

The Politics of Attack through Gendered Hausa Proverbs

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Abstract: Proverb may be defined as “pieces of folk wisdom expressed with terseness and charm. The "terseness implies a certain economy in the choice of words and a sharpness of focus, while the "charm" conveys the touch of literary or poetic beauty in the expression”. Apart from giving insights into human behaviour and psychology, Hausa proverbs serve as mirrors of the cultural norms and values of the society. They are employed not only to entertain, educate, advice but most often to buttress a point, and to give an argument universal acceptability. Patriarchy as a social system which has been in existence over the centuries most often make certain that members of the opposite sex sustain conditioned behaviours toward one another. Varying views and expectations about masculinity and femininity have to a large extent affected the socio-cultural beliefs and attitudes of men and women in Hausa society. Gender proverbs in Hausa society are very common. They deal with among other things gender relations and the status the different sexes accord each other. This paper, therefore attempts an appraisal of gender based proverbs which have over time been used as tool of attack by the different sexes in Hausa society.

Keywords: Proverb, Hausa, Gender, Woman, Man, *Maza, Mata*.

INTRODUCTION

Gender is a category of social analysis which denotes the social and cultural as opposed to natural or biological relation of sexes [1]. In other words gender refers to the socially constructed and culturally variable roles that men and women play in their lives. The social relations of gender seek to define the parameters which exist in male/female relations in terms of sex roles, in power sharing, decision making, division of labour and returns on labour within the domestic economy and wider society Ojogbane [2]. The concept of gender is vital because, when applied to social analysis, it reveals how women’s subordination {or men’s subordination} is socially constructed. Very often there seems to be confusion in differentiating the boundaries of sex and gender. Patriarchy is a social system that has been in existence over the centuries. Through the deliberate accomplishment of some factors, it ensures that members of the opposite sex maintain conditioned behaviours toward one another. Proverbs are among the most widely used pieces of oral literature /tradition /folklore. In Africa, proverbs are repositories of social and cultural wisdom [3-6]. According to Ssetuba [5], “The proverb is regarded as a noble genre of African oral tradition that enjoys the prestige of a custodian of a people’s wisdom and philosophy of life”. To further buttress the role of proverbs, Oluwole says [7], “proverbs are the analytic tools of thought, when thought is lost, It is proverbs that are used to search for it”. Finnegan [3] also states that, “In many African cultures a feeling for language, for imagery, and for the expression of abstract ideas through compressed and allusive phraseology comes out particularly clearly in proverbs.

In Hausa society, proverbs are employed not only to entertain, educate, advice but most often to buttress a point, and to give an argument universal acceptability. Patriarchy as a social system which has been in existence over the centuries most often make certain that members of the opposite sex sustain conditioned behaviours toward one another. Varying views and expectations about masculinity and femininity have to a large extent affected the socio-cultural beliefs and attitudes of men and women in Hausa society. Gender proverbs in Hausa society are very common. They deal with among other things gender relations and the status the different sexes accord each other. It is in of this argument that this paper attempts an appraisal of gender based proverbs which have over time been used as tool of attack by the different sexes in Hausa society.

Gender perception in Hausa Society

The concept of gender is vital because, when applied to social analysis, it reveals how women’s subordination {or men’s subordination} is socially constructed. Gender is believed to be the centre point of any society because it defines the sex of its inhabitants and their socio-cultural relations with one another. It permeates every facet of society from domestics to global. It deals with socio-cultural roles, age and status. It descriptively portrays the way men and women are differentiated, it deals with what society allows them to do or not to do, as well as specify behaviors in their respective social construct. Accordingly, Mustapha in Akorede & Asinyanbola believes;

Gender is a social product- society makes one feminine or masculine. Similarly a person's behavior enacts for him or her a particular gender identity. In other words, our biological labels-male and female are what we are born with, but society does its marking by dressing individuals as masculine and feminine just as humans enact for themselves certain gender identity through their linguistics behavior (75-76).

It can be deduced from the above that gender is all encompassing and therefore a vital aspect of human relation. Ogundipe says, "Gender is the stated roles that are ascribed to men and women based on what is perceived to be their sex in society; it is a culturally shaped group of attributes and behaviours given to the female or to the male" (12).

