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Surname-Based Imbalance in Gender Representation and Distribution of Power: A Critical Case Study of Faqir Abad Village Council, Charsadda



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Abstract

Naming and surnaming practices are imbedded in larger social structures. There are reflections of tradition, history, values, and norms in them as they are not just labels. The purpose of the study is to investigate the distribution of tribal identity markers between male and female, and then link that equal/unequal distribution with asymmetrical patterns of power. Using descriptive quantitative analysis, this study analyzed the distribution of tribal identity markers between male and female. Male has a greater ratio of tribal identity markers as compared with female. This study answers the question that the distribution of tribal identity markers is not equal between male and female, which is further linked with asymmetrical patterns of power.

Key Words: Surnaming Practices, Tribal Identity Markers, Asymmetrical Patterns Of Power

Introduction

Background of the Study

“What’s in the name? That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet” (Shakespeare, 1597/2015). Shakespeare is right about that there is an arbitrary relation between signifier, i.e. the word rose and signified, i.e. the object or the rose itself. But the statement would have little value if he would have assumed that the relation between signifier and signified is completely arbitrary. Because we know from linguistics, that the relation between signifier and signified is not completely arbitrary but this arbitrariness is conventionally conditioned, as Saussure says “it is because the linguistic sign is arbitrary that it knows no other law than that of tradition, and [it is] because it is founded upon tradition that it can be arbitrary” (Saussure et al., 2011). Additionally considering the critical discourse perspective of language, language use is connected with and imbedded in larger social structures and in turn social inequalities and power patterns are manifested, maintained, and reproduced in it and same is the case with surnaming practices.

The field of study, which is concerned with the scientific investigation of names is called onomastics. Anthroponomastics or anthroponymy is one of the branches of onomastics which study personal names. Personal names are further divided into given names, family names, nicknames, surnames, and so on. Our study will analyze surnames and family or tribal names in order to investigate power patterns manifested in them.

This study is undertaken to know about that personal names do carry unconscious glimpses of inequality in our society, i.e. Pakhtun’s society. Names are not empty they do carry content, names are not without meaning as Akinnaso says “the names tend to relate to the environment, history, politics, economy and events within the community (Akinnaso, 1980 cited by Sengani, 2015)”, they do play a role in identity formation of individuals which further interact in intricate ways with other social institutions on the surface of discourse.

Now we will discuss naming practices in Pakhtun culture. It is generally assumed that Pakhtuns often don’t use surnames (reference). Their names consist of first name, which include proper name plus subordinate name; they also use Honorifics and Titles:

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Afghans traditionally use only a first name and generally lack a last name. People are often distinguished by their tribal affiliation, place of birth, profession or honorific titles. First names, in particular male names, are often compound or double names such as Ahmad Navid, Bashir Bijan, or Ahmad Khan. This is in a way similar to English names such as Mary Ellen or Billy Bob. The first names in Afghanistan often include an Islamic or Arabic component such as Ahmad, Mohammad, and Ali. Although first names for women may also be of Arabic origin, in general women are given Persian or Pashto names. Many Afghans that have contact with the Western world adopt a surname. In general, the educated or prosperous families living in urban areas use last names. In these instances, they generally select a last name that represents their tribal affiliation as in the case of Hamed Karzai. According to Goering (2002), even if an Afghan possesses a last name, the official name generally remains the first name: "An Afghan may change his last name at a whim, but altering the first one requires an application to the government and official permission". (Goering 2002, p.2 cited by Megerdoomian, 2009)

According to Megerdoomian (2009), the structure of Pakhtun names are:

Afghan names include a "proper name", which refers to the main name one would call someone by, and a "subordinate name".

(SubordinateName) + ProperName = FirstName

ProperName + (SubordinateName) = FirstName

In cases where the person has only one subordinate name, the proper name is considered to be the main first name. In the case of Ahmad Shah, for instance, Ahmad would be considered the main first name. If there are two subordinate names, then the less frequent name is treated as the main first name. For example, both parts of the name Gholam Mohammad are common or subordinate names; in this case the less frequent name, namely Gholam, would be used as the main first name. (Megerdoomian, 2009)

Similarly, Rahman et.al say about the naming practices of Pakhtuns:

Naming practices in Pashto speech community is sometimes different from the use of these names for addressing people. It is a common practice that the most common names like Khan and Malak etc. are used with personal names as a necessary part to show the social position of elite families in Pashto speech community (Davies & Harré, 2001) and if they are used with names of people from the lower or middle class, they are commonly addressed by their personal names. There were no metronymic practices found here but there were enough instances of patronymic surnames practices. There was a common practice of ethonyms (both endonyms and exonyms) in Pashto speech community because of ancestors' occupation and cast. The family names though were frequent but less than the traditional and religious names and more than modern names in the names of older generation. The naming pattern in Pashto speech community reflected their social aspects of life. The factor of belief in particular religious sect and ethnic affiliation or patronymic lineage determined the naming practices replacing the traditional names of older generations who were named after days and objects (Olatunji et al., 2015). Similarly, the family names are still in use with almost the same frequency. The males dominate in family names because the female name is still a taboo in Pashto speech community (Khan, 2008) and the family names is avoided in female naming practices to hide the family lineage. The female names are mostly personal names and if there is second name available (modern trend in female names), it is commonly a family name, i.e. the father's name. (Rahman et al. 2021)

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Problem Statement

This study is going to describe, compare, and evaluate surnaming practices of male and female in village council Faqir Abad, in order to show asymmetrical power patterns manifested in the discourse.

