

## Teaching the Mighty Culture: Made by Us & Maker of Us

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### ABSTRACT

As human beings we create culture, modify and refine it, teach it through formal and informal education, accumulate and pass it on through the generations. Culture is unique to humans. We are the maker of it. At the same time, culture is the maker of us. Our genes are not enough to make us who we are. We have to learn to be somebody. Being American, French or Turkish does not make any difference, this is all learned. The content of learning in becoming somebody is our culture. Not just our identity but the patterns of our behaviors ranging from eating, speaking and learning to all kinds of human activities are all molded by the culture we learn. Unlike innate biological features, which are given to us, we learn culture. Since we learn it, we can unlearn or relearn it, or we can learn more than one culture and can live a bi- or multi-cultural life. Teachers should learn the vitally important role of culture in shaping the identity and behaviors of their students. In this article, I explain how I teach culture in a teacher education program.

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### Introduction

*"It is hoped that in the future, the profession will have less to say about the need to teach culture and more to say about ways to effectively teach it"* (Seelye, 1972, cited in Koppe, 1985).

*"Culture is randomly and regularly used to explain everything. So at the same moment teacher education students learn nothing about culture, they use it with authority as one of the primary explanations for everything from school failure to problems with behavior management and discipline"* (Ladson-Billings, 2006).

I teach the mighty culture in a teacher education program. My college is a mid-sized public institution in the northeastern region of the U.S.A. Although the population of our city is quite diverse, the student body does not reflect the city's racial and ethnic demographics. During the last twelve years, I have rarely had students from non-white backgrounds.

Learning, teaching and transmission of culture play significant roles in determining who we are, but have received inadequate attention in the literature (Bailey, 2003; Xiao-yan; Beykont, 2002). Students come to my classes with limited knowledge about the role of culture in the making of the human mind and behavior (Ladson-Billings, 2006; Koppe, 1985). A comprehensive understanding of culture and its impact on students, families, and teachers requires an in-depth study of the concept (Brown, 2008). As such, I spend two-weeks

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(in a course that meets four hours per week) teaching culture by focusing on its creation, development, diversity, and power to make us who we are.

In teaching culture, I use multiple thought experiments, case studies, small group discussions, readings, and a service-learning tutoring project within an urban community. I also use real life examples from my personal experiences of living and teaching in four different communities with diverse cultures and languages (Ozcan, 2006). In addition, I use relevant articles and segments of movies as course materials. I require that students review the literature, find a research article on the impact of culture on teaching, learning and schooling, learn its content, and share it with the class by making a PowerPoint presentation. Although my search to find the best ways to teach culture continues, over the years I have developed a way of teaching culture and will share it with you in this article.

### **The Beginning of Cultural Creation: The Life of Early People**

I begin teaching culture with a “thought experiment” in which small groups discuss the issues assigned to them. Usually, there are approximately twenty-five students in the class. I divide them into four or five groups. Then, I ask each group to imagine the life of a group of people that lived millions of years ago. For example, if there are four groups, the task of the first group is to imagine and discuss the daily life of CLAN EGYPT. The task of the second group would be CLAN CHINA. For the third group, the task would be CLAN SPAIN and for the fourth group, CLAN FRANCE. I provide each group with a two-part handout. In the first part, there is brief information about the life of very early people adapted from a book that summarizes anthropological research about origins of culture (Klein and Edgar, 2002). The second part includes a set of questions meant to guide the students’ imaginations.

#### **Handout Part One for the First Group**

The title of the handout for the first group is **IMAGINING THE LIFE OF CLAN EGYPT**. A shortened version of the text in the handout is as follows:

*Scientific knowledge about the life of early humans is limited, but our imagination is not. By using pieces of scientific information, we can imagine the life of our early ancestors. In other words, we can re-construct their lives and struggles to survive and prosper. Their re-constructed life experiences will help us to understand the origins of human life and social institutions. Although human beings have been living on Earth for five to seven million years, the first artifacts made by early humans are about two million years old. The production of these early artifacts was a turning point in human history. The first human artifacts were found in various parts of Africa, comprising the earliest evidence of the life of humans who were similar to us (Klein and Edgar, 2002, pp. 11-27).*