There are two main genders; masculine (male) or feminine (female). In most societies, there is a basic division between gender attributes assigned to males and females. Gender role theory posits that boys and girls learn the appropriate behavior and attitudes from the family and overall culture they grow up with, and so non-physical gender differences are a product of socialization. This paper is though conducted on the premise of the social role theory which proposes/suggests that the social structure is the underlying force for the gender differences. Social role theory proposes that the sex-differentiated behavior is driven by the division of labor between two sexes within a society. The characteristics of the activities performed by men and women became people's perceptions and beliefs of the dispositional attributes of men or women themselves. These socially constructed gender roles are considered to be hierarchical and this subsequently led to gender roles, or gender stereotype [8].

In traditional Hausa society, the man is an overseer of the affairs and lives of the women in his life; wives, daughter, sisters or even mothers. He determines the dimension of their lives and destinies whether he is morally, upright or not. "As a father, he is assigned the role of training the children as the head of the family his authority over it is unmistakable. He makes rules for the household that cannot be violated with in purity" [2]. The woman on the other hand is first and foremost part and parcel of the society. She is considered subordinate to man and her advice is not to be taken for it is believed that a woman is untrustworthy, unintelligent and unreliable in giving advice. As a daughter, the Hausa woman is expected to obey the societal rules and expectation set down for her first, by her father and brothers if she has any and later by her husband when she eventually gets married. The Hausa woman is though seen positively as a mother. As a mother she is upheld and recognized as a life giver. The society sees her role in the upbringing of the child as inevitable and uncompromising. She is viewed as good, responsible,

loving, caring and affectionate.

As a wife, a woman is expected to rely on her husband for everything. Her views or choices are not taken seriously and she is only recognized and respected by the society if she obeys the wishes and commands of the husband. Speaking about the Hausa woman, Doki observed that: "In the domain of public life she is not allowed to make any original contribution to the promotion of the religious quality of life. Whenever she is allowed to work towards the material development of life, it was likely to be in the context of exploitation or as mundane work with little spiritual satisfaction or significance" (9). When things are good in the home front or family, the credit goes to the husband; but on the other hand when they go bad the wife is expected to take responsibility and apologize; for man is never wrong. Whatever the odds she is expected to behave as a good woman and she is expected to keep the husband happy even if she is not.

Proverbs

Although there is so far no perfect definition of the proverb, certain characteristics are generally ascribed by scholars to this genre. Put simply, a proverb may be defined as a piece of folk wisdom expressed with terseness and charm. The "terseness implies a certain economy in the choice of words and a sharpness of focus, while the "charm" conveys the touch of literary or poetic beauty in the expression" [9]. Proverbs are said to be short and brief statements that sometimes express ageless wisdom or truths. Most times proverbs are dressed in stylistic elements like assonance, alliteration, parallelism, imagery, and metaphor etc for emphasis. Structurally, proverbs have been described by Abrahams as "a description made up of two or more elements, and these elements often conform to the two parts of the balanced structure; these two or more elements are usually tied together either by a verb of equivalence or a verb of causation" (120). In defining the proverb functionally Abraham sees the proverb as, "descriptions that propose an attitude or a mode of action in relation to a recurrent social situation" (121). Dundes also defines the proverb as "a traditional propositional statement consisting of at least one descriptive element, a descriptive element consisting of a topic and a comment" (115). The Hausa term for proverb is *Karin Magana* which Skinner defines as "a sentence or sentences which a group of Hausa people agree is a *Karin Magana* (2-3).

African/ Hausa proverbs perform several functions in society.

Proverbs do have an entertainment value to them; whether we are referring to the way they are used in spicing up statements or making them more exciting to listeners, or we are referring to their preludial or interludial use in narrative performance or even to songs made up entirely of proverbial lines, there is

clearly a sense of beauty attached to them that appeals to the ears and to the imagination of their audience [9].

Proverbs are sometimes used in arguing court cases [10, 11, 3]; “used in conversations at least, they help to provide a certain pointedness and clarity of focus to speech” [9]; used “in formal instruction during initiation ceremonies” [3], in chants during ceremonial dance performances [3], in ritual drumming [3, 12], in competitive games [13, 3], and as depictions on royal gold weights [3].