Hypothesis

Asymmetrical power relations are manifested in the surnaming practices of male and female in village council Faqir Abad.

Research Questions

Q1: How tribal identity markers are distributed in male and female names throughout the sample?

Q2: Is the distribution of family or tribal names, i.e. surnames, between male and female in village council Faqir Abad equal?

Research Objectives

To know that tribal identity markers are unequally distributed in the naming discourse of Faqir Abad

This study aims to know that, as in a patriarchal society- like ours, power is unequally distributed between men and women in the society, and so does in surnaming practices.

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study is that no or very little research has been done before in this area, i.e. that power is manifested in surnames. Therefore, this study is conducted to fill that gap. Another thing which is very much important and has concerns with practical application of the study is that it will explore the reflections of patriarchal setup, gender inequality, and power differentials in surnaming practices. As women are kept deprive and has no access to many things in patriarchal society, same is the case with surnames, they have no are little access to tribal identity markers. They don't own tribal identity because they can't represent tribe; they have nothing to do with tribal identity ownership. It's not the game to be played by women. It's power game.

Literature Review

Broadly speaking, this section contains two sections. In first section the relationship between language, in our case discourse, and power will be discussed. The second section of the review will particularly deal with surnaming practices and their connection with gender inequality and asymmetrical distribution of power.

Language and Power

The relationship between power and language has been discussed by various scholars, but here with accord to this study the focus will be on two discourse theorists, namely Norman Fairclough and Michael Foucault. First Fairclough's conception of discourse and its relation to power will be discussed and then what Foucault says about discourse and its connection to power.

Fairclough's Conception of Language and Power

In this sub-section Fairclough's conception of language will be discussed with

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comparison to Saussure. And after, how Fairclough sees the relation between discourse and power. In order to understand what Fairclough thinks of the relation between language and power, first it is necessary to understand his conception of language. Fairclough disagree with the Saussurean distinction of *langue* and *parole* and their features. *Langue*, for Saussure, is a code which is prior to actual language use, it is the social side of that particular linguistic system, and is same for all members of that language community:

Saussure regarded *langue* as a system or code which is prior to actual language use, which is the same for all members of a language community, and which is the social side of language as opposed to *parole*, which is individual. (Fairclough, 2013)

While *parole* means, “what is actually said or written, is determined purely by individual choices, not socially at all” (Fairclough, 2013). *Parole*, i.e. language use, according to Saussure, is determined by individual choices, but for Fairclough, it, language use, is socially conditioned:

Modern sociolinguistics which has done most to undermine the Saussurean concept of *parole*. Sociolinguistics has shown that this variation is not, as Saussure thought, a product of individual choice, but a product of social differentiation - language varies according to the social identities of people in interactions, their socially defined purposes, social setting, and so on. So, Saussure’s individualistic notion of *parole* is unsatisfactory. (Fairclough, 2013)

Similarly, Saussure thinks of *langue* as same for all the members of the community and its conventions are homogeneous and unitary, “Saussure assumes that everyone in a language community has equal access to and command of its *langue*, whereas in reality access to and command of standard languages are unequal” (Fairclough, 2013). But for Fairclough it’s not the case as he says, “However, I don’t assume (as *langue* does) that conventions are unitary and homogeneous; on the contrary, they are characterized by diversity, and by power struggle” (Fairclough, 2013). Later he tries to connect all these with his conception of discourse:

Let me now relate this to my decision to focus upon discourse. I shall not accept the Saussurean concentration on language as opposed to language use; nor, on the other hand, shall I accept the individualistic notion of language use involved in *parole*. The emphasis should be on language use, but language use conceived of as socially determined, as what I call discourse. (Fairclough, 2013)

In his book *Language and Power* Fairclough has talked about two types of power/language relationships, i.e. power *in* discourse, and power *behind* discourse “power in discourse is concerned with discourse as a place where relations of power are actually exercised and enacted” while “power behind discourse shifts the focus to how orders of discourse, as dimensions of the social orders of social institutions or societies, are themselves shaped and constituted by relations of power” (Fairclough, 2013). Power in discourse is further elaborated as “power in ‘face-to-face’ spoken discourse, power in ‘cross-cultural’ discourse where participants belong to different ethnic groupings, and the ‘hidden power’ of the discourse of the mass media”, while power behind discourse is explained as “the differentiation of dialects into ‘standard’ and ‘nonstandard’; the conventions associated with a particular discourse type, the discourse of gynaecological examinations; and constraints on access to discourses within an order of discourse” (Fairclough, 2013).

In all these elaborations of power/language relations “constraints on access to discourses within an order of discourse” is related as for our current study is concerned.

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While discussing access to discourse “The question is, who has access to which discourses, and who has the power to impose and enforce constraints on access?” (Fairclough, 2013). In order to explain this point, he further says:

The myth of free speech, that anyone is ‘free’ to say what they like, is an amazingly powerful one, given the actuality of a plethora of constraints on access to various sorts of speech, and writing. These are part and parcel of more general constraints on social practice - on access to the more exclusive social institutions, their practices, and especially the most powerful subject positions constituted in their practices. And in terms of discourse in particular, on access to the discourse types, and discursive positions of power. In a sense, these ‘cultural goods’ are analogous to other socially valued ‘goods’ of a more tangible nature - accumulated wealth, good jobs, good housing, and so forth. Both sorts of goods are unequally distributed, so that members of the dominant bloc (the capitalist class, the ‘middle class’, the professions) have substantially more of them than members of the working class - they are richer in cultural capital. (Fairclough, 2013)

