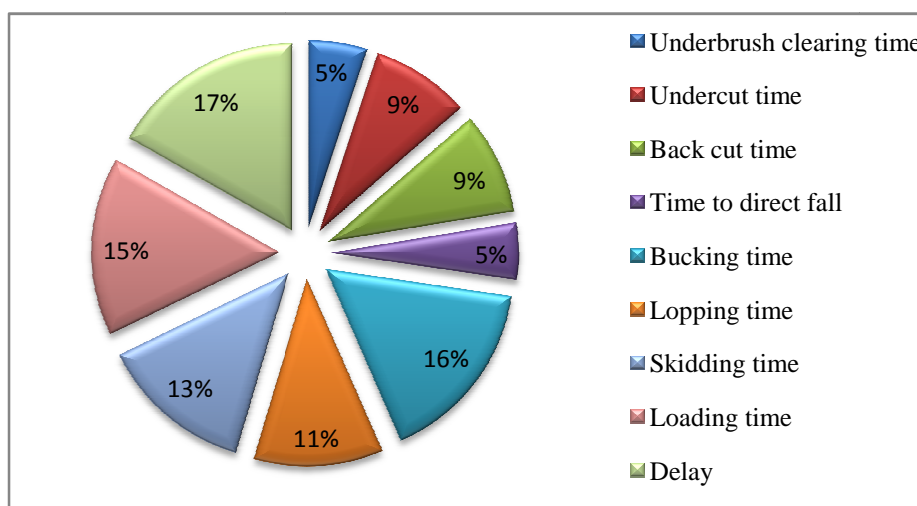


Figure 1: Percentage distribution of work elements in total cycle time

Delay time is most time consuming work element that consumes 17% of the total cycle time, which occurs mainly due to resting, gossiping and taking food. It is revealed from the above figure that bucking consumed 16% of the total cycle time followed by loading time, skidding time and lopping time which consume 15%, 13%, and 11% of the total cycle time respectively. Time to direct the fall and underbrush clearing requires 5% of the total cycle time separately. Effective time and delay time was investigated for the whole study and it was observed that the overall effective time and delay time was 47.9 minutes per hour and 12.1 minutes per hour respectively.

Time consumption pattern in delay free cycle time and delay time:

Time found after subtracting the total delay time from the total cycle time is termed as delay free cycle time. It is observed that if the delay time was excluded from the total cycle time, undercut and back cut time switch from 9% - 10%, bucking time switch from 16%- 20%, lopping time, skidding time and loading time moves from 11%- 14%, 13%- 16%, 15%- 19% respectively (Figure 2).

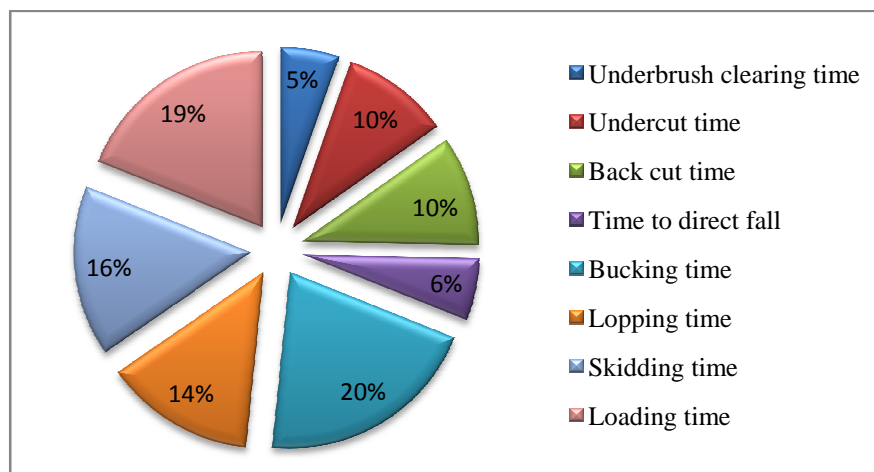


Figure 2: Percentage distribution of work elements in delay free cycle time

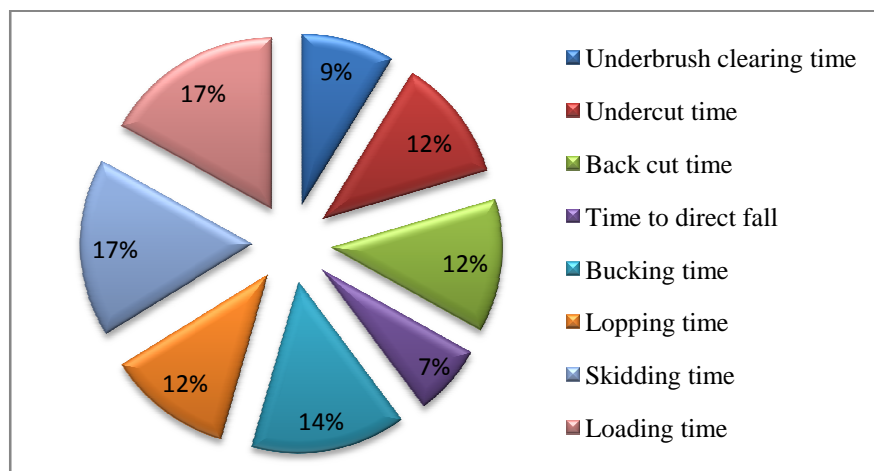


Figure 3: Percentage distribution of delay time in cycle time

It is seen that loading and skidding consumes 17% time of total delay time separately (Figure 3). Bucking time requires 14% time of total delay time. Undercut, back cut and lopping consumes 12% time of total delay time respectively. Underbrush cutting time took 9% time of total delay time in a cycle. 7% time of total delay time was taken to ascertain the direction of the fall of tree.

Time consumption pattern in felling time:

The total time taken to fell the standing tree is considered here as the felling time. Felling time included three work elements namely undercut time, back cut time and time to fall the tree in a definite direction. Back cut time alone consumes 40% of the total felling time followed by undercut time requiring 38% and time to direct fall requiring 20% of the total felling time.

3.2 Work Analysis

Model building for different work elements of felling operation:

Multiple regression methods were used to predict the time requirements of different work elements of felling operation. Here stepwise regression method is used to determine the best related individual variables for model equation. In order to obtain significant value SPSS 12 were used for model building; R² value of a particular equation were used for selecting the best fitted model equation of a particular object.

R² value is the goodness of fit measure of a linear model, sometimes called the coefficient of determination. It is the proportion of a variation in the dependent variables explained by the regression model. It ranges in value from 0 to 1. Small values indicate that the model does not fit the data well. The brief description of dependent and independent variables used in the felling operation and regression model equations are given bellow

- AVG_DIA: Average diameter of tree log (cm)
- SKD_D: Skidding distance (m)
- TR_VOL: Tree volume (m³)
- GR_PPH: Gross production per hour (m³)
- NET_PPH: Net production per hour (m³)

Table 1: Regression equations for different work elements in felling operation

Felling operation	Regression model equations	R ²
Undercut time (sec)	481.513+ 34.457 (AVG_DIA)	0.239
Back cut time (sec)	787.966 + 29.577 (AVG_DIA)	0.332
Felling time (sec)	1715.469+ 80.418 (AVG_DIA)	0.392
Bucking time (sec)	1746.590 + 63.021 (Number of log) + 42.082 (AVG_DIA)	0.463
Skidding time (sec)	2348.056+ 49.131 (Number of log) + 940.98 (TR_VOL) + 28.182 (SKD_D) – 161.972 (Number of labor)	0.439

From the above regression equations (Table 1), it is seen that undercut time will increase by 34.457 seconds with 1 centimeter increase in average diameter. From the above table it can also be interpreted that 1 centimeter increase in average diameter will increase the back cut time by 29.577 seconds and felling time by 80.418 seconds respectively. With 1 centimeter increase in average diameter bucking time will increase by 42.082 seconds and bucking time will be increased by 63.021 seconds for increasing an additional number of logs. Skidding time will be increased by 49.131 seconds, 940.98 seconds and 28.182 seconds for increasing additional

number of log, one cubic meter of tree volume and one meter of skidding distance respectively. Skidding time will decrease by 161.972 seconds for increasing one labor.