Proverbs are also often employed to deliver arguments in debates to settle problems, to uncover the truth, to give advice, to offer observations and to arrive at judgments on the application of customary and unwritten laws. Proverbs are also used ornamentally, to heighten and add to the artfulness of conversation; employing as they do such literary and linguistic resources as irony, humour, emphasis, satire, sarcasm, under-statement etc. Above all and no doubt “overriding value of proverbs is that they may be considered the storehouse of the wisdom of the society. Most proverbs have a philosophical depth which is the result of a careful and sensitive observation of human conduct and experience and of the surrounding nature. “It is this vast knowledge that proverb users draw from both when they hold informal conversation and when they engage in formal discourse” [9].

Nothing is closer to the heart of the Hausa society and thought than the proverbs. More than any other Hausa tradition, it expresses the essence of Hausa wisdom. Hausa proverbs are variously classified and each proverb is subdivided into the theme that best suits it. They are capable of a variety of meaning according to how and when they are used. Thus one proverb can occur under various themes or can be used to relate to different situations.

Procedure and Analysis of Data

The method used is to quote the proverbs in their original texts; this is followed by their literal translations as against an interlinear word-for-word translation into another language;

because, there is a world of difference between providing a free translation, say, into English, and providing a word-for-word interlinear translation because, without the latter, only a native speaker of the original language could possibly follow the internal logic and nuances of the proverb; in many cases, the free translation into English fails to convey the basic meaning of the proverb and there is no way for the reader who does not know the original language to check on this for himself [14].

The literal translation usually retains most of the original features of the original proverb while at the same time make sense to the reader. The translation is

then followed by the annotation of the proverb and the social context in which the proverb could be used because; it is important to seek for information as to other components of the situations in which proverbs are used. One should ask for example, what are the rules governing who can use proverbs or particular proverbs, and to whom? When and where can a particular proverb be used? Above all one should identify the contributing contextual factors, which make the use of proverbs or a particular proverb, possible or not possible, appropriate or inappropriate? [15]. Thus, any study that is interested in Hausa proverbs and their communicativeness should thus start from the popularity of the context in which they are used.

Appraisal of Gendered Hausa Proverbs

“...what we call something summarizes our attitude towards it” [16]. Similarly, what a society says through proverbs about women and men is the society’s view of women and men.

Proverbs about Women

Many proverbs, cutting across cultures, ridicule women and they have contributed immensely to the negative traits attributed to women. Proverbs are thus used to belittle and degrade women, especially those who are unwilling to conform to the status quo.

Kurasa dangin shaidan! In ba ku ba gida, in kun yi yawa gida ya bachi.

Kurasa family of Satan! If none of you, there is no home, if many of you abound, the home is spoilt.

This proverb suggests that women are satanic and at the same time necessary evils because most homes cannot survive without them and if they are many the home front usually knows no peace. A husband who wants to rebuke his quarrelling wives could use this proverb.

Bin shawaran mata ita ke sa da na sani

Taking women’s advice causes “Oh had I known”!

This proverb also stresses the danger of heeding advice given by women. It is believed that they are untrustworthy, unintelligent and even unreliable in giving advice. The proverb could be used to comment on the fact that women should not be relied upon.

Karfin mata sai yawan magana

The strength of women is but in a plentitude of words

According to this proverb, women are seen by the Hausa society as very talkative and unserious. They have too much time to waste in talking, gossiping and quarrelling. The proverb could be used to shut up a very talkative woman.

Zaman ka kai kadai ya fi zama da muguwar mache

Living alone is better the living with a bad woman

According to the proverb, some women are wicked and troublesome. Such women are not welcomed by men as wives. In fact, some men will prefer to live alone than marry such women. A man can use this proverb to justify why he is still a bachelor.

Maso mace wawa bai san za ta ki shi ba

He who loves a woman is a fool; he doesn't know whether she will later reject him

The Hausa people believe that men should not trust three things. These are a horse, a river and a woman. The rationale behind this saying is that: A horse may grow up from a mare into a horse under one's care, but this will not stop the horse from throwing one over when it is tired; one may cross a river on a journey but on his way back the river may have over flown leaving one stranded at the river bank; while a woman might be enjoying life blissfully with her man, but once he becomes poor she leaves him and seeks for a greener pasture. A person who in the past might have had a terrible experience with the woman he loved and trusted could use this proverb to encourage other men to be wary and suspicious of women. It could also be used to rebuke a man who puts all his trust and love on a woman.