*Let’s close our eyes and imagine the daily life of very early humans living about two million years ago in some part of **Africa**—let’s say **North Africa**—where **Egypt** is located today. Think about a group of fifty males and females. We call them **CLAN EGYPT**. They are completely alone and unaware of any other human groups on the planet. Let’s be creative and answer the following questions to re-construct the daily life of the clan.*

#### **Handout Part One for the Second Group**

The handout for the second group is slightly different from the first one. Its title is **IMAGINING THE LIFE OF CLAN CHINA**. The text of the first paragraph is the same, but the second paragraph is as follows:

*Let’s close our eyes and imagine the daily life of very early humans living about two million years ago in some part of **Asia**—let’s say **East Asia**—where **China** is located today. Think about a group of fifty males and females. We call them **CLAN CHINA**. They are completely alone and unaware of any other human groups on the Earth. Let’s be creative and answer the following questions to re-construct the daily life of the clan.*

Handout part one for the third and fourth groups is prepared in the same way.

### Handout Part Two for All Groups: Discussion Questions

The second part of the handout for the thought experiment solicits answers to a list of questions about the life of the clan assigned to each group. Each group is asked to respond to the same set of questions. The following is a brief version of the questions:

*What did they want most? What did they eat? What were their clothes like? How did they communicate? How was their music? How was their dance? How was their art? How did they educate children?*

On the handout, each main question also has sub-questions. For example, the first question is followed by the sub-question, “Why?” The second question is followed by the sub-questions, “How did they find food?” and “Did they know what was edible?” Likewise, the last question is followed by, “What did they teach?” “How did they teach?” and “Why did they teach?”

The groups are asked to discuss the questions and write their responses on a section of the blackboard reserved for their respective group. I let them know that I will compare their answers and challenge them by asking follow-up questions. After the groups finish writing their responses on the board, I compare the responses of all the groups and ask challenging questions in order to inspire a discussion.

### Making Meaning Out of Class Discussions

First, I read the responses to question one, “*What did they want most?*” With minor differences, a typical response is: “*Food, shelter, security, mating, clothes....*” Although this response is not wrong, it is not the response that I am looking for, so I ask, “*Why did they want food, shelter, security and so on?*” Again, a typical response is, “*They had to eat, sleep, etc.*” This answer does not satisfy me because I look for a specific term—“*survival*”—in the students’ answers. I repeat the question in a different form, “*What was the reason behind their desire to eat and sleep?*” Sometimes students include survival in their answers. The desire to survive is a natural human characteristic. We do not learn that we need to want to survive. Like all living beings, we want to survive, utilize our potential, grow, and develop as much as we can. Humans have “an innate need to live and learn (Trevarthen, 1998). In order to realize this, we need resources in different forms, including water, food, shelter, and so on. Until I get the response, “*They wanted to survive,*” or “*They needed those things to survive,*” the questioning and discussion continues.

To the second question, “*What did they eat?*” quite different responses are given as dependent on the location of clan. In a recent class, the response of the group discussing the life of “Clan China,” who had settled in mountains, was, “*Animals, vegetables, fish, fruits, berries, and leaves.*” After reading the response, I asked the group, “*What do you mean by ‘animals’?*” A sample of our discussion is as follows:

*Derek: “Animals, you know.”*

*Me: “Such as...”*

*Derek: “Deer, Buffalo.”*

*Me: “How did they get the deer?”*

*Shawna: “They hunted it.”*

*Me: “What do you mean? Remember that they were the very first human beings. Did they have the concept of hunting?”*

*(A moment of silence)*

*Mark: “They caught it.”*

*Me: “I see. When humans and deer came across in mountains, deer were standing and begging, ‘Please humans come and catch me’”*

*(Class laughs. Some yell, "Oh, yeah.")*

*Me: "Deer run faster than humans. Did they know how to catch it?"*

*Christ: "They used spears."*

*Me: "Where did they get the spears?"*

*Derek: "They made it from trees."*

*Me: "Did they know how to make them? Did they have a knife?"*

*Derek: "They used sharp rocks. You know trial and error, they learned it."*

*Shawna: "They set traps to catch them."*

*Me: "Did they have the concept of a trap?"*

*Derek: "Ok, they saw a deer that had fallen into a hole. They took it and figured out the trap business."*