Foucauldian Conception of Language and Power

Now, Foucauldian conception of discourse and its relation to power would be explained. Discourse, according to Foucault, “...is not as a group of signs or a stretch of text, but as ‘practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak’” (Foucault, 1972:49, cited by Mills, 2004). Foucault holds the view that:

In every society the production of discourse is at once *controlled, selected, organised and redistributed* according to a certain number of procedures, *whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers*, to cope with chance events, to evade its ponderous, awesome materiality. (Foucault, 1972)

There are two types of mechanisms, according to Foucault, in order to control the production and redistribution of discourse, one is *external* and the other one is *internal*. *Exclusion* is one of the external mechanisms for controlling the production of discourse, which is achieved by three types of systems of exclusion. The first one is the *prohibition of discourse*, second is *division and rejection*; which is the “opposition of the speech of reason to the speech of madness” for Foucault, third system of exclusion is *the opposition between true and false discourse*.

We will discuss the prohibition of discourse, as it is related to our study, Foucault says “In appearance, speech may well be of little account, but the prohibitions surrounding it soon reveal its links with desire and power” (Foucault, 1972). Here Foucault says that the system of prohibition reveal the links between discourse and power. Which will be linked with surnaming practices in section four.

Weedon (1997: p. 105) asserts that discourses, in Foucault’s work, are ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations. Discourse transmits and produces power; it undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it (Weedon, 1997: p. 107). For Foucault (1972), discourses are about *what can be said* and thought, but also about *who can speak, when, and with what authority*. (Pitsoe & Letseka, 2013)

Discourse is the surface which social practices, social structures, and power play on “As observed by Foucault, language plays a powerful role in reproducing and transforming power relations along many different dimensions (of class, culture, gender, sexuality, disability and age, etc.)” (Pitsoe & Letseka, 2013). Pitsoe and Letseka conclude their article by saying:

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To sum up, discourse is interwoven with power and knowledge to constitute the oppression of those “others” in our society, serving to marginalise, silence and oppress them. They are oppressed not only by being denied access to certain knowledge, but by the demands of the dominant group within the society that the “other” shed their differences (in essence, their being, their voices, their cultures) to become “one of us”. (Pitsoe & Letseka, 2013)

Surnaming Practices and Power:

This section is going to turn its focus from the relations of power and language to naming and surnaming practices and their connection to power differences. From the antiquity names and naming practices are the site of inquiry and critical investigation. As Hough says that “Coates explains, name theory is arguably the most ancient topic area in the whole linguistics since it was first problematized by Plato in his *Cratylus*, (Coates 2006e cited by Fraser, 2018).” Names are not meaningless they do carry meaning as Singani quotes about the meaning of names as:

The philosopher Mills (1904), cited by Tapscott (1968:80–82), focusing on English names, maintains that names are meaningless. However, a number of scholars such as Frege (1985), Russell (1985), Searle (1985) Donnelan (1985) challenged his views, arguing that a name is associated with statements or characteristics or even descriptions befitting the person to whom it is given. Thus, names have what Ziff (1960:93) calls ‘information content’. In fact, Tapscott (1968:82) shows that at some stage Mills had agreed that names have an informative content, except that he did not follow-up this agreement. (Sengani, 2015)

Names are not just meaningful as they refer to their referents, names and naming practices embody ideologies in themselves as Singani says “The names tend to carry strong ideological assumptions” (Kamberelis & Scott 2004:368 cited by Sengani, 2015). They do carry cultural weight, group identity, traditions, and embodiment of a lot of other social practices. Sengani states “according to Akinnaso (1980:279–280), names tend to relate to the environment, history, politics, economy and events within the community” (Sengani, 2015). If it is assumed, that names are just labels and they have nothing to do with our history, traditions, ideologies, and so on. It would be an incomplete picture of our understanding about name and naming practices. As Sengani conclude his article by saying that “names may appear to be very small linguistic elements, but in fact code much information about events, history, culture, heritage and goings-on in families and communities” (Sengani, 2015). Another scholar De Stefani says “Personal names have been described as a means to index aspects of identity (such as gender, descent, religion, etc.) and mark biographical changes (transition to adulthood, marriage, maternity, etc.)” (Fraser, 2018). Boas also maintains the same view point while focusing on names and their relation to social stratification “Lévi-Strauss (1962) who makes a major contribution to how naming practices and name usage are related to social and religious life, maintaining that naming is a practice of social classification” (Fraser, 2018). De Stefani further explains these connections by saying:

In a similar vein, Geertz and Geertz (1964) publish an analysis of teknonymy in Bali—whereby adults are designated with respect to the names of their children and find it to be ‘a coherent system of ideas, a consistent set of beliefs, a theory even, about the way in which social life is, and ought to be, organized’ (1964: 103). Subsequently, a comprehensive overview of naming practices is provided by Alford (1988), who offers

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a cross-cultural investigation of naming practices and related phenomena, such as how communities classify and individualize their members through names, and how names may change in the course of one's life, and who also describes the social and religious relevance of name usage vs. name avoidance in social interaction.(Fraser, 2018)

So far it has been discussed that names are not just labels for objects they do carry meanings and there is a strong connection between naming practices and society, its structures, patterns, and practices. Now this discussion would be further extended to surnaming practices and its relation to gender inequality and power differentials.