Ya mace yar kashe gida

Female child destroyer of a home (family)

In this proverb the female child is negatively portrayed as a destroyer of the household because she will one day marry into another family leaving hers empty, indirectly deflating the economic strength of the family because of the huge financial expenditure involved in marrying off daughters in Hausa society.

Da auren karuwa gara kiwon zakara.

Better keep a cock than marry a prostitute.

At least the cock will graze within the house and even when it goes out it comes back home at dusk. But the prostitute has no shame she stays away from home as long as it pleases her. The proverb could be used to debase a fastidious woman.

Zancen ka ke so, karuwa ta ji mai wa'azi

You are wasting your time the prostitute says to the preacher

Reform is out of the question, so the preacher is only wasting his time preaching to the prostitute to change for the better. This proverb could be used on anyone who thinks he can change the society for the better but keeps failing.

Wuce ni karuwa ta ga maras Kwabo.

Pass on, the prostitute says to the penniless man

The penniless man is of no use to the

prostitute, since he can't give her the money she needs. This proverb could be used on anyone who is considered insignificant to the society.

Ina sane, Karuwa ta taka matar aure

I am aware of my act says the prostitute after stepping on a married woman

Meaning, it is a deliberate act since the prostitute knows that the married woman is more respected by society than her. She does that to press home a point intending to say, "I may be looked down upon by the society but look at me too, I am also a woman like you".

Mukami, karuwa cikin Amalanke

Honour, a prostitute in a handcart

Like the proverb before this, the sophisticated prostitute who is supposed to ride in cars is riding a handcart. What an irony. The handcart is used for transporting goods and animals from one place to another. Describing a prostitute in a handcart as honour, is really derogatory and sarcastic. That means she has degenerated to the level of an animal or good. This proverb could also be applied as the one before it.

Karuwa kafirar dangi

Prostitute (is) a pagan in her family

In this proverb the prostitute is described as the only pagan in the family. Hausa people being predominantly Muslims strongly frown at prostitution; therefore by taking upon prostitution as a trade, the prostitute has dishonoured her family name. She has therefore become an outcast whom every family member wants to disassociate from. The proverb could be used to discourage young girls from venturing into prostitution.

Karuwa matar kowa

Prostitute every one's wife

This is like saying she belongs to every one interested and not to anyone in particular. She is nobody's responsibility. In Hausa society, men do not share wives; therefore for a woman to be called every body's wife means she can be used and discarded by anyone who fancies her. Nobody will be interested in having children by such a woman and the society neither respect nor offer her any protection.

Mata in ba ku ba gida, in kun yi yawa, gida ya baci

The home is empty with no women and if they are many, the house knows no peace

Women are known to be the backbone of any home. It only flourishes with and under the guidance of women. The women take care of not only the home front but also the husband, the children and other

members of the household. Any home that lacks a woman is most often found to be under lock. Thus when there is no woman a house ceases to exist. The second part of the proverb suggests that any home that has too many women is characterized with marital tussles and disunity. Most Hausa homes are polygamous in nature and are most often characterized by the feature above. The proverb could be used as a comment on the noisy nature of women.

Mata Ba Tukwane Bane Balle A Kwankwasa A San Na Kwarai

Women are not clay pots else, one would have tested their durability.

Just like other individuals, women have different behavioural characters. Some of these characters are known while others are hidden. In most cases, the bad characters are hidden. In Hausa society, the clay pot is tested before use to ascertain its durability; unlike the clay pot, this proverb suggests that unlike a clay pot, the durability of a woman cannot be tested before one gets involved with her. One only gets to know the character of a woman when he stays with her ie after use. This proverb is used as a criticism of women's negative characters.

Mata Dangin Shaidan

Women are close relatives to the devil/Women the relatives of the devil

The Hausa people are of the view that any function that has women only normally ends in friction and chaos because the society views women as thoughtless, lousy unreliable and ones who lack focus. Thus if they are not closely monitored by men who see themselves as the superior, things will fall apart. This proverb is used to comment on the unreliable nature of women.

Zancen Banza Zancen Mata

Useless talk: discussion by women/ women's opinion

In most cases, Hausa men see women as weaklings and unreliable whose testimony should not be relied upon. They have variously been characterized as envious, gossips, fickle-minded, wicked, greedy, and materialistic. They are viewed as double faced who may say one thing now and deny it later. This proverb is used to emphasize the unreliable nature of women.