*Me: "Do you mean that they learned it?"*

*Derek: "Yeah."*

*Me: "Ok, after they got the deer what happened?"*

*Mark: "They ate it."*

*Me: "Wait a minute. Did they know that it was edible?"*

*(A moment of silence)*

*Mark: "Ok, they had seen a big animal like a lion eating a deer and they learned that it was edible."*

*Me: "By observing animals and by trial and error, your clan learned how to make a spear, how to set a trap, how to hunt an animal, and eventually they learned how to feed themselves. In other words, they created solutions to the problems they faced."*

After "Clan China," I turned to "Clan Spain." This group's response on the board was, "Animals, vegetables, fish, grass, berries, trees, roots, and leaves." Our discussion was as follows:

*Me: "What do you mean by 'vegetables'? Give me specific examples."*

*Theresa: "You know, vegetables, cabbage, mushroom..."*

*Me: "Did they know they were edible?"*

*Theresa: "They saw other animals eating vegetables and tried it."*

*Me: "Ok, let's say, there were bright, appealing mushrooms all around. They ate them and all died."*

*(Class laughter)*

*Theresa: "Some died but they learned which ones were poisonous."*

*Me: "Ok, I accept that. They learned by experience and constructed their knowledge of edible mushrooms."*

After "Clan Spain," I looked at the response of "Clan Egypt," which read, "Animals, insects, fish, fruits, berries, and vegetables." We began the discussion.

*Me: "Where did they get fish?"*

*Peter: "You know, from the Sea; they were close to the Mediterranean."*

John: "The Nile River also."

Me: "Ok, how did they get the fish from the water?"

Peter: "By hand."

Me: "How can you describe that?"

Peter: "They saw the fish and jumped in the water."

Me: "And...the fish swam away."

(Some laugh)

John: "My father does it every time."

Peter: "You know, trial and error, they learned it."

Me: "Yes, Peter. They learned it. Later they invented the net, learned how to build boats, and developed other techniques."

After reviewing the responses about food of all groups, I begin reviewing the students' answers to the other questions. After reviewing all of their responses, I propose to the students the following:

*I see that the peoples of these four clans lived in different parts of the world but had the same needs and faced similar problems. They all wanted to survive, needed to eat, wanted to communicate, were concerned about their safety, and so on. They did everything they could to solve these problems and meet their survival needs. In doing so, they all produced knowledge; created ideas, tools, and artifacts; and found solutions to their problems. What I see here is that each clan created a program for itself. I call their creations a "survival program." That is the name I found for everything they created. Can you find a different name for their creations? Can you re-name them?*

Within a short period of time, the students almost always find the term "culture" to re-name the creations of their clans.

### **Let's Define Culture**

After we decide to name the creations of the early clans "culture," I ask the groups, "You have now learned what culture is. Could you please make a definition for it?" They make some rough definitions, and we refine them together. The following are some samples of their definitions:

*Culture is: "everything made by human beings," "a program to survive and grow," "an accumulation of solutions for human problems," and "a response to human needs and environment."*

I briefly explain that we define the culture in the largest sense as it is done by many scholars studying culture. There are scholars (Lankshear, 1997, p. 13; Shor, 1993, p. 30) who distinguish between "the world of culture" and "the world of nature" and define culture as "all human activity" or "actions of humans" that is not "the expression of biological characteristics" of the human species. They refer to the human-made part of the environment and stress the function of culture in the making of human mind and behaviors. Humans, to facilitate their survival and growth, create culture, and the ultimate function of culture is the unfolding of human potential (Edles, 2002, p. 1-8; Koppe, 1985; Pai, Adler, and Shadiow, 2006, p. 19-24; Scupin, 1998, p. 35-49; Kottak, 1994, pp. 37-45; Harris and Johnson, 2000, p. 9; Bailey, 2003).

## **Inevitability and Necessity of Cultural Diversity**

After defining culture, I give the students a handout, which includes the following text:

*The clans you thought of lived in different parts of the world, but they had the same needs and experienced the same kinds of problems. They all needed food, language, clothes, shelter, and so on. They all struggled to overcome the same kind of challenges.*

*Question: In striving to solve the **same** problems, why did your clans come up with **different** solutions? In other words, to meet the same human needs, why did the clans create such different cultures?*

After a brief discussion amongst themselves, the students begin raising their hands to explain the connections and differences between their cultures and the environments in which they live. The students usually give examples indicating that natural diversity had caused human beings to produce diverse solutions to their problems. In one class, a student made the following comment:

*My family used to live in France. I grew up there. My father was teaching English in a small town surrounded by wineries. In the town everyone was wine-maker. They did not know much about anything else. We even bought a small winery and began making wine. In fact, my family had lived in downtown Boston for generations and they did not know anything about wine making. My father used to tell that that town had made us wine makers.*

We conclude the discussion by asserting that environmental diversity, which is a nature-based phenomenon, is one of the main factors in creating cultural diversity. Cultural diversity will continue to exist as long as diversity continues to exist in physical environment, climate, natural resources, and so on.