3.3 Production Analysis

From production analysis (Figure 4), the maximum, average and minimum gross hourly production is 0.27 m³, 0.16 m³ and 0.05 m³ respectively; and the maximum average and minimum net hourly production is 0.36 m³, 0.20 m³ and 0.06 m³ respectively.

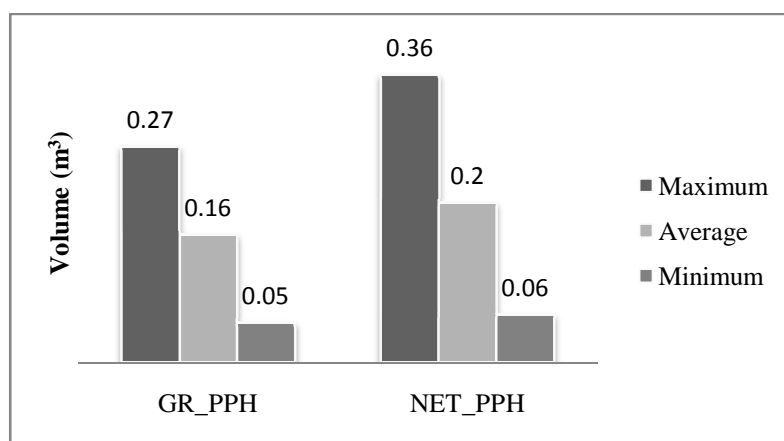


Figure 4: Gross production and net production per hour

In comparison to maximum, average and minimum volume production net production per hour is higher than gross production per hour. Net production per hour is the effective volume production per hour. Gross production represents volume production per hour consisting delay time.

4. Conclusion

Logging time and work studies are important means of evaluating the development of forestry activities. Several studies have been carried out in the fields in different countries of the world most of which are based on mechanized tools. In Bangladesh we are still using primitive type of traditional tools. It is surprisingly true that there is very few or even no work has so far been carried out to evaluate our indigenous method of harvesting through traditional tools. Time and work study of manual harvesting operation in road side plantation is the first attempt to focus on it. In the study area it was observed that the whole harvesting operation was done manually with the help of very simple traditional tools for which large portion of woods are wasted at the time of felling. So there is a scope for allaying the findings of the study to solve the problem of wastage due to conventional methods of felling.

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The Plausibility of Implementing Content Based Instruction In Bengali Medium Schools of Bangladesh

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Abstract

The teaching method of language in Bengali medium schools does not benefit the students in terms of language competency. We know that English as a second language has increased the demand not only in speaking skill but also listening, reading and writing skills. This lack of competency in Bengali medium school may prevent them from achieving the desired goal. This study has attempted to highlight some learning skills for learners and teaching strategies for teachers. Usually CLTA practices the four basic language skills. In CLTA there are no hard and fast rules or structures. The ultimate objective of CLTA is communication. CBI is modified version of CLTA. In CBI learners are taught language by content. So learners are always motivated by content. As a result, they learn content knowledge and language skill at a time. These skills can help learners in future language development. These findings suggested that teaching of language separately is not competent enough; rather teaching of content or information in the target language with little or no direct effort to teach the language can facilitate second language learning and teaching. Some effective recommendations are put forward to help teachers as well as learners.

Introduction

CLTA (Communicative Language Teaching Approach) gave the opportunity to teach language with communicative competence. As a result, it served the purpose better than any approaches. CBI (Content Based Instruction) has gained opportunity in 1980s. According to Richards, CBI can be described as the extension of CLTA. Its popularity is because of the classroom processes which are believed to facilitate language learning. CBI is the teaching of content or information in the target language with little or no direct explicit effort to teach the language itself separately from the content. The classroom should focus on real communication and the exchange of information where the subject matter of language learning would be one where subject matter of language teaching was not grammar or function or some other language based units. Authentic materials and instructional materials play a vital role in CBI implementation. Comprehension skill and culture also have a relationship in introducing CBI. Two schools have used different types of activities and authentic materials in the language class. Besides this they have taken a subject in English. As a result, their learning of language facilitates comparing to other schools. In other words, their exposure to English is much better than the learners from other schools. Contextual learning, authentic material and using subject matter which interests the learners are very helpful to enhance the performance of the learners.

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Background of the Study

In the beginning of language teaching GT (Grammar Translation) method was used to teach foreign language. Later many methods and approaches were used to teach English language. However, all of them did not make the class absolutely suitable for learners as well teachers. GT method was the horrible experience for the learners. Then the reform movement started. It gave importance on spoken language, phonetics, conversational texts etc.

Then the direct method started to make the second language more like the first language. In that method classroom practice was exclusively conducted in target language. However, the problem was not solved. Then the launch of army method or audio lingual method emerged. It only served the speaking and listening matter to a certain levels. After these, many methods like Suggestopedia, whole language approach, silent way etc. evolved to serve the language learning. Then the CLTA was introduced. It helped a lot. Learner's communication problem was solved greatly. Then also people wanted more precise and contextual learning which might help them acquire competency in language. Then in 1980s the more advanced version of CLTA was invented. It is Content Based Instruction. It is the teaching of content or information in the language without any kind of direct effort of language itself. The subject matter in this approach is not grammar; rather the content or concept. Students here learn as by-product of learning real world content.

Statement of the Problem

CLTA has solved many problems which are faced by earlier methods and approaches. CBI is the more advanced version of CLTA. As there is no particular syllabus or course of language it facilitates the second language learning. Since the students will learn the language as by product of learning about real world content, CBI focuses on the particular need of specific learners. The factors of context work better here. In Bengali medium schools in Bangladesh, NCTB has already introduced CLTA. However, it serves the purpose but not that much. Many students failed to achieve competency. This lack of competency hinders the process of second language learning. Learners in Bengali medium schools take English language learning as hazardous. They are forced to do that. As a result, they do not learn much. This lack of competency may be in any skills. The problem lies in content although the contents in present syllabus are much more updated. But there should be more interesting content and its implementation with the help of authentic materials, instructional materials and many other activities so that the learners feel interested in learning. With contents it is possible to teach the learners all the four skills of language. Language learning is believed to be more inspiring when students focus more on something other than language. CBI can do this thing. They will learn not only English but also the subject matter.

Research Objective

The major purpose of this research is to give some strategies and skills for the English language learners and the teachers in the secondary level of Bengali medium schools in Bangladesh so that the teachers can teach English language more strategically and the learners can learn English Language more contextually. The most important aim of

this research is to see the effectiveness of CBI in Bengali medium schools in second language learning in secondary level.

Background of the Study

The Emergence of Content Based Instruction

Content Based instruction of Richards and Rodgers (2001) is fairly a new approach to second language teaching. The term 'Content' has become a popular one. It has become popular both within language teaching and in popular media. Though it has become recent invention, in fact Saint Augustine was the early proponent of content based language teaching. He quoted his recommendations regarding meaningful content in language teaching. The history of CBI dates back to 389 A.D. Saint Augustine suggested the importance of meaningful content. He compared learning with grasping the meaning.