On surnaming practices, a lot of research has been done before. Pilcher in his article "*Names and Doing Gender*" mentions plenty of research studies focusing upon heterosexual women's surname choices at marriage. She mentions studies like ", Boxer and Gritsenko 2005; Goldin and Shim 2004; Gooding and Kreider 2010; Hamiltonetal. 2011; Lockwoodetal. 2011; Mills 2003; Robnett et al. 2016; Scheubleetal. 2012;Shafer 2017; Twenge 1997; Valetas 2001; Wilson 2009" (Pilcher, 2017). Similarly she also mentions researches regarding children surnaming practices "There are also several studies of surname choices made for children (Almack 2005; Davies 2011; Dempsey and Lindsay 2017; Johnson and Scheuble 2002; Lockwood et al. 2011;Nugent 2010)" (Pilcher, 2017). But primarily, all these studies are not focusing upon gender and unequal embodiment of gender in surnaming practices as Pilcher says:

This body of work primarily documents patterns of change and determinants of choice or is undertaken from the perspective of family and kinship practices. As such, it is less concerned with how naming contributes to social practices of sex and gender.(Pilcher, 2017)

Surnames contribute to the production and reproduction of gender inequality as Pilcher says:

I argue that forenames and surnames need also to be recognized as "doing" words, important in the categorization of sex at birth and in the ongoing management of gender conduct appropriate to sex category, ... I examine what happens at crisis points of sexed and gendered naming in the life course (for example, at the birth of babies, at marriage, and during gender-identity transitions). I show how forenames and surnames help in the embodied doing of gender and, likewise, that bodies are key to gendered practices of forenaming and surnaming: we have "gendered embodied named identities".(Pilcher, 2017)

Pilcher advances this view by explicitly proposing that "forenaming and surnaming practices are revealed as core to the production and reproduction of binary sex categories and to gendered identities, difference, hierarchies, and inequalities"(Pilcher, 2017). She introduces the concept of "*functional fixedness*" while exploring the surnaming and forenaming practices. It is a psychological term, by this she means that because of the ubiquitous nature of names and its everyday familiarity make it hard to go beyond its general understanding and connect them with larger social structure. "In particular, sex and gendered forenaming and surnaming practices suffer from a form *functional fixedness*, whereby the well-known function of an object masks its other possible uses" (Corsini 1999 cited by Pilcher, 2017).

The main argument of Pilcher is that names are "doing words", naming practices produce, reproduce, and embody gender inequalities and hierarchies:

Forenames and surnames are also constructing and displaying sex and gender. The display of individuality and connectedness through personal names is a gendered process and is especially apparent when newborns are given forenames, when

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transgender people choose forenames for themselves, when heterosexual women marry, and when children are given surnames. (Pilcher, 2017)

She further argues that “ I identify the multifaceted uses of personal names and their socially consequentiality in the context of the power structures of sex, gender, and race/ethnicity in societies such as the United Kingdom and United States”(Pilcher, 2017).

Pilcher asks the question, that what is the existing social context which is responsible for shaping surnaming practices of people in the context of UK and USA? She argues that the legal context is permissive in regulating naming practices in both countries; it means that individual has the freedom to choose any surname. But in practice it is not the case, the practice is heavily context driven “Yet, in practice, surnaming practices are heavily constrained by cultural traditions (Emens 2007), especially, I argue here, those relating to sex and gender”(Pilcher, 2017). She advances her argument by saying that both in United Kingdom and United States surnaming practices are patronymic and patrilineal, means that children get their surnames from father and after the marriage female is expected to change her surname from father to her husband. She says that in United Kingdom 94% and United States 90% female changes her names at crisis point, i.e. at marriage:

In the United Kingdom, around 94% of women married to a man change their surname to his. A small minority (4%) uses both their surname and their husband’s surname, and 1% “keep” their own surname (Valetas 2001). In the United States, the picture is similar: 90% of women married to a man change their surname to his surname, 5% use a hyphenated surname, 3% use other alternatives, and 2% exclusively use their birth surname. (Gooding and Kreider 2010 cited by Pilcher, 2017)

She further says that like patronymic surnaming, patrilineal surnaming practices are common in UK and US “in a U.S. survey, Johnson and Scheuble (2002) found that less than 3% of children reported on had either their mother’s surname only or a joint surname” (Pilcher, 2017). Pilcher concludes her article by saying that surnaming practices are gendered and have glimpses of uneven relation between different genders, “Surnames, like forenames, are key to the ways gender differences are routinely accomplished through the everyday, ongoing embodied social interactions that sustain identities. Moreover, it is clear that surnaming practices have outcomes which are socially uneven and unequal” (Pilcher, 2017). She says that with regard to the selection of forenames and surnames, the choices are normative and used as a tool for deploying and sustaining patriarchal ideologies:

As with forenames, the evidence shows that most people’s choices are normative, and so the (patriarchal) gender order is (re)produced: patrilineal and patronymic surnaming practices are prevalent in both the United Kingdom and the United States (Gooding and Kreider 2010; Johnson and Scheuble 2002; Valetas 2001). Patronymic and patrilineal family surnaming operate, then, as routinely deployed tools which display that women and children belong to men in a hierarchical gender order. (Pilcher, 2017)

Rachael D. Robnett extends the Pilcher’s concept of *functional fixedness* and says that surnaming practices can be understood as the manifestation of *hidden power* and explains the concept of hidden power as:

Functional fixedness surrounding the martial surname tradition can be understood as a manifestation of hidden power. Hidden power is a subtle form of power that originates from dominant ideologies that privilege members of majority groups (Komter 1989; Lukes 1974). These ideologies are often so deeply engrained in the public

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consciousness that it can be difficult for members of subordinate groups to envision alternative ways of being. Thus, dominant ideologies persist unchecked, which in turn sustains power disparities between subordinate and dominant groups. (Robnett, 2017) While supporting the argument through factual data Robnett give three pieces of evidence from empirical research:

Three pieces of evidence from empirical research support the premise that there is a link between gendered power differentials and the marital surname tradition. First, some women appear to change their surnames, at least in part, because they want to acquiesce to their husbands' wishes. For instance, women in two recent studies reported that they changed their surnames in response to subtle and overt pressure from their husbands (Jones et al. 2017; Thwaites 2013). Second, research indicates that people make inferences about women's and men's agency (a high-power trait) and communion (a low-power trait) depending on whether they comply with the marital surname tradition. For example, women who violate the surname tradition tend to be perceived as high in agency, where as women who align with the tradition tend to be perceived as high in communion (Etaugh et al. 1999; Robnett et al. 2016). Lastly, research has linked attitudes about the marital surname tradition to benevolent sexism and social dominance orientation (Robnett and Leaper 2013; Robnett et al. 2016). Specifically, this work finds that the people who most strongly endorse the marital surname tradition also tend to be high in ideologies that afford men greater status and power than women. (Robnett, 2017)

Robnett says just before the concluding remarks "it is difficult to disentangle power dynamics surrounding the marital surname tradition from gendered power dynamics that operate at the social-structural level" (Robnett, 2017).

As, it has been discussed earlier that two types of surnaming practices have currency both in United Kingdom and United States, i.e. patronymic and patrilineal. But in China the situation is a bit different. In China "married women universally retain their surname as part of a national political project" (Qi, 2017). But Xiaoying Qi in his article "*Neo-traditional Child Surnaming in Contemporary China: Women's Rights as Veiled Patriarchy*" says that it is used as "a gender strategy of mother-to-child surnaming that paradoxically enforces patriarchal inheritance and obligation" (Qi, 2017). He developed a concept called 'veiled patriarchy', which has been applied to surnaming practices in contemporary China. It shows that children get surnames from their mothers but they embody patrilineality. It shows that metronymic surnaming practices are used for the deployment of patriarchy.

Qi tries to show the veiled patriarchy in two types of Chinese cases "Two emergent practices in urban China are examined, namely zhao-xu and liang-tou-dun" (Qi, 2017). Then he tries to describe naming and surnaming practices in China as an indicator of how gender is historically constructed with comparison to UK, USA, and Europe:

Naming practices provide insight into the way gender is historically constructed in China (Watson, 1986: 619). In both imperial (up to 1912) and Republican (1912–1949) China women existed in a near 'nameless' state through patriarchal practices: temporary members of their birth family and incorporated into their husband's family only after the birth of a healthy male heir (Barbalet, 2014; Kuo, 2011; Watson, 1986). A married woman at this time would be called nei-ren (inner person), and, for example, Chen-sao (Chen's wife), Dongdong-niang (Dongdong's mother) or Wang-nainai (Wang's grandmother). Since the Communist Party's ascendance to national power in 1949 Chinese women transitioned from nameless subordination to possessing a full name of their own

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and surname autonomy. (Qi, 2017)

But it was a political project as he, then, states that if a child gets her/his mother's surname it would be considered as an indication of individual freedom and deviation from patriarchal norm in UK and USA, but it's not the case in China "Women's rights were thus enhanced in China through political campaigns, and by state-led social and economic change. The 'rights' involved, however, are not individual rights" (Qi, 2017). He further argues:

women's use of surnames other than their husbands' since the 1970s in Europe and the USA introduces the possibility of corresponding changes in child surnaming, of non-patrilineal child surnames, that is a child having his/her mother's surname rather than his/her father's (MacDougall, 1985). An examination of child surnaming practices in urban China, on the other hand, indicates that such outcomes cannot be inferred simply from the fact that women universally retain their own birth surnames... giving a child his/her mother's surname may be a strategy to ensure the continuation of the mother's paternal lineage... in post-1978 reform China women's rights may implicitly reinforce a patriarchal order" (Qi, 2017).

To summarize the argument of Qi, two types of emergent practices in urban China are examined, i.e.:

zhao-xu and liang-tou-dun. The first, zhao-xu, refers to a man marrying into his wife's family; the other, liang-tou-dun, is the provision of a marriage dwelling by both the bride's family and the groom's so that the couple has two places in which to live. In both of these cases it is socially acceptable for a child to take his/her mother's surname. (Qi, 2017)

One-child policy of that state has been introduced in 1979 and as "A consequence of the one-child policy, through which arise a number of urban daughter-only families, is disruption of family lineage" (Qi, 2017). Government was aware of the consequences of one-child policy and so "Chinese government conducts campaigns promoting the value of girl babies" a slogan typical of the campaigns "[t]here is no difference between having a boy and a girl – girls can also continue the family line" (Dodge and Suter, 2008: 19 cited by" (Qi, 2017). So metonymic surnaming practice got currency in these two (mentioned above) cases as it were socially accepted. But:

patriarchy is hidden or 'veiled' in the sense that behind a mother's surname given to her child is an adult daughter's provision of her father's (rather than her husband's) surname to the young couple's child. On the horizontal plane, then, in the relation between spouses, a mother's rather than a father's surname given to the child is non-patriarchal. When the vertical dimension of inter-generational relations is considered, however, a mother's surnaming is patriarchal in so far as the child's maternal grandfather's lineage is preserved. In this case the patriarchal dimension is 'masked' by the mother-rather-than-father surnaming of the child." (Qi, 2017)

In the conclusion of the target article Qi says, which is the most important point of his argument, that:

A married woman's retention of her birth surname expresses patriarchy-challenging choice supported by individualised orientation and gender-identity. Rejection of patronymic expectation by providing her child with her own (pre-marriage) surname is seen as an even stronger assertion of challenge to patriarchal norms. Examination of surnaming in contemporary China has identified otherwise neglected aspects of surnaming, thus challenging received theoretical expectations and providing opportunities for refinement of existing theory, enhancing its explanatory and analytical

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strength. The universal practice in China of married women retaining their birth surname reflects not personal choice but state-sponsored collective rights. The provision to a child of the mother's rather than the father's surname, it has been shown, reasserts patriarchal prerogative one generation removed... The present article therefore contributes to the literature a clear direction in conceiving surnaming practices in terms of not only internal family decisions and processes but as one aspect of the interaction between family practices on the one hand and changes in the wider politico-legal and social context in which they operate on the other. (Qi, 2017)

Another study has been done by Ki-young Shin in Japan, which deals with:

The political significance of women's surname change in Japan by reviewing the history of the surname system and its establishment in the traditional family system, i.e. it was created based on the idea that women belong primarily to the husband's family and her identity is absorbed into the husband. It has significant ramifications on women's citizenship today, when a greater number of married women are in paid employment and professional careers. The enforcement of a single surname plays a central role in sustaining the patriarchal nature of family that continues to marginalize women's participation as equal individual citizens beyond their households. (Shin, 2009) Similarly, another study has been done by Chen Chao-ju in Taiwan, which shows mothers as "Outsiders Within" with respect to surnaming practices. He argues that surname equality remains a goal rather than a reality in Taiwan. According to Chao-ju: Taiwan is a country where patronymic naming for children still prevails but patronymic naming for married women (prefixing husband's surname) has become rare, and where marital name law and children's name law have been reformulated in a gender-neutral fashion and in a contract model. Married women have become name keepers, *but mothers remain outsiders within.* (Chao-Ju, 2018)

Raymond A. Smalara in her article *The Implications of Patrilineal Surnames* adds more relational density to surnaming practices as she tries to connect them with imperialism, sexism, and racism:

The direct connection between permanent, legal, patrilineal surnames and systematic oppression, not only as it applies to the patriarchy but to imperialism, racism, socioeconomic status, and more, becomes clear... The permanent, patrilineal surname dates back to the Ancient Romans but only came into widespread use in the past few centuries. In these centuries, the surname has been systematically used to catalyze state-organized imperialism and racism. Although the pressures of surname customs are felt by almost every woman who decides to marry or have children today, the unique intersections of sexism and racism give greater gravity to surname decisions for minority women. The implications of patrilineal surnames on women of color should not be equated with their implication on white women; these differences must be noted and considered, in order to analyze and break down not only structures of gender inequality, but of racial inequality as well. While the aspect of race is often ignored entirely in surname research, the problem of permanent, patrilineal surnames is one primarily of institutionalized racism and secondarily of sexism. (Smalara, 2014)

Conceptual Framework:

Conceptual framework of a study is "the system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that supports and informs your research" (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Miles and Huberman defined a conceptual framework as a visual or written product, one that "explains, either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to

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be studied—the key factors, concepts, or variables—and the presumed relationships among them” (Miles & Michael Huberman, 1994)

As for the hypothesis of this study is concerned we have to prove that there is a positive relation between power and unequal distribution of tribal identity markers. If these makers are distributed unequally in the discourse between male and female, there would be unequal power patterns between the holders of these markers. The variables could be classified in two types as for this study is concerned. On the one hand we have power, and on the other hand we have tribal identity markers. These markers are variable as well as the indicators of power. In order to show the relation between power and tribal identity markers it is necessary to bring some concept together in a coherent way.

According to Fairclough the relation between power and language has two aspects, i.e. *power in discourse* and *power behind discourse*. *Power behind discourse* means that the orders of discourse are shaped and constituted by relations of power. In the section power behind discourse, he discusses that there are constraints on access to particular type of discourses. As he says “The question is, who has access to which discourses, and who has the power to impose and enforce constraints on access?” (Fairclough, 2013). Here we will try to link this with tribal identity markers or honorifics, that who has access to them and who has the power to impose and enforce constraints on the access to them.

Similarly, Foucault says that there are constraints on discourse. As Foucault says “In appearance, speech may well be of little account, but the prohibitions surrounding it soon reveal its links with desire and power” (Foucault, 1972). Here, Foucault says that the systems of prohibition reveal the links between discourse and power. Which we are going to link with surnaming practices, that is, that if there is a prohibition or there are constraints on surnames for female, it means that there is unequal distribution of power.

Research Methodology

Research Design and Method:

This study uses a descriptive-correlative research design. Descriptive studies “attempt to describe systematically a situation, problem, phenomenon” (Kumar, 2018). While correlative study tries “to discover or establish the existence of a relationship/association/interdependence between two or more aspects of a situation” (Kumar, 2018). The descriptive-correlative research design is used because first we have to describe the distribution of tribal identity markers, for example [Khan, Shah, etc], in male names in the sample and then in female names. Then, in order to prove or disprove the hypothesis we have to see the relations of different variables throughout the sample, which means that we will compare the distribution of these markers between male and female names.

In terms of method, it is a descriptive-quantitative study. Quantitative method is used because first we will count the number of tribal identity markers in the names, then we will do some mathematical operation on the data to get percentages in both male and female names. After this operation we will compare the percentages in terms of equal/unequal.