## **What Occurs when Cultures Meet**

After discussing the connection between environmental diversity and diversity among cultures, I give a new handout with the following question:

*Let's suppose that these clans become aware of each other, meet in some ways, and begin to interact. In other words, they put cultural challenges upon one another. What would be the outcome of their interactions?*

This question usually leads to vigorous discussion. Some students suggest that the clans would adopt cultural elements from one another. Others suggest that they would compete for resources, which would cause conflict. We conclude that, regardless of being friends or enemies, cultural interactions would be inevitable. The clans would become aware of different solutions to the same human problems. Cultural interactions would be the dynamic of further development. After all, the clans would enjoy the plurality of foods, drink, clothes, music, dance, and the like.

## **Destroying Cultures with a "Noble" Purpose**

After reaching the conclusion that cultural interaction is an engine of social development, I give the groups another handout:

*Let's suppose that the leader of one of these clans—a relatively powerful one—felt that, for some reason, such as having a larger army, a larger territory, a different religion, or a different skin color, that his clan was superior to the other clans. He believed that his culture was better than the other cultures. If this "superior" clan, with a "noble" purpose of improving the life of the*

*“undeveloped” other clans, had decided to destroy the “inferior” cultures and to impose its “superior” culture, what would be the outcome for all the clans, including the “superior” one?*

This question usually incites mixed responses. Many students suggest that it would be unfair and harmful to destroy “inferior” cultures and impose a “superior” one. Some students suggest that, in the long term, it would be also harmful for members of the “superior” clan because the lack of cultural diversity would eliminate their chances to learn from others. The following is a discussion from a recent class:

*Edward (a non-traditional student): “Actually, we have done this in the past.”*

*Me: “What do you mean?”*

*Edward: “We saw the Indians as savage and wanted to civilize them.”*

*Me: “So, what happened?”*

*Kevin: “I am a history major. We pushed them to change. Asked them to change their way of life, language, clothes, hair styles, everything. We put them on reservations.”*

*Me: “How are they doing now?”*

*Edwards: “Alcohol is killing them. They have the highest suicide rate in America.”*

...

*Me: “I think we gave enough examples to see that having diverse cultures around us means having alternative solutions to our problems. Destroying any culture is the destruction of our chance to learn from others.”*

We concluded that, not destroying, but rather supporting, the diversity of the clans would be in the best interest of all clans, including the “superior” one. We should not only allow diverse cultures to be themselves, but we should also support their development. The higher the level of development of cultures around us, the higher the possibility of learning something from them to improve our lives (Pai and Adler, 2006; Friesen, 1993; Earley and Ang, 2003).

### **Distinguishing Culture from Nature**

I begin the discussion of “distinguishing culture from nature” by briefly stating that wherever I look, I see only two kinds of things: “natural” and “cultural.” I classify everything under these two categories. After this introduction, I first ask the class to name things that are “natural.” We make a list of natural beings ranging from stars to mountains, animals, and human bodies. I explain that natural beings are not the result of our desire, decision, choice, or labor.

Secondly, I ask students to name things that are “cultural.” They start to respond by citing traditions, values, beliefs, and the like. Together, we make a long list of human-made ideas and artifacts, ranging from language to music, food, clothes, and computers. We conclude that literally millions of human creations can be classified as “cultural.”

Approaching the concept of culture in such a comprehensive way—by citing all of human creation as culture—is not always consistent with the previous knowledge of students. To facilitate their understanding, I ask students to classify the creations of their clans in some way. We conclude that one way to analyze culture is to divide its content as “material” and “non-material.” Likewise, cultural elements can be classified as “visible” and “invisible.” Cultural elements serving for the realization of the same function can be put together under the basic components of culture, such as education, language, food, music, economics, politics, and so on.