Military service in World War II conducted exclusive programs to develop new reading skill of a functional nature. As there was limited time like less than three months, soldiers and sailors needed to learn materials about military life. Military body taught a narrow body of content knowledge about military life. Further, readers were designed to build on the new recruits experiences and prior knowledge. Private Pete program was introduced. This was content prior knowledge- that they could talk about and comprehend.

During 1960s the military services recruited personnel with better literacy skills due to increased technological complexity of military environment (Sticht, Armstrong, Hickey, & Caylor, 1987). Later literacy program used materials not about general military life but specific job content. Personnel who were going to be trained as cooks, both native and limited English speakers, learned word recognition and comprehension skills readily from cook materials. Those who were going to be automobile mechanics read mechanic materials. Those becoming medics read medic materials. Thus "reading to do" tasks were introduced. Later "reading to learn" tasks were introduced. Information brought into working memory and integration of old and new memory was introduced. Later the new job content based programs helped very much in the general literacy programs. The job content based approach to literary development had many applications in civilian context, particularly in workplace such as post secondary education, getting into a job or into job training.

Again, the principle of CBI draws the principle of CLTA. In other words, it can be said that it is the extended version of CLTA. For centuries many European families have realized the fact that direct contact makes the learning more effective. For that reason they sent their children to live and study in the target language community. After many researches, linguists focused on communication rather than structure and grammar. That is the basic premise on which CLTA is based. Later, classrooms focused on real communication and exchange of information.

After the CLTA a new approach began to emerge where there would be no grammar and function or some other language based unit but content, that is subject matter outside the domain of language. The language that is being taught could be used to present subject matter and the students would learn the language as a by product of learning.

The role of content in other curriculum design was great. Among them, language across the curriculum was important. In mid 1970s the British government proposed this for native language education. In that report it was said that, emphasis should be placed on the reading and writing in all subject areas in the curriculum. Language skills should also be taught in the subject contents not left exclusively for the language teachers. This report influenced on American education and the slogan “Every teacher, an English teacher.” Subject matter texts, inclusion of language exercise practice and the collaboration between subject teacher and language teacher etc. got the emphasis. Sometimes there were integration of subject matter and language teaching. Singaporean Primary Pilot Project in the 1970 is an example.

Immersion Education was another movement where CBI had the strong influence on the theory of foreign language. It is a type of language movement where regular school curriculum is taught through the medium of foreign language. There were several goals behind this; among them were developing a high level of proficiency, developing positive attitude towards the foreign language speaker and their culture, developing English

language skills and gaining designated skills and knowledge in the content area. For an example, an English speaking child might enter a primary school where the instruction for the content was French. Canada implemented the immersion program in 1970s to provide the opportunity for the students to learn French. In The United states there are a number of immersion programs.

There is a program for the students in limited skills. Many newly arrived immigrants fall in problem of survival for language. Immigrant on – arrival program helped that type of learners. This program typically dealt with different kinds of real world content as a basis for social survival. Australia implemented to integrate different types of notional, functional, grammatical and lexical specifications built around particular themes and situations. This program was based on direct method but later it included role play and simulation based on language needed to function in specific situation.

Apart from this there was a program which helped the students with limited skills. This is called program for Students with Limited English Proficiency (SLEP): “This Governmentally mandated program helped the children whose parents might be served by the on- arrivals programs, but more generally designed to provide in-class or pullout instruction for any school age children whose language competence is insufficient to practice the fully normal school instruction”. Firstly it was grammar-based. More recently it focused on language with other skill for entering regular school curriculum.

Now, CBI focuses on learner interest. For that reason there is a program called Language for Specific Purposes (LSP) to carry out specific roles. This program serves for specific purposes like students, engineer, technician, nurse etc. whose needs are content and real world skills. As there is CBI there is very specificity. For that reason there is English for Science and Technology (EST). EST has number of subfields such as ESP, EOP and EAP.

Functional Context in Workplace Literacy

Culture can be an important element in language classrooms. Effective teaching strategies and learning materials can contribute a lot to the EFL learners. Sheffer (1996) says that posters made by students to help explain a research topic are among the most effective tools where contents are major component. Posters are fun to make, interesting to look. They are used to ease students into using the study skills that will be necessary. Posters reduce heavy linguistic burden. It encourages learners to learn how to use maps, photos, cartoons, graphs etc. to illustrate topics. But unfortunately, the most traditional lessons are bereft of content. This is relevant with students very poorly. Students' interest will not flag. Students' interest, motivation, increases in direct motivation. When students' own ideas and feelings are counted, it works great. Experience, knowledge, opinions are valued as an essential glue of the whole course syllabus. Their participation in the course is virtually assured. Again, students' satisfaction can be developed through using up-to-date materials. The latest news in English class may help a lot. It can motivate students when they are studying lessons based on the latest news and current events. They may welcome the opportunity. There may be an additional element of "Prestige Value" as students are learning more than just English. The up-to-date content may heighten students' expectations of their interest in future lesson. They think the content is challenging and inspiring. They spend considerably longer time on assignments.

The reading texts and listening from VOA (Voice of America) can also be good source of authentic materials. This may heighten students' interest and create a sense of accomplishments in interacting with real news articles. It may provide potential pitfalls for teachers. In this regard, Wachs et.al (1994) says that discussion of news creates a meaningful background and context for the students to communicate in English classrooms. Major world news stories via English learning materials will foster genuine response and interest. Authenticity is thus present in both medium and the message with news lessons.

Definition

According to Richards and Rodgers (2001), Content-Based Instruction refers to an approach to second language teaching in which teaching is organized around the content or information that students will acquire, rather than around a linguistic or other type of syllabus. Krahnke (1987) states, "It is the teaching of content or information in the language being learned with little or no direct or explicit effort to teach the language itself separately from the content being taught" (P. 65). The meaning of the term "Content" "is changed and it is used with a variety of different meanings in language teaching. In earlier approaches and methods, content refers to the linguistic material like vocabulary, grammar etc. in language teaching. However, in CBI the term content is used with different meaning. It most frequently refers to the substance or subject matter.

Approaches encouraging demonstration, imitation, miming those recommending the use of objects, pictures and audiovisual presentations and proposals supporting translation, explanation and definition as aids to understanding meaning have appeared at different times in language teaching. Grandall and tucker define it as "... an approach to

language instruction that integrates the presentation of topics or tasks from subject matter classes (e.g. math, social studies) within the context of teaching a second or foreign language.” Curtain and Psola (P.35) use the term in a more restricted way limiting only “...curriculum concepts being taught through the foreign language ... Appropriate to the grade level of students...”. Wesche (1993) calls it “Content Driven Curriculum.” Indeed, language is simply the means of acquiring content which develops students' language skills and academic knowledge in the process and enables students to transfer these skills to other academic courses in the second or foreign language. (Chowdhury, 2009, P. 76). Widdowson Commented (1978) "... The kind of language course that I envisage is one which deals with a selection of topics taken from the other subjects: simple experiments in Physics, Chemistry, biological process in plants and animals, map drawing experience ...”.

Theory behind CBI

Richards and Rodgers (2001) states CBI is based on two principles apart from other issues:

1. People learn a second language more successfully when they use the language as a means of acquiring information, rather than as an end itself.
2. Content-Based Instruction better reflects learners' needs for learning a second language.

Theory of Language

Richards and Rodgers also states the theory of language of CBI is based on several assumptions.