Ba a yi Komai Ba, Mace ta Haiyi Mace

Nothing has been achieved because a woman has given birth to a baby girl

In Hausa society, like in other African societies, the preference for male children to female children is held highly. It is believed that the female child lives in her parent's home only until she is married off. Once she gets married she leaves her

parent's home to make and grow another man's home. Thus, every man wants his wife to be delivered of a male child who will remain at home to carry on the family name. Thus men with this kind of thought or opinion prefer male children to female children.. And thus to them, there is no hope for the future if a woman gives birth to a female child. This proverb is used by extension to justify this belief.

Mata Agogon Bango Ku Juya A Duk Lokacin Da Ku Ke So

Women, the clocks you move/rotate as you so wish

Women in this proverb are likened to a wall clock which tick ticks to different directions. As the seconds, minutes and hours go by so does the clock change the direction of its movement. It is believed that just as the clock and changes with time so do women change. Women are known for mood swings and therefore, a jovial woman now may turn moody. (Hormonal changes)

Appraisal of Gendered Hausa Proverbs about Men

Namiji Rumfar Kara

Man is a shade made of stalk

This proverb metaphorically compares man with a stalk shade. A stalk shade put up only yesterday can be destroyed by a strong wind, fire or even be removed by the owner the next day because he does not need it anymore or due to unforeseen circumstances or incidence. Similarly the life of a woman who is happily married can suffer a reversal of fortune if the husband (man) decides to suddenly end the marriage. Women who find themselves separated from their husbands or divorced for no fault of theirs mostly use this proverb.

Namiji zabo ne ba ya kwana kasa

A man is like a guinea fowl who does not sleep on the bare floor

Man is likened to a guinea fowl always known to sleep on top of tress or a specially preserved place for it. Similarly, men under normal circumstances do not sleep on the bare floor, rather they sleep on beddings or beds specially made for them by their wives. This proverb is used to show some of the characteristics of men. The women who love and cherish them always give them the best.

Namiji Kanin Ajali

Man is next in hierarchy to death.

In Hausa society just like in other African societies, traditionally women are neither to be seen nor heard. They are expected to do the biddings of their husbands accepting their lot without complaint. When the home front is peaceful it is attributed to the man but when things go bad, the women is blamed even if she is right. Thus, the in-human treatments meted out on the

woman by the husband could gradually lead her to a silent death. Hausa society being patriarchal in nature would not even listen to her complaints. Women to lament about their lot when affairs at the home front get tough popularly use this proverb.

Namiji rigar kaya ba a saki da arziki

Man is like a dress made of thorn, which is difficult to put on.

This proverb metaphorically compares a man with a dress made of thorn, which one hardly wears. If one attempts to force on a dress made of thorns, one would pay dearly for it because, one would have his/her body pierced with the sharp edge of the thorns. This proverb could be used to warn women against trusting men and if they do they would definitely suffer the consequences.

Namiji Barkono ne; sai an tauna za'a san yajinsa

Man is like Chili pepper, the taste is known only when it is chewed (tasted).

First impression could be deceptive and one does not know the behaviour of man until his character is evaluated. This actually takes time just like the chewing of chili pepper. Thus this proverb suggests that man should not be judged by mere appearance.

A similar proverb is

Namiji buhun barkono kowa ya rungume shi sai ya yi tari

Man is a sack of Chili pepper and whosoever hugs it must cough

Just like the other proverbs before this man is compared to a bag of chili pepper, which causes one to cough terribly, and gasping for breath. This statement of comic exaggeration could be used to suggest an uncountable number or immeasurable negative qualities of the male folk by women and it can also be applied appropriately.

Namiji ba dan goyo ba ne

Man is not someone to be carried on the back

This proverb in other words suggests that man is not appreciative. Whatever good a wife does, the husband does not hesitate to disappoint her when and where he feels like. Thus the proverb says in effect that man should not be relied upon. This proverb is used to emphasize the unreliable nature of men.

Jin dadin aure, ce ma miji baba

The comfort of marriage makes one call a husband father.

When marital life is blissful, comfortable or peaceful a woman feels elated and even goes to the

extent of likening her husband to her father. In fact, she could go as far as calling him father or daddy. But alas, the same man she gives all her love and trust might betray her after all. This proverb could be used to rebuke or caution a woman who puts all her love and trust in a man.