## Culture in the Mind

After discussing the content of culture and dividing it into components, I give the groups a handout that includes the following text:

*James and Emily had been dating for a while. They said "I do" before a large group of guests on July 23, 1957 in Boston. They were the children of wealthy families, and had both just graduated from Harvard in May 1957. James had studied economics, and Emily was an elementary education major. On the same day, after greeting guests one by one, they went to the Boston harbor and took off on their yacht for a month-long honeymoon. After one week, there was a storm in the ocean, and their yacht disappeared around the Bermuda Triangle. A fishing boat and cruise ship from the US had also disappeared in the same region. For years, it had been believed they all were dead.*

*A miracle occurred in September 1997. A military ship found them on a small "blind spot" island. Eight other Americans from the other disappearing vessels—four men and four women—had also survived the storm. When the survivors reached the island, they were literally naked. They did not have anything made in America, but for 40 years, they had been a self-sustaining community of 109 people. James and Emily had two sons, three daughters and nineteen grandchildren.*

Questions: 1. What was the "force" or "asset" molding the mind and behaviors of the people on this island community?

2. How did they get this force, and where did they keep and carry it?

After reading this handout, groups usually begin to provide creative responses to the questions. The following is a sample of our discussions:

Me: "I'd like to hear your responses. What is your answer to question one?"

Elizabeth: "What do you mean by 'force'?"

Me: "Anybody who wants to answer Elizabeth?"

John: "I think it is something forcing those people to act in one way or another."

Me: "Please give me some examples."

(Silence)

Me: "Think about yourself. Why you do or don't do something. What motivates you? What makes you go church, synagogue or mosque? What makes parents read books to their children?"

Amanda: "Values, beliefs, traditions."

Mark: "Their culture was molding their behaviors."

Me: "and the culture was..."

Mark: "American culture."

Me: "Remember, when they reached the island they did not have anything made in America. How did they get that culture?"

Ashley: "They grew up in Boston, right?"

Me: "Two of them were from Boston, others from different cities."

Danielle: "They had learned American culture when they were growing up in America."

Me: "Okay, how did they take that culture to this tiny island?"

(Many hands in the air)

Theresa: *"They carried it in their mind."*

Me: *"Excellent. Is the culture the only force molding human behavior? Is there anything else doing it? Remember your clans."*

Christ: *"Environment."*

Me: *"Example?"*

Christ: *"Climate, sea, mountains, resources."*

We conclude that culture existed in the minds of these ten adults who grew up in America and survived the storm. Since the culture existed in their minds (Shore, 1996), they had been able to establish a community with that culture. However, due to the differences in environmental forces and available resources, the culture became a modified version of the culture they had learned.

### **Humans, the Makers of Culture**

Before we begin the discussion of humans as the makers of culture, we watch the first thirty minutes of the movie "March of the Penguins." As students get ready to watch the movie, I distribute a handout with the question: *"If the penguins were humans, what would be different in their lives?"* The movie is a documentary of the life of penguins. It shows how the penguins leave the ocean around the same time every year and walk seventy miles to meet with other penguins. After arriving at their destination, the penguins begin to look for a partner, produce an egg, and eventually a chick is born. As the baby penguin grows, the relationship between the penguin clans ends. Penguins have repeated this journey for "millions of years." During this journey, some lose their eggs or chicks and some get lost or die due of harsh weather, lack of food, etc. After turning off the DVD, I listen to the students' responses. The following is a sample of our discussion:

Me: *"What do you think? If they were humans, what would be different in their lives?"*

Robin (a non-traditional student): *"If they were humans, they would build a storage for food so that they would not come back to ocean to feed themselves."*

Me: *"Yes, good point. What else?"*

Lisa: *"It is too cold; they would make a shelter."*

Sean: *"Probably they would clean the snow and ice on the road."*

Sara: *"Some would clean the road; some would carry the food. A kind of division of labor would emerge."*

Robin: *"They would have permanent partners."*

We concluded that, regardless of how fascinating their behaviors, animals are not culture makers. Humans create, accumulate, and refine culture; humans also pass culture from one generation to the next. In human societies, unlike animals, "the modifications to cultural practices accumulate from generation to generation with remarkable accuracy. Many animals perform innovative and intelligent behaviors, but these are generally lost when peers or offspring fail to learn them properly" (Hauser, 2000). On the other hand, humans "are able to reproduce and modify socially learned skills to great effect, and these skills are able to be passed from generation to generation, during which time improvements might be made, which in turn, are socially learned and disseminated (Bailey, 2003, p. 180). I close this section with a brief statement:

*God creates us; we create culture. If you believe in God, this is your assumption. If you believe that humans are the product of natural evolution, your assumption is that nature creates us, and we create culture. Regardless of who or what is the creator or maker of us, we—humans—are the makers of culture.*

## **Culture as a Joint Production**

In this section, by using my PowerPoint slides, I explain that humans are the creators of culture, but they do not do it alone. They create culture through interaction with and through contributions by the environment. In this process, the nature of the environment is vitally important in determining the nature of the culture. The characteristics of physical and metaphysical forces and social, political, and economic conditions heavily influence the process and outcome of cultural creation. In this sense, culture is a joint production. I further explain the notion of culture as a joint production created through interactions with structural-environmental forces by referring to Wilson's research (1987) and his concept of the "culture of poverty," Ogbu's research (2003) and his concepts of "voluntary and involuntary immigrants," and Kozol's observations in *Savage Inequalities* (1991).

## **Culture, the Maker of Human Beings**

As human beings, we create culture. Yet, once culture is created, it acquires an independent status and becomes a "maker" of us. I use the following handout to discuss and explain the role of culture in the making of human beings.

## **Twin Sisters: One French, the Other American**

*A white, middle class American family had two six-month-old daughters—Jacqueline and Laura—who were identical twins. On a summer vacation in France in 1985, there was an unfortunate traffic accident where the parents were killed, and one of their infant daughters was lost. When the police arrived at the location of the accident, they found a baby girl and gave her to the American Embassy in Paris. A middle class American family living in Boston later adopted her. According to the police report, however, there were two child seats in the car, but no second child in the area. After nineteen years, in June 2004, the French media reported that a young woman, Jacqueline, was looking for her relatives possibly living in America. As the only survivor of a deadly car accident, a French family rescued her in June 1985. Her parents were killed in the accident and were possibly Americans. The happy ending was that the two families—the one that raised Jacqueline in Paris and other that raised Laura in Boston—eventually met, and the twin sisters joined one another.*

*Question: Is Jacqueline an American or French woman?*

After a vigorous discussion, we always conclude that Jacqueline is a French woman. Her identity was formed through her learning of French culture. Cultural learning "is made possible by the uniquely human capacity" and "plays a fundamentally important role" in shaping human identity (Bailey, 2003, p. 177). We are the outcomes of our cultural learning, which makes us who we are. What makes us American is not the blood in our veins but American culture that we learn.

Discussions in small groups, case studies, comparisons of group responses, follow-up questions, dialogues, and discussions provide students with ample opportunities to re-construct their meaning of culture and to understand its mighty role in the making of our mind and behavior.

## **Conclusion**

As human beings, we are products of our "genes" and "learning." Qualities coded in our genes determine our features, such as gender, skin color, facial features, and other biological qualities. However, these are not, and never will be, enough to make us human beings. Humans are cultural beings. Without culture, that is, without language, knowledge, values, norms, and multiple skills, we cannot act as human beings. "As a species-specific suite of skills, cultural learning, through imitation, instruction and collaboration, forms a necessary feature of the process by which children learn to be human" Bailey, 2003, p. 186). All the cultural elements that enable us to act as human beings are learned. More importantly, qualities

coded in our genes cannot be unfolded without the existence of these cultural elements. If there were no culture, there would not be human beings. The higher the quality of culture, the more potential humans have to unfold. Without culture, and, of course, without education—which is needed to learn culture—inborn potential cannot produce human beings as we are today. Another important aspect of this context is that "culture" overrides "biology." Biology determines our "race." Our biological-racial characteristics, such as being a member of the white or black race, are overridden by the culture we learn through education. Neither our DNA nor our blood is enough to make us American or Turkish. As seen in the example above, an American child can grow up as a French woman if she is taught French culture. Educators should not forget that biological features cannot be changed, but the culture necessary to unfold biological potential can be changed in many ways. Culture can be changed, enlarged and developed; since it is learned, it can be unlearned or relearned; it is the domain in which educators can exercise their power.

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