Language is Text and Discourse Based

In CBI, the focus of teaching is directed towards how meaning and information are conveyed through the texts and discourses. Students in that content are not only exposed to the single sentence units, but also they are encountered with cohesion and coherence that how subject matter is delivered within speech events and texts type. Apart from these, they are shown many longer sentences usage. This involves study of the textual and discourse structure such as reports, essays, books, speech events, lectures and discussions etc.

Language Use Draws on Integrated Skills

Richards and Rodgers (2001) states that CBI views language use as involving several skills together. In CBI students are exposed and involved in activities that link skills. CBI views grammar as a separate dimension of language. Grammar is the component of other skills. CBI seeks to bring together knowledge, language and thinking skills. Even grammar can also be presented through a content based approach.

Language is Purposeful

This point is similar to the second principle which is mentioned earlier. This purpose may be academic, vocational, social, or recreational. Students learn best according to their learning needs. Contents are taught by language and students can be best benefited if their need is tuned according to their purposes and language codes.

Theory of Learning

Richards and Rodgers (2001) argues that a feature that grows out of common underlying assumption that successful language learning occurs when students are

presented with target language material in a meaningful, contextualized form with the primary focus on acquiring information” (as cited in Brinton et al., Wesche, 1989, P. 17). According to them, there are a number of additional assumptions that are given below:

People learn a second language most successfully when the information they are acquiring is perceived as interesting, useful and leading to desired goal. To Brinton et al. (1989), “The use of informational content which is perceived as relevant by the learner is assumed by many to increase motivation in the language course, and thus to promote more effective learning” (P. 3). When there is something other than language, such as ideas, issues and opinions etc, the students learn more as they are motivated. As a result, language learning occurs successfully.

Some content areas are more useful as a basis for language learning than others

Specific areas of content are thought to be more effective as a basis for CBI than others. For example, geography is often the “first choice” of subject matter. "Geography is highly visual, spatial and contextual; it lends itself to use of maps, charts and realia and the language tends to be descriptive in nature with use of the ‘to be’ cognates and proper names” (P.288). CBI courses have created around a rich variety of alternative kinds of content. Eleven case studies using variety of course content in a variety of foreign language teaching situations are reported in Stryker and Leaver (1993).

Students learn best when instruction addresses students’ need

The principle emphasizes that in CBI content that the students study is selected according to their needs. Hence, if the program is at a secondary school, the academic needs of the students across the curriculum form the basis for the content curriculum (Richards and Rodgers, 2001). To Brinton et al (1989), authentic texts help both written and spoken: “The language curriculum is based on the academic needs of the students and generally follows the sequence determined by a particular subject matter in dealing with the language problems which students encounter” (P.2).

Teaching builds on the previous experience of the learners

CBI states that students do not start out as blank slates but are treated as bringing important knowledge and understanding to the classroom.

Understanding and Familiarization

Cambridge University Press (1996) said that understanding and familiarization is helpful in teaching English Language. This idea is the core idea of CBI. This idea can be developed through a series of tasks; for instance, rereading differently from the first time. Silent reading should be encouraged. Reading through bits is helpful. Students should go through the text and pick whatever they particularly or mostly like and copy the key points if they are short. For alternative title quotation should be searched. Teachers can rewrite from someone’s point of view. This rewriting can be full text or partially. For students benefit text presentation can be in a varied manner and formats. Flowchart, diagram, graph etc can be given. Illustration, designing a book cover or an advertisement for the text is highly helpful for CBI.

In terms of leading interpretative discussion teachers have some roles. Cambridge University Press (1996) has published some teachers' opinions about that *interpretative job*. The teachers give different tasks and topics to check the students' ability. For example, a teacher loves to read a poem. This poem is used to search for underlying meaning. Some of the teachers use this to search for students' own interpretation. These jobs of teacher are challenging. Sometimes teachers use outrageous ideas for provocation.

Enhancing learner's interest can be done through different types of contents. This is the core concept of CBI. In that case, literature can help learner in different ways. There are a lot of advantages of literature in developing students' language ability. Cambridge University Press (1996) published an article regarding the advantages of literature teaching. It is very enjoyable to read. It provides different types and styles of writing and representations of various authentic uses of language. Literature works as good source of vocabulary expansion. The most important job of literature is that it involves learners' emotions as well intellect which motivate students to develop themselves. One of the earlier CBI models was *Immersion Education*. This model was developed to foster target language culture with part of general education. Literature can help in that case.

Apart from advantages there are disadvantages too. Cambridge University Press (1996) published that it may be difficult for foreign language learners to read. Many of them are time consuming. Sometimes it is difficult to relate the ideas around. Thus irrelevant text may spoil the students' enjoyment and appreciation of them.

Cognitive Theory

Piaget (1959) explained in the theory of universal developmental stages for reasoning, young children construct understanding in their context. They learn more easily when their ability of manipulating with their objects works rather than abstract thought. For this reason learners need such type of content which they can employ with their learning experiences. Therefore, learners need supporting environment so that meaning may be constructed with the learning background knowledge of the learner. Piaget here acknowledged the already existing structure which is known as schemata. Schemata are used to process previous experience and to make new information.

Learners according to Cummins (1981) learn at a level at which English language learners use higher-order thinking skills. Here a learner at this skill learns analysis, synthesis, evaluation, generalization, conclusion etc. which is known as cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP).

Hernandez (2003) mentions that the trend within content areas is to create learning environments that promote learning environments via sustained exploration of themes that are interdisciplinary. Recreating time periods in the history through the use of student plays, art projects, journal writing, guest speakers, field trips, music of times, literature and poetry scientific experience etc. are the ways to promote language learning using content. Extending beyond the textbook offers new ways to access and actively construct knowledge about a given subject or theme for English language learners. Teachers should give the content area instruction with discovery type activities, learning environment in

which students learn by doing. These activities are used as own thinking, evaluating of their own contribution to make the learner an active participant.

Contemporary Model of CBI

There are approaches to CBI in both schools and universities. The examples are given below.

Courses at University Level:

According to Richards and Rodgers (2001), there are several examples of CBI. They are given below.

Theme based language instruction

Richards (2001) expresses, this stands for such a language course in which syllabus is organized around themes or topics. Language analysis and practice evolve out of topics that form the framework of the course (P. 216). For instance, women's right, pollution, etc. A topic might be developing through a reading. Brinton et al., opines most of the materials used will typically be teacher generated and the topic treated will cross all skills (1989).

Sheltered Content Instruction

This indicates that the content courses are taught by a specialist. A group of students are grouped together for this purpose. Here students of second language learning will be presented with an appropriate difficulty which will be adjusted to accommodate learner's language capacities.

Adjunct Language Instruction

Richards and Rodgers (2001) say in this model that students are enrolled in two linked courses. The courses will be content course and linked courses. These courses will share same content share same content base and complement each other in terms of mutually coordinated assignments (P. 217).

Team- teach Approach

This approach is the vice versa of adjunct model. The work of recording lectures and preparing comprehension is checked by a subject teacher and language teacher. They help the students with problems that arise. One example of this model is Singapore's polytechnic program where students are taught with writing skills. This writing skill will help students in maintenance and management.

Skill Based Approach

Shih (1986) states this program focuses on very specific skills which are academic. Students write here a variety of forms which demonstrate the subject matter. The forms may be short essay test, summaries, critiques and research reports. Writing here integrates reading, listening and discussion about the core content (P. 617-618).

Courses at Secondary School Level

There are several models for CBI in different patterns in the school level. They are given below.