Source of Data:

There are two types of data, i.e. primary data and secondary data. When data is obtained by the researcher him/herself is called primary data, while secondary data are obtained by other than the researcher. As Kumar says “when your data have already been

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collected by someone else and you need only to extract the required information for the purpose of your study” (Kumar, 2018) is called secondary data. He further explains secondary data as:

Both qualitative and quantitative research studies use secondary source as a method of data collection. In qualitative research you usually extract descriptive (historical and current) and narrative information and in quantitative research the information extracted is categorical or numerical. The following section provides some of the many secondary sources grouped into categories:

Government or semi-government publications– There are many government and semi-government organisations that collect data on a regular basis in a variety of areas and publish it for use by members of the public and interest groups. Some common examples are the census, vital statistics registration, labour force surveys, health reports, economic forecasts and demographic information

Earlier research– For some topics, an enormous number of research studies that have already been done by others can provide you with the required information.

Personal record – Some people write historical and personal records (e.g. diaries) that may provide the information you need.

Mass media– Reports published in newspapers, in magazines, on the Internet, and so on, may be another good source of data. (Kumar, 2018)

Secondary data will be utilized for this study. The data for this research is obtained from the voter lists, obtained from the Election Commission of Pakistan. These voter lists were printed on 31st October 2021.

There are two variables, i.e. [Khan and Shah], we will count the occurrences of them in male names as well as female names; after counting we will find percentages of them and then we will compare the percentages of these variables to find the association, i.e. equal/unequal distribution.

Population and Sampling Procedure

Population for the study is all the registered voters of village council *Faqir Abad*. The population size is eight thousand (8000), from which 10% of the whole population will be selected. In social sciences the sample size is usually 5% of the population. But the ratio between male and female are not equal in the population size as we have 4645 males while 3355 females. In order to obtain a representative sample, it is necessary to do some simple mathematical operations. First the ratio between these two numbers will be calculated, and then, according to the ratio the numbers of male and female in the sample will be selected. In order to find the ratio, the large number, 4645, will be divided by the smaller one, 3355. The numbers of male and female will be calculated from the sample according to the ratio. To calculate the numbers of male, the sample size will be divided by the ratio which has been found for male, and to get female numbers, the number of males will be subtracted from the sample size.

So far population, sample extraction, and calculation of sample size, etc for the study have been discussed. Now sampling technique will be discussed, all members of the sample will be selected through simple random sampling. Random numbers will be produced on *Random Number Generator*; (*web address*), and then will be selected from the population.

Data Analysis

This section will commence by calculating sample size from the population, and the

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data will present the sample demographic data to understand the composition and representativeness of the sample. Next, will discuss sampling techniques and will do some mathematical operation on the obtained units to assess the distribution of tribal identity markers or honorifics and titles.

Population for the study is all the registered voters of village council *Faqir Abad*. The population size is eight thousand (8000), from which 10% of the whole population has been selected. 10% of 8000 is eight hundred (800). In social Sciences the sample size is usually 5% of the population. But the ratio between male and female are not equal in the population as the population consists of 4645 males while 3355 females. In order to obtain a representative sample some mathematical operations are needed to be done. First the ration is going to be found between these two numbers, and then, according to the ratio numbers of male and female will be selected in the sample. In order to find the ratio, the large number, 4645, will be divided on the smaller one, 3355.

Ratio = *larger num/smaller num*

Ratio = $4645 \div 3355 = 1.385$

So the ratio between male and female is 1:1.385. Now the numbers of male and female in the sample will be calculated according to the ratio. To calculate the numbers of male, the sample size, i.e. 800 will be divided by 1.385,

Numbers of male = sample size / Ratio of male in N

N = (All units included in the population)

Numbers of male = $800 \div 1.385 = 577$

Now to get female numbers, the number of males will be subtracted from the sample size,

Numbers of female = N - Numbers of male

Numbers of female = $800 - 577 = 223$

So, the sample size is 800, which will consist of 577 male and 223 female.

In order to show that the sample is representative from non-numerical perspective sample demographics have to be discussed. Sample demographics include age group distribution, gender distribution, ethnicity distribution, and location distribution. Age group has zero effects on the study because this study is not interested in trends mutation between older and younger generation with regards to surnaming practices. Similarly, ethnicity and location distribution are of little importance with respect to the disturbance of the representativeness of the sample. Because the population of the study shares the same ethnicity among its units, and the units of population are dispersed in proximal locality.

So far population, sample demographic data and composition, and calculation of sample size have been discussed for the study. Now sampling technique is going to be discussed, all the units of this sample would be selected through simple random sampling. These random numbers are produced on *Random Number Generator*, (*web address*), and selected from the population.

These numbers were arranged in descending order with the help of excel. Then all the units were selected from the population and assessed for tribal identity markers. In male sample the tribal identity marker [Khan] has been found with the frequency of 143, and the honorific [Shah] with frequency of 19. Similarly in female sample identity markers, [Shah] and [Khan] were found with same frequency, i.e. 1. There are two questions, first is to know about the distribution of tribal identity markers in male and female, and then it has to be compared that, is there any difference in the distribution of these markers between male and female? In order to compare the distribution between these

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two groups homogeneously. It is necessary to have the percentages of these distributions. Now we are going to calculate the percentages, for calculating the percentages we have the formula:

$\% = \text{obtain number} / \text{total number} \times 100$

Now to calculate the percentage of [Khan] in male sample the numbers of names having tribal identity marker [khan] will be divided on total numbers of male, which are 577.