Wadda ta ce namiji uba ne za ta kwana marainiya

Whoever considers a husband (like) a father will end up an orphan.

This proverb like the one before it cautions women against giving total trust and love to men because they may be shattered through divorce, separation or betrayal. In short the proverb cautions women against total or absolute reliance on men.

Maza dangin gujiya (gyada) sai an fasa akan san na kwarai

Men are like groundnut in shells, their qualities are known only when broken.

This proverb shows that men are of different kinds, we have the good as well as the bad ones. One has to study the quality/character of each before one makes a choice. The proverb seeks to encourage women to analyze men's characters before jumping into a serious relationship.

Maza ma'aminta, sai an gwada a kan san na kwarai

Men need to be accessed before their characters /qualities can be determined.

This proverb could be used to remark on the difficulty of evaluating men by mere appearance. It could also be used to comment on the impossibility of judging men by their outward appearances only.

Namiji allo ne sai an jingina

A man is like a slate that can only stand when supported.

This proverb suggests that just like everything in life, men also need complementation. Adversely suggesting that though, men may consider women their inferiors, there are certain things they cannot do without the help of women or without women being their partners. This proverb is used to show that life generally needs support, meaning no man is an island on his own.

Namiji tabarmar kashi

Man is a mat made of bones

The nature of men here is simply likened to a mat made of bones which is difficult to bend/fold. A mat made of fibre can easily be folded unlike one made of bones. The message here is that men are difficult to deal with. Once they make decisions whether rightly or wrongly, they hardly change their minds. This proverb could be used to comment on the tough nature of men.

Namiji tuwon tulu. Ba'a kwashe ki da girma
Man is food made in tulu, which is hardly served in big
moulds.

Tulu is a large clay container with a very small opening, with one or two handles used especially in traditional Hausa society to keep drinking water. Thus one can imagine how difficult it would be to serve mashed food out of a *tulu* and even if it is served out it would definitely be in small moulds. This proverb suggest that no matter how prestigious a woman views a man he would one day disappoint her. It cautions women on the unreliable nature of men.

Namiji shege ne, inji matar da ta nemi a saketa
A man is a bastard says a woman who wants to be
divorced

When a woman is fed up with her husband, and or is tired of the marriage and is looking for a way for separation, she could call her husband all ungodly names especially the phrase "*shege*" meaning, "bastard" to provoke the husband so that he would divorce her. No man accepts being called a bastard especially by a woman. Women use this proverb as a provocative statement.

Namiji jariri ne sai a hankali
Man is like an infant/baby who should be tolerated

This proverb describes the way men are viewed by women in Hausa society. Men are hardly blamed even when they do wrong because the society is patriarchal in nature. Thus a man/husband is likened to a baby/infant who is never blamed for any wrong done but is tolerated because he is a necessary evil whom a woman must live with whether she likes it or not if she wants to be respected in the society. Therefore, this proverb could be used to advice women to endure all discomfort by their husbands rather than seeking for divorce.

Namiji mai wuyar al'amari
Man is a difficult person

The nature of man is unpredictable and a woman cannot satisfy him no matter how much she tries. This proverb is a comment on the unpredictable nature of man.

CONCLUSION

Irrespective of whatever definition is given to the concept "gender", it is a common and vital feature of literary productions and reproductions. The concept gender is not that of superiority and inferiority in African and by extension Hausa culture and it does not preach hatred for any sex and therefore very accommodating. The appraisal of gendered proverbs above goes on to confirm that folklore occupies a central place in the lives, of the Hausa people. And in

the society today, proverbs are used variously every now and then for emphasis consciously and unconsciously. The Hausa, like several other African peoples, use proverbs to drive home a point. Apart from giving one an insight into human behaviour and psychology, proverbs also serve as mirrors of the cultural values of communities. They are employed not only to entertain, but most often to buttress a point, and to give an argument the cloak of general acceptability.

What this paper has done is to add another dimension to the issue of gender representation in Hausa oral literature. The supposed truthfulness of proverbs, especially those that have to do with gender relations, has gone a long way to further reinforce the way both sexes view each other whether inferior status or otherwise. The paper also reveals that gender is relevant in interpreting creativity and as such should not be treated as a distinct variable but should be subsumed into the overall meaning of creativity.

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