Theme Based Approach:

These models are not the substitute for mainstream content classes. They focus on learning strategies for subject matter which are needed. This may include food, map skills and nutrition. Here one thing must be kept in mind that language proficiency and academic content should be done in parallel. Cooperative learning and heterogeneous grouping is necessary. An Australian high school is an example of this. Topics in that case are chosen by the students' needs and interests. Apart from this, students' level of difficulty is a great factor.

Adjunct Approach:

Wu (1996) developed the adjunct approach parallel to theme based approach. Both ESL and course teacher are involved in this approach. This approach was made to learn science through English. The focuses were:

- 1) Report writing skills
- 2) Grammar for science
- 3) Note taking skills
- 4) Realizing specialized science terminologies and concepts

Courses at Private Language Institutes

To Richards and Rodgers (2001), CBI can work in a wide variety in the private language sector. Theme based courses provide a framework for courses and materials. Each theme is used for six or more hours of work in which there are four skills of language.

Authentic Materials

Authentic materials help to learn functional English language. Learners can feel that their language is alive. Students do not feel real language experience by grammar rules memorization. Many researches have been done about authentic materials. These researches probe that learners are motivated by authentic materials. Increased Involvement, interest in subject matter can also be done through Authentic Materials. Morrow (1977) refers authentic text is a stretch in a real language, produced by a real speaker or writer for real audiences and designed to convey a real message of some sort. Nunan (1989) refers authentic material is any material which has not been produced for language teaching. There are some common factors. Among them exposure to real language, natural in terms of real life, meaningful communication, designed not for language students are important. Authentic material can be anything. It may include audio, video, audio-visual materials, graphical presentations etc. These materials are used for communicating specific messages in real life.

Authentic Audio materials:

Authentic Audio materials may include quiz shows, cartoons, movies, commercials, news, internet TV programming, sales pitches, audio taped short stories, novels, conversation meetings, talks etc.

Authentic Visual Materials:

Authentic video materials may include images, graphs, photographs, pictures, magazines, x-rays etc.

Authentic Printed Materials:

It can be any printed version of anything; for example, web based Printed Materials, movie reviews, advertisements, sports reports, columns in newspapers, classified ads, lyrics to songs, street signs and restaurant menus.

Authentic Multimedia materials:

It can be TV programs; multimedia use of web based programs can also be involved. Though authentic materials are very helpful to some extent it may hamper the learning process. For this reason some factors should be kept in mind to design authentic material. Learners' interest, purpose of using language learning, cultural appropriateness, language level and quality should be kept in mind.

CBI is beneficial in Bengali medium schools because it can sustain the learner interest. For sustaining interest, learners should be provided with such materials that are very interesting for them. Teachers should ensure this factor. Learners' age, interest, background of the students etc are the main factors of interest. Regarding purpose, the goal of language learning should be kept in mind. The purpose will be to select materials according to the learners' choices. Apart from this, utility value and information is very important factor for the purpose of language learning.

Sometimes wrong cultural materials create a negative impact on learners. This type of material is harmful. That is why cultural appropriateness is a great factor in choosing a material. Context is another great factor for choosing materials. Hence a careful selection is a trigger to speed up learning process.

Language level is another great factor. Teachers should be kept in mind that whether the learners are beginners, intermediate or advanced. The input of the language is completely dependent on the learners' level. Input should be in the bit higher level of learners' interest and motivation. Too difficult materials will not be very helpful for the learners. Materials with lot of errors, spelling mistakes may easily mislead the young learners. Apart from this, the organization should be kept in mind for text selection. Materials should be impressive. If it is very impressive it may grab the learners' attention and interest very easily. For that reason, overall impression is a great factor for learners. In fact, all these factors are interrelated with each other. Any one of these cannot be left out or should not be overlooked.

Shepherd (2005) says that authentic materials are one of those ways which is imaginative and motivating for higher level course. He shows that there is a fear with lower intermediate learners. However, this fear should be overlooked. Authentic materials are stimulating and rewarding for both teachers and learners. When people think of authentic materials, they think of newspapers and magazine articles. Apart from these, there are several sources for authentic materials. It can encompass songs, web page, radio and TV broadcast, films, leaflets, posters, flyers etc. which are written in the target language.

Culture

Wasterhuis (2001) defines culture in a variety of things. The researchers refer customs, values, laws, technology, artifacts and the part of a particular time or people as culture. For many years culture as an English Language teaching materials has been subject of discussion.

Mckey (2000) says that culture will foster learner's motivation in classrooms (P. 7). Tseng (2002) said that individual perception is changed by culture effects. He further added that it works vital for expanding an individual perspective of the world. Shanahan (1997) added that cultural content helps to provide exposure to living language. The living language is the lack of foreign learners. So, it is not only facts for learning but a helpful tool to make learners fluent and feel the need of speaking and using target language.

According to Stuart and Nocon (1996), for understanding communicative and cultural text in which linguistic codes are used , language learners need to learn about the lived culture of actual target language speakers as well as about one's own culture. It helps to negotiate and understand meaning.

Observation of CBI Classroom

Freeman (2004) gives a description about an observation of CBI classroom in Taipei. In an international school the sixth grade students are studying both geography and English through CBI. Most of the learners are Chinese speakers. However, there few are native speakers of Japanese and Korean. The teacher asks the students what a globe is. Some of them call out 'world'. Others did not say but make a sign with their arms. The rest of them remained silent. The teacher then took out a globe from the desk. Then the teachers asked questions to the students about it. Students called out about it and the teacher wrote down the answers to the blackboard. When the students felt problem about the communication, the teacher supplied the missing words. Next she spread the handouts to the students which she prepared for the classroom. The top section of the handout contained the vocabulary list. In the list there were some terms for describing the globe. Apart from the vocabulary, she introduced a video. Before that the teachers drew the attention of the students to listen some words. There were ten words. They were- longitude, hemisphere, model, parallel, latitude, imaginary, distance, degree, equator and globe. After this students were given a modified passage. Then she requested the students to read the passage and fill in the blanks with the new vocabulary. After they were

finished, she showed them the video. As they watched the vocabulary they filled the remaining blanks with certain of the vocabulary words the teacher read aloud.

The passage begins:

A ----- is a three dimensional ----- of the earth. Points of interests are located on a globe by using a system of ----- lines. For instance, the equator is an imaginary line that divides the earth in the half. Lines that are parallel to the equator are called lines of----- . Latitude is used to measure ----- on the earth north and south of the equator.

After the video, students form group to check up the answer. Next the teacher discusses the grammatical items. They are the verb patterns in the cloze passage. The teachers tell about the passive verb patterns like- are located, is used, are called etc. she tells the students that these are examples of present passive. Then she tells that passives are used as the defocusing agent. Then the teacher tells how attitude and longitude is used to locate any place of the world. Then teachers are given works relating these. They solve the problems. Later students play a guessing game. They imagine the names of some cities and answers come by the given instruction. For home work students are given a map and a description of the parts of the city and particular place's name is given to solve a problem. This is the experience of a typical CBI classroom which deals with both content and grammatical structures.

Qualitative and Quantitative Research

Teaching English language through Content is fairly a new approach to teach English language. Krahnke (1987) refers CBI as teaching of content, or information through the target language with little or no explicit effort to teach the language separately. This content is not the same for all the levels. It is different and subjective. One class of learners may like a particular content and some other may not. Inside the class learners may vary in choosing the content. For this reason it is a subjective experience. Students and teachers perceive this matter differently. This investigation used qualitative research strategy. Again the research is also quantitative research. The response from teachers and the students comes in percentage and in numerical value. For making the research work more dependable the researcher attempted to provide quantitative information.