% of [Khan] in male = $143 \div 577 \times 100 = 24.78$

% of [Shah] in male = $19 \div 577 \times 100 = 3.29$

Now the same will be done for female group:

% of [Khan] in female = $1 \div 223 \times 100 = 0.45$

% of [Shah] in female = $1 \div 223 \times 100 = 0.45$

We are in the position, now, to compare these numbers and show *equality/inequality* in the distribution of these markers. We have 24.78% [Khan] surname with male names while 0.45% with female names. Similarly male names have 3.29% [Shah] with them, while female names have 0.45%. So far, the first question has been answered by describing the distribution of these markers with male and female names. While answering the second question, the comparison is needed. From the comparison of the above numbers, it is clear that these markers are unequally distributed between male and female.

The hypothesis is that there are asymmetrical power patterns between male and female manifested in the discourse of surnames. To show this we have to reflect upon the conceptual framework presented in the second section. According to Fairclough there are two aspects of language and power relationship, i.e. *power in discourse* and *power behind discourse*. Our concern is with *power behind discourse*, according to Fairclough power behind discourse means “how orders of discourse, as dimensions of the social orders of social institutions or societies, are themselves shaped and constituted by relations of power” (Fairclough, 2013). Fairclough argues that discourses are shaped by orders of discourse, and orders of discourse are further shaped by the larger structure of society and power struggles. Similarly, it is very much necessary to note that every discourse or discourse types are not accessible to everyone in the society. There are constraints on them, there is unequal access to these discourse types, more powerful subject-positions can hold them while that is not the case with less powerful subject-position cannot hold it. Similar is the case here, surnames or honorifics are unequally distributed between male and female. There are constraints on female subject-position to access these surnames, titles and honorifics as compared to male, the more powerful subject-positions. These cultural goods are unequally distributed, as Fairclough says:

these ‘cultural goods’ are analogous to other socially valued ‘goods’ of a more tangible nature- accumulated wealth, good jobs, good housing, and so forth. Both sorts of goods are unequally distributed, so that members of the dominant bloc (the capitalist class, the ‘middle class’, the professions) have substantially more of them than members of the working class - they are richer in cultural capital. (Fairclough, 2013)

Same could be concluded by what Foucault thinks of mechanisms responsible for controlling the production of discourse in a society, as he says:

In every society the production of discourse is at once *controlled, selected, organised and redistributed* according to a certain number of procedures, *whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers*, to cope with chance events, to evade its ponderous, awesome materiality. (Foucault, 1972)

For Foucault there are two types of systems for controlling the production and

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distribution of discourse, these are *internal* and *external*. He discusses the process of exclusion as an external system controlling the production and distribution of discourse, which further utilizes prohibition of discourse as one of its systems. It is the prohibition of discourse which reveals the connection between discourse and power, as he says “In appearance, speech may well be of little account, but the prohibitions surrounding it soon reveal its links with desire and power” (Foucault, 1972). For Foucault, to avert the power and danger of discourse, its production is controlled, selected, redistributed and organized, some people are excluded from a particular type of discourse. Some people have the authority to use a particular type of discourse as “For Foucault (1972), discourses are about *what can be said* and thought, but also about *who can speak, when, and with what authority*” (Pitsoe & Letseka, 2013). Now if we look at the empirical data collected from our sample it is clear that men have the authority to keep surnames, with male one can speak the surname, title or honorific. Women are excluded from this discourse. This exclusion reveals the manifestation of asymmetrical distribution of power in men and women as for surnaming practices are concerned.

Both Fairclough as well as Foucault’s theoretical perspective underpin that if there is constrain on someone to access a particular type of discourse, there will be asymmetries of power between who have access to it and those who do not. It has been shown from the calculations that women do not have the access to tribal identity markers as men have. It is evidence for asymmetrical distribution of power between men and women in our society.

Conclusion

This section will conclude the study by summarizing the key research finding in relation to research questions and research objectives, as well as the value and contribution thereof. It will also review the limitations of the study and propose opportunities for further research.

As we know that, this study aims at describing and comparing the distribution of surnames between male and female. The results indicate that the distribution of surnames is not equal between male and female, which further strengthens the claim that power is unequally distributed in a given society between male and female.

It is clear to us, as for previous literature is concerned, that lots of research has been done on surnaming practices from various angles. Some researchers have shown us that metronymic surnaming practices are used to sustain patrilineality, and appeared as *veiled patriarchy* – which a system of women oppression. Similarly, researchers have shown us that surnames are used for doing gender, they embody *hidden power*- a type of power which emerges for dominant ideologies for the oppression of subordinate groups. While our study focused upon that power differentials are manifested in surnaming practices. Power is unequally distributed in the surnaming practices. Our research confirms existing theories that there are power differentials in surnaming practices and they are also used for the unequal distribution of power. Practitioners can make use of the study for the empowerment of women, as they are deprived from the markers of power not just tribal identity because these identity markers are the indicators of power.

Limitation of the study

The study was first design to investigate surnaming practices in the naming discourse of district Charsadda but the data were not available in soft form. Because of this

constraint the study population was then reduced to just one village council of district Charsadda, namely Faqir Abad. Another limitation then arose due to the first one. It was planned that we will investigate the unequal distribution of tribal identity markers by at least ten markers. But as the population was reduced so do the numbers of tribal identity markers. We have just calculated the frequency distribution of two markers, i.e. [Khan] and [Shah].

Recommendation for further research

This study was just limited to describe and compare the distribution of surnames in male and female it was a static picture of the current situation, which does not capture the change. Further research could be done on that there is any change in younger generation with regard to surnaming practices. Is the ratio of tribal identity markers decrease or increase in female population of the younger generation? At what rate this change is happening?

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