Participants

The participants of this study consisted of seventy five; who participated in this research. They can be divided into two categories-

- 1) 60 EFL learners and
- 2) 15 highly experienced teachers.

Among the teachers five teachers are female and ten teachers are male. The participants and teachers are chosen from different renowned schools from different parts of the city. Among the participants twenty seven are male and twenty three are females. Their age is amidst of fourteen to fifteen. The teaching experience of the teachers ranged between eight to ten years. Currently they are working as English teachers.

Recommendations for Teachers

Teacher's Responsibility

Teachers should be more than a language teacher. They must be knowledgeable not only in language but also need to have sufficient knowledge regarding the background knowledge. They need to develop and maintain high levels of student's esteem.

Inside the Classroom

They need to create truly learner centered classrooms. Divide the learners according to their ability. When there is need of group formation they should follow the rules of group formation. They should involve each and every learner participates in the class.

Contextualization and Error Suppression

They need to contextualize their teaching by using content. Error suppression and correction is the major instructional ability. They must supply the gaps of lexis.

Different strategies

They should help learners coping strategies and follow process approaches to writing. They should follow various formats of classroom interaction. Finding new ways for giving input is very helpful for learners.

Participation in the training Program and Workshop

They should regularly participate. They should take part in the teacher's training program regularly and also at the training workshops when arranged. Cooperation among the colleagues is very helpful for everybody

Materials and Multimedia

Teachers have the authority in choosing and using authentic materials inside the classrooms. So, they should use authentic materials inside the classrooms when necessary. They should use multimedia when necessary.

- The number of learners must not exceed the limit.
- Teachers need to be an independent participant in a teaching-learning class.

Recommendations for Learners

Learning Process

Learners must be independent in their own learning process. They need to take charge of their learning from very start. They must be source of one another and support each other in collaborative moods of learning. Learning by doing is the principle in learning English in CBI. So, they need to follow this. They should participate in the class regularly. Active roles in several dimension is assumed.

Classroom Interaction

Learner should interact in the class with teachers as well as the learners. Obviously, they should not make any sort of unnecessary noise or events which hinder the

learning and teaching environment inside the class. When there is need of response and interaction only then they should interact and talk. However, this suggestion is not encouraging to be silent in the class.

Authentic Materials

They need to have a lot of authentic materials for CBI so that it can teach them interaction and exposure. They should have the interest to read newspapers, periodicals, magazines, novels etc. When necessary, learners need to use their background knowledge related with topic.

Recommendations for NCTB

Materials Evaluation

NCTB should evaluate the materials regularly. For this reason they need to discuss with the teachers because the teachers deal with the students. They need to carefully listen to the problems learners and teachers face in the class. NCTB should also emphasize on the demands for them. NCTB not only needs to develop the quality of contents but also make the print quality glossy. If the print is black and white than it may obscure the realization of pictures. Without the lucrative colorful printing learner's attention cannot be sustained. The use of Black and white printing must be decreased. Government should here finance NCTB. NCTB always gives some books free of cost to some government schools. The number of giving books needs to be increased. The delivery sometimes is delayed. As a consequence, the study of young learners is hampered. Therefore, NCTB needs to ensure the delivery of books on time so that the learners can start the study year easily.

Enough Time

English language teachers usually have a lot of class loads in the schools. NCTB should look over this matter. The authority must remove the huge work load, specially the classes. The present syllabus and text book demand more time from the teachers. As a result, they need to ponder over how they can bring out the response from the students. If they are not given enough time, it may hamper the students. In the spare time teachers may think and research on the topics in the textbooks. They may make quality question paper to bring out the true ability of the learners.

Teacher's Training

The new textbook requires urgent training for the teachers. They need to arrange workshops and training programs for the teachers so that the teachers can work properly in the class.

Authority for teachers

Normally teachers in non government Bengali medium schools have many restrictions and obligations. They have to work in that unfriendly environment. The committees of those schools sometimes do not permit to do some activity inside the classrooms; for example, using multimedia and using authentic materials. Teachers should be free in terms of teaching and learning activities. A teacher can understand what is good

and what is bad for his learners. The committee should not impose any kind of restrictions. If teachers are given freedom in choosing materials and using real life activities then learners will be benefited.

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The Role of Culture in Translation Competence

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to highlight the important relationship between culture and translation. More specifically, it goes a step further and gives an overview of many different concepts that are related to translation competence. First, it clarifies the importance of cultural awareness to translation competence. Second, in order to reach a consistent description of knowledge and skills required for a professional translator, it illustrates the different models of translation competence. It is concluded that there is a strong link between culture and translation competence on the one hand, and communicative competence on the other hand.

Introduction

Earlier, any study of translation was subsumed under two different subjects or disciplines: Linguistics and Comparative Literature on the basic premise that translation was a transaction between two languages only taking no consideration of the source and target language cultures. In the second half of the 20th century, Translation Studies (TS) was developed as an independent academic discipline. It has become a more prolific, more visible and more respectable activity than perhaps ever before. Schaffner (2003) makes clear that "[t]he recognition of the complexity of the phenomenon of translation means that it is widely accepted nowadays that TS is an independent discipline in its own right (and not a sub discipline of applied linguistics, or of comparative literature, as often argued in the past)" (p. 86). He describes translation "[a]s a process of linguistic trans-coding, resulting in a target-language text which is (to be) equivalent to its source-language text" (p. 83).

With the advent of globalization, translation has become a real life communicative activity in which individuals, especially learners translate in class for peers, decode signs and notices in the environment, translate instructions and letters for friends and relations, etc. More specifically, with the increased mobility of persons and goods worldwide, it is expected to be practiced almost on daily basis. Supporting this idea, Muamaroh (2008) clarifies that "[t]ranslation has developed sharply because of globalization, the expansion of mass media and technology, and the raising international trade. For this reason, translation plays an important role, as media, which bridges the two different languages and cultures" (p. 145). Translation process is important in the sense of understating other cultures and solving the problems related to the language. It is a means of bridging or obscuring cultural differences. It is a way of drawing attention to cultural matters: to learn what is different and what is shared between the reader's culture and that in which the story is set.

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Therefore, as a result of the constant and daily use of translation, we think it is worth shedding light on the concept of translation competence since it has steadily gained acceptance up to the point where it has now become the most widely discussed issue in relation to translator training. Bell (1991), for example, defines translation competence as “the knowledge and skills the translator must possess in order to carry out a translation” (as cited Orozco & Albir, 2002, p. 376). Translation competence is mostly described as “[a] complex concept that requires knowledge of two or more languages and usually consists of two or more sub-competencies”(Šeböková, 2010, p. 7). As we will see, translation competence is a complex and multifaceted concept that is made up of a number of sub-competencies. It refers that in the scope of Translation Studies, translation competence has more to do with performance. This is because competence is an abstract concept that can only be measured and evaluated in performance. Therefore, translators need to work competently and reliably in different domains.

This article aims at a better understanding of how translation competence is acquired. To put it differently and for the compatibility with the market needs, it intends to identify how best to prepare language learners to acquire translation competence and be competent translators in their professional life. It discusses the need for the development of culturally competent students in most areas of research and reviews different models of Translation Competence (TC). This can be achieved by our awareness of and belief in the interconnectedness of culture and language. We should bear in mind that our aim here is to share ideas and suggestions rather than offer a strong coherent thematic article, and in doing so, highlight concepts such as the interdependence of culture and language and translation competence.

Culture and Translation

In what follows, I will clarify the strong interrelatedness between culture and translation. Despite this connection, many people think that knowing two or more languages is identical to knowing how to translate properly. This idea is not always correct. Hence, this is the main issue that will be tackled in this article.

With the passage of time, the understanding of the “[c]ultural value of a translation text has grown deeper, especially in respect to the importance of translations for the identity of the receiving culture” (Torop, 2002, p. 594; see also Muamaroh, 2008). It refers that the notion of culture is therefore a key concept for the field of Translation Studies.

As a matter of fact, translation is a kind of activity which involves at least two languages and two cultural traditions. It refers that the unit of translation is no longer simply a matter of seeking other words with similar meaning (equivalence), but indeed the whole language and culture in which that text is constituted. In other words, translation does not only render the text, but also the style of language and culture. It is viewed as a transfer between cultures, which proves the tight relationship between language and culture. Supporting this idea, Torop (2002) equates culture with translation in the sense that “[c]ulture is translation, and also that translation is culture. However, in the present context it should be added that translation activity is also an activity that explains the mechanisms of culture and that translation itself is a concept that is extremely loaded

methodologically” (p. 603). In the same vein of thought, Muamaroh (2008) concludes that “[t]ranslation is the process of transferring not only the message but also the style and the culture from source language to target one” (p. 150). Consequently, it is necessary to keep in mind that a good translator has to master the culture of the source language (SL) and the target language (TL) to obtain a good translation (being bilingual and bicultural). If (s)he cannot understand the language as well as the culture, (s)he is not able to transfer meaning from SL to TL correctly. Therefore understanding and being aware of different cultures is very important for translators.

A point that deserves to be highlighted is that there is a growing trend in Translation Studies and there is no right or wrong in translation. Pym (1998), for example, correctly maintains that there are “[m]any ways of translating, many things that can be said through translation” (as cited in Darwish, 2001, p. 5). What is fundamental in translation is “[t]o preserve and control the original meaning when it is conveyed or converted into the target language’s verbal expression. In pursuit of quality, a true translator strives to keep control of the original meaning to ensure the integrity of information in translation” (Darwish, 2001, p. 13). Therefore, what is required is that an experienced translator should exert his/her utmost efforts to fulfill the translation requirements in the best manner.

The Relationship between Translation Studies and Intercultural Communication Studies

This section clarifies the relationship between translation and intercultural competence in the sense that translation primarily focuses on the communication process. It is an activity that is used for communication between members of different cultures. Supporting this idea, there is a call for interaction between Translation Studies, Intercultural Studies, and Language Technology. In this regard, Schäffner (2003) stresses, “[i]t is through interdisciplinary cooperation that the complexity of both translation and intercultural communication can be studied” (p. 103). This is because these fields share a number of concerns and concepts such as intercultural communicative competence, cultural awareness, cross-cultural encounters. If the professional task of a translator is defined as enabling communication between members of different cultures, this means that translators need to have a bicultural competence. In this regard, translators produce texts which are used by others for communication. They require a (translation-specific) intercultural competence in order to enable communication between others, to ensure access to intercultural interaction (Schaffner, 2003).

On the one hand, the aim of the development of foreign language learners’ intercultural competence is to communicate effectively and appropriately in different intercultural settings. To put it differently, the ultimate goal of foreign language learning is no longer limited to acquiring only the linguistic aspects of the language, but also involves using it efficiently when communicating with people from different cultures. From this viewpoint, foreign language learners are supposed to be equipped and qualified to be global citizens of the world for the purpose of communicating properly in intercultural environments.

On the other hand, the aim of the development of translation competence (with intercultural competence as one of its components) is “For the purpose of professional

acting for the needs of others” (Schäffner, 2003, p. 101). It means that the target text is produced for the needs and purposes of others in a situation of intercultural communication. The translator is usually not immediately present when his or her product is received; this also means that he or she is not in a position to check any feedback (Schäffner, 2003). To conclude, one can say that for good translation, we should always convey the cultural elements of the source text and have a cultural background about different cultures. As we will see in the following section, communication competence is one of the important parameters for being competent translator.

The Different Models of Translation Competence

This section gives an overview of the important models of translation competence. These models are reviewed here as they clearly show the importance of culture to translation competence. Being aware of this bond helps translators be competent in conveying and converting the text into the target language successfully. Scholars review different models and most of them agree that translation competence is a complex and multidimensional process which is composed of many sub-competences (Neubert, 2000; PACTE, 2000, 2005; Pinto & Sales, 2007; Pym, 1992; Schaffner, 2003; Schaffner & Adab, 2000).

It goes without saying that bilingualism is the cornerstone of translation competence, but alone it does not guarantee it (Muamaroh, 2008; Neubert, 2000; Schaffner, 2003; Schaffner & Adab, 2000; Šeböková, 2010). As we saw, there is a strong relationship between intercultural competence and translation. In this sense, in the communicative approach to foreign language teaching, the main goal is to develop learners’ communicative competence. In Canale and Swain’s model (1980) and Canale’s (1983), communicative competence encompasses grammatical (i.e. linguistic), sociolinguistic, strategic and discourse competence.

The quality of translation depends largely on the quality of the translator’s knowledge, experience, training, and cultural background. In this regard, Schaffner and Adab (2000) assert that translation competence is “[c]learly seen as demanding expertise in various areas: these will include at least knowledge of the languages, knowledge of the cultures and dominant-specific knowledge” (p. ix). In the same vein of thought, Pinto and Sales (2007) define competence as “[a] combination of personal components (knowledge, cognitive skills, motivation, attitudes, emotions), social components (knowledge about contexts) and behaviors (actions, conduct, initiatives)” (p. 7). Consequently, the translator should consider the linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of translation competence, including a broad knowledge, skill, and cultural background of SL and TL.

Neubert’s (2000) model of translation competence

At this point, we should refer that Neubert (2000) identifies translation competence as (*translational competence*). He claims that the practice of translation and, hence, teaching translation require a single competence that is made up of or could be considered to integrate a set of competencies that include, for instance, competence in both the source and the target languages. More specifically, Neubert proposes the following hierarchical definition of translation competence that consists of:

- 1) *Language competence* - includes “[a]n awareness of the continual changes at work in the two languages [source and target languages]” (p. 7);
- 2) *Textual competence* that emerges from and is intertwined with the linguistic competence, and represents an ability to define textual features of e.g. technical, legal or literary fields;
- 3) *Subject competence* - stems from textual competence, it represents the familiarity with what the particular text is about, this concept covers both knowledge about the world (encyclopaedic knowledge) and specialist knowledge;
- 4) *Cultural competence* – or that translators need to be specialists on cultures, because they act as mediators between various cultural backgrounds and presuppositions -technical texts are often culture-bound too” (Neubert, 2000; Schäffner, 2003); and
- 5) *Transfer competence* – which encompasses the strategies and procedures that allow translating the text from L1 to L2. It is the ability to *perform* translation as such quickly and efficiently. This competence is super ordinate to the previous four competencies and has a transient nature, because it is —triggered off by the nature of the text (Neubert, 2000; Schäffner, 2003) or by different parts of a single source text (ST) (see also Šeböková, 2010, p. 11).

What can be derived from Neubert’s model is that translation competence is a multifaceted concept that is composed of five parameters or sub-competences. In other words, the interaction among these five competencies is precisely what distinguishes translation from other areas of communication. At this point, it deserves to be noted that many scholars agree that translators cannot be fully competent in all the fields they have to deal with. They refer that the translator often approaches a source text (ST) from the position of mediation expert, rather than being an expert in the particular field. His/her knowledge of the subject is always lesser than the knowledge of the original author or sender of the source text (Neubert, 2000; Schäffner, 2003; Šeböková, 2010). Neubert (2000) adds, “[i]t is not necessary for translators to be experts in the specialized field. What is essential is that they [should] be capable of rapidly acquiring expert knowledge” (p. 9). In this perspective, it proves that the nature of translation competence, as a continuous learning process, is open-ended in which there is no finite stage to arrive at or to be judged as competent translator. Yet, translation competence can be developed and can integrate certain tools, which translators may acquire both through theory and practice.

Schaffner and Adab’s (2000) model of translation competence

The second model that is highlighted in this article is Schaffner and Adab’s (2000) model. They point out that “[i]n discussing translation competence and its sub-competencies, the term *competence* is often linked to other concepts and qualities seen to be requisite for the task of translation, most prominently to the following: *knowledge, skills, awareness, expertise*” (italics in original, p. x).

From another perspective, Schäffner (2003) identifies translation competence as “[a] complex notion which involves an awareness of and conscious reflection on all the relevant factors for the production of a target text (TT) that appropriately fulfills its specified function for its target addressees” (p. 146). Schaffner and Adab’s (2000) model consists of the following translation sub-competencies:

- 1) *Linguistic competence* – in the languages concerned;
- 2) *Cultural competence* – general knowledge about historical, political, economic, cultural, etc. aspects in the respective countries;
- 3) *Textual competence* – knowledge of regularities and conventions of texts, genres, text types;
- 4) *Domain/subject specific competence* – knowledge of the relevant subject, the area of expertise;
- 5) *(re)search competence* – general strategy competence whose aim is the ability to resolve problems specific to the cross-cultural transfer of texts;
- 6) *Transfer competence* – ability to produce TTs that satisfy the demands of the translation task (Schäffner, 2000, p. 146).

These competencies are interrelated and interact together depending on a given translation task. Both *Transfer* and *Research competence* are of a transitory, procedural and dynamic nature, whilst the other four are rather static. *Transfer competence* is specific only for translation and is facilitated by all the other competencies. In Schäffner's view, a competent trainee should be able to analyze the text-in-situation culture against the background of the translation assignment (Schäffner, 2003, p. 152).

The PACTE group model of translation competence

The third model of translation competence that is taken into consideration in this article is the PACTE group model. PACTE group perceived translation as a communicative activity directed towards achieving certain aims, involving taking decisions and solving problems.

- 1) *Transfer competence*: central competence, which integrates all the others. It is the ability to complete the transfer process from the source text (ST) to the target text (TT), taking into account translation's function and the characteristics of the receptor;
- 2) *Communicative competence*: It is also called bilingual sub-competence. In two languages, the system of underlying knowledge and skills necessary for linguistic communication. It is composed of pragmatic, socio linguistic, textual, grammatical and lexical knowledge in the two languages. For translators, this competence should be separated into understanding in the SL and production in the TL;
- 3) *Extra- linguistic competence* (bicultural knowledge): is composed of general world knowledge and specialist knowledge. It is about an awareness of cultural background that helps translators to mediate the message more effectively and adequately. More clearly, it includes knowledge about translation (how it functions and knowledge related to professional translation practice), bicultural (about the source and target cultures), encyclopaedic knowledge (about the world in general) and subject knowledge (in special areas);
- 4) *Instrumental-professional competence* (it is also called tools competence): is made up of knowledge and skills related both to the tools of the trade and the profession. They facilitate the translation task. More clearly, it includes knowledge related to the use of documentation sources and information and communication technologies applied to translation: dictionaries,

encyclopaedias, grammars, style books, parallel texts, electronic, corpora, searchers, etc. It reveals the relevance of information technology tools for the development of TC. It is important, especially with the present age of information and communication technology;

- 5) *Psycho-physiological competence*: is about the ability to use all kinds of cognitive, attitudinal, and psychomotor resources. More specifically, it includes cognitive components (memory, perception, attention and emotion), attitudinal aspects (intellectual curiosity, perseverance, rigor, critical spirit...), abilities such as creativity, logical reasoning, analysis and synthesis, etc.; and
- 6) *Strategic competence*: includes procedural knowledge to guarantee the efficiency of the translation process and solve the problems encountered. This is an essential sub-competence that affects all the others and causes inter-relations amongst them because it controls the translation process.

These sub-competencies of PACTE's model, according to Šeböková (2010), are "[i]nterrelated, interdependent, hierarchical and can compensate for one another" (p. 44). In this regard, Pinto and Sales (2007) emphasize that PACTE's model of translation competence "[i]s dynamic, and a salient point is the interrelation and feedback among all the competencies, since they all interact in order to resolve the problems that arise during the translation process" (p. 9). Similarly, scholars point out that transfer and strategic competences are essential; transfer, because it integrates all the others, and strategic, because it affects the others, making up for deficiencies and solving problems in all of them (Orozco & Albir, 2002; PACTE, 2000, 2003, 2005; Pinto & Sales, 2007; Šeböková, 2010). Hence, it can be asserted that PACTE model reflects the current functional and cognitive approaches in translation studies, which have extended the concept of translation competence by emphasizing the communicative function of texts and the cognitive processes underlying translation.

Generally speaking, it can be said that these models of translation competence confirm the importance of knowledge of source and target languages and cultures. There is a general agreement among scholars within the discipline of Translation Studies that translation competence, as a professional competence of acting, is a complex notion, comprising linguistic, cultural, textual, subject-specific, research, social, and transfer competences.

Furthermore, what is common in these models is that they agree upon three main elements which are of utmost importance in translation process: language, culture, and transfer. More specifically, the non-linguistic (cultural) elements are emphasized throughout all the models of translation competence. This verifies the strong tie between culture and translation. It seems clear by now that these models are complementary rather than contradictory. Supporting this idea, Schaffner and Adab (2000) emphasize that "[t]ranslation competence can be studied from two perspectives: from the perspective of the product (i.e. the target text, its quality, its appropriateness for the specified purpose), or from the perspective of the process (i.e. the efficacy of the decision-making process)" (p. xiii). The models mentioned above serve predominantly to raise learners' awareness of certain issues within translation, especially the non-linguistic ones. Therefore, to be an expert translator, these sub-competences should be taken into consideration and put into

practice either at university or professional environment. To be successful, translators should master the adequate knowledge, abilities, and strategies which lead to the performance of translation tasks.

Conclusion

To conclude, it can be affirmed that there is a strong relationship between culture and translation as translation is a transfer between cultures. If language is an integral part of culture, and the concept of culture is a totality of knowledge, proficiency and perception, then the translator needs to be not only bilingual (proficient in two languages), but also bicultural (knowledgeable of two or more cultures). In the same way, there is also an important correlation between translation and intercultural competence in which the two concepts have the same goal of preparing foreign language learners to be competent communicators through either professional translation or using the language to communicate successfully with others. Supporting this idea, most of the models of translation competence are multi-componential, and assume that translation competence consists of several elements or sub-competencies, including linguistic and non-linguistic ones. These sub-competencies are crucial for being competent translators.

Moreover, it is important to bear in mind that translation competence is not an innate human skill. Rather, it is acquired and developed gradually through constant and open-ended learning. It is strongly influenced by the degree of complexity of the texts the translator is working with. The greater the complexity of the text is, the higher the level of competence required of the translator will be. In this perspective, we should keep in mind that “[t]ranslators cannot be fully competent in all the fields they have to deal with. In exchange, they acquire the capacity to approximate the subject areas to such an extent that they can enable and facilitate easy and flawless understanding among the average reader as well as among the experts” (Neubert, 2000). As we have seen so far, the translator’s role is to facilitate the transfer of the message (meaning and cultural elements) from one language into another and to create an equivalent response from the target audience